

THE MILITANT

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Military Dictatorship Aims At Keeping Korea Divided

By Fred Halstead

The May 16 military coup in South Korea appears to have been aimed at stopping a growing popular movement for unification with North Korea. The military junta — calling itself the Supreme Council for National Reconstruction — has decreed martial law, dissolved all trade unions, political parties, student social clubs, farmers' and fishermen's organizations. It has imposed a seven-day work week and is completely censoring press and radio. It has announced the arrest of over 2,000 "political suspects" and hundreds of "hoodlums."

"Reports reaching Washington indicated that the military clique had begun jailing liberals generally and newspaper editors in particular," writes the May 21 *New York Post*. "Although the rebels were without a doctrine, every sign indicated that their leanings were toward the extreme right."

Chief of the military regime, General Chang Do Young, declared that "leftists" would be "properly dealt with after careful

investigation with regard to student unification movements."

Twelve days before the militarists' rebellion a group of Seoul University students had issued a call for "a students' conference as soon as possible for accomplishing unification of the fatherland" as the "only way out" of South Korea's economic and social collapse.

After 15 years of U.S. military occupation and more than \$4.5 billion in U.S. military and economic "aid," South Korea's economy is still in a blind alley and its per capita income a miserable \$60 a year. Farmers, using primitive agricultural methods, still work for landlords and usurers. They face mass starvation this year before the June wheat harvest is in. Seoul's major "industries" are prostitution and black-marketing of U.S. military supplies. Unemployment is heavy and chronic; students face jobless futures.

Toppled Rhee

These conditions sparked the student uprising of April 1960 which toppled Syngman Rhee. But the government of Premier John M. Chang, which followed, made no basic changes. The problem is that South Korea needs a thoroughgoing social revolution which would involve the workers and peasants in the reconstruction of the country is their own interests. Revolutionary sentiment for this was building up in 1949 but U.S. military intervention the next year, and the long war which followed, smashed that movement and riveted the counter-revolutionary dictatorship of Syngman Rhee on South Korea. The continuing U.S. occupation maintains the landlords, capitalists, corrupt politicians and militarists in power despite the hatred of the masses.

Basing itself on its power of command over the 600,000-man army built up and maintained by the U.S., the new military regime claims it will undertake the task of restoring social order and constructing a viable economy for South Korea, all the while keeping the workers and peasants from making a social revolution. Its promise cannot be achieved. But its methods are clear: exercise of naked military force against the entire population.

Marxist Study Fund Attacked by HUAC

A new attack on academic freedom has been made by the House Committee on Un-American Activities which opened a probe and public vilification of the Fund for Social Analysis, an informal private association for the encouragement of research into questions of Marxist theory and its application.

The House committee has issued subpoenas to members of the awards committee of the Fund and to a number of the scholars who have received grants-in-aid to assist them in completing specific study projects. The probes are also demanding a list of the Fund's donors, of rejected applications, etc.

Members of the awards committee included: Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, literary critic; Russ Nixon, legislative representative of the United Electrical Workers; Barrows Dunham, philosopher; Harry Magdoff and Irving Kaplan.

The House committee's red-baiting attack was branded by members of the Fund's awards committee as "aimed directly at the liberty of thought and right to knowledge which are basic for all academic freedom."



Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein

Bus Freedom Riders Spark New Drive on Jim Crow

By George Lavan

MAY 24 — Alabama's howling, bloodthirsty, white-supremacist mobs, wielding lead pipes, baseball bats, slugging, kicking and stomping, could not defeat them. The threats of blustering, cowardly Governor Patterson, his openly giving the go-ahead signal to the hoodlums of the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils, could not deter them. The unconcealed collaboration of the Birmingham and Montgomery police with the racist gangs waiting at the bus stations and burning with lynch-fever could not turn them back.

The heroic Negro students of the South and the small band of their white comrades-in-arms in the fight against segregation, now known throughout the world as the Freedom Riders, have won the day.

Beaten to the ground, they rose to bind their wounds and travel on. Those too badly injured have been replaced by hundreds of volunteers streaming now into Montgomery from college campuses all over the South. Their determination to exercise the freedom to travel unsegregated, utilizing all facilities in interstate bus stations — rights "guaranteed" by the U.S. Constitution, Supreme Court and Interstate Commerce Commission, has left a trail of bloodstains on the highways through Anniston, Birmingham and Montgomery, Alabama. Nonetheless, the Freedom Riders have bought their tickets and got on buses which will go through Mississippi and Louisiana.

Birmingham Police Chief "Bull" (Continued on Page 2)



Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth (left) of Birmingham, Ala. He helped organize Freedom Riders for Birmingham to Montgomery leg of trip. Show here with friends after racists bombed his home Christmas, 1956.

Tractors for Cuba — Fact and Fiction

By Harry Ring

MAY 23 — The continuing torrent of lying anti-Cuban propaganda is now being used to falsify the real nature of Premier Castro's offer involving the invasion prisoners and U.S. tractors.

Blandly ignoring the facts, U.S. propaganda media are picturing the Castro proposal as "ransom," "blackmail" and "inhuman barter." The impression is also conveyed that if the negotiations are not carried through the prisoners will be killed.

What are the facts?

• The charges of "ransom" and "blackmail" are intended to suggest that the prisoners are innocent men being illegally held captive. The world knows they are counter-revolutionaries and mercenaries financed by Washington to invade Cuba in violation of the laws of both countries.

• Despite their attempt to smash the Cuban revolution with bombs and bullets, Castro appealed to the embittered Cuban people April 27 to accept his proposal to treat the prisoners with mercy.

In his remarkable television interview and discussions with the prisoners that day, Castro said: "It is difficult for the people to understand why severe penalties

should not be applied. There is horror over those who have fallen, there are many orphans, there is hatred — I have not invented these feelings."

Yet, he continued, he felt it would "sully" the revolution to execute prisoners with the possible exception of Batista henchmen captured in the invasion who had previously committed murders. He said the prisoners would be expected to do reconstruction labor.

• On May 17 Castro announced that if the U.S. desired the return of its "freedom fighters" it could have them by making reparation for the damage caused by the invasion. The indemnification was set not in dollars or guns but in "weapons" of construction — 500 tractors.

• To eliminate obstacles to negotiations, the 1,241 prisoners were permitted to elect their own ten-man negotiating team.

• The cost of the tractors is "outrageous" — \$20 million according to press estimates. (Walter Reuther put the figure at about \$2 million.) In any event it will be interesting to see if any of those concerned with the high cost of indemnification will express sim- (Continued on Page 3)

Farm Migrant Gets \$12.31 for 142 Hours

There are more migrant farm workers in this country than auto or steel workers or workers in any other single industry. Yet these workers have no union contracts, they are not covered by the National Labor Relations Act nor federal minimum-wage legislation. In short, the labor market is completely "free" in agriculture.

The results could be briefly glimpsed at a hearing conducted by a House Education and Labor subcommittee May 19 in New York City.

Fermin Lopez, a Puerto Rican migrant laborer employed on a New Jersey asparagus farm, wept on the witness stand as he described his failure to earn enough money since coming to the U.S. eight years ago to send for his family. He showed the subcommittee his pay envelopes for four

weeks, totalling \$12.31 take-home pay for 142 hours work. He had never been paid more than 80 cents an hour and after deductions for room and board, he always ended up with virtually nothing or in debt.

He also told how a guard at a migrant camp in Glassboro, N. J., had recently beaten him with a club. This story was confirmed the next day by Joseph Monserrat, chief of the migration division of the Puerto Rican Department of Labor, who had personally investigated the case. Monserrat said the guard had been "reprimanded" but is still employed at the camp. He further pointed out that Lopez still owes his employer \$24.36 for transportation dating back to 1958.

Lopez's case happened to come before the subcommittee because he and other migrants wrote a letter to its chairman, Rep. Her-

bert Zelenko, asking help in collecting some back wages owed them.

Two women migrants testified that they worked on Long Island as potato graders for 17 hours a day, six days a week, and that after deductions for board, etc., they never netted more than \$18 a week and usually not more than \$3 to \$8 in cash. Another woman worker, identified only as "a crew leader in the area of Riverhead, Long Island," refused to testify because of threats made to her if she did.

Clarence H. Fields, executive secretary of the New Jersey Farm Bureau, assured the subcommittee there was nothing to worry about because automation on the farm would eventually solve the migrant-labor problem by eliminating such workers.

Socialist Nominees Rap Detroit Mayor



Sarah Lovell

DETROIT, May 21 — "The present city government concerns itself with the needs of the corporations, and not the pressing problems of unemployment, high taxes, discrimination and police brutality that beset the workers and Negroes of Detroit," Sarah Lovell, socialist candidate for city council, charged today as she opened her campaign with speeches at meetings of UAW Local 3 and Local 227.

"That is why," she continued, "the crowd that now runs City Hall should be ousted and replaced by an independent slate of candidates sponsored and controlled by labor and Negro organizations."

Her running mate for mayor, Robert Himmel, launched his campaign two days ago, at the Friday Night Socialist Forum, with a review of the Miriani administration's four-years of broken promises to the workers and Negroes.

Himmel and Mrs. Lovell, the first two candidates to file in this campaign, are both endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party. The primary election will be held Sept. 12.

Which Name: "Afro-American" or "Negro"? —Sally Forester—

By George Breitman

The Militant believes that the Negro people have the right to choose their own group name and to be called by that name with the same respect as any other people.

The difficulty is that they disagree about which name should be used.

Some, including the best fighters against racial oppression, prefer the word Negro. Others dislike that word and prefer colored or black. In recent years, partly because of pride in the militancy and achievements of the new African nations, support has also grown for the word Afro-American.

The Militant is willing to use any or all of these terms, and uses them without any connotation or intention of insult, derision or condescension. But it will not use any of them exclusively until a significant section of the Negro people themselves decide upon a single term.

Accepted Usage

If in the meantime The Militant continues to use the word Negro most of the time, it will be in the same way and for the same reason that it has in the past — because it is the most commonly accepted usage in most Negro, labor and radical circles. This was true in the 1920's at the height of the Universal Negro Improvement Association led by Marcus Garvey; it was true in the 1930's when the National Negro Congress was founded; it is true today, with such organizations as the Negro American Labor Council. Almost all Negro newspapers use it too.

A different attitude is taken by Richard B. Moore, chairman of the Committee to Present the Truth About the Name "Negro," and author of the book, *The Name Negro — Its Origin and Evil Use*. (Afro-american Publishers, 141 W. 125th St., New York 27. 1960. 83 pages. \$1.)

Moore believes that Negro is a degrading and demeaning word, whose usage hampers and holds back the struggle for equality, and that the proper word is Afro-american (his spelling). As he says, the name Negro was not chosen by the people to whom it was applied; it was imposed on them by their oppressors (this was the case with the American Indians too).

Origin

Taken from the Portuguese and Spanish languages, it originally meant black, and at first was used purely for description, without invidious overtones. But with the development of the African slave trade, when dark-skinned people were torn from their homes and transported overseas into the degrading condition of slavery, the word Negro began, as Moore correctly points out, to have an invidious meaning, the equivalent of slave.

What Moore does not see, how-

Objects to Word "Negro"

New York, N. Y.

I know that *The Militant* has a long and consistent record of fighting against all forms of Jim Crow segregation and discrimination. I know that the U.S. government persecuted your paper during World War II partly because you advocated continuation of the struggle against Jim Crow at a time when other radical groups, like the Communist Party, said we should give up or tone down this struggle until after the war.

But do you know that there are many people and groups that object to the word "Negro," which you use in your paper? Do you know about the recent book on this subject by Richard B. Moore?

They say, and I tend to agree with them, that "Negro is a slaveholders' term for people of African origin; that it is not the black people's own name for themselves; that it is insulting and degrading; that it should be rejected by all believers in equality; and that it should be replaced by the more appropriate and dignified term "Afro-American."

If you know about these charges and sentiments, why do you continue to use the offensive word "Negro"? If you know about them, why don't you change your usage?

Afro-American Reader

ever, is that with the abolition of slavery the word continued to undergo changes of meaning. For many people it stopped being a derogatory word — and this includes some of the staunchest opponents of white supremacy, like Frederick Douglass, Marcus Garvey, W. E. B. DuBois, etc.

Moore equates Negro with truly offensive words like "nigger," and treats them as if they are the same. But they aren't the same, and aren't intended to be by most peo-

ple. Whatever may have been true in slave days, there are different intentions behind these two words today.

I can cite my own experience to demonstrate this. I attended mixed grammar and high schools; I was drafted into a lily-white unit in the army; I have lived in big New Jersey and Michigan cities most of my life, but I also spent a year in rural Alabama. In all that time and in all those places I have never heard white men or women, when

Witch-Hunters Smear Fair Play Leaders

They said it couldn't be done. But the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has plumbed new depths of shamelessness. The Eastland gang set the new record low in its May 16 attack on the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Conducting the smear-hearing was Senator Thomas J. Dodd, the Eastland of Connecticut. Object of the inquisition was Richard Gibson, acting executive secretary of FPCC. The witch hunters got as little satisfaction from their efforts to prove Fair Play a "Communist operation" financed by "Cuban gold" this time as when they had Gibson before them several weeks ago. Indeed, he gave them a large dossier, culled from the U.S. press, of the violation of

U.S. laws by Central Intelligence chief Allen Dulles and demanded that they investigate him.

Earlier in the day, Gibson and Fair Play counsel Stanley Faulkner had presented a duplicate dossier to the head of the Criminal Division of the Justice Department and demanded Dulles' indictment for the financing, arming and launching of the Cuban invasion army.

To the demand that he turn over the Fair Play membership list, Gibson stated that, precisely to prevent its members from being harassed by witch hunters, his organization kept no membership list.

Unable to draw testimony to its liking from Gibson, the smear

they wanted to express contempt for Negroes, use the word Negro. What such people use invariably is "nigger," "darky," etc. Surely there is significance in the fact that Southern racists dislike the word Negro and insist on deliberately mispronouncing it, when they have to use it, so that it sounds like "Nigrah."

On the other hand it has always been my experience that white people who respect Negroes, or who are "neutral" about them, tend most of the time when speaking among whites to use the word Negro, or colored.

Moore is aware of the early evolution of the word, and he understands correctly that the intentions behind a word are important. But he neglects the more recent evolution of the word, and completely ignores the intentions behind its current usage.

I mention these differences with Moore not because socialists have any special interest in defending the word Negro. We haven't. But we see no reason to give up this and other words that are generally accepted by the best fighters against racism, until a substantial section of the Negro people indicates its preference for another word.

Meanwhile, we hope and urge that all anti-Jim Crow groups, even if they disagree on certain words, will work together for the most important goal — the immediate and complete abolition of all forms of racial oppression and second-class citizenship.

By Louise Manning

LOS ANGELES — After a long illness, Sally Forester died of cancer on May 13. Sally was 50 years old but if the meaning of life is gauged not by years, but by full participation in the struggle of ideas and ideals, she lived a long and full life.

In 1957 after the Khrushchev revelations, Sally, who had been an active member of the Communist Party for many years, was drawn to the Socialist Workers Party. When she became convinced of the betrayal by Stalinism, she was at a mature period of her life and had given the CP many years of hard work, but it was not like Sally to sustain vain and useless regrets. She came into the SWP and, to the very end, maintained her confidence in the socialist future of mankind.

In a quiet and unassuming manner, Sally was able to infuse others with much of her courage and steadfastness of purpose. Her courage was not shown in bold or dramatic actions, but in the fabric of her life pattern. It was shown in the daily, constant rank-and-file activity, in her determination to be of use to the party despite physical barriers. During the last part of her illness, when she had lost the sight of one eye and her movements were seriously impaired, she was still helping with mailings, correspondence and other tasks. When she could no longer attend classes, she would request tape recordings of them and insist on paying the usual fee.

Sally was undoubtedly one of the most liked and respected SWP members in Los Angeles. Her warmth and charm immediately set those around her at ease, breaking down barriers which make it so difficult to achieve a real friendship in our contemporary society. Throughout the bitter course of her illness, she always tried to cheer others. We shall always remain grateful to her.

Walkers for Peace Arrive in New York

NEW YORK — The San Francisco-to-Moscow peace walkers arrive here May 28. A selected team will emplane from Idlewild for London to complete the 6,500-mile pacifist demonstration sponsored by the Committee for Non-Violent Action.

The walkers, who have trekked some 4,000 miles already, will hold a number of New York demonstrations to which all are invited. Their schedule is: May 28, 9:30 a.m. arrival and welcome at 181st St. and Ft. Washington Ave., parade to United Nations via Columbus Circle; May 29, 4:30 p.m., two-hour vigil at Madison Square Park, 8 p.m. public meeting Community Church; May 31, departure — walk from UN to Idlewild. For information, phone WA 5-9415.

Bill Collectors Busy

During 1960 the average claim turned over to bill collectors increased from \$56.78 to \$62.67. The total volume of debt claims was up seven per cent.

Freedom Riders Spark

(Continued from Page 1)

O'Connor thought that giving the KKK hoodlums a free hand to attack the Freedom Riders upon their arrival May 14 would end the integrationist expedition then and there. But the badly injured riders were soon replaced by students from Nashville, Tenn. World attention focused on them as they waited with Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham's courageous rights fighter, in the bus station. This forced Washington to warn Alabama officials. Police jailed, then deported the Freedom Riders back to Tennessee. Next day they were back in the Birmingham bus station. To rid the city of them, they were permitted on May 20 to board buses for Montgomery.

There Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan, despite Alabama officials' promises to Washington, repeated the Birmingham tactic. The police were kept away from the bus station for a quarter-hour after the integrationists' arrival. The young travelers were beaten with fists and clubs into insensibility, then stomped on by the racist mob. Reporters, news photographers and mere bystanders who expressed pity were savagely beaten. Negro passers-by were attacked. In one instance, four such men were beaten to the ground

and stomped. One's leg was broken; inflammable liquid was poured on another and a match put to him.

Late-arriving Police Commissioner Sullivan and his guardians of law and order calmly surveyed the carnage which continued for two hours, arrested several suspected integration sympathizers and prevented the unconscious and bleeding victims of the mob from getting medical attention. When a reporter suggested that a semi-conscious victim, who had been bleeding for two hours, be given medical attention, Sullivan snapped, "He hasn't requested it."

The racist mob, emboldened by support from city and state officials, was consumed with such blood-lust the next night that it besieged the church where Rev. Martin Luther King and Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth were addressing a mass meeting. Only a cordon of hundreds of civilian-garbed U.S. marshals kept the racists from invading the church. Gov. Patterson declared martial law and towards dawn the Negro audience was allowed to go home.

The Alabama national guard is no protection for Negroes. Federal martial law and drastic enforcement of Negroes' rights, not temporary and limited use of U.S. marshals, is what is required.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

Kennedy's First 100 Days — Promises and Results. Speaker: Frank Lovell, state chairman, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 2, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

Vincent R. Dunne discusses Labor and Politics in the Mayoralty Election. Sat., June 3, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Ausp. Twin Cities Labor Forum.

PHILADELPHIA

Robert F. Williams Speaks Out on Cuba. Town Hall, Broad and Race Streets, Sunday, May 28, 8:30 p.m. Donation \$1. Auspices: Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Socialist news commentary, Theodore Edwards, chairman, Southern Calif. SWP. Fri., June 2, 7:45 p.m. FM Station KPFK, 90.7 on your dial.

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Monday, May 29, 1961

"Quotation of the Day"

As its May 23 "Quotation of the Day," the *New York Times* offered this thought about the anti-Negro attacks in Alabama from a *Birmingham News* editorial: "The people of Alabama and the people of the South want to know why it isn't just as important to stop those who provoke violence as it is to stop those who commit violence."

In an editorial of its own the previous day, the *Times* "explored" the Alabama events and then described the Freedom Riders as "in deliberate defiance of state laws" and as contributing to the situation "an element of incitement and provocation . . ."

You see, if the Negro people and their white allies would simply yield their constitutional rights then no one would try to take those rights away from them.

A Poor Criticism

One of the reasons Negroes are suffering racist attacks today, said Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, on a television program May 21, is that large numbers of them don't bother to register to vote and thereby lose a strong weapon in the rights fight.

We don't think Southern Negroes who have carried on a militant struggle — often at the risk of life and limb — for the right to vote will be particularly impressed by Wilkins' point.

But there is an additional problem involved too. Here is a case in point. Montgomery, Ala., Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan has played a particularly odious role in the racist attack on the Freedom Riders and local Negro citizens. (See story page 1).

Yet Sullivan was elected with support from the civil-rights movement, the Montgomery Improvement Association. Argument in favor of voting for him was that the incumbent was the worst possible and that Sullivan would be a lesser evil.

In our opinion, instead of berating the Negro community for not exercising its ballot rights, Wilkins and other leaders should be thinking in terms of providing them with a meaningful choice when they do manage to fight their way to the polling booth.

With independent candidates of their own choice instead of major party "lesser evils" there would be no problem of turning out the Negro vote.

A Brazen Lie

One of the smear arguments being circulated against Cuba is that Castro's tractor reparation proposal is like the offer Hitler made during World War II to exchange Hungarian Jewish prisoners for trucks.

This is a lying comparison.

The captured counter-revolutionaries landed on Cuban soil at their own risk to carry out an act of war. They are legitimate prisoners of war.

The Jewish prisoners held by Hitler were innocent civilians, not soldiers.

The tractors wanted by the Cubans are not instruments of war. The trucks Hitler sought were for war-time purposes.

Trapped by its own propaganda buildup about the "heroic" Cuban prisoners, Washington is reluctant to veto the Cuban offer.

But the Hungarian Jews were apparently considered expendable. Hitler never got the trucks.

If there is a comparison to Hitlerism in Cuban-U.S. relations it lies in the criminal attempt to re-establish imperialist domination over that small country by brute force.

That was how Hitler overran Europe.

The Pablo-Santen Trial

In the May 15 *Militant* we reported on the case of Michel Raptis, better known by his pen name "Pablo," and Sal Santen, European Trotskyist leaders who were framed up and jailed in Holland. The Dutch authorities have now announced that their trial will begin June 21, 1961. By then, Pablo and Santen will have been in prison for over a year without a trial. This is unprecedented in Holland and is, in itself, testimony to the power of the French secret police who are responsible for the frame-up.

Since these men are being prosecuted solely because of their assistance to the Algerian liberation struggle, they deserve the support of all progressive movements throughout the world. Workers' organizations and individuals should take advantage of this latest postponement of the trial's opening to send cables demanding the release of Pablo and Santen, that their trial be public, and that they be acquitted.

The cables, to be transmitted to the presiding judges, should be addressed: M. Roger Foirier, 89 ru Rouget de l'Isle, Suresnes (Seine), France. Copies should be sent to: Maitre Cammelbeeck, Kievitlaan 10, Eindhoven, Holland.

Two Sides of the Soviet Reality

By W. F. Warde

Recent reports throw light on two important, though extremely contradictory, aspects of Soviet development. One deals with the economic growth of the USSR. The other with the repressive policies of the Khrushchev regime.

Soviet economic advances this past decade were summarized by American experts meeting at Princeton early in May in four statements.

(1) Between 1950 and 1960 total Soviet production probably doubled.

(2) Soviet industrial output grew even more rapidly.

(3) Soviet agricultural production increased well over 50 per cent.

(4) The Soviet standard of living has probably been raised about two-thirds.

The contrast between Soviet dynamism and U.S. stagnation is being hammered out in steel, the basic material of modern industry. During the first three months of this year, for the first time in history, Soviet mills produced almost as much steel as the American. Shut down or weighed down by economic recession, U.S. steel output fell to 19,700,000 tons — about 40 per cent less than the year before. Soviet production mounted to 17,300,000 tons.

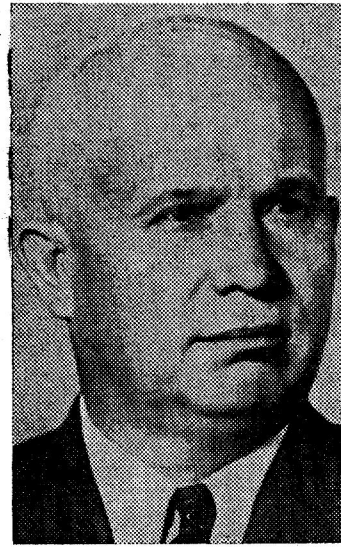
Decrees

While the Princeton scholars were alerting capitalist circles to these economic gains of the USSR, the Supreme Soviet issued several harsh decrees against its own citizens. One imposed the death penalty for those convicted of large-scale embezzlement of state property. Another provided exile in forced labor camps for those charged with loafing, drunkenness, speculation and other types of antisocial behavior. One woman has already been given the maximum five-year sentence under this law for "categorically refusing to work" and "living an antisocialist parasitic life."

At the same time Premier Khrushchev again notified Soviet intellectuals that his government and the Communist party intend to maintain their stranglehold on the arts, music, literature and related fields of creative activity. He warned them not to step beyond officially permitted bounds of expression.

Socialists have always regarded individual offenses against property as the products of poverty, inequality and greed. Capital punishment has been abolished in a number of capitalist countries. Now the Soviet government has revived this penalty for purely "economic crimes."

It is both understandable and justifiable when a small country



Khrushchev

like Cuba in the throes of revolutionary transition and civil war must resort to the death penalty against counter-revolutionary agents aiming to overthrow the new order. But why must the powerful Soviet Union have to do so 44 years after its revolution? Even the blindest follower of Khrushchev must be troubled by this anomaly.

How can such savage legislation be reconciled with the imposing advances not only in economic life but in science, education and social services? Or with the official dogma that the Soviet Union has achieved socialism and is on the way to the higher stage of communism?

Inequities

These new decrees demonstrate that, although it is fast outpacing capitalism in a number of fields, the Soviet Union is still very far from socialism. Socialism means high living standards for everyone, freedom, democracy and social harmony. It requires an end to deprivations, inequalities and state compulsions. If the Soviet state is obliged to punish its own citizens so severely for crimes against property, rather than committing them to medical care, then Soviet society is obviously subject to agonizing economic inequities and social conflicts.

Thanks to state ownership of the means of production and planned economy, the structure of Soviet economy is growing very fast. Centralized planning in steel, for example, boosted capacity eight per cent over a year ago.

But over-all production, especially in light industry and still more in agriculture, remains inadequate to assure the necessities, not to speak of the comforts, of life to all people in equal or satisfying measure. The upper layers of Soviet society, protected by the

bureaucracy, have been the chief beneficiaries of the progress to date. Many of the large-scale embezzlers are among them, while the small fry, pinched by deprivation, engage in petty thievery. The punitive measures are directed against both categories.

As extra precaution, the heads of the state feel constrained to warn dissident intellectuals, who may be impelled to speak out against abuses, to keep their lips buttoned. Is not skepticism warranted when Khrushchev boasted on May 12 that "we are the freest of the free people in the world"?

Many radicals are so swept away by the recent Soviet achievements that they shut their eyes to these ugly features — and wish that others, like ourselves, would keep quiet about them. They hope that the bureaucracy will in time gradually and benevolently erase them without independent struggle by the Soviet masses. There are others who see only these crimes of the regime and disregard the importance of the superiority of the planned economy over capitalist profiteering and anarchy.

Contradictions

Neither position serves the cause of socialism. It is necessary to see and acknowledge the contradictory characteristics of changing Soviet society which are primarily explained by the opposition between its economic base and its political superstructure. The foundations of Soviet economy were created by the Russian workers in their great revolution of 1917; its prevailing political system is the product of the bureaucratic degeneration of that revolution under Stalinism.

Stalin's successors may have softened his despotism somewhat but they have kept its main supports intact. The job of restoring Soviet democracy and realizing socialism still faces the Soviet workers, peasants and intellectuals.

French Labor Fights DeGaulle's 'Austerity'

French labor is standing up to President Charles deGaulle's program of austerity for the poor. A half million rail, gas and electric workers went on a one-day strike May 18 demanding wage increases from the government. It was the second strike by French civil service workers in nine days.

DeGaulle answered with a decree authorizing ministers to issue "requisition" orders in the event of new walkouts. Such orders mean workers may be fined or jailed for refusing to stay on the job. The civil service unions have decided to go ahead with plans for a 24-hour general strike involving one million workers June 6 in spite of deGaulle's decree. All three labor federations, Communist, Socialist and Catholic, are supporting the strike.

The government has been breaking promises of wage increases for the "public sector" for years and wages for these workers have lagged behind cost of living increases.

...Tractors for Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

ilar shock about the admitted \$45 million spent by the CIA on the invasion. This undoubtedly phoney low figure was given to a Foreign Relations subcommittee by Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who had "informally" approved the invasion.

• As an alternative for the suddenly righteous U.S. spokesmen who expressed pretended horror at the idea of "materialistically" bartering men for tractors, Castro offered to exchange the invaders for political prisoners held here and in Latin America.

Among such political prisoners he specified Pedro Albizu Campos and Francisco Molina.

Albizu, aged and partially paralyzed, remains in jail for his activity in behalf of Puerto Rican independence.

Molina was railroaded to prison after a gang of armed counter-revolutionary Cubans from Miami, went into a New York restaurant, known as a center for pro-Castro

Cubans, and began a fight in which a ten-year-old Venezuelan girl was killed. One of the men captured in the Cuban invasion has admitted he gave perjured testimony against Molina.

The facts of the indemnification proposal show that justice and humane considerations are on the side of the Cubans. Those concerned with the "moral" issue would do well to look closer to home.

Last week, for example, 132 attorneys sent a brief to Kennedy charging that U.S. sponsorship of the invasion breached federal and international law. One of the signers, Arthur Larson, former U.S. Information Agency director, declared in an accompanying letter:

"If the Cuban invasion is not instantly recognized and condemned as the worst setback to law in our international relations in this century, I am afraid there is a danger of the world rule of law movement beginning to look like a façade."

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BOOK REVIEW

A Philosopher Views Cuba

SARTRE ON CUBA. By Jean-Paul Sartre. 160 pp. New York: Ballantine Books, 1961, 50¢.

This is a series of articles written for the Paris *France-Soir* last year. They were translated into Spanish at the time and printed in Cuba in *Revolución*, newspaper of the July 26 Movement. They were made available to the Portuguese-speaking world last September in *Furacão Sobre Cuba*, a book published in Rio de Janeiro. Ballantine Books, which published C. Wright Mills's *Listen, Yankee* in paperback edition, is to be congratulated on now making Sartre's account of his visit to Cuba available in English in a similar low-priced edition.

Although the impressions of France's famous Existentialist philosopher and playwright have lost something of their impact, in view of subsequent developments, they nevertheless still provide most valuable insights into the Cuban revolution and its leadership. The vividness of Sartre's writing should help English-speaking readers who have never been to Cuba get a better feel of the island, its people and its economic and social problems.

The description of what sugar production means to Cuba is especially good. "A field of sugar cane, in my opinion, is not exactly gay," Sartre writes. "All the gradations of green—dark green, acid green, cabbage green, coarse green, blue green—assault the observer as far as the eye can reach."

He takes us into the giant sugar mill situated in the green cane. "At the entrance, all is confusion: ox-drawn carts, trucks, pour out stalks onto a rolling belt. A jostling, disordered fall of greenish and dirty branches; whirlpools of flies plunge after them, into the ditch, and the belt lifts all the verdure toward the first metamorphosis, toward the set of iron teeth which will pulverize it."

Inside the factory in the tropical heat, standing beside a furnace, he watched the transformation of the sap. "I saw the evaporation of the liquid, the pasty waves of the molasses. At the bottom of a vat, a spinning disc utilized centrifugal force for a last sorting. At the end, men were loading into bags humid, brown crystals which didn't shine."

More than the heat, it was the odor that overwhelmed Sartre, "an odor of beasts, as if the sugar was at one and the same time a sap and a wool grease. It didn't leave me for the whole day, stuck in my nostrils, at the base of my mouth, sweetening the meat, rice, cigarettes, even my pipe."

From the mill, Sartre takes us

into the role of sugar in the island's economy, politics, relation to U.S. imperialism. We thus move from what immediately hits our senses in the most palpable way to complexes of relationships that require intricate abstractions and an advanced ideology to be correctly understood.

Sartre's articles offer a bridge between these two poles—experience and generalization. When they appeared last year they played a part in the development of the revolution to higher consciousness of itself.

Sartre often offers striking observations. Here is a typical example: "Underdevelopment must not be defined as a simple deficiency of the national economy. It is a complex relationship between a backward country and the great powers that have maintained it in this backward condition. The semi-colony, delivered from its chains, again finds itself in its misery facing an irritated former mother country... Simply, underdevelopment is a violent tension between two nations—the amount of tension is measured in the backwardness of the one in relation to the other."

Sartre and his wife, Simone de Beauvoir, accompanied Castro and

his companions on a tour of inspection that culminated in a brief rest at the Ciénaga vacation center. The reactions of the sensitive French artist to the great swamp are amusing. He lacks the appreciative eye of a fisherman or duck hunter. But he did take to the primitive barracks in which the party stayed, with the opportunities it offered for free and relaxed talk.

Sartre sought to understand the remarkable leaders of the Cuban revolution from the basis of humanism. Although his political vision leaves much to be desired, he faithfully reports his observations, helping us to fill in their portraits. His descriptions of the youthfulness of the revolutionists, their energy and their rugged schedules are particularly impressive.

The final important chapter "Ideology and Revolution" has already appeared in *Studies on the Left*. Before that excerpts from the Spanish version were printed in the *International Socialist Review* (summer 1960) in conjunction with a review I wrote of Che Guevara's book *Guerra de Guerrillas*.

—Joseph Hansen

Mr. Mumble's Offer

By William Bundy

In the garment trade, they usually don't ask you any questions when you go on a new job. Just put you to work to see if you can do it. But today I had an interview with a boss who wanted to hire a cutter. It took place in his mid-town show room and office, in one of those big, glassy buildings on Broadway where the out-of-town buyers can take care of their business and get taken care of, tax free, at the shows and restaurants, all within walking distance of their hotels.

"You look like a nice young fellow," said the boss, "and you have a nice little family, and I want to make sure you can provide them with the security they need." Right then I knew this one was ready to lie, cheat, steal or kill if he could get away with it—anything to make or save a buck. "How much do you pay?" I asked.

"Mumble, mumble, I'd like to make a management arrangement with you," said he.

"What kind of arrangement?" I asked.

"Well, to provide you with the security you need for your little wife and kiddies I'm going to put you on a weekly salary."

"I don't care what you call it," I said, "as long as it's my regular union scale and time and a half for overtime."

"I'm all straight with the union," he replied, "wouldn't do anything that wasn't according to Hoyle, mumble, prestige, mumble, advancement, mumble, mumble. What do you say?"

"Time and half for overtime," I said.

"Oh! mumble, mumble, family, mumble, mumble, kiddies, mumble, mother, mumble God, mumble. Well, you see, the fact is we get very busy during the season, and my cutting costs are too high, and I just can't afford \$4.80 an hour for over-time cutting."

"Well, then," I said, getting up to leave, "You'd better hire an extra man, I don't like to work overtime anyway. Keeps me away from the family."

As I left the office, he was stroking the back of the neck of his silver-finger-tipped receptionist, muttering something about the lack of competitive spirit of the younger generation. "They don't have the moral stamina of their elders," was the last thing I heard as I closed the big glass door behind me.

It Was Reported in the Press

"Alliance for Progress"—General Alfredo Stroessner, dictator of Paraguay, celebrated the 150th anniversary of the country's "independence" by having his cops use brute force to break up a student demonstration. The police action was reported in the paper *La Mannana*. The same issue carried President Kennedy's message of congratulations to the people of Paraguay and best wishes to General Stroessner.

Cooperative Competition—Identical price bids on contracts for electrical equipment, explains Westinghouse president, Mark Cresap, is merely the result of all companies seeking to provide rock-bottom prices.

Rally Round the Flag, Boys—The new \$146 million appropriation voted for Congressional expenses includes an increased allotment for flags. The May 20 *N. Y. Times* described the need for the increase this way: "Last year alone, Capitol police sent a record

total of 16,013 banners up and down flagpoles to please Congressional constituents who wanted to grace their patriotic clubs, schools or front lawns with a flag that once fluttered, however briefly, over the Capitol building."

They Wouldn't Think of It—The administration is drafting plans to offer broad new "political protection" for U.S. firms investing in colonial areas. A *New York Times* analysis of the move raises these questions: "Should a company carrying United States political insurance be permitted... to take away a profit of 40 per cent? Should there be safeguards against human exploitation? If the protection of foreign workers is left to the host government, what if the American company and the host make a corrupt deal, leading perhaps to overthrow of that government...?"

Associated Associations—The State Department forced the resignation of 18 employees as "secur-

ity risks" last year. Sixteen were said to be homosexuals and the seventeenth a "very serious psychiatric case." The eighteenth was described as having "a very unusual curiosity and affinity to the Communist movement." A spokesman said the ex-employee "had had some associations with people known to have associations with the Communist movement."

Beetle Eater—Bernard Kearns, a San Francisco lawyer, ate three beetles in court to prove they won't make you sick. He was acting as counsel for the Campbell Soup Co. in a \$14,000 damage suit filed by a mother who said her four children suffered "food poisoning and psychic trauma" after they swallowed eight bugs that came, she said, with a can of the company's soup. After the attorney's performance a superior court jury ruled for Campbell's. Rumor has it that the company is giving Kearns a case of soup as a bonus.

Letters from Our Readers

U.S. Negroes and Cuba

[In our May 8 issue we reported that at a Fair Play for Cuba Committee banquet Rowland Watts, legal director of the American Civil Liberties Union, and journalist William Worthy had expressed conflicting views over a statement published by leading Negroes entitled "Cuba—A Declaration of Conscience by Afro-Americans." Watts charged the ad was an expression of racism in reverse.

Last week we published a rejoinder to Watts by civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn. The following letter is a reply by Rowland Watts. —Editor.]

New York, N. Y.

I have no desire to prolong in public the debate precipitated by my comments at the "Fair Play for Cuba" dinner concerning the racist advertisement published over the committee's name, but the events of the last week have again brought into tragic focus the need for all interested in both equality and fair play to keep the issues clear. I cannot, therefore, leave my friend Conrad Lynn's letter unanswered.

It so happens that I am a Southern white man—which has been an occasional advantage in my years of civil liberties work in the South. I have never thought, however, that this "status" gave me a unique burden of guilt or responsibility. At the same time, I have never thought that Americans who are Negro, have a responsibility as such to correct the wrongs that we have all inflicted throughout the United States not only upon citizens by reason of color but upon citizens by reason of ethnic or religious origin. Our treatment of aliens is a scandal—in the true meaning of the term, a disgrace to American democracy.

Objection

The burden of the ad to which I objected was that, "because" of oppression and suffering, "Afro-Americans have the right and duty... to protest." The "because" is what I vehemently protested. I, a pinkish-grey pigmented Southern American, have just as much right and duty to protest as Lynn and his fellow ad signers. Lynn says the ad carries the burden that "we [Afro-Americans] intend to defend the newly-emancipated Afro-Cubans as an example of the immediate right of Afro-Americans to full citizenship." This is not what the ad said. If it had said so, it could hardly have been either in the interest of fair play for Cuba or equality in the United States, north and south.

The ad said, "One-third of Cuba's people are Afro-Cubans..." The revolution was supposed to be for all Cubans, including all those who, like Fidel Castro, are not of African descent. This ad has raised for the first time, to the best of my knowledge, the color question as to whom the revolution was for. I had hitherto thought it was for all anti-totalitarians in Cuba; I still believe it despite the ad.

The ad finally said: "Afro-Americans won't be fooled. The enemies of Cubans are our enemies; the Jim Crow bosses of this land where we are still denied our rights. The Cubans are our friends. The Cubans are the enemies of our enemies."

This statement, regardless of its merits, is hardly conducive to fair play for Cuba or anybody else.

I think that a "Fair Play" for anything should practice it. I do not think that Cuba's rights have anything to do with Southern United States wrongs to Negroes. Perhaps I am wrong on this but the democratic process requires

honest presentation of the issues.

People who advocate fair play should practice it. All believers in democracy support free, open and honest discussion. Pigmentation has absolutely nothing to do with these rights and these duties. Conrad, who often shouts too loud, and I, who sometimes don't make my point clear, are in basic agreement. We want and will fight together, I hope, for full equality in the courts, in the bus stations, and throughout the land. Let's get back now to Cuba!

Rowland Watts

Vote for Yourself

Chicago, Ill.

It is a wonder that the workers are not in control of Congress and the presidency. Kennedy most certainly knows what to do with his vote. He votes for Mr. Kennedy. Then why don't the workers vote for themselves? Many have as much knowledge or more than the millionaires and they could control these offices if they tried.

I wish to state that I became interested in socialism last October when by accident I happened to see and hear Farrell Dobbs, the Socialist Workers candidate for president on TV.

S.T.R.

That CIA "Shake-Up"

Indianapolis, Ind.

I am sending \$5 as a contribution. I am more than happy to send you a donation as *The Militant* is the only newspaper that I read that tells the truth.

For instance, months ago your fine paper disclosed the facts about the Cuban crisis. You truthfully disclosed that the CIA was behind the training and arming of those counter-revolutionaries who recently invaded Cuba and were so completely defeated by Castro's militia. Also you reported then that they were being trained in Guatemala.

At that time all the capitalist papers denied these facts most vehemently. After the counter-revolution failed the capitalist papers admitted what you had revealed months before as a fact.

Anybody with any reason at all ought to realize that the supposed "shake-up" of the CIA is just a smokescreen to fool the people. Kennedy isn't shaking up the CIA because it financed and trained the counter-revolutionaries. He is furious at the CIA because the counter-revolution failed. Also because this gave him a black eye before all the nations of the world.

When the counter-revolution failed I never laughed so hard in my life because it proved to me that the counter-revolutionaries were just hired mercenaries, not patriots in any sense.

R.A.L.

A Bale of Work

Springfield, Colo.

I've been doing some arithmetic. Under the new wage law we now get all of \$1.25 an hour working in a baled-hay field. If President Kennedy has only \$10,000,000 like the papers say, he would only have to work 1,000,000 short days at our \$1.25 to earn that small fortune. That would be only 2,739 years (if he works a seven-day week.)

He has undoubtedly already done done 43 years of useful, productive work. That only leaves 2,696 years to go, unless you figure the extra food and worn out pants legs that's required riding a rocker.

Of course we lucky "hayseeds" can eat and wear the hay, and maybe even brew some "scotch" whiskey out of it, using our own steam for the heat.

G.G.C.

Thought for the Week

"It is precisely at the moment of largest adherence to religious loyalties and religious institutions in its history that the nation's life is marked by a disintegration in moral and ethical behavior."—The General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church.