

# THE MILITANT

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## Why Labor, Negroes Should Aid Cuba

— See page 3 —

Dr. Raul Roa at the United Nations  
Castro and the Lies About "Betrayal"  
Auto Workers and the 30-Hour Week

— See page 2

— See page 4

— See page 8

# STOP THE CRIME AGAINST CUBA!

## Statement by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party

The Kennedy administration has launched an undeclared war on Cuba. This is the brutal fact now facing the American people.

No less an authority than the *New York Times* felt forced to admit in an editorial April 18, the day after the invasion: "It is also no secret that the United States Government has been helping the Cuban exiles over a period of many months with arms, training and facilities on American soil and in Guatemala. This has been too well publicized to be ignored today."

Khrushchev has appealed personally to Kennedy "to put an end to the aggression." The Soviet premier warned that "any so-called 'small war' can provoke a chain reaction in all parts of the world." He reaffirmed a pledge to help Cuba "in beating back the armed attack." Once again he stressed the interest of his government "in a relaxation of international tension." "But," he added, "if others aggravate it we shall reply in full measure."

This restrained indication of the possible consequences must be taken with utmost seriousness. If the Kennedy administration persists in its armed aggression, it can set in motion forces that will inevitably plunge humanity into nuclear war.

Let there be no mistake about the guilt. The Central Intelligence Agency, first under Eisenhower and then under Kennedy, financed and trained thousands of counterrevolutionary mercenaries. They were armed with U.S. naval, air and army weapons, including B-26 bombers and troop transports. Their invasion of Cuba was

master-minded by American military experts in flagrant violation of the U.S. laws, including the Neutrality Act, and nonaggression treaties.

The crime against Cuba is also a crime against the American people. All Kennedy's talk about a "Peace Corps" and an "Alliance for Progress" in Latin America proved to be lying propaganda. It aimed at covering up the real plan of action—a new ordeal of terror and butchery for the Cuban people.

Kennedy's campaign promises about a "New Frontier" and world peace were directed primarily to the youth of America. But Kennedy is not teaching the ways of peace. The planting of phosphorous in the air-conditioning system of Havana's biggest department store is hailed as a heroic act. Corps of bombers are praised as champions of freedom and democracy. By this glorification of sabotage and indiscriminate terror, Kennedy is fostering in America's youth the type of mentality now on display in the Eichmann trial. Is this the "New Frontier"?

Like Eisenhower, Kennedy is acting for the economic and financial interests that stand behind the Democratic and Republican parties. These dealers in stocks and bonds bled Cuba for six decades, condemning the population to poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and endemic disease. They want back their lucrative holdings—no ifs, ands or buts. Besides that, they fear the Cuban example will inspire similar revolutions throughout Latin America. Their recipe is "Crush it in the bud."

The counterrevolutionary generals of the invasion army lie

when they say they are fighting for "democracy" and the "liberation" of Cuba. Their sole aim is to make the island safe once again for the dollars of American investors.

This is proved by the key plank in their call for war against the Castro regime issued April 8 in Manhattan by Miró Cardona, head of the "Cuban Revolutionary Council" set up for recognition by the U.S. as the "government" of Cuba: "We emphatically assure those who have been unjustly dispossessed that all of their assets will be returned... We shall encourage investment in private property, both national and foreign, and we shall give complete guarantees to private enterprise and to private property."

The Cuban revolutionists have followed an opposite course. In place of capitalist production for profit at the expense of human rights, they are building a planned economy.

In Cuba the long-standing army of unemployed has been greatly reduced and its liquidation is feasible in a year or two. Jim Crow was wiped out along with capitalism, its main supporting institution. Attractive, low-cost homes are being built by the thousands throughout the island in a great national effort to provide housing for everyone. Rents were slashed in half and now every tenant can become a home-owner, since rent is accepted by the government as installment payments on a house or apartment.

Landless peasants have received their own farms or else participate in co-operatives that have already made possible an impressive rise in national pro-

ductivity. Illiteracy, which affected a third of the population in 1959, is now close to elimination, a two-year achievement no other country can match.

These are some of the gains in Cuba which Wall Street regards as a mortal threat. The money-changers are right. Why should any people endure the domination of big monopolies when by kicking them out they can win such enormous improvements?

Wall Street's scheme is to correct things by overthrowing the government of Cuba the way the Central Intelligence Agency overthrew the lawfully elected government of Guatemala in 1954.

What is this mysterious CIA? What does it do with its enormous funds? To whom is it accountable?

All that the American people have been permitted to know is that the head of this spy agency is Allen Dulles and that it carries on "cloak and dagger" operations. Spying, it turns out, reaches the level of undeclared wars.

One courageous journalist, I. F. Stone, has asked why Allen Dulles is not indicted. A congressman alive to his responsibilities to the American people would go further and demand impeachment of Kennedy.

Many voices have demanded investigation of the CIA—investigation of its U-2 spy operations, its sinister efforts to get us into war in Laos, its recruitment of Cuban mercenaries, its training of saboteurs and terrorists, its construction of military training camps and secret air bases in other countries, its access to the arsenals of the

navy, the army and the air force to outfit an entire expeditionary force and keep it supplied in a war.

The American people are entitled to know exactly how this agency assembles foreign troops on American soil, how it transfers these mercenaries to other countries, how it lands them on the beaches of Cuba and supplies them with the matériel of war; and who pays for all this.

The crimes committed by the American big business against Cuba since 1898 make a somber list. Instead of capping these crimes with the horrors of invasion and war, we should in simple justice offer the Cuban people all the help in our power.

Let's resume normal diplomatic and trade relations. Let's send delegations to study the successes of the Cubans and see what we can learn from them. Instead of a policy of hatred toward Cuba, let's initiate a policy of friendship.

We firmly believe in the right of every people to choose whatever kind of government they want, free from any foreign pressure. We believe that the Cubans are entitled to exercise this basic democratic right. We call for solidarity with them in defending it.

We hope that every American who believes in the equality of nations will join in picketing and demonstrating for this right or will indicate to Congress and the White House by other means how he feels.

End the aggression against Cuba at once! End the economic blockade! End the policy of trying to isolate and crush the Cuban Revolution! Hands off Cuba!

# A United Cuba Rallies To Smash the Invasion

By George Lavan

APRIL 19 — The people of Cuba, led by the revolutionary government of Fidel Castro, are staunchly defending their country and repelling U.S.-backed counter-revolutionaries and mercenaries who began invading before dawn Monday, April 17.

The invasion forces reportedly struck three areas: Matanzas, Las Villas and Oriente provinces. The first two named landings, almost directly opposite each other on the north and south coasts of the island, appear to be the main thrusts. Their aim could be to cut the island in half or to take Havana which lies some hundred miles to the west.

Up to now indications are that the invaders have not penetrated beyond the beaches; and the tone of their communiqués, as well as the reports in the unanimously anti-Castro U.S. daily press, would indicate that, unless U.S. armed forces intervene directly to save them, the invaders may face defeat.

## Law Unto Itself

It is an open secret that U.S. governmental agencies, particularly the CIA, organized, financed, armed, trained and launched the counterrevolutionary army against Cuba. Many have assumed that advisers and experts from these agencies, accompanying the invaders, would respect the legalities by remaining in boats just outside the three-mile limit. But it is dubious that the CIA, which is a law unto itself, is bothering to respect even such niceties on behalf of U.S. "neutrality."

The shooting down today of a U.S. pilot, one Leo F. Berry of Boston, in the course of a bombing raid over Cuba, raises the question of American participation in the attack on Cuba. Was Berry merely one of the many

mercenaries known to be in the counterrevolutionary army or was he, like Francis G. Powers of the U-2 mission over the USSR, technically a "civilian," but in fact an employe of the CIA?

## No Defections

The biggest shock to those who have been brain-washed by U.S. newspapers' incessant stories about Castro's "tyranny" and the Cuban people's longing for "liberation," is that the counterrevolutionaries' calls for an uprising to aid the invasion have brought no response. On the contrary, the predictions of those who have been to Cuba and understand its vastly popular social revolution, are being completely borne out. The working people and peasants of Cuba remain solidly behind their government.

A defeat of the invasion would seriously weaken Washington's military and diplomatic prestige throughout the world, particularly in Latin America where social revolution bubbles just beneath the surface. It would also do great damage to Kennedy's political position domestically. The dissatisfaction of big business with his ability to protect and advance its world interests would be reflected not only in partisan attacks from the Republicans but in disputes within the Democratic party.

Such considerations, added to the ever chronic pressure of Pentagon cold warriors for using force at risk of a world showdown, are undoubtedly exerting powerful pressure in Washington for a "rescue operation" by U.S. armed forces for the Cuban counter-revolutionaries.

Thus, regarding U.S. reaction to Khrushchev's note of warning about Cuba, James Reston of the *New York Times*, (April 19), writes: "Accordingly, nobody here [Washington] is in a very heroic mood about planning a military intervention in that country

[Laos], but Cuba is a totally different situation."

David Lawrence, editor of *U.S. News and World Report*, writes a lengthy article in the April 19 *New York Herald Tribune* showing that the press conference promise on April 12 of no intervention in Cuba by U.S. armed forces does not mean "that under no circumstances would the armed forces of the United States be sent to Cuba." Kennedy was employing the word "intervention" in its strictly legal and diplomatic sense, Lawrence points out.

He then outlines two possibilities for sending U.S. troops into Cuba: (1) "Once, however, a new government is established and recognized it will be given any help it needs if requested from the U.S., including military aid." (2) If the Castro regime "endangers American lives or attacks the U.S. Naval Base at Guantanamo."

Washington's recognition of a counterrevolutionary government was expected to follow quickly the invaders' establishment of a "free area" on the island. But Miró Cardona and other "government in exile" leaders appear reluctant so far to step ashore. But if Washington should decide that at any cost it must quickly have a new government of Cuba to recognize, CIA agents could unceremoniously shove Miró Cardona ashore in Cuba long enough to proclaim it.

The danger of the occurrence or arrangement of incidents at the Guantanamo Naval Base is always present. This undoubtedly presents great temptation to the Cuban counterrevolutionaries, who seek involvement of the U.S. armed forces, and to the CIA.

## CIA Staked Prestige

"The anti-Castro invasion of Cuba has put the prestige of the Central Intelligence Agency on the line," writes Ted Lewis, Washington correspondent of the *New York Daily News* (April 19). "Should it fail, CIA chief Allen Dulles and all his topflight hemispherical agents will be the whipping boys . . . Because these facts of life are known in the CIA and in the State Department, the very idea that the revolution may fail is being rejected. The attitude is that there cannot be any 'if' question about the revolt's success or failure. The revolution just has to succeed . . . The Kennedy administration, facing up to this dire consequence of a Castro victory, would prefer to abandon its policy of nonintervention if such action was imperative for the success of the present invasion."

All Americans opposed to U.S. big business attempts to smash the Cuban revolution must now redouble their protests and demonstrations. While the Cubans are heroically battling the invasion army, the danger of direct military action by the U.S. not only remains but grows. Get all U.S. personnel out of the Guantanamo Naval Base! Hands Off Cuba!

## 'It Was an Aggression Cloaked in Calumny'

(The following are excerpts of the April 17 United Nations speech by Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa detailing the facts about the Washington-sponsored invasion of Cuba.)

I must announce officially . . . that the Republic of Cuba was invaded this morning by a mercenary force which came from Guatemala and Florida and which was organized, financed and armed by the Government of the United States of America . . .

The Government of the United States had closed both eyes and ears to the denunciation and the proof given by the Revolutionary government, while it coldly denied the facts, ended the sugar quota, declared an economic blockade, sent planes and weapons to Cuba, distributed millions of dollars to the mercenaries, pressured the counterrevolutionary groups to unify, and compelled them to constitute a government in exile, violating its own laws of neutrality . . .

Can the representatives of the United States here deny the existence of counterrevolutionary camps in the Florida peninsula under command of Americans, with impunity given by United States authorities and financed by United States dollars? . . .

The Revolutionary Government of Cuba knows — and can the United States representative deny this? — that the CIA is a body directed toward subversion against Cuba and spends about a half a million dollars a month on preparations for invasion. This has been shown in black and white in *Time*, the *United States News & World Report*, in the *Baltimore Sun*, and in the *Miami Herald* of April 14, where it stated that the United States is spending \$17,000 a day only to maintain four or five main bases in Central America, stating that the costs are high because the mercenaries are well clad, well shod, well fed and well equipped. The Revolutionary Government knows full well — and can the representative of the United States deny it? — that one of the main bases of the pirate planes is in the hands of and belongs to the Marines, that it is located at Opa-Locka, Florida, and that it was chosen because it is inactive.

The United States government is so committed to this conspiracy that it has stopped all denials. The patriotic decision of the Cuban people to win or die has provoked a great loss of composure in Washington . . .

I shall not tax the attention of the representatives with a full statement of the American weapons captured in the course of the present Administration's existence in Washington. This inventory is at the disposal of the representatives themselves if they wish to see it. The delegation of Cuba feels that it would be well for the representative of the United States rather to answer some questions.

May I be allowed to illustrate this series of questions with photo-

graphic proof that I will hold up so that the Committee may see it. [At this point Dr. Roa displayed photos of U.S. material captured in Cuba.] The delegation of Cuba, I repeat, feels that it would be useful if the representative of the United States were to reply to these questions.

Is it or is it not true that these anti-tank guns, 57 mm. guns, manufactured by the Firestone Corporation, which were dropped by planes in Escambray, can be only sold through treaties between governments?

Is it or is it not true that these 30-calibre carbines, M-1, manufactured by the IBM Corporation, are those used by the Marine infantry of the United States as a substitute for the 45-calibre Thompson automatic rifle?

Is it or is it not true that this type of transmitter and receiver, with a range of 1,000 miles, is specially manufactured for the Intelligence Service of the United States?

Is it or is it not true that these Browning machine guns, 30-calibre, manufactured by Colt Patent Fire Arms of Hartford, Conn., are used in the United States Army at present and can be sold elsewhere only through treaties between governments? . . .

This is presumably the "big stick" mentioned by the first Roosevelt? . . .

President Kennedy said that there would not be any intervention in Cuba on the part of United States Armed Forces and that the Government would endeavor to see to it that no United States citizens participated in any activity against Cuba. However, at no time did he reply clearly to the questions of reporters regarding the assistance given to the counterrevolutionary elements. He was evasive and at times almost incoherent in his replies.

To the direct question of whether his Government would respect the law of neutrality and the charter of the Organization of the American States, which specifically prohibits the supplying of weapons or any type of assistance to any group intending to overthrow a foreign Government, President Kennedy limited himself to saying that there was a Revolutionary Committee here that obviously was eager to see a change in that country and that Mr. Castro had received some support from the United States and had received assistance in carrying out his own revolution . . .

I have just been handed a note which informs me that the Secretary of State of this prodigious democracy, Mr. Dean Rusk, has stated that the United States has not interfered in the invasion that took place in Cuba this morning but that the people of the United States are with the counterrevolutionaries. If that is so, for the second time we shall have to bury Jefferson and Lincoln.

With regard to the statement  
(Continued on Page 7)

## Global Protest Actions Hit U.S. Aggression in Cuba

APRIL 19 — Mass demonstrations supporting the Cuban revolution against United States government aggression took place throughout the world this week, especially in Latin America.

In Mexico City, a crowd estimated by United Press International at 25,000 persons massed in Constitution Square. Former Mexican President Lázaro Cárdenas spoke from atop a parked car. In the provincial town of Morelia, Mexico, the director of the U.S. Cultural Institute there said he had to flee for his life when an angry crowd wrecked the building. Two thousand students at the University of Mexico protested the invasion of Cuba, and in Puebla, 600 students burned the American flag.

### 10,000 in Caracas

In Caracas, Venezuela, police used tear gas and rifles against several pro-Castro rallies. The main one had 10,000 students in the center of the city. One person was killed, about 30 injured and 30 arrested by police actions against demonstrations in Caracas and the "oil capital" of Maracaibo.

In Guatemala, 2,000 students protested the use of Guatemalan bases for counterrevolutionaries and shouted "Kill the cursed Kennedy." The offices of U.S. companies were stoned.

The main streets of Bogota, Columbia, were closed off by running fights between demonstrators and police who tried to break up pro-Castro meetings.

The labor unions in Chile called

a 24-hour general strike for April 19. In Concepcion, the U.S. consulate was stoned.

In Buenos Aires, riot policemen used tear gas and clubs to break up pro-Castro demonstrations, and in Sao Paulo, students staged a rally described by the *New York News* correspondent as "huge."

Three thousand persons in La Paz, Bolivia, marched on the U.S. Embassy shouting "Kennedy is a criminal!"

In Moscow, the UPI says 50,000 persons besieged the U.S. Embassy for six hours April 18. They threw rocks, eggs and bottles of ink and trampled several police in pushing toward the building. They were mostly Russians of school age, but there were also large numbers of African and Asian students in the crowd.

### Tokyo Students

Japanese college students staged a stormy demonstration before the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo and announced plans for more rallies later. In Poland 500 students from Warsaw University protested in front of the U.S. Embassy. Thousands of persons shouted pro-Castro slogans in front of the U.S. Legation in Sofia, Bulgaria.

At the United Nations in New York thousands of persons participated in picket lines called by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the 26 of July movement. On April 17, the day the invasion began, about 1,500 protesters marched from the United Nations to New York City's Times Square.

A new pamphlet  
presenting a program  
against unemployment

### WHY CAN'T EVERYBODY HAVE A JOB?

By Fred Halstead  
16 pages

10c per copy  
13 copies for \$1

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

## Local Directory

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

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

CLEVELAND. Socialist Workers Party, 5927 Euclid Ave., Room 23, Cleveland 3, Ohio.

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.

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

LOS ANGELES. Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9538. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily, Sat. 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781.

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

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 118 University Place. AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. Phone OL 5-1764.

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

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-0969. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif.

SEATTLE. 1412 18th Ave., EA 5-0191. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays.



# Why U. S. Labor, Negroes Should Aid Cuba

## Workers' Gains Listed By Former UAW Official

Following are extracts from one of the best articles on Cuba that we have found in the U.S. labor press. The author, Harry M. Philo, a Detroit attorney, was formerly a Star Building officer, committeeman and General Council delegate in UAW Ford Local 600. Shortly before the U.S. government put a ban on travel to Cuba, Philo, his wife Jean, his law partner Dean Robb and his wife Barbara, spent 11 days there as guests of the Havana Bar Association. Having gone to "see for themselves," they visited factories, schools, courts, cooperatives, etc., and also interviewed government officials. The article, which appeared Jan. 21 in Local 600's paper, *Ford Facts*, was described as the first of three by Philo on what he learned from his trip, but the other two have not been printed to this date.

"Free Cuba — Without the Sugar Quota — but Without Masters."

This was a slogan scrawled on the wall of a nearly completed and lovely nursery school in East Havana. It best expresses the problems, hopes and aspirations of seven million Cuban people, the bulk of whom had lived in poverty and illiteracy because American big business had made some 25 per cent profit on invested capital in Cuba yearly and left the workers and peasants destitute. On January 2, 1959, all this began to change with the success of the Cuban Revolution led by Fidel Castro and today the workers, farmers and intellectuals of Cuba are shaping their own destiny . . .

I was particularly concerned to find that although there are hundreds of thousands of Detroit-built cars on the streets of Cuba and percentage-wise far fewer European cars than on the streets of Detroit, no new American cars are being sold in Cuba and replacement parts are being made in Canada. (In the meantime, British Fords are being sold freely throughout Cuba.)

This is the result of the stupid State Department policy which is attempting to choke Cuba economically but which results in the loss of thousands of jobs for Detroit and American workers at the same time that there are five million unemployed in the United States. This criminal policy threatens the loss of markets throughout Latin America as the State Department reflects the vindictiveness of the big American sugar, fruit, oil and tin companies rather

than the needs of the American people.

The Cuban people have done much more than rid themselves of foreign masters in the last two years, however. Every Local 600 member will be enthused to learn that rents were cut in half; workers' wages were raised an average of 25 per cent; company stores with high prices and 20 per cent weekly interest rates were replaced by government stores where food and clothing are being sold at cost; the tremendous estates were divided up and peasants were given land; sugar plantations were given to the plantation workers who have turned them into cooperatives; schools, factories and homes for farmers and working people are being built at an incredible pace.

As I walked my committeeman's district in the Star Building I used to think about the talent that was being wasted and how many of the workers had the intelligence, talent and initiative to be fine engineers, chemists, teachers, etc., but who did not have the opportunity or money to get a college education. The Revolution in Cuba has brought such talent to the fore and the people of Cuba have planned, organized and built in a manner defying description.

Hundreds of new schools, as beautiful and permanent as any of our schools, have been built in these two years. Tens of thousands of new housing units have already been built for farmers and working people. New industries are being developed which will have the most advanced machinery in the world and make products that will compete on the world mar-

kets for the first time. Farm crops have been diversified in this beautiful island which has three crops per year.

Those of you who have long felt that the Ford workers, rather than the Board of Directors and the country club management, made the Ford cars, will be happy to learn that when the Batista gangsters fled Cuba on the same planes as the American capitalists, the country did not collapse. Rather the people began for the first time to plan their own destiny in a way that many UAW leaders have insisted that an economy must be planned, and the first consideration is no longer stockholder profits and executive salaries and bonuses.

Dr. Fidel Castro and the other leaders of the Revolution . . . have the support of the overwhelming percentage of the people. We concluded that most of the people were enthusiastic supporters of the Revolution. The American ideal of the right of the people to bear arms, which is written into our Constitution and Thomas Jefferson's idea of the right and duty of the people to periodically water the soil with the blood of tyrants, find expression in Cuba in the government's faith in the people. While Batista relied on an army of 30,000 mercenaries, it appears that today every peasant and worker in Cuba is a volunteer member of the militia dedicated to the defense of the country and the Revolution, with his life if necessary.

Two years ago, Cuba had 600,000 unemployed and employment of two million. The only ones who had jobs in the large cities were relatives or friends of government officials or factory owners or those who paid bribes to corrupt officials or foremen (just as Rouge workers had to pay bribes to get jobs before the union).

One-third of the unemployment has been eliminated since the Revolution and the Minister of Economics, Dr. Regiono Botie, a Harvard-trained economist, told us that unemployment will be eliminated and Cuba will be importing workers within two years. It is ironic that many low-seniority American workers may have more hope of a job in Cuba two years from now than what the prospects warrant in Detroit . . .

## All Jim-Crow Practices Abolished by Revolution

The following statement, entitled "A Declaration of Conscience by Afro-Americans" was slated to appear as an advertisement in the April 29 issue of the *Afro-American*, a leading Negro weekly. Opposing U.S.-inspired attacks on the Cuban revolution, which has abolished Jim Crow practices, the signers of the statement include: Dr. Emmett Bassett, Walter Bowe, Edward Clark, John Henrik Clarke; Mrs. Odessa Cox, Dr. Lonnie Cross, Harold Cruse, Felix A. Cummings, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Richard Gibson, Shirley Graham, Calvin Hicks, Leroy Jones, Mrs. Jane Kerina, Conrad Lynn, Julian Mayfield, Robert C. Maynard, John W. McDow, Mrs. Marion Metelis, Carlos Moore, Nanny Murrell, Clarence H. Seniors, John A. Singleton, Mrs. Pernela Wattlely, Daniel H. Watts, Robert F. Williams and William Worthy.

Because we have known oppression, because we have suffered more than other Americans, because we are still fighting for our own liberation from tyranny, we Afro-Americans have the right and the duty to raise our voices in protest against the forces of oppression that now seek to crush a free people linked to us by bonds of blood and a common heritage.

One-third of Cuba's people are Afro-Cubans, of the same African descent as we. Many of our own forefathers passed through Cuba on their way to the slave plantations in the United States. Those who remained on the island knew the same brutality that their brother suffered on the mainland; after emancipation, they too knew disenfranchisement, they too became second-class citizens, peons exploited on the huge U.S.-owned landholdings.

Today — thanks to a social revolution which they helped make — Afro-Cubans are first-class citizens and are taking their rightful place in the life of their country where all racial barriers crumbled in a matter of weeks following the victory of Fidel Castro. As Joseph Newman reported in the *N.Y. Herald-Tribune* (March 23): "Castro and Guevara are literally adored by the large number of poor and humiliated Cubans, especially the Negroes. They see these two leaders as saintly and honorable men, dedicated to removing injustice and discrimination."

Now our brothers are threatened again — this time by a gang of ousted Cuban political hacks who find segregated Miami more congenial than integrated Havana.

This pack of mercenaries who hope to turn back the clock in Cuba are armed, trained and financed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. But they know that by themselves they can never re-enslave the Cuban people, so now they are openly boasting that U.S. troops will go to their aid as soon as they land in Cuba.

This criminal aggression against a peaceful and progressive people must not be allowed to happen. But if it does, we are determined to do all we possibly can to hinder the success of this crime.

*Afro-American* correspondent William Worthy declared recently: "If Cuba is attacked, I and others who know the facts will denounce the attack as an evil and wicked colonial war deserving of opposition and resistance by Afro-Americans." Worthy warned that, if such an attack took place: "In this country we would see civil rights setbacks from coast to coast. Our enemies would be strengthened and emboldened."

Afro-Americans, don't be fooled — the enemies of the Cubans are our enemies, the Jim Crow bosses of this land where we are still denied our rights. The Cubans are our friends, the enemies of our enemies.

If you would like to know more about Cuba, write: Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

This ad has been paid for by the persons whose names appear here. Your contributions, no matter how small, are welcomed.

### Weekly Calendar

#### DETROIT

Tom Kerry, Militant labor editor, speaks on Jobs for all: A Program for Labor. Fri., April 28, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

#### NEW YORK

Friday, April 21, 8 p.m. Rally to Abolish HUAC — See ad this issue.

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May Day — Demonstrate Solidarity With Cuba! Hear Richard Garza, Socialist Workers party; Larry Ireland, Young Socialist Alliance; a Cuban revolutionist and William F. Warde, Marxist writer and lecturer. Sat., April 29, 9 p.m. Social evening to follow. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. SWP and YSA.

#### PHILADELPHIA

May Day Banquet and Meeting. Speaker: William F. Warde on Who Will Change the World? Sunday, April 30, Dinner, 5:30 p.m. Speech at 7:30 p.m. Contrib. \$2 (Lecture only, 75 cents; unemployed free.) 1303 W. Girard Ave. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

#### LOS ANGELES

May Day 1961: The Struggle for Peace, Freedom, Socialism! Speaker, Theodore Edwards, socialist radio commentator. Sat., April 29, 8:15 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 East 4th St. Contrib. \$1. (Students, unemployed 25 cents.) Ausp. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

#### Infant Mortality

Since 1950 the United States has slipped from sixth to tenth place among nations keeping such statistics in the rate of infant deaths.

## That Trumped-Up Story About 'Cuban Plane Defectors'

The Kennedy administration's attempt to justify armed intervention in Cuba hinges on the lie that the Cuban people themselves are defecting in mass from Fidel Castro. In line with this general fantasy, the American people are asked to believe that the first act of the invasion — the bombing of Cuba's three main airfields April 15 — was committed by Cuban Air Force pilots who took off in Cuba, bombed their own airfields, and flew to asylum in the U.S. and other unnamed places.

This tale is so full of holes that, as Castro said, "even Hollywood would not try to film such a story." But we don't have to take any-

body's word. Just look at the facts.

After the attack, two B-26 bombers landed in Florida — one, with two men aboard, at the U.S. Naval Air Station at Key West; the other, with only the pilot, at Miami International Airport. At Key West the Navy took charge and shut off all information. But the pilot who landed at Miami was photographed by the press. After a private session with U.S. officials, he told reporters that he was a Cuban Air Force pilot who, along with three others, had been planning to defect for three months. He said that on April 13 he suddenly decided to make the attack two days later because he saw one of the

other three talking to a Castro agent and feared discovery. He refused to give his name or those of the other pilots.

This was the statement which Adlai Stevenson read to the United Nations on the afternoon of April 15. It was his only answer to Cuban charges that the planes came from Guatemala and were piloted by mercenaries hired by the Central Intelligence Agency.

Meanwhile in New York, the leader of the Cuban counter-revolutionary movement Miró Cardona, revealed that he had had advance knowledge of the attack. But how could he have known if the pilots were from the Cuban Air Force and the decision had been made suddenly, as claimed by the pilot quoted by Stevenson?

Later Miró Cardona's outfit described the attack as involving six planes. This jibed with reports from the Cuban government. But what about the pilot's statement that there were only three? Where did the other three come from?

Saturday afternoon, Fidel Castro challenged President Kennedy to present before the United Nations the alleged defectors who had landed in the U.S. after the bombings. This was not done. Newspapermen who tried to interview the pilots were told their names and whereabouts were being kept secret. The U.S. officials claimed the pilots wanted to conceal their

identities from Castro officials because they had families in Cuba. That's the crowning insult to intelligence involved in the Cardona-Stevenson fantasy. If the pilots were really defectors from the Cuban Air Force, the Cuban government would certainly know their names.

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# Did Castro 'Betray' Revolution

By Joseph Hansen

(Last in a series of articles)  
The central thesis of the State Department's "White Paper" is that Castro "betrayed" the Cuban revolution. Section III is headed: "The Delivery of the Revolution to the Sino-Soviet Bloc." We are informed in this section that arms "have poured from beyond the Iron Curtain into Cuba" and that trade and financial agreements have "integrated the Cuban economy with that of the Communist world," 75 per cent of Cuban trade now going in that direction.

"The artificiality of this development is suggested," the White House authors blandly assert, "by the fact that at the beginning of 1960 only 2 per cent of Cuba's total foreign trade was with the Communist bloc."

The "White Paper" does not even mention that Washington cut off all sugar imports from Cuba in 1960 and then imposed a virtually total trade embargo on the island. What were the Cubans supposed to do in face of Washington's artificial political decision to stop all American businessmen from trading with them? Sit down in the shade of a royal palm and quietly starve to death while offering up thanks to Eisenhower and Kennedy for this American aid in speeding them on to a better world?

The Cuban government exercised its democratic right as a sovereign power to trade where it could on the world market. To have done otherwise would have been a real betrayal of the revolution.

The complaint about arms purchases is even more outrageous. Operating with seemingly unlimited funds from mysterious sources, the Cuban counterrevolutionaries, with the connivance of the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency, opened up recruiting agencies for mercenaries throughout the United States, set up training camps in various areas, armed themselves to the teeth and began invasion preparations by dropping incendiary mechanisms from Florida-based planes and by planting bombs in Cuba's big cities. What should the Cubans have done in the face of this "international civil war," as Draper calls it — bare their throats and say, "Please don't spoil my hair by cutting past my ears"?

In these circumstances does acceptance of aid wherever it can be obtained signify "Delivery of the Revolution to the Sino-Soviet Bloc"? According to that kind of



**FIDEL CASTRO. Did he betray promise not to nationalize either Cuban or American capitalist holdings?**

reasoning, George Washington delivered the American revolution to imperial France because he accepted aid from Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette. We can see historian Draper, who at that time hung around the court of George III, beating his wig in anguish over such "treachery." The Americans were clearly "betraying" the anti-French and anti-Indian cause for which they had fought with the British in the French and Indian War not so long before.

But the practical, democratic-minded American revolutionaries took a different attitude toward French aid in their struggle for freedom from British tyranny. In fact American gratitude was so lasting that almost a century and a half later in World War I the most popular slogan the propagandists could think up to cover the landing of American troops in France was "Lafayette, we are here!"

On the other hand, Americans who remained loyal to the crown, Benedict Arnolds who sold out their country's cause, and the Hessian mercenaries who were hired by the British to fight the rebellious colonials are held in deserved infamy to this day.

**Did They "Betray"?**

As another "proof" of its central thesis, the State Department claims that "so far as the expressed political aims of the revolution were concerned, the record of the Castro regime has been a

record of the steady and consistent betrayal of Dr. Castro's pre-revolutionary promises . . ." Draper declares that "Castro promised one kind of revolution and made another. The revolution Castro promised was unquestionably betrayed."

To substantiate his point, Draper has compiled "a brief inventory" of typical declarations made by Castro between 1953 and 1958. They indicate that Castro did not envision going beyond bourgeois-democratic measures and that he specifically favored "free enterprise and invested capital" and rejected "wholesale nationalization." In taking over Cuban and American capitalist holdings, the Revolutionary Government clearly went far beyond bourgeois-democratic measures.

By disregarding the economic, social and political pressures that forced this course, in particular those emanating from Wall Street and the State Department, Draper "unquestionably" has no difficulty in picturing Castro as having "betrayed" the revolution; that is, assuming leadership and responsibility for undertaking measures that went beyond and even conflicted with the original concepts of the revolutionary leaders.

As a professional historian, Draper, you might imagine, would realize that Castro is not the only revolutionary figure he is accusing of "betrayal" for permitting himself to be pushed forward by the revolutionary process. Here is a brief inventory for his consideration:

- In 1774 John Adams wrote that independence was "a Hobgoblin of so frightful mien, that it would throw a delicate Person into Fits to look it in the Face." Later he was a leader in the fight for adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

- In March 1775 Benjamin Franklin testified in London that he had never heard in America one word in favor of independence "from any person, drunk or sober."

- Even after the Battle of Lexington, George Washington told his Tory friend Jonathan Boucher that if ever he heard of Washington's joining in any such measures as the colonies separating from England, Boucher "had his leave to set him down for everything wicked."

- More than two months after the Battle of Bunker Hill, Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, wrote in a private letter that he was "looking with fondness toward a reconciliation with Great Britain."

- The delegates to the First Continental Congress which met in the autumn of 1774 assured the King: "Your royal authority over us and our connection with Great Britain we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain."

- In 1775 the Second Continental Congress, while setting forth colonial grievances, explicitly assured "our friends and fellow subjects in any part of the Empire . . . that we mean not to dissolve that union which had so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored." One year and two days later the same Congress issued the Declaration of Independence.

Is this contrast between the convictions of one stage and the actions of the next to be accepted by the court as damning evidence of "revolutionary schizophrenia," as Draper labels comparable phenomena in the Cuban revolution? Tom Paine, one of the leading promoters of the American independence movement, saw it more clearly. In "The American Crisis" he wrote: "Independence was a doctrine scarce and rare, even towards the conclusion of the year 1775; all our politics had

been founded on the expectation of making the matter up . . ."

Similar brief inventories could be drawn up for other revolutionary struggles. For instance, although he disliked slavery personally, Abraham Lincoln publicly pledged that the slaveholders need not fear a Republican administration. "We must not interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists, because the Constitution forbids it and the general welfare does not require us to do so." As late as September 1861 he told a group of anti-slavery Republicans: "We didn't go into the war to put down slavery, but to put the flag back; and to act differently at this moment would, I have no doubt, not only weaken our cause, but smack of bad faith."

A year later, in view of the crisis in prosecution of the war, Lincoln overturned property relations in the South. He freed the slaves despite his public commitment to the contrary. We look forward with interest to Theodore Draper's history of the Civil War exposing Honest Abe, the Great Emancipator, as Bad Faith Abe, the Great Betrayer.

**Preconceptions Affect Analysis**

Historian Draper's forgetfulness of some major lessons of history is probably not due to any tendency to underrate the importance of facts — at least in his two volumes on the history of the American Communist party he showed sufficient respect for them to let the record speak pretty much for itself. In the case of Cuba arbitrary preconceptions which he holds affect his selection and arrangement of facts. His "theory" dominates his analysis.

"How could a revolution basically middle-class in nature be turned against that class?" Draper asks. "How could a revolution made without the official Communists and for the most part despite them become so intimately linked with them? How, in short, could Fidel Castro promise one revolution and make another, and what consequences flowed from this revolutionary schizophrenia?"

The Cuban revolution, Draper answers, "belongs to a new type of system, neither capitalist nor socialist, that emerges where capitalism has not succeeded and socialism cannot succeed." According to this view, there is something inherent in the revolution itself that makes it go wrong and compels a leader like Castro to "betray." Naturally, if what is wrong is inherent in the revolution, the field of research is correspondingly narrowed and the relation of American imperialism is irrelevant. Even if the White House had remained friendly and the State Department had pumped aid into Cuba instead of attempting ruthlessly to bring down the economy and the new government, Castro would have "betrayed."

What is this inherent poison or congenital disease in the Cuban revolution? Where "capitalism has been successful," Draper tells us, no "impoverished, class-conscious proletariat exists." Therefore, in countries like the United States which have the technological base for socialism, no socialist revolution can occur.

Where capitalism has not been successful, Draper continues, no "advanced industrial economy" exists that could support a socialist structure as conceived by Marx. However, in the latter areas, the middle class, faced with poverty and lack of opportunity, revolts and turns irresistibly toward the

ideology of socialism. "They cannot be faithful to the fundamental ideas of the socialist tradition — that the proletariat should liberate itself, that there are prerequisites of socialism, especially an advanced industrial economy, and that socialism must fulfill and complement political democracy." But they "can find in Marxism an ideological sanction for the unrestricted and unlimited use of the state to change the social order, and they can find in Leninism a sanction for their unrestricted and unlimited power over the state."

The result of a revolution under these conditions, Draper contends, is something qualitatively different from either capitalism or socialism. "The order of development cannot be inverted — first the revolution, then the prerequisites of socialism — without resulting in a totally different kind of social order, alien to the letter and, infinitely more, to the spirit of socialism. These inverted revolutions from above belong to what, for want of a better word, we must call the Communist family of revolutions, which, in practice, serve to industrialize the peasantry rather than to liberate the proletariat."

For about 30 years there was only the Russian variant, Draper continues. Then in 1948 came the "Titoist variant." In late 1949, the



**THOMAS JEFFERSON. Did he betray promise not to write Declaration of Independence?**

"Chinese variant." "Now a new branch of the family has begun to emerge." These are national-revolutionary movements that begin under figures like Nkrumah in Ghana, Sékou Touré in Guinea or Fidel Castro in Cuba, but soon fall prey to Communism. Since local Communists are, in the beginning, no match for such leaders, they were "advised to bide their time." "First the national-revolutionary movement could win power, then the Communists could win power in the national-revolutionary movements." And that, in effect, is what has been happening in this world of ours.

Having read this, you have read about all of Theodore Draper on this subject. His articles on Cuba offer little more than the dust caught in the bag of this theoretical vacuum cleaner.

The sterile and reactionary character of the politics entailed by this theory is striking. I could find only two sentences in the entire pamphlet suggesting an alternative to nationalizing industry in Cuba and introducing economic planning: "After World War II, Cuban interests were strong enough to buy a substantial share of U.S.-owned sugar production which fell from 70-80 per cent of the total at its high point in the 1930s to about 35 per cent in 1958. Government encouragement of 'Cubanization' would easily have cut the figure in half again in a short time under a post-Batista democratic regime." In short, Draper's advice, for what it is worth, is that Castro should have encouraged "free enterprise" in Cuba.

Back of that program lurks two

## Books and Pamphlets on Cuba

A number of readers have asked where and how they can get reliable information about the Cuban revolution. Below are the names of recent pamphlets, books and articles that we consider useful, together with prices and addresses where they can be ordered.

Order from Pioneer Publishers,  
116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

- The Truth about Cuba* by Joseph Hansen ..... 25¢
- Listen, Yankee!* by C. Wright Mills ..... 50¢
- Sartre on Cuba* by Jean-Paul Sartre ..... 50¢
- History Will Absolve Me* by Fidel Castro ..... \$1
- Speech at United Nations* by Fidel Castro ..... 25¢
- Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution*  
by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy ..... \$1.75

Order from Fair Play for Cuba Committee,  
799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

- Cuba Libre* by Leroi Jones ..... 20¢
- Reflections on the Cuban Revolution* by Paul Baran ..... 35¢
- Cuba, a Dissenting Report* by Samuel Shapiro ..... 25¢
- Castro's Cuba* by Robert Taber ..... 15¢
- Fair Play*, an informational bulletin. Yearly subscription ..... \$5

Order from Liberation,  
110 Christopher St., New York 14, N. Y.

- Cuba: America's Lost Plantation* by Dave Dellinger. Dec. 1960 and Jan. 1961 issues, ..... 30¢ each

Order from Fellowship,  
Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

- Which Way Cuba?* by Sidney Lens. March, 1961 ..... 30¢

Order from International Socialist Review,  
116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

- Ideology of the Cuban Revolution* (on Guevara's book) by Joseph Hansen. Summer 1960 ..... 35¢
- Theory of the Cuban Revolution* by Joseph Hansen. Winter 1961 ..... 35¢

\* The above quotations are taken from "The Movement for American Independence" by William F. Waide in *Fourth International*, July-August, 1950. This article offers an illuminating discussion of the lag between revolutionary consciousness and revolutionary events.  
\*\* *Castro's Cuba — A Revolution Betrayed?* In the *New Leader* March 27, 1961. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations from Draper are from this source.



# Or Lead It to a New Advance?

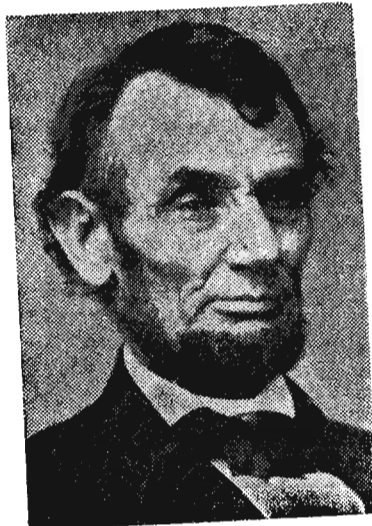
postulates: (1) National capital in countries like Cuba is capable of successfully competing in the modern world with imperialist capitalism on the one hand and the system of planned economies on the other. (2) Imperialist capitalism is preferable to a "new type of system" that is presumably "neither capitalist nor socialist."

If these postulates are true no rational explanation exists for the great wave of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist revolutions in the world today. Everything ends up in the "paranoia" of a demagogue. But why paranoia should prove so attractive and politically efficacious among hundreds of millions of poverty-stricken people remains a book sealed with seven seals.

Other oddities follow as logical consequences from Draper's preconceptions. He equates the anti-Semitic — and "anti-Communist" — mass demonstrations engineered by Hitler and Mussolini with the anti-imperialist crowds that gather to hear Castro. He equates the cult of Trujillo, a puppet of American imperialism, with the popularity of Castro, who stands in the eyes of millions of Latin Americans like a David against Goliath; and he sees little difference between Trujillo's "neo-democracy" and the beginnings of proletarian democracy in Cuba. He equates Stalin's purge of the Old Bolsheviks, a phase of the degeneration of the Russian revolution, with Castro's moving beyond the initial program of the 26th of July Movement, a phase of the rise of the Cuban revolution. Draper, criticizing red-baiter Nathaniel Weyl, the author of *Red Star Over Cuba*, declares: "Communists, ex-Communists, non-Communists and opportunists are indiscriminately lumped together. Every bit of evidence that does not fit the book's thesis is ruthlessly suppressed or glossed over. All the hard problems of Castro's political developments are oversimplified and vulgarized." It's a fair, if not perfect, description of Draper's own analysis.

Under compulsion of the same logic, Draper is unable to see that the working class or peasantry played much of a role in the Cuban revolution. Batista fell, we are told, because the middle class deserted him. This was due, Draper argues, to Castro's "guerrilla tactics" which "aimed not so much at 'defeating' the enemy as at inducing him to lose his head, fight terror with counterterror on the largest possible scale, and make life intolerable for the ordinary citizen." (What class does that "ordinary citizen" belong to?) We are then given this priceless pearl: "The same terror that Castro used against Batista is now being used against Castro. And Castro has responded with counterterror, just as Batista did." Thus Castro = Batista. Q.E.D. History is reduced to terrorist bomb-throwing.

But worse than the old-time



**ABRAHAM LINCOLN.** Did he betray promise not to expropriate property of Southern slaveholders?

anarchists, who distinguished between the terror of reaction and the terror of the self-sacrificing idealist, Draper draws no distinction. A bomb is a bomb and any bomb is equal to any other, if not sometimes more. Draper, who thus fakes the democratic outlook to its ultimate absurdity, complains about C. Wright Mills's lack of sociological imagination. How carping can you get?

This happens to be the theory back of the counterrevolution's hopes for an easy victory over the Revolutionary Government. Since the inert and unthinking masses of workers and peasants play no part in Cuban politics and since a section of the middle class has now deserted Castro, it follows that a few mad bombers prowling among the Sunday crowds can prove sufficient to induce the leaders of the revolution to lose their heads, "fight terror with counterterror" and thus open the way for the restoration of the landholders and capitalists to their properties. They probably found the theory in a book of useful household hints — "How to Cork a Volcano."

The counterrevolutionary mercenaries would be well advised to ponder the following observation made by Theodore Draper last year: "No matter what one may think of the theory behind Cuba's land-reform program and no matter how the program turns out in practice, there is no getting around the fact that for the poor, illiterate, landless outcast *guajiros*, the co-operatives represent a jump of centuries in living standards. They also represent a vast increase of constructive activity in the rural areas that were formerly the most backward and stagnant part of Cuba."\*

Will these *guajiros* prove inert to the plot to return them to the backwardness and stagnation of past centuries? I. F. Stone, who has a more vivid sociological imagination than Draper, said after a recent visit to Cuba: "Guerrillas who offer peasants aid against a hated landlord or village usurer are one thing. But can you see a U.S. guerrilla knocking on a peasant's door late at night, 'Give me water; hide me; I bring a message from United Fruit Company; we've come to take back your land.?'"

## "Permanent Revolution"

The tendency for a bourgeois revolution to transcend its bourgeois-democratic limits, that is, proceed toward socialistic forms of property, was noted by Marx and Engels in the upsurge they participated in as young men. In fact they began their revolutionary careers as bourgeois democrats and ended as the founders of scientific socialism. It was not until the appearance of Leon Trotsky, however, that this tendency received rounded theoretical development. As early as 1904, the youth who was to become co-leader of the 1917 Russian Revolution had reached that deep insight into the main course of the revolutions of our time which was to win him world recognition as one of the greatest of revolutionary theoreticians. He named his theoretical contribution the "Permanent Revolution," taking the title from the following suggestive declarations made by Marx and Engels in an Address of the Central Committee to the Communist League, dated March 1850:

"While the democratic petty bourgeois wish to bring the revolution to a conclusion as quickly as possible, and with the achievement, at most, of the above [reform] demands, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their position of dominance, until the

\* "The Runaway Revolution," *The Reporter*, May 12, 1960.

proletariat has conquered state power, and the association of proletarians, not only in one country but in all the dominant countries of the world, has advanced so far that competition among the proletarians of these countries has ceased and that at least the decisive productive forces are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians. For us the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its annihilation, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of existing society but the foundation of a new one." The battle cry of the workers must be, said the Address in conclusion: "The Revolution in Permanence."

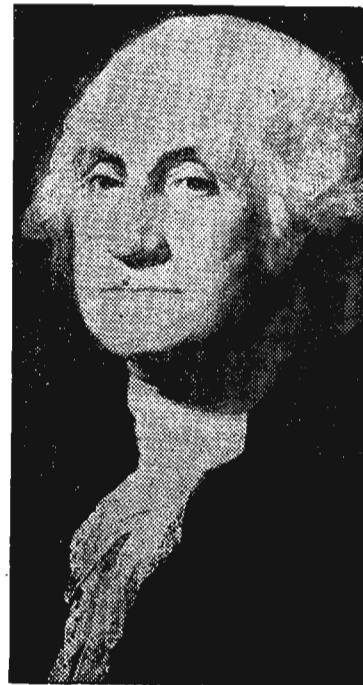
The basis of Trotsky's theory was the uneven development of capitalism on a world scale. In the old capitalist centers technology is so advanced that society is rotten ripe for socialist reorganization. In the underdeveloped areas of the world, however, pre-capitalist relations are still strong, and the main revolutionary tasks are thus bourgeois in character. But the pattern of change does not simply repeat the pattern of the early bourgeois revolutions in which the working class was scarcely developed. The underdeveloped countries do not live in isolation from the rest of the world. In fact imperialist capitalism has penetrated them, bringing the most advanced technology. ("Brazil seems to have jumped from the ox cart to the age of the air," notes Charles Wagley, professor of anthropology at Columbia University; "... young Brazilians who have never driven an automobile have 'soloed' in the air.") And along with this, imperialism injects the most advanced class relations into the antiquated social structure. (Highly exploited sugar workers, for instance, in Cuba.) The working class, even though it may be numerically thin, consequently has far greater political weight than its prototypes at the dawn of capitalism. When it enters the political arena, it tends to draw on the most advanced political thought of the world's great metropolitan centers. Together with backwardness, even primitiveness, is combined the very latest in scientific thought and achievement.

It is possible, therefore, for the working class, in alliance with the peasantry — which is pressing for bourgeois reforms in property relations on the land — to win political power in a backward country even sooner than in an advanced country. In power it has no choice but to proceed with the economic and social tasks inherent to its class position: expropriation of capital, building of a planned economy, etc. These are socialist in principle no matter how limited or distorted they may be in fact. The victory of the workers in such countries cannot be maintained, however, without the aid of the workers of the advanced centers; that is, without the extension or continuation of the revolution on an international scale, above all into the old capitalist powers.\*

Through this theory, Trotsky was able to predict correctly the course of the 1917 Revolution in Russia, some twelve years before it occurred.

Interestingly enough, Lenin did not agree with Trotsky's prognosis. In 1905 Lenin wrote: "We cannot jump out of the bourgeois-democratic framework of the Russian Revolution, but we can considerably broaden that framework." He repeated this in innumerable articles and speeches year after

\* For an explanation by Trotsky himself of the theory, see *The Permanent Revolution*, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, or "Three Concepts of the Russian Revolution" in *Stalin—An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence*. These books are available in most libraries. (Or write Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.)



**GEORGE WASHINGTON.** Did he betray promise not to become Father of His Country?

year until after the February 1917 Revolution. Not until April of that year did he change his views. When he finally did change, it precipitated a crisis in the Bolshevik party, which was convinced that the revolution had only a bourgeois-democratic character as Lenin had repeatedly insisted. But Lenin's prestige was such that he succeeded in getting the party to adopt the new position despite the cries of capitulation to "Trotskyism."

It was on the solid basis of this shift, plus his own recognition of Lenin's correctness on the need for a democratic-centralist party, that Trotsky, together with his following, joined the Bolsheviks and helped the second revolution to emerge from the first one.

Of course it can be argued, as it was at the time and has been perennially ever since, that the Bolsheviks did wrong in accepting power in an underdeveloped country like Russia. A book could be devoted to this topic alone. Aside from the "morality" of it all, the point is that Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution enabled him to foresee with accuracy the actual main pattern of the Russian Revolution and that this theory offers the only rational explanation for such revolutions as the one in Cuba.

No utterly novel "new type of system" has emerged, as Draper maintains. Cuba has simply gone beyond capitalism in some impor-

tant respects and begun to build institutions that are basically socialist in principle. The country is in transition between capitalism and socialism. How long it remains in transition depends on international forces and events, primarily the ultimate fate of the old capitalist powers. When the United States goes socialist, Cuba will be among the first to benefit and will certainly complete the change-over in record time.

The question of the absence of direct proletarian leadership in the 1958-59 Cuban Revolution offers a complication it is true,\* but on the main question—the tendency of a bourgeois-democratic revolution in an underdeveloped country to go beyond its bourgeois-democratic limits — Cuba offers once again the most striking confirmation of Trotsky's famous theory. That the Cuban revolutionaries were unaware they were confirming something seemingly so abstract and remote makes it all the more impressive.

The fact that these same revolutionaries, without knowing Trotsky's theory, proved capable of transcending their own limited previous political positions speaks completely in their favor. It demonstrates that in caliber they belong to the great tradition of genuine revolutionary leaders, beginning with the leaders of our own American revolution.

Cuba is at present a fortress under siege by American imperialism. To offer to judge what goes on inside that fortress, without taking into account the siege, represents the utter prostration and abasement of theory. That Draper's preconceptions required him to do this is sufficient to discount his views completely.

The Cuban revolution is another link in the chain of revolutions going back to the Paris Commune of 1871 and the revolutionary upheavals of 1848. As such it has much in common with these revolutions although like all revolutions it has its own peculiarities. It offers great new lessons, above all on the pattern to be expected in other coming revolutions in Latin America. All of these revolutions, it can be predicted with absolute surety, will proceed from the bourgeois-democratic to the proletarian stage with extraordinary speed. If for no other reason, they will do this because American imperialism offers them no choice but death or permanent revolution.

\* On this see my articles, "Theory of the Cuban Revolution" in the *International Socialist Review*, Winter 1961, and "Ideology of the Cuban Revolution" in the Summer 1960 issue.

## To Be Published as Pamphlet

The above article and two preceding ones on the same topic by Joseph Hansen, together with associated material, have been scheduled for publication as a 25-cent pamphlet, *In Defense of the Cuban Revolution*. To help cover costs, send in your order early for copies. Contributions will also be appreciated. Write Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

## Birchites Picketed in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES, April 12 — In a joint action last night, the local branches of the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation and the Socialist Workers Party organized a picket-line demonstration on short notice in front of the meeting hall where Robert Welch, chief of the John Birch Society, spoke to an audience of 6,000 followers. It was Welch's first large meeting in Los Angeles. Tickets were not available to the public.

In his televised speech, the retired candy manufacturer eulogized the late Senator Joseph McCarthy and proceeded to outdo him on all points. The danger of "Communist subversion," according to Welch, comes not from the "proletariat" but from the highest

and richest circles in America. Taking a jibe at the Kennedy administration, he asserted: "I can find you a lot more Harvard accents in Communist circles in America than you can find me in overalls." He declared 2 per cent of government employes, especially those in top jobs, are communists and that 7,000 Protestant ministers were "trained communists" before being ministers.

The placard-carrying pickets outside the hall drew the attention of reporters and TV cameras. Their statements were widely broadcast and published. These denounced Welch and the John Birch Society as the core of a potentially fascist group trying to stir up anti-communist hysteria.



## Two Stevensons and One Roa

By Harry Ring

Adlai Stevenson was obviously stung to the quick in his UN debate with Dr. Raul Roa when the Cuban Foreign Minister observed that there seemed to be "two Stevensons" — the one who now tries to justify U.S. aggression against Cuba and the one who previously spoke in a liberal vein.

Stevenson countered by trying to prove there were "two Roas." He asserted that the one Dr. Roa had, in 1959, vigorously and eloquently condemned the Kremlin's crushing of the Hungarian Revolution and a Dr. Roa who now tries to whitewash the Kremlin act.

As "evidence," Stevenson did not cite any new statement by Roa but a lecture by an unidentified member of the Cuban Foreign Ministry who sought to justify the Kremlin's role in Hungary.

The actual fact is that Roa's record is completely consistent. He defended the right of the Hungarian people to self-determination. And now, ably and courageously, he is defending Cuba's right to self-determination.

The attempt to present his de-

claration on Hungary as something he has abandoned is a cheap debater's trick since Stevenson is fully aware of Roa's present diplomatic position in relation to the USSR whose current material aid is vital to Cuba's very survival. There are undoubtedly people in Cuba, as elsewhere, who would justify the smashing of the Hungarian revolution. But Stevenson has not demonstrated that Roa has accepted that view.

Even more cynical was the tortured analogy Stevenson attempted to establish — an analogy according to which the Cuban counter-revolutionary invaders and their U.S. backers are the "freedom fighters" while the Castro government, the most popular in Cuban history, is a foreign-controlled tyrant.

The real analogy between Hungary and Cuba is simple and obvious. The Hungarian revolution, in all its decisive feature, was a progressive struggle of the working people against the bureaucratic rule of their country and its status as a satellite of the USSR. They wanted national in-

dependence and socialist democracy.

Cuba, too, was a satellite — a satellite of U.S. imperialism. There, too, the workers and farmers rose in struggle, in this case victoriously, for their independence.

Now Washington is trying to accomplish in Cuba what the Kremlin did in Hungary — crush an insurgent people and restore their country to its previous satellite status. To achieve this, Cuban counter-revolutionaries and mercenaries, financed and armed by the Central Intelligence Agency, are launched against the shores of the small country.

Washington columnist Drew Pearson recently reported that President Kennedy in admiration of Stevenson's glib performances in the UN, exclaimed "That Stevenson has the nerve of a burglar." This is apparently, and quite appropriately, the ultimate in praise that the head of this administration can bestow on those who carry out its foreign policy. In his debate with Dr. Roa, Stevenson has amply demonstrated just what Kennedy meant.

## Letters from Our Readers

### How to Elect UAW Officers

Detroit, Mich.

UAW's President Walter Reuther has been getting quite a few write-ups in the corporation-controlled newspapers. Seems he's being feathered with a silk glove. The *Detroit Free Press*, for instance, ran an editorial April 12 titled, *Mr. Reuther Exhibits a Timely Generalship*. It begins: "Everybody will applaud UAW President Walter Reuther's assurance of a moderate approach in the forthcoming contract negotiations with the major automobile manufacturers."

I have found out, and most workers will agree, that diplomacy breeds collusion! Under a class-type society, under capitalism, it's a dog-eat-dog system. The temptation for personal gain is great for "porkchop opportunists" when the corporations feed the bait diplomatically by weaning the stewards and committeemen with freedom of the plant, extra overtime, promotion to supervision, etc.

The bureaucratic Internationals know about the stagnation of the local unions but are indifferent to it because they are operating in a like pattern themselves. The deterioration of most unions is inevitable in view of big business' psychological inducements to personal gain through influence and power of which money is the root of control.

Today the rank-and-file workers feel something is lost. Most of them are afraid and confused and have lost faith and interest in attending general meetings because of the long drawn-out arguments of the porkchop politicians who don't want large attendance because in unity of numbers there is strength that may not be controlled.

Walter Reuther is afraid of a constitutional change that is being pressured by a group of dedicated UAW workers for the coming convention. It calls for a *Referendum Vote* by the members to elect all international officers, including the president, instead of by the convention delegates who are largely controlled by Reuther.

That way we can screen out the unethical elements and make way for potential union leaders who demonstrate by deeds their sincerity to the labor movement. Militancy should never be destroyed or replaced by "diplomacy" as the corporations never have or never will submit to demands without the threat of strike action.

A.K.

### To Better a Crazy World

Nescopeck, Pa.

I'm with you! The *Militant* is excellent in portraying facts the bulk of the "free" press decides the public need not know. But I agree with "R.W." in his March 27 letter that your quotes from the *Times*, et al, serve to augment and in truth I've become a clipping hound.

I've saved some very interesting items, mostly the *Sunday Times*. Their Business Section is a constant source of enlightenment. It is so obvious that the dollar is the prime motivating force therein.

I'm always referring to my encyclopedia and history books. Naively thought I knew at least U.S. history from school days but I surely never realized all the "landings" our Marines made and their overextended visits.

Anyhow my prime motive is the betterment of this crazy world. Thanks to your paper maybe I'll find a way to contribute to this end.

### Thought for the Week

"Rep. Francis E. Walter, D-Pa., says the Kennedy administration has been more cooperative with the House Un-American Activities Committee than was the Eisenhower administration. Walter, chairman of the committee, has been able to obtain information previously refused it." — An April 3 AP dispatch.

Here's \$3 for my renewal (please don't let me miss a copy) and \$1.50 spare (ha!) change for your fund.

M.C.

### Why Militancy Dwindled

St. Clair Shores, Mich.

All the union papers I get seem to be running articles regretting that the workers do not have the militant spirit they had 25 or so years ago. But the only reason they offer for this is that the workers are so much better off and the younger ones don't know about conditions before the CIO began.

The fact is that around 1935, every plant that was organized had a center of dedicated socialists who knew that there was a class struggle and that it had to be won or lost. They knew the class struggle was worth fighting and dying for.

But now the leadership of the unions has been taken over by professionals and leadership has become a profession. The leadership tells the workers there is no class struggle — to say that is just a bit of red propaganda. The interests of labor and management, the leaders say, are identical. Labor supports capitalism, there is nothing wrong with the system that can't be taken care of by a three per cent increase in the next contract.

If the system is as "good" as all that and the workers are so near perfect conditions, why should they risk their lives, jobs, homes in a long strike for a three per cent raise that will be consumed by increased living costs in the first quarter?

Just how much "better off" are the workers after 25 years? We organized the CIO to "get for the worker a larger share of the product of his toil." In 1939, before the CIO negotiated its first raise, the Census Bureau reported that wages and salaries were 64 per cent of the national income. Today, wages and salaries are around 55 per cent of the national income and the proportion of the population living on wages and salaries is a lot higher than it was in 1939. The worker is getting a smaller, not larger, share of the product than he did then.

The workers have the same capacity to fight for a worthwhile purpose that they did in 1935. But the rank and file feel they have been led up a blind alley industrially and politically for a generation. Even the least educated now realize that the Dixiecrat coalition has turned the so-called two-party system into a three-way shell game.

Frank B. Tuttle

### Kennedy's Lost Horizon

Chicago, Ill.

Enclosed is money order for \$2.50. Of this \$1.25 is for a year's subscription to the *International Socialist Review*. Keep the balance for the expenses involved in publication of the *Militant*.

Would like to give more but at present am unemployed, like so many others.

Occasionally the state employment offices have jobs for a few — that is, those that still have all their teeth and are not gray around the temples. To all appearances they are after a young horse. But in 20 years these too will be discarded.

Such is life in our times. The government is all out to assist big business. Let us all wish that the New Frontier doesn't bog down and become Kennedy's Lost Horizon.

S.T.R.

### From a Reader

## If I Was a UAW Delegate

If I was a delegate to the coming UAW convention, and if I was able to get the floor, and if I only had a few minutes to speak, there are two things I'd like to say:

The problems you delegates are taking up concern not only the people still working in the shops, but also hundreds of thousands of your brothers and sisters who are unemployed through no fault of their own. Please don't forget them!

If you do, there is a terrible danger. The danger that they will feel their union has forsaken them in the time of their greatest need. The danger that they will become indifferent to the union, or hostile to it. The danger that the corporations will try to use them against the union, maybe even as strike-breakers if the union is compelled to strike this year.

If you remember the unemployed, if you take their needs into account in your program and your

organizational plans, then they can be the strong right arm of the union. With more "free time on their hands," with a bigger incentive to fight, with a greater ability to picket and demonstrate at the halls of government as well as the plant gates, they can make the difference between victory and defeat for the union's struggles.

This means that the union's program must begin with the demand that can best unite the employed and unemployed auto workers — the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. But it means much more.

It also means that you must organize the unemployed, or help them to organize themselves. That you must encourage the unemployed committees to work out their own programs and elect their own officers in democratic fashion. That you must give them a voice and the floor at all your meetings, including national conventions.

In these ways you can protect the interests of both the employed and unemployed workers.

The second thing I'd say to the delegates is this:

Don't let anybody talk you out of adopting a militant program on the ground that there is a recession this year and therefore it is a "poor climate" for collective bargaining.

Walter Reuther used this argument in 1958 to defeat the supporters of the fight for a shorter week that year. He will probably use it again this year.

But it's an alibi, a pretext for dodging a fight, not a solid argument. The biggest and most important gains the unions have won in modern times were made during the 1930's — a time of real depression. If we could make substantial gains then, we can in 1961 too.

What's needed is the will to fight, not excuses for not fighting.

## Auto Local Muffs Opportunity at Avco Corp.

NEW HAVEN — Union workers at Avco Corporation's Lycoming division in Stratford, Connecticut, convened the morning of March 28th in Loew's Poli theater and voted to accept a contract only slightly revised from one which they had completely rejected two days earlier.

Lycoming employs approximately 5,000 persons, 2,650 of whom are members of UAW Local 1010. The company is under contract to the Air Force to manufacture re-entry vehicles for the Titan, Atlas and Minuteman inter-continental ballistic missiles (ICBMs).

Some weeks earlier the negotiators for both sides reached a tentative agreement on a six-cent hourly wage increase per year and a three-cent cost-of-living increase at the end of the second year; an increase in medical payments; three days off with pay for a death in the immediate family, one day for in-laws; and severance pay of \$50 per year of employment. But the main stumbling block was the company's demands for a three-year instead of the regular two-year contract, and the elimination of the nine-year-old 10% night bonus for the second and third shifts.

On March 26, in Harding High School, the new contract was presented to the union members for ratification. The members rejected it and voted unanimously for a strike. At the midnight strike deadline, pickets were at all the

plant gates. One hour later the Air Force, anxious about its missile production, got on the company's back and demanded immediate settlement of the strike. This pressure by the Air Force put the company in a very embarrassing and untenable position.

But company officials somehow managed to convince the union leaders to call off the pickets and that they were now willing to negotiate in good faith. Removing the pickets not only took the steam out of the strike but also served to relieve the company of all pressure and to let it resume the offensive again. The result was that the company made only a few minor concessions and the union negotiating committee, except for one man, went along with apparent satisfaction.

It was in a demoralized state of mind, in the Loew's Poli theater, that the members now had to decide whether to reject or accept the contract. The contract was still much the same as the one they had already rejected. The company budgeted only on some minor alterations in fringe benefits and in keeping the night bonus, but freezing it at the present level. Many members still found the contract's duration of three years particularly objectionable. They felt it would nail the union down to recession-level wages even if the company enjoyed unprecedented prosperity during the three-year period.

Moreover, the president of Avco Corporation intimated precisely that when he publicly boasted that Stratford (meaning Lycoming) would become an important missile center. Lycoming is a highly privileged company, free of competition, subsidized by the government on a cost-plus basis, and with little taxation on equipment and plant. Its defense contracts leave nothing to be desired — quite a lucrative business.

For example: In the first nine months of 1960, earnings of Avco Corp. rose 17% on a sales gain of 9%. Earnings amounted to \$7,318,365, equal to 71 cents compared with 61 cents in 1959. Avco stockholders realized \$2,101,806 or 20 cents a share on sales of \$75,170,631. In 1959, \$2,101,806 or 20 cents on sales of \$74,810,950.

Despite all this, Fred East, the union president, argued that it was the best contract that the union could have gotten at this time because of the recession, that this is a "critically depressed area" and that the members should be glad that at least they still have jobs. There were protests from the members — quite a lot — but unfortunately the winning psychological moment had been lost. The membership was now split, which is exactly what the company wanted. Finally, after a lengthy pro and con discussion, the voting took place. The outcome, by a bare majority, was to accept the contract.



# THE MILITANT

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Monday, April 24, 1961

## First Man in Space

When Maj. Yuri Gagarin was told that the signal to blast off was about to be given, he responded from inside his space cabin with two words, "let's go."

A few minutes later, as the rocket engines cut off and he entered outer space at 17,000 miles an hour, he looked back at the earth through his port hole. The Soviet scientists observing him on television screens heard him exclaim, "How beautiful it looks!"

These were man's first words on seeing our planet from a space ship.

"The sky looked quite black," Gagarin later told reporters; "the stars are brighter and the earth had a beautiful halo . . . I had a view of the sun's rays passing through the earth's atmosphere. Close to the earth, the color was a light orange."

The opportunity for sight-seeing while floating in a state of weightlessness did not last long. The Soviet cosmonaut circled the globe and was back on ground 108 minutes after departure — a little longer than average commuting time for many workers.

The trip caught the imagination of the world. Human experience now actually includes looking back at this planet from the outside. What a remarkable ball it is! The right distance from the sun, the right amount of spin around an axis in the right direction, moderate alternating periods of sunlight and shadow, well-adjusted levels of ocean and land, a balanced atmosphere of oxygen, nitrogen and carbon dioxide — the whole remarkable combination necessary for life as we know it. How beautiful it really is!

And what millenniums of bitterly won knowledge and technological experience stand behind this 108-minute achievement of April 12! In hailing the Soviet pilot, humanity was also hailing the unrecorded geniuses among our remote ancestors who first chipped flakes from a flint and built a fire according to plan. The mind that grasped the difference between the drag and the wheel, and all the craftsmen, engineers, geometers and mathematicians of past ages were represented in a way in the Soviet space vehicle.

It was fitting that the break-through on the space frontier fell to the honor of the Soviet Union. To the great bulk of mankind, who live in poverty-stricken, backward, underdeveloped areas, it was another reminder — an exceedingly graphic reminder — that no natural law compels them to follow painfully in the footsteps of the first capitalist nations. They are not condemned to dragging in the rear forever.

Only 44 years ago Russia was one of the most backward and primitive of countries. For years it was customary in technologically advanced countries like the United States to make crude jokes about Russian peasants ruining ordinary tractors they tried to drive. How ridiculous the American ridicule of Russian know-how appears today!

The fact is — and the Soviet Union has proved it beyond all argument — that peoples still far behind capitalist levels can take over the most modern science and utilize it to leap over stages that required other countries decades and even centuries of crawling. The lessons of history speak with the greatest optimism for the future of the peoples in the underdeveloped areas.

What was the secret of the Soviet success? When the Soviet Union produced its own atomic bomb years before the militarists of the Western powers expected, they blamed it on "spies." Part of the "proof" was the electrocution of the Rosenbergs and the imprisonment of Morton Sobell.

The "spy" explanation lost even the semblance of plausibility when the Soviet Union put the first sputnik into orbit in 1957. If Russian spies stole "our secret" to a sputnik, how come the secret was never put into use by the United States?

Kennedy enviously suggests that the secret of the Soviet success was just luck in stumbling onto a new rocket fuel of enormous power. Others talk about the capacity of the Soviet Union to concentrate major efforts in a narrow field.

The real secret is the planned economy enjoyed by the Soviet Union. The Soviet people have a rational economic system to which rational science can be geared. This is the gist of the matter. The fact that the planned economy has many faults, that it could be run more efficiently and in a less costly way without a bureaucratic caste does not disprove this. It only shows what power resides in a planned economy and how much more effective it would be if it were run democratically or had available technical resources like ours.

Proletarian democracy in the Soviet Union, we acknowledge, suffered eclipse after its bright promise in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. But the long night of Stalinism, we think, is coming to an end. A country so advanced in its technology as the Soviet Union cannot long endure the retrogression it suffered in democratic forms and practices.

However, that's for the Soviet workers and peasants to decide. We have our own problems and the foremost one is America's crying need for a planned economy. Americans, too, are entitled to be able to put modern science to most effective use. "Let's go!"

# ... 'It Was an Aggression'

(Continued from Page 2)

that Fidel Castro was supported by the Government of the United States in overthrowing the Batista tyranny, I do not think it deserves comment. It is as far from the truth as the United States rockets are from the moon. Suffice it to say that the Cuban revolution was never for sale.

As can be gathered from the information and commentaries in the American Press, for a week a debate has taken place within the Government about the attitudes to be followed regarding the invasion of Cuba and its concealment. The statements of President Kennedy prove that the White House has decided to keep to form and carry out the plans of aggression of the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency. These statements became truly significant in the dawn of April 15, when pirate aircraft, flown by mercenaries in the service of the United States Government, bombed and strafed the capital of Cuba and the cities of San Antonio de los Banos and Santiago. This episode has been surrounded with singular cynicism. This is not the first time that the high regents of the empire have taken refuge in lies. The recent episode of the U-2 shows that this is an old story. It was an aggression clothed in calumny.

Official United States propaganda and officials of the United States Government stated that the attackers were members of the Revolutionary Air Force of Cuba who had rebelled against the Government and, in insubordination, had bombed and strafed the aforementioned cities before leaving Cuba.

An abominable story has been concocted about the events that took place, in order to hide the true responsibility of the Government in Washington. The names of the criminals have been concealed. The aircraft which landed in Miami and Key West were not identified. The newspapers on April 16, as with one voice, published the statement of the State Department to the effect that, if the aircraft belonged to the Castro forces, they would be returned.

The Press Secretary of the White House stated that the Government of the United States still does not know whether these military planes that landed in Miami are to be handed back. The representative of the United States announced to the Political Committee at the meeting of April 15 that the necessary orders had been given to confiscate the Cuban planes that landed in Florida, and would not be allowed to take off to return to Cuba.

To all these declarations the delegation of Cuba must reply with this statement made yesterday by Prime Minister Fidel Castro before the graves of the victims — a statement that was made to thousands of Cubans. "I can see that President Kennedy must have some atom of shame, and that if this be the case, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba before the world challenges him to present to the United Nations the pilots and planes that he said left Cuban territory."

The machinery of military invasion is already rolling. This morning the mercenary forces of the Government of the United States, coming from Florida and Guatemala, have strafed national territory in different places, and now they are carrying out all types of attacks and dogfights. World public opinion has watched these mercenaries being assisted and encouraged, paid for and revictualled . . .

The Cuban people do not stand alone. The peoples of the entire world have cherished the Cuban ideal as their own. "The cause of Cuba is their cause," as Lazaro Cardenas said when he inaugurated the conference for national sovereignty, economic independence and peace in Mexico — and this cause is invincible because it is fed by the living currents of history, and because the people do not surrender, nor are they sold. The day of imperialism is over. The dawn of the underdeveloped countries and the colonial countries has now broken, and the resplendent rays of this new dawn are visible all over the horizon.

Did the delegation of the United

States not turn a deaf ear to the reverberating joy of nationalism in Latin America? Did they become unaware of the great desire that was expressed all over Latin America from San Antonio de los Banos to the Rio Grande? Do they not know that Latin America is a great fire that is now raging for nationalism? I solemnly accuse the Government of the United States here at the Political Committee of the United Nations and in the world conscience of having unleashed a war of invasion against Cuba to take over its resources, lands, plants and transports, and bring it back to its appropriate position of a satellite of American imperialism.

The Cuban delegation accuses the Government of the United States of the international crime of aggression, and demands of the United Nations the adoption of rapid, efficient and determined measures to avoid these plans to aggression being consummated and this intervention being carried out, that we have solemnly denounced. International peace and security are in grave danger at these moments . . .

This is the mirror we hold up to the Latin American, African and Asian peoples. The imperialism of the United States is going to punish in Cuba the desires shown by the Cubans to create a progressive and independent life. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has repeatedly shown its eagerness through negotiation of a bilateral nature to settle its problems on an equal footing, and with an open agenda, and thus settle its serious differences with the Government of the United States.

The reply of the United States has basically been the same: destruction or submission. Cuba has the right to live in peace. Cuba has the right to be left in peace. But instead of letting us live in peace, the imperialist Government of the United States has exported war to us. A unanimous clamor today shakes the entire island of Cuba. It resounds in America, and reverberates in Asia and Africa.

My tiny and heroic nation is repeating and proving again, the heroic struggle of David against Goliath. A soldier of that noble cause on the battleground of international affairs, may I repeat this declaration in the serious body of the United Nations — country or death, but we shall win.

## N. Y. May Day Rally

NEW YORK — Solidarity with the Cuban Revolution and defense of its independence will be the central theme of a May Day celebration sponsored by the Socialist Workers party and Young Socialist Alliance. The celebration will be held Saturday evening, April 29, at 116 University Place.

## Letter to Our Readers About Socialist Fund

Dear Reader:

As you can see, this issue of the *Militant* has eight pages — eight pages of truth about the Cuban revolution and the counterrevolutionary attack which began with the bombing of three airports on April 15.

The counterrevolutionary council, with headquarters right here in New York, is spearheading that invasion with the financial and material help of American imperialism.

Revolutionary socialists in this country are extending themselves to the extreme of their limited resources to support the Cuban workers and their revolutionary rights. The most important weapon in the fight to help the Cuban revolution is the truth.

That is why there are eight pages in this issue of *The Militant*. That is why we are getting out a new pamphlet on Cuba. That is why we must reprint Joe Hansen's valuable pamphlet, *The Truth About Cuba*.

That is why we must send speakers throughout the country.

All this takes money — a lot of money. We couldn't afford these extra four pages but we did it anyway. We do not have the funds to publish either of the two pamphlets I mentioned, but we are going to do it anyway. Revolutionary socialists do what is necessary when it is necessary.

The truth will help the Cuban revolution. And you can help us

spread that truth. One of our contributors this week said, "I am putting my money where my mouth is," when she sent in a contribution out of her unemployment check. This is putting it as succinctly as possible. I hope a lot of you follow her advice.

Marvel Scholl, Director Fund Campaign

P.S. You can send your contribution to the Socialist Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

## Fund Scoreboard

BRANCH	QUOTA	PAID	PCT.
Boston	\$ 500	\$ 505	101%
St. Louis	90	90	100
Twin Cities	1,200	1,133	94
Detroit	625	582	93
Seattle	500	449	90
Chicago	800	675	84
Allentown	120	100	83
Connecticut	150	120	80
New York	4,400	3,319	75
Cleveland	500	362	72
Pittsburgh	10	7	70
Los Angeles	5,000	3,391	68
Milwaukee	300	194	65
San Francisco	500	315	63
Newark	150	91	61
San Diego	280	164	59
Philadelphia	300	161	54
Berkeley-Oakland	500	212	42
Baltimore	10	4	40
Denver	85	30	35
General		172	
Totals through April 17	\$16,020	\$12,076	75%



# Auto Workers CAN Win 30-Hour Week

## THE MILITANT

Monday, April 24, 1961

Price 10c

### N. Y. City Union Tops Weigh the Formation Of a Political Party

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK — Officials of the New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, and the New York City Teamsters Joint Council have set up a committee to study the formation of a labor party. The 15-man committee of the highest officials of unions having over one million members in the city, has appointed a group of lawyers to study technical aspects of putting a new party on the ballot to participate in municipal, state and national elections.

There was no official announcement about the committee's formation or plans, but its existence was acknowledged by Central Labor Council President Harry Van Arsdale, after news leaked to the press April 12. A closed session of Teamsters Joint Council 16, representing 60 locals in the area met April 11 and had given "100 percent support" to the independent labor party project, authorizing the council's president, John J. O'Rourke, to sit on the committee.

#### Sentiment Overwhelming

Van Arsdale refused to discuss details, but other members of the committee, according to the April 13 *New York Times*, said that "sentiment inside the group was overwhelmingly in favor of organizing a new party in time to participate in the municipal elections this fall."

"We feel a party in which the vote of labor and like-minded people in the community can be counted is longer overdue," the *Times* quotes an unidentified top unionist as saying. "We are sick and tired of being taken for granted, of being handed candidates we have to take without consultation and of being ignored once the balloting is over."

Another member of the committee said the group is "fed up with the Democrats' thinking we have no other place to go and the Republicans' thinking we are a tail on the Democratic kite."

Several committee members said the new party was not just for unionists but would be "a rallying ground for members of minority groups and others who shared labor's basic objectives of civic improvement."

Two major New York City unions not represented on the com-

mittee are the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the United Cap, Hat and Millinery Workers. Officials of these unions control the Liberal Party which has a line on the ballot in New York State. It endorses Democratic Party candidates for national posts but occasionally supports a Republican or independent candidate on the local level in an attempt to put pressure on the big political machines.

Whether the new labor party — if it is formed — will nominate its own candidates, independent of the corporation-controlled parties, or whether it will follow the Liberal Party course remains to be seen.

The April 16 *New York Post* interprets the new move as an attempt to save the situation for the Democrats in the coming city and state elections. Republican Governor Rockefeller has been angling for Liberal Party support and if he gets it, the *Post* reasons, a new labor party line on the ballot might "protect the possibly exposed left flank of a Democratic candidate . . ."

In any case, the union leaders who have been most closely tied to the Democratic machine — who are the ones backing the new move — recognize that their influence will be increased to the degree that they act independently.

"We are not mad at anybody," one union head told the *Times*. "We are not against the Democrats, the Republicans, the Liberals or anybody else in a specific sense. What we are against is the notion that we are a bunch of idiots, with no worthwhile ideas, whom the politicians can push around without worrying about the consequences."

#### Can Be Big Step

But it isn't going to do labor much good to get a labor party line on the ballot if it is used just to put the names of Democrats or Republican candidates there. If the new party is organized and runs its own candidates on a program frankly partisan in the interests of labor and the minorities, it will be a historic step forward. It would also quickly become the major political force in New York. In any case, the New York step is welcome news, for it contributes to a break on the part of labor from the Democratic Party machine. The movement in this direction should be encouraged on the local level. Local unions in New York can hail the development, go on record supporting the labor party idea, and call on the committee to implement it in time for the coming elections.

The members of the labor party study committee include Morris Iushewitz, secretary of the Central Labor Council, James C. Quinn, its treasurer and Peter J. Brennan, president of the Building Trades Council. Also members are top officers of three international unions: the Transport Workers Union, the Building Service Employees, and the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers.

By Albert Phillips

DETROIT — If the delegates to the special UAW convention in Detroit, April 27-29, listen to the rank and file employed and unemployed auto workers, and not to Walter Reuther, the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay can be won this year.

If looked at in a narrow, Reutherian manner, the economic climate is not favorable to substantial gains at the bargaining table or on the picket line. After months of sharply curtailed production, nearly a million cars remain unsold while hundreds of thousands of auto workers are jobless. At first glance this situation would appear to give the corporations a definite advantage in bargaining.

On the other hand, the very same situation has made millions of American workers, employed and unemployed, organized and unorganized, members of the AFL-CIO and members of all other unions, keenly aware that the 30-hour week with no reduction in pay is the only way to make a substantial dent in the rising tide of unemployment.

Everybody now knows that it is automation which is primarily responsible for the growing millions who have not been called back to work even after the ending of the three recessions that hit us in the 10-year period up to 1960.

As for the future, Prof. Walter W. Heller, chairman of Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisors, has conservatively estimated that by 1965 another 10 million will be "liberated" from their jobs, while seven million new entrants to the labor market will be hunting for work.

#### Support Is Growing

Recognition of these facts has caused a groundswell of resolutions from UAW locals calling for 30-for-40 and early retirement, among other demands. One estimate is that at least 35 per cent of the delegates are committed to such a program. *Voice of the Unemployed*, a paper put out by a rank and file committee of UAW jobless in Detroit, has added its support to the growing demand.

The same trend continues outside the UAW. The AFL-CIO's New York Central Labor Council, the National Maritime Union, the United Steelworkers, the United Rubber Workers, and even George Meany are calling for the 30-hour week, or something like it.

Outside the AFL-CIO, unions like Mine, Mill and Smelter, United Electrical and Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's are all calling for an immediate and sizable reduction of the work week. The question no longer is who is for the 30-hour week, but who, besides Walter Reuther, is against it?

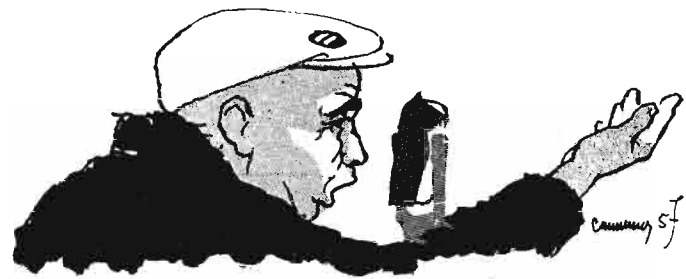
All this adds up to the following conclusion: If the convention delegates ignore Reuther's public promise to the corporations that there will be no strike, that is, that the UAW will be asking for little if anything this year, then the auto workers will have the moral and financial backing of the entire American labor movement in a fight to the finish for 30-for-40.

And that makes good sense, because if the auto workers win the 30-hour week, then the other workers will get it without too much trouble.

#### Real Help Available

This means that the UAW's puny 40-million dollar strike fund will be augmented by hundreds of millions of dollars, and not just from union treasuries. Real help will flow from the pockets of the guys in the mines, on the trucks, on the docks, on the sea and in the air. And if the fight should get really tough, help will also come from the Canadian, British and German workers, because they will have a stake in this struggle too.

Of course, even at this late date, somebody will still ask if the Big



Three can afford the 30-hour week. The facts are that the high-price, high-profit, automated policies of the corporations, aided by speedup and unchecked by the policies of the UAW brass, have guaranteed plush profits for the corporations even at times of high unemployment. That is why the Big Three were able to declare a total of \$128 million in executive bonuses for 1960, a substantial increase over the previous year.

GM is as well situated as ever, while Ford has vast surpluses to invest abroad and to buy whole plants like those of Auto-Lite Corp. As far as Chrysler is concerned, a 30-hour week would serve as an added incentive to clean out the corruption at the top, most of which remains as yet undisclosed.

#### The Political Climate

Delegates to the UAW convention will also have to consider another factor always referred to by Walter Reuther to justify his "strategy." They will recall that at previous conventions Reuther has used the presence of a Republican in the White House to beat down all demands by the ranks for a more militant program. It will be difficult for him to advance the same kind of arguments now that a Democrat is sitting in Washington.

But the fact remains that Kennedy is no more sympathetic than Eisenhower to the demands for the 30-hour week, compensation for the duration of unemployment, a big public works program at union wages, drastic cuts in taxes on workers, an effective national law to end racial discrimination in employment, and the other measures needed to combat the depression. Kennedy's so-called program, whose ultimate goal is lowering unemployment to 4 per cent, calls instead for "stabilizing" wages and cutting big business taxes to introduce more automation.

This sad situation is explained by the fact that the political policies of Reuther and his fellow AFL-CIO leaders run parallel with their policies in the area of collective bargaining. That is, instead of mobilizing the workers and their natural allies among the Negro people, working farmers, professionals and small businessmen for independent political action, they offer a blank check to the Democratic Party.

And since the labor movement appears to have no place else to go, unlike the Dixiecrats, its demands are always more or less politely and diplomatically ignored by the Democrats.

#### Beneficial Results

Nevertheless, militant action for a 30-hour week by the auto workers, backed up by the rest of the labor movement, is bound to have important repercussions in Congress. At a minimum it would result in greater congressional interest in shorter week bills among types like Sen. McNamara of Michigan, who dropped his proposed 30-hour bill in 1959 because of lack of support from the UAW.

American labor history proves that any favorable action from Congress is always preceded by independent and militant battle by the unions on their own behalf. That is how the 8-hour day was won, and the 40-hour week. And that is how it will continue to happen until the American unions follow the lead of our Canadian brothers and organize a labor party.

If Walter Reuther succeeds in convincing the convention to wait for Kennedy to act, there will be a long and hungry time ahead. If the delegates decide to act, and to go to the rest of the labor movement for support in the struggle for the 30-hour week and the other imperative demands, then the auto workers will win in 1961 and show the way to the world.

## Reuther's New Gimmick

After a long search Walter Reuther has come up with his gimmick to keep the United Auto Workers from making the fight for a shorter work week its major demand in contract negotiations this year. It is a proposal that production workers be paid an annual salary, like office workers, instead of an hourly wage.

The proposal is different, but the aim and method are the same that Reuther used at the special bargaining convention of the UAW three years ago. At that time the union stood committed, by a previous convention decision, to the demand for a shorter week in the 1958 contract negotiations.

With great fanfare Reuther introduced his famous "profit-sharing" plan as the panacea for the problems of the auto workers who then, as now, were badly hit by unemployment. The shorter week demand was shelved.

Once that was accomplished, the great "profit-sharing" scheme had served its major purpose. Reuther barely brought it up in the subsequent negotiations with the corporations, and then it was allowed to sink quietly out of sight. The contract signed that year produced fewer gains than any in UAW history.

So it should not be surprising if many auto workers are unenthusiastic or suspicious about Reuther's new proposal. They have had

enough experience with Reuther to know that he often raises such schemes in order to divert attention from the most pressing needs of the workers. They know also that he is ready to trade away hard-won working conditions in return for minor concessions dressed up with fancy labels.

Auto workers have every reason to be bitterly dissatisfied with the present hourly-wage system, which subjects them to economic uncertainty and distress. They will fight gladly for an arrangement that would provide them with a measure of economic stability and a chance to do some planning with an assured yearly income.

But that's just the point — a decent annual pay plan is something that can be won only through a determined fight against the corporations. And Reuther's obvious intention in raising the issue now is to avoid a serious fight with the corporations, such as the shorter week demand would result in. Reuther has made absolutely no preparation for a serious fight. In fact he has virtually given the corporation a pledge to try to avoid any strike this year.

Unless it decides to fight, and prepares to fight, and seeks the aid of the whole labor movement for its fight, the UAW isn't going to win much this year, whatever demands it chooses.

(See P. 6 for letters from readers)

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