

THE MILITANT

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Reactionary Dominican Deal Gets Kennedy's Blessings

By Harry Ring

DEC. 27 — President Kennedy had good reason for vigorously endorsing the "compromise" solution to the Dominican crisis offered by Trujillo-appointed President Balaguer and swiftly endorsed by "opposition" leader Viriato Fiallo. The agreement assures the continued power of the Dominican army which was the backbone of Trujillo's 31-year dictatorship. And that's good enough for Kennedy whose only real con-

cern is to thwart the rise of a genuine opposition which would lead the Dominican people along the Cuban road of revolutionary anti-imperialism.

Kennedy had good reason to fear such a development. The dramatic eleven-day Dominican general strike — longest in the country's history — aimed not only at toppling the hated Balaguer, but ending a reactionary social order of grinding poverty and oppression.

For the time being such a development has been stymied. All three opposition groups of any significance within the country — Fiallo's Nation Civic Union, the 14th of June Movement and the Dominican Revolutionary Party — are going along with Balaguer's crooked deal.

"Undesirables"

A taste of the "democracy" to come was offered with the Dominican regime's official confirmation Dec. 22 that it had drawn up a list of "undesirables" among anti-Trujillo exiles who would not be permitted to re-enter the country. The Dominican Student Federation charged that the list was actually drawn up by Washington. This was substantiated by one exile who traveled across a good part of the globe to get back home. He told this reporter that when he arrived in New York he found that the U.S. had handed air and sea transport lines a list of Dominicans who were not to be given passage home. His name was on the list.

With this kind of a setup, it's easy to see why Kennedy has pledged swift action to assure removal of OAS sanctions against the Dominican Republic and to pump dollars into the pockets of the island's rulers by turning over to them the sugar quota taken away from Cuba.

The very terms of Balaguer's "compromise" mock the demo-
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Jawaharlal Nehru

By Fred Halstead

The government of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, responding to anti-colonial sentiment in India, as well as throughout Africa and Asia, began expelling the Portuguese from Goa Dec. 18. The last foreign colony on the Indian sub-continent was under Indian control in a matter of hours.

Indian troops poured into Goa and the two smaller enclaves of Damaou and Diu, all on the west coast of India, to the cheers of local residents. They met only token resistance from the out-numbered and outgunned Portuguese garrison. Reporters agreed that casualties were either non-existent or very slight on the Indian side, and very slight on the Portuguese side as well.

This was a far different outcome from that in August, 1955 when the Indian government, after eight years of trying to reason with the Portuguese colonialists, sanctioned a display of non-violent persuasion according to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi.

At that time, unarmed Indians made a mass march in Goa and were simply mowed down by gunfire by the Portuguese security forces. The world was shocked. India broke off diplomatic relations with Portugal, but the colonial regime remained. It maintained in Goa the same police state

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Kennedy Puts GI's Into Battle In South Vietnam Civil War

American People Not Consulted

By George Lavan

Without consulting Congress, without even informing the American people, President Kennedy has thrown U.S. troops into the civil war raging in South Vietnam.

Already American soldiers have been killed and wounded. First reported casualty was an unnamed enlisted man killed in action on Dec. 22. The flag-draped coffin bearing his corpse should soon be arriving somewhere in the U.S. This may well be the first in a long series of shipments for burial at home which became such a familiar aspect of American life during the Korean war.

3 Wounded

Other casualties of the first few days of America's concealed entry into the South Vietnam civil war include three American soldiers wounded in action on Dec. 23.

An almost unbelievable aspect of the U.S. role in South Vietnam's war has been the "cooperation" of the U.S. press in concealing the facts from the American people.

Washington has been supplying gigantic quantities of arms and large detachments of military advisors and instructors to the corrupt and brutal dictatorship in South Vietnam for the past six



IT'S BEGINNING AGAIN. When Mrs. Carmen Salcido's two sons returned to Chicago from the Korean War, only one, Arthur (1) was alive. Mrs. Salcido weeps at the casket of the other, Armando, one of the 140,000 U.S. casualties in Truman's "police action." Now Kennedy is committing U.S. troops to combat without consent of Congress or the American people. This time it is in South Vietnam.

years, but only this month has it actually ordered U.S. troops into combat areas.

In plunging the U.S. into the civil war in Korea, Truman violated the Constitution, which says Congress must vote a declaration

of war. His device was to declare it was not a war but a "police action." But Truman at least informed the nation of the action he was taking. Neither Kennedy nor any administration figure has as yet informed the American people about the fateful decision in South Vietnam.

The only information about the decision to intervene in the South Vietnam fighting came in a story emanating from Washington Dec. 19. Though obviously from the Pentagon, the information was "unattributed," i.e., no names of officials releasing the news were given. The *United Press*' tiny dispatch, for example, described its informant only as "a source here," while the *New York Times* referred to "officials here" and, in a later editorial endorsing the ac-

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Colorado Unionist Takes On Opponents of Free Speech

By Tom Leonard

COLORADO SPRINGS, Dec. 23 — Sam Gadd, secretary-treasurer of the Colorado Springs Area Labor Council (AFL-CIO), has become the target of local witch-hunters because of his defense of free speech.

Two weeks ago Gadd, a former newspaperman, publicly challenged a decision by Orion C. Shockly, superintendent of School District 12, denying Denver Attorney Harry Nier, Chairman of the Colorado Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the right to show color slides of Cuba to local high school students. Nier had been in-

vited to appear by the Cheyenne Mountain High School Spanish Club.

Gadd's reaction was to picket the High School and circulate a leaflet protesting this infringement on "freedom of inquiry." The leaflet stated that extremist right-wing views were provided a platform in the school and that Nier's views, on Cuba, even though unpopular, should be given a hearing. It also said, "Academic freedom cannot tolerate this double standard. Pro and Con, left and right — the student must have opportunities to learn something of all sides, else how shall he be able to weigh the life and death questions which the whole world is asking these days? I for one have confidence in the open minds of students — not in the censorship of one man."

Example

An example of what Gadd was talking about took place an hour before he started to picket. Chaplain Barnes (Captain, USN, retired) of the notorious Christian Anti-Communist Crusade was given the platform to address Cheyenne Mt. High School students at a compulsory school assembly.

As a further protest against Shockly's ruling, Gadd made his home available for a public meeting for Nier to show his slides. Despite threatening phone calls, including one to bomb the house, the meeting went on as scheduled and 90 persons attended including 40 students.

The public attack on Sam Gadd could be expected since Colorado Springs is notorious as the center of right-wing views in the Rocky Mountain area. However, the fact that some Union officials are capitulating to this pressure poses a serious threat to organized labor

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New York Picket Line Raps Kennedy's Buildup in Berlin

NEW YORK, Dec. 23 — Pickets mobilized by the Labor-Negro Vanguard Conference today demonstrated before the West German Consulate in protest against the brinkmanship of the Kennedy administration over the Berlin issue.

Signs carried on the picket line read: "No War Over Berlin"; "Labor Demands Jobs, Not War"; "Beware of Nazis in the German Government and Their U.S. Supporters."

A leaflet distributed to passers-by explained the purpose of the demonstration and declared: "It is time for the labor movement, the Negro and other minorities and the youth, who are hit first by militarization, to be heard from — and listened to! Let the will of the American people decide such basic policy, as war or peace. And let their opinions be carried out so there will be **NO WAR OVER BERLIN!**"

A well-dressed man with a British accent stopped to ask,

"What the deuce is this?" When shown the leaflet he said, "I can support that," and joined the picket line.

Among the demonstrators were Huldah Clark, a 14-year-old girl who has been studying in Moscow for three months, and her father William Clark of Newark, N. J. Mr. Clark, a laborer, reaffirmed to reporters his statement of last September that he was sending his daughter "away from Jim Crowism and lynching" when he accepted Premier Khrushchev's invitation to Negro parents to send their children to the Soviet Union for schooling.

Huldah said she would have been in the ninth grade at home but was so far behind by Soviet standards that she was put in the sixth grade there. She studies algebra, physics, chemistry, biology, history and the Russian language. Home to spend Christmas

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Black Muslim Wins Release

Troy X, the Black Muslim minister of Monroe, Louisiana, who was sentenced to ten years imprisonment on a charge of criminal anarchy, has been released following a decision by a higher court.

Principal evidence against him had been a blackboard picture taken from the Monroe, La., Temple of Islam. Beneath an American flag it depicted a lynched Negro and the words, "slavery, hell and death." Police had seized this "evidence" when they burst into the militant religious sect's place of worship and roughed up members of the congregation who protested.

Appeal Made

Hearing an appeal of the conviction, District Judge Jesse S. Heard ruled that Troy X was entitled to a new trial since the evidence against him had been illegally seized by the police. State prosecutor A. P. Lassiter told newsmen that since the main evidence in the case had been disallowed, he probably would not press charges again.

Whether or not charges will also be dropped against a number of other members of the Black Muslims who — after being subjected to racist police brutality — were arrested on charges of assaulting the police, is not yet clear.

Vancouver Strike Still Solid After 22 Long, Hard Weeks

VANCOUVER B. C., Dec. 14. — In a remarkable display of initiative, tenacity and audacity some 140 clerks and warehouse workers are holding solid in the 23rd week of a strike against a multi-million dollar company here despite strikebreakers, company violence, harassment by the police and courts and an initial reluctance on the part of some leaders of allied unions to support the strike.

The workers, members of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union AFL-CIO, struck last July 14 for a new contract at four branches of Taylor, Pearson, and Carson Ltd., a widespread appliance wholesaler in Western Canada.

TPC originally pleaded "inability to pay" and the workers demanded the company open the books. An audit was secured by the union which revealed that the firm, which started 15 years ago with a capital of \$66,000 is now worth many millions of dollars.

Although it was previously considered by the unions' legal advisors that extension of picketing to unorganized branches of a chain

store was illegal, the strikers — from the second week of the walk-out — undertook this task. They are now picketing some 20 branches and the strike has become an organizing campaign for the whole chain.

On one occasion, two days of hostilities at the picket lines resulted from the attempt of certain leaders of the Teamsters and Machinists to send members of their unions through the picket lines. These officials finally withdrew their members from this activity, though the company may tempt them to renew it at another time.

Helped Others

The strikers have assisted in two other strikes, one at the B.F. Goodrich Rubber Co., where the rubber workers won a decisive victory with the aid of the TPC strikers. The TPC strikers also undertook to picket Woolworth stores in Vancouver in support of a strike by fellow unionists at the Woolworth store at Port Alberni, B.C. This has now been expanded into an organizational campaign in the Vancouver Woolworth stores.

The province of British Columbia has some of the worst anti-union laws in Canada or the United States. The Trades Union Act prohibits the dissemination of information about a strike at any place other than the struck company. Nevertheless, the strikers have distributed over 150,000 pieces of literature, and many firms are refusing to do business with TPC while the strike is on.

The simple use of the words "scab" and "strikebreaker" by pickets has been used by the courts as basis for an injunction limiting picketing on the grounds of "intimidation." Since the sixteenth week of the strike, therefore, the workers have been legally limited to three pickets at each warehouse. Ways and means to carry on in spite of all these difficulties have been found, and are constantly being explored, and the TPC strikers have even won the first favorable court decision for labor in this province in some years. This was a decision allowing picketing of all branches of a chain store.

... Colo. Unionist

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In the area. Building Trades locals have withdrawn their *per capita* tax payments to the Labor Council, thereby undermining the financing of the organization. As a result Gadd is faced with a drastic pay cut which could make it impossible to support his wife and three children. If persisted in, the Building Trades local's action would ultimately force him out of his union post.

Act of Protest

Gadd has issued a statement entitled "My Position," in which he calls his action "A private act of social protest." The statement makes clear that he was acting as an individual, not as a representative of the Colorado Springs Area Labor Council. A second point he raises is that "Although no connection exists, it can nevertheless be said that labor should be concerned in cases of abridgement of freedom of speech and inquiry, as a matter of principle deeply involving labor's historic sympathies."

A third point states that the whole development is "obscured by phoney issues: 'communism' and 'adverse publicity'."

Trade unionists and others who would like more information can write Sam Gadd, 927 S. Skyway, Colorado Springs, Colo.

Twin Cities Forum Hears United Call For Defense of CP

MINNEAPOLIS — The McCarran Internal Security Act, requiring registration of Communist Party members, denies the right of a citizen to trial by proper procedures, said Prof. Mulford Q. Sibley of the University of Minnesota political science department Dec. 15.

Sibley, one of five speakers at a panel discussion, sponsored by the Twin Cities Labor Forum, on the question "Should Labor Defend the Communist Party's Rights?" said such legislation should be repealed. It brands a person as a criminal type, he said, not because of any crime committed by him, but merely for membership in a political organization.

Henry Mayville, secretary of the Minnesota Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights, called for a united struggle for the defense of the civil liberties of the Communist Party. Joseph Johnson, Twin Cities organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, offered the use of the SWP, local hall to the Communist Party while it is under this attack. Lucille Olson, chairman of the University of Minnesota Socialist Club, emphasized the need for the defense of the right of political dissent.

George Tselos, Minneapolis chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance warned of developing "police state tendencies in the United States."

Landlord in Detroit Hit By Rent Protest

DETROIT, Dec. 22 — Protesting the high rents charged Negroes, a group of tenants have refused to pay their December rents. Charges have been brought against the group by the real-estate agency, and a jury trial is slated for January.

The protest centers about an apartment building at 3021 Rochester, residence of the defendants. Until recently, it rented only to whites at \$65 to \$80, depending on the size of the apartment. A few weeks ago, the bar against Negroes was lifted. Several Negro families moved in and rents were raised \$10 to \$20.

Shortly after this, the real-estate agent came around, explained that the price quoted was a mistake and added yet another \$5 to \$10. The tenants, both Negro and white, refused to pay this and began to plan their protest. Statements have been released to the press and radio. After receiving summonses, the defendants and their friends distributed several thousand leaflets in the neighborhood, explaining the case, and asking for support. Similar protests are reported to be forming in other parts of the city.

Negro City Councilman William T. Patrick, Jr., told the group that they had no legal case, since it is a matter of private property, but that the tenants' fight must be a moral one. The intentions of the group are clearly indicated by the statement of protest by co-chairman Art Fox: "We will stay until we are evicted, and when we are, we will picket this building and expose this whole shabby business."



... GI's In South Vietnam

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tion, to "reticent Administration sources."

From these administration spokesmen hiding behind the cloak of anonymity, the *Times* (Dec. 20) reported: "U.S. military men in South Vietnam were understood today to be operating in battle areas with South Vietnamese forces that are fighting Communist guerrillas."

"Although the Americans, who are in uniform, are not engaged in actual combat operations they are authorized to shoot back if fired upon. About 2,000 Americans in uniform are in South Vietnam, instead of the officially reported 685 members of the military advisory group."

"These soldiers are taking part in tactical operations in battle areas. Officials here are aware that the American soldiers may be subject to attack by Communist guerrillas who are known as the Viet Cong . . . The risk of a shooting involvement must be accepted, officials here believe, to strengthen the defense of President Ngo Dinh Diem . . ."

That U.S. soldiers accompanying South Vietnamese troops in battle will be fired upon is a foregone conclusion. This country's big-business press may try to whip up indignation at such "Communist aggression," but the blame rests squarely on the U.S. officials

who are sending American GI's into the midst of an already raging battle.

The U.S. enlisted man killed Dec. 22 was caught in an ambush along with three South Vietnamese soldiers also killed. The three Americans wounded Dec. 23 were part of a helicopter crew carrying South Vietnamese paratroopers on a combat mission. Forced to the ground, the helicopter was taken under fire by Viet Cong rifles and mortars. The wounded GI's belonged to the 57th Light Helicopter Company which arrived in South Vietnam less than two weeks before from Fort Lewis, Washington. Arriving at the same time was the Eighth Helicopter Company from Fort Bragg, N.C.

Kennedy's sending of U.S. troops into battle in South Vietnam not only violates the Constitution and innumerable international laws and treaties about non-interference in the domestic affairs of nations, it also violates the 1954 Geneva pact which ended the French-Indochinese war. That pact set up an International Control Commission to preserve peace in Vietnam. It is composed of representatives of Canada, India and Poland. The commission was so angered by the arrival of U.S. troops and planes that it went into emergency sessions, reportedly to consider disbanding in protest.

... Dominican Republic Deal

(Continued from Page 1)

cratic aspirations of the Dominican people. His new seven-man ruling Council of State will hold power for at least a year, with a "pledge" of elections at that time. He recessed — but refused to dissolve — the Trujillo rubber-stamp Congress. Likewise, the Supreme Court justices appointed by the late tyrant cannot be removed by the new council.

As a face-saver for Washington, which sent gunboats to the Dominican coast to save "democracy," Balaguer says he will resign when the OAS sanctions are lifted and that he will be succeeded by Rafael Bonelli, vice president of the new council.

Who is Bonelli? *New York Times* correspondent Juan de Onis (Dec. 24) described him as "a wealthy businessman" and "the representative of the opposition National Civic Union who has had the most continuous personal contact with General Rodriguez Echavarria."

This is the key to the "compromise." Bonelli is OK with Rodriguez and Rodriguez, undisputed commander of the armed forces, is the real power in the Dominican regime. And he is a typical product of the Trujillo tyranny that spawned him. Son of a Trujillo senator, he owes his rise in the air force directly to his close friendship with the late dictator's playboy son, Rafael.

It was Rodriguez who tried to smash the general strike with tear gas, clubs, bayonets and guns, coupled with fascist-like declarations of a struggle against "communism."

The Dominican people will not

... N. Y. Pickets

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with her family, she expects to return to Moscow Jan. 12.

Television crews, radio and newspaper reporters covered the demonstration. It received publicity on evening news broadcasts and in the press.

The picket line was supported by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

People sympathetic to the aims of the Labor-Negro Vanguard Conference are asked to contact Clarence Coggins, provisional chairman, 18 Gardner Ave., Jersey City, N. J.

be permanently cheated of the opportunity to struggle for liberation. And when their struggle is renewed, they will need the kind of leadership capable of heeding the sound advice offered by Fidel Castro. In his Dec. 2 speech on Marxism-Leninism, the Cuban leader declared in part:

"Well, I want to say simply that the primary thing imperialism and the bourgeoisie try to do is to preserve the military machine intact. What are they doing in Santo Domingo? In Santo Domingo they are trying to keep the military machine intact. To them, Trujillo serves as well as Trujillo's brother; Balaguer as well as Juan Bosch. [leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party.]

"To them, it's not important as long as they know that intact down there is a military machine which has airplanes, which has tanks, which has the old gang of hired thugs skilled in persecuting and oppressing the people.

"All the forces of imperialism are for maintaining the military machine. All the forces of the people are for destroying the military machine.

"When a moment of crisis arrives, like that which arrived in Cuba on the first of January, or like that which exists right now in Santo Domingo, the key to everything is whether the people get hold of arms, or whether the military machine remains intact with arms in hand while the people remain unarmed.

"When a crisis of that type presents itself in whatever country, the primary objective of the popular movement is destruction of the military machine and the arming of the people's movement, an indispensable condition, without which the revolution can be curbed, can be betrayed and can be crushed."

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Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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Monday, January 1, 1962

The Struggle for Peace

Elsewhere in this issue we report a demonstration before the West German Consulate in New York demanding there be no war over Berlin. As sponsor of the demonstration the newly formed Labor-Negro Vanguard Conference stated its views through an advertisement in the Dec. 18 *National Guardian*.

The ad undertakes to project a labor policy for peace in opposition to the capitalist drive toward nuclear war. It calls for leadership by the working classes of the world in the fight against American imperialism. These concepts go to the heart of the foreign policy issue and should be fully thought out so they may be explained to the workers in plain class terms.

Unfortunately the ad leaves confusion on important points concerning the class nature of the struggle for peace. Memory of the 1944 Battle of the Bulge is invoked with one-sided emphasis on German war guilt and without mention of American imperialism's role in World War II. It is not made clear that both the German and American workers were victims of the war crimes of their respective capitalist rulers.

These questions are not simply a matter of presenting a correct appraisal of past history. A valid class analysis of World War II is a necessary precondition for a sound program in today's struggle against American imperialism. And the issues involved have been a subject of controversy within the radical movement.

After Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the Communist Party advanced the view that in World War II the United States was fighting a progressive war against fascism. CP wartime propaganda further blurred the class nature of the war by lumping together the German capitalists and workers as war criminals. No end of confusion has resulted in the task of explaining to American workers the true nature of imperialism and the need for international labor solidarity in fighting against it.

We contend that in World War II, just as it does today, American capitalism sought to advance imperialist aims at the expense of the working class. The United States government's wartime alliance with the Soviet Union was not made to smash fascism as the CP has claimed but to defeat German capitalism which stood as a rival to American imperialist ambitions. No sooner were the German capitalists defeated than the true face of American imperialism emerged. The German ruling class, Nazis and all, were converted into allies in the cold war launched against the Soviet Union. Without a clear understanding of these facts the workers will not have the necessary class consciousness in the struggle against imperialist war.

In this respect we think the ad goes afield when it simply calls upon AFL-CIO officials to demand that Kennedy meet with Khrushchev to solve the Berlin crisis. Previous summit conferences of the kind have been held but none served to curb the imperialist cold warriors. Only one thing has actually slowed them down—mass actions by the workers and colonial peoples of the world. That is the only language Kennedy will understand and feel compelled to heed. If the union officials were really to act like workers' leaders, they would step forward to mobilize the union movement in class-struggle actions to block the imperialist plans for war, and such is the demand that should be made upon them by the workers' vanguard.

In offering these fraternal criticisms, we speak in solidarity with the basic aims of the Labor-Negro Vanguard Conference. We share its intransigent opposition to imperialism and join with it in stressing the need for labor to take the leadership in the fight against the bipartisan drive of the Democrats and Republicans toward nuclear war.

We extend to the Labor-Negro Vanguard Conference our fraternal collaboration in the struggle for peace, freedom, economic security and civil rights for all. Our only aim in taking up the policy questions discussed here is to help promote united action through open-minded discussion of the problems involved in advancing an effective labor policy for peace.

Building the vanguard party and linking it to the masses through class-struggle policies is a complex task, particularly so in capitalist America which serves today as the powerhouse of world reaction. We think an exchange of ideas among anti-imperialist forces, conducted in good will through open forum discussion, would serve to strengthen the vanguard of the working class in achieving these objectives.

Vindication for Warren Billings

By James P. Cannon

[On Dec. 21 Gov. Brown of California granted a pardon to Warren K. Billings who had been railroaded to prison with Tom Mooney for a life term in 1916. Both were released in 1939. Mooney, who died in 1942, was pardoned at the time of release but Billings was denied a pardon then because of two previous convictions arising from his participation in labor struggles.

As a salute to a sterling fighter for labor's rights, we reprint this account by James P. Cannon of a prison interview with Billings which originally appeared in the June 1928 *Labor Defender*, voice of the International Labor Defense of which Cannon was national secretary. The interview is included in Cannon's book, *Notebook of an Agitator*. (Pioneer Publishers, cloth, \$4, paper, \$2.50)]

* * *

To get to Folsom Prison you take the train to Sacramento and then transfer to the stage for Repressa. The journey from San Francisco kills a whole day. They call Folsom "the Rock Pile"—a God-forsaken out-of-the-way



Warren K. Billings

place, inconvenient for visitors, and few go there. The day I went to see Warren Billings, I was the only visitor to ride the stage on that desolate journey over the winding road, through beautiful green hills and hollows, that ends in the Folsom rock quarry—California's dread prison for second-term convicts.

I left the stage and walked towards the main gate with a depressing feeling of loneliness. The stone prison rises from the ground like a massive boulder within the gray enclosing walls with their machine gun turrets at the vantage points. The rock quarries deface the lovely hillside like ugly scars. The green sward of the lawn, close-cropped and smooth and well attended like the front-yards of all prisons, was resplendent in the California sunshine.

I was given a seat in the warden's office to wait for Billings—there appeared to be no special visiting room. The warden's secretary went out of his way to make me comfortable. Made a little conversation about the weather. Offered me a copy of the *Saturday Evening Post*, or perhaps it was *Liberty*. I didn't read it.

The warden returned soon. Billings was with him. A rather slight man, somewhat less than medium height. Reddish hair and sandy complexion. A friendly, boyish countenance with lines carved in it which seemed strangely out of place. I had never met him before, but I am sure I know him now. His character is all written in his face and manner and his ready, engaging smile. A warm personable fellow, without guile or subtlety. The kind that mixes well and makes friends easily.

He is 35 years old now. There are lines in his face that usually come only to later years, but his manner and appearance on the whole are those of a younger man.

He was only 23 when he was caught with Tom Mooney in the frame-up trap and he has been in prison the whole intervening 12 years—all his years of flush young manhood and ripening maturity. In many ways he suggested a youth of 23, as though the characteristics which belonged to him at that age, when he was first imprisoned, had frozen in him and become a permanent part of his personality.

He works hard at manual labor and has done more than his bit in the prison quarries, the chief "industry" of Folsom. He is one of 2,200 men imprisoned there under the California system which segregates men who have been convicted more than once—"the two-time losers"—in a separate penitentiary. Billings did a short "jolt" before from the Pacific Gas and Electric strike.

The regime at Folsom is a rigorous one. There is no pampering of convicts serving their second term in California. The inexhaustible quarries, which are the pride of Folsom, not only provide work for their idle hands, but turn a pretty penny of profits also. The Folsom prisoners quarried the rock to build their own jail and the frowning walls around it; and enormous quantities of rock for road building come from there. The paved roads of California, interweaving and running in all directions, are justly famous. The stones of Folsom hewn out of the prison quarries by the heart-breaking labor of the convicts, pave many a mile over which the autos skim.

It was on the twenty-second day of July, 1916, that a bomb was thrown into a Preparedness Parade, killing a number of people. Five days later Billings was arrested and he has been imprisoned ever since. He had nothing to do with the crime as everybody now knows. But the open-shop interests were out to "get" some labor men, and Tom Mooney and the militants associated with him, who had organized a strike on the street railways of San Francisco two weeks before, were the group selected. They were arrested, "framed" and railroaded.

If you and I had been compelled to spend our entire adult lives in prison for a crime we didn't commit, that fact would very likely be burning uppermost in our minds all the time. So it is with Warren Billings. But he has not given way to self-centered sourness. He is awake and receptive to the big things transpiring in the world and talks about them. He was in the movement since he was 16 years old and was active all the time even before 1913, when, at the age of 20, he told me, he "became class conscious."

Thereafter, class consciousness was the determining factor in all his work and thought, as it still is today.

He told me some details of his case. They tried him with a "professional jury"—that is a jury composed of members who serve on juries all the time and make a living from the fees. They play in with the District Attorney and are selected for their reliability in bringing in convictions.

"They fixed me good and plenty with the jury," Billings told me. "One of my jurymen was an old man named Fraser who had been a professional jurymen continuously for 10 years and during that entire time, found every defendant guilty!"

I gasped, and started to speak but he checked me with an ironical laugh. "I guess he didn't want to break his record in my case," he said.

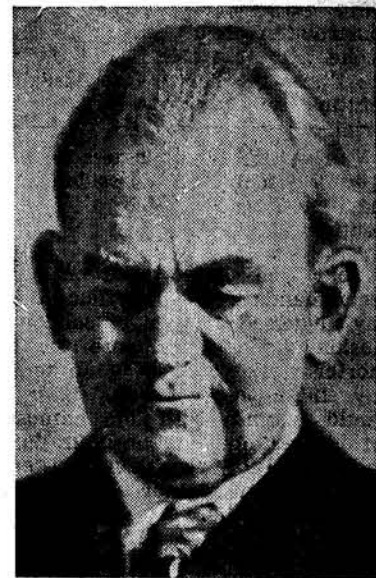
It was the testimony of John McDonald, the dope fiend and degenerate, that constituted the principal evidence against him. It is well known that McDonald repudiated his entire testimony five years later. But the horror of the whole business struck me with a special intensity as Billings spoke about the effect of his testimony

at the trial—because I, with Robert Minor and others, had heard McDonald in New York in 1921 tell in great detail how the whole thing had been cooked up and how he knew no more about the case than we did.

Warren Billings was born in New York State of New England German stock. He is a shoemaker by trade and joined the Boot and Shoe Workers Union at the age of 16. He was president of Local 220 at San Francisco when he was arrested in 1916. He was an active "union man" while yet a boy in his teens. Association with radicals and militants in San Francisco broadened his outlook and gave him a social vision. That was in 1913; and from that time onward he plunged into the movement, giving all his thought and energy to it.

Those were days of boundless enthusiasm and soaring dreams. He told me about the work he did as "undercover man" for the union. "When the bosses tried to operate their shops during a strike I used to go and get a job there to get information for the union as to the exact state of affairs. I also worked to demoralize the strikebreakers and tried to get them to organize a second strike, and sometimes I succeeded."

General radical activities claimed his attention. He took an active part in the work of the old International Workers Defense League of San Francisco. This historic body, one of the forerunners of the ILLD, had been formed originally during the Moyer-Haywood case. It was a delegate body and was held together for other defense cases. It took up the fight for Rangel and Cline



Tom Mooney

in 1913 and for Ford and Suhr the following year, and many others.

Tom Mooney and Warren Billings were both delegates from their unions to the International Workers Defense League and active participants in its activities in behalf of persecuted workers. There, unknowingly, they were building the structure of an organization which was to be their strongest support in the time of their own distress. For it was this League which first took up their defense and blazoned their story to the world. The International Workers Defense League, which Mooney and Billings helped to build, later made the Mooney-Billings case a world issue and thoroughly and completely exposed the frame-up against them.

The diabolical conspiracy against Mooney and Billings has been thoroughly exposed and is an old story now. We will tell it over again in the July number of the *Labor Defender* as the starting point of a new movement in their behalf on the twelfth anniversary of their imprisonment.

Let us hope that the observance of this twelfth anniversary will witness the awakening of the workers to a new interest in the case of Mooney and Billings and the beginning of a new resolute fight in their behalf.



"And don't forget the resolution to really fight against a shorter work week, dear. Leisure would only make them decadent."

A No-Day Work Week Next?

[A Dec. 13 *New York Times* editorial scored *New York Local 3* of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers for raising the demand for a four-hour day in current contract negotiations covering electrical workers in the construction field. The following is the text of a Dec. 20 letter to the *Times* by Harry Van Arsdale refuting the arguments in the editorial.]

Van Arsdale is business manager of Local 3 and president of the New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO.]

Your Dec. 13 editorial on our recommendation of a four-hour day suggested that the logical conclusion of labor pressure for a shorter work week is "a no-hour day and a no-day week." Now I would submit with the utmost seriousness that the no-hour day and the no-day week has existed for some time in our society.

Presently there are approximately 5,000,000 unemployed workers in "the no-hour day, no-day week" category. The widespread existence of hard core unemployment — 1,137,000, according to United States Labor Department figures — is a rather unhappy example of the no-work-at-all week. America's millions of under-employed, the part-time workers, are on a three-day or four-day week without exciting any visible editorial indignation. It is certainly not their fault that they have been granted the privilege — without pay — of a shorter week.

Local 3 has raised the four-hour-day question because we are concerned for the future of the economy. It is a concern which arises from the deepening sense of insecurity among working people as the age of automation envelopes American industry.

Our union leadership didn't dream up the four-hour day while in a state of unaccountable euphoria. We had thought long about it, in terms of the present trends in employment and the future. For more than three years a special committee of the New York Central Labor Council has been analyzing the impact of automation and the nuclear age.

It is our deeply held conclusion that the shorter work week and the shorter work day is an answer to what has become America's endemic unemployment problem. There may be other answers. Right now, however, several million men and women, ready, able and willing to work are denied that opportunity.

While the principle of a full employment economy, embodied in national legislation remains a nullity, it is graceless indeed to talk about the country's need for "a 40-hour basic schedule to meet the Soviet industrial challenge." The challenge is indeed awesome. Why, then, are American workers unemployed, and why are we told that this unemployment will continue and even spread, and why is no solution found? It is an easy thing to laugh about the no-hour day and the no-day week, but working people must find it

quite ironic to be told about the "Soviet industrial challenge" while they live on surplus food commodities, grudgingly bestowed relief payments and editorial pieties about a roseate future.

We look at economic life a little practically. There is nothing sacred in an eight-hour day or a four-hour day any more than there was something sacred about the six-and-a-half-day week. We are not a group of revolutionary Jacobins seeking to remake America in some scandalous fashion, seeking to exterminate the profit system or to impose runaway inflation. We are certainly not out to destroy an industry with which we have enjoyed for almost a quarter of a century a healthy relationship. We are seeking a better America where the skills of American workers will not be allowed to rot because of unemployment or the triumphs of computer technology, or the impersonal workings of the market place.

As for urging New York labor to energize itself in wiping out sweat-shops and raising wages for underpaid Negro and Puerto Rican workers, we have been engaged in the campaign for five years. We have had some successes and, unhappily, a number of failures. It would be of tremendous help if *The Times* would seek to uncover why racketeer unions and sweetheart agreements are still given legal sanction in this city and state, despite investigations, exposes, public testimony and numberless newspaper stories and editorials.

It Was Reported in the Press

New Alibi Needed — One of the principal pretexts used by Washington to torpedo negotiations with the USSR for a nuclear test ban was that underground tests couldn't be detected and, therefore, a "foolproof" inspection system had to be agreed on before a treaty could be signed. On Dec. 10, the U. S. discharged a small underground nuclear explosion in New Mexico. It was detected as far off as Japan and Finland.

Forecast — "A top Civil Defense leader warned in Dallas Saturday that lower living standards will follow in the wake of a nuclear bombing." — The Dec. 10 *Dallas Times Herald*.

Was It for Real? — During the XMAS season this column reported

on several occasions various gift suggestions from Tiffany's — earrings, \$15,400 a pair; four dozen drinking glasses, \$22,750. But now we're beginning to suspect the whole thing was a gag. In a Dec. 23 ad, Tiffany announced: "Last Minute Gift Suggestion — Guaranteed to surprise her . . . Canary diamond pin, 128 carats, \$512,000."

Those "Free World" Allies — The U. S. army command in West Germany has presented an award for "meritorious civilian service" to Gen. Franz Halder who was Chief of Staff of Hitler's Wehrmacht from 1938 to 1944. He's the fifth former Nazi general the U. S. has pinned a medal on.

Socialized Golf — The Department of Agriculture has approved

farm-subsidy payments to a Nebraska golf club for taking 14 acres of corn and oats out of production and turning the acreage into fairways.

Soaking the Poor — Sales taxes, which hit low-income groups the hardest, furnished the greatest single source of revenue in 30 states during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961.

20th Century Cops — The Ridgefield, N.J. police department has begun a study of the use of hypnosis. It is believed that it may prove useful in interrogating prisoners. A specialist explained that when a suspect resists hypnosis the trick is to induce a trance through disguised methods. Like a club on the head?

Letters from Our Readers

Contribution for Peace

Vancouver, Wash.
I am enclosing a \$3 contribution to *The Militant*. I am just a pensioner and can't send what I would like to. I like the paper very much.

If there is anything I can do such as putting out leaflets or distributing your paper, I will be only too glad to help you.

From a Vancouver booster for peace of the world.

H.M.

Cubans in Miami

Miami, Fla.
Enclosed are clippings about the campaign of the local politicians to get the Cuban refugees relocated elsewhere. The real "inside" on getting the Cubans out of here is that the "lily-whites" are starting to worry about 65,000 of them eventually getting U.S. citizenship (and voting rights) and becoming a political force in Miami city politics in a few years, which would be a threat to the "Dixie way of life."

R.H.

Lenin vs. Stalin

Chicago, Ill.
Taking advantage of your offer to new readers, I enclose money order for 50 cents for four months trial subscription.

Your editorial Dec. 4 on Kennedy's *Izvestia* interview is very much to the point. I wish every American could read it.

As for the article on "Members Seek Explanation of Stalinism," the writer says that while Lenin made diplomatic treaties and trade agreements with capitalist countries, the Communist parties in these countries went right on fighting to overturn capitalist rule and Stalin stopped that — a corruption of Lenin not yet corrected. But what about Lenin's own book "Left-Wing Communism — An Infantile Disorder"?

If Lenin wanted peaceful co-existence with capitalist countries, why should the Communists seek to overthrow such governments? On the other hand, if Communist parties abroad are merely "diplomatic outposts of the Soviet state," do they not merit the sort of treatment they are getting, say, here in the United States? Perhaps you can clarify this?

C.B.B.

[The clarification requested can't be given in a few paragraphs and the questions raised certainly warrant extensive discussion. Other readers comments are invited.]

For now, two points:

1) Lenin began with the fact that the Soviet Union was encircled by capitalism and did everything realistically possible to "co-exist" in the sense of seeking trade pacts to provide needed goods, and agreements to stave off military attack by the capitalist powers. At the same time he understood that the elimination of capitalism was the ultimate guarantee of the survival of the first workers' state and establishment enduring peace. That's why he advocated the policy of Communist parties continuing to fight for socialism in their respective countries.

2) To the extent that the Communist Party of today bases its policies on the turns of Soviet diplomatic policy (e.g., offering blind apologies for the Soviet resumption of nuclear tests) it does a disservice to the working class and, for that matter, to the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. From the

standpoint of constitutional guarantees and civil liberties, however, the Communist Party has as much right to defend everything that emanates from the Soviet Union as reactionaries have to attack it.

And, obviously, the attempt to outlaw the Communist Party is not based on any concern for whether or not its policies are in the best interests of socialism. The attack is intended to lay the basis for stifling all opposition to the administration's reactionary domestic and foreign policy. EDITOR.]

Union Problems

Fond du Lac, Wis.
Please find \$1 to help keep the candle burning.

In the interest of the working people I offer some constructive criticism of their unions.

All too often we find a company boss the head of the local union, especially in the building trades. In that case you can no longer call it a labor union but a company union. You can't serve two masters and he is serving the company. Also there will also be some upholding him thinking they will curry favor.

If the company signs a contract with the union and then starts to chisel on it and he brought it up, the company would fire him since they always keep spies in the union.

I read an article in *The Carmen*, a railroad union paper, that said the company was alright, it was the management that was bad. If management didn't make a profit for the company, how long would it last?

Profit is that part of labor that isn't paid back to the worker. The less they give back to the worker, the higher the profit. It's as simple as that.

C.T.

Power of Reason

San Pedro, Calif.
The U. S. is badly over-balanced with economic idiots. Because of papers like *The Militant* some of us are able to maintain the power of reason we are presumably born with. Your *It Was Reported in the Press* is tops. *Letters from Readers* is usually filled with gems. Hope you encourage more such from readers.

A.L.

Circulation Booster

La Mesa, Calif.
Please send new reader trial subscriptions to the enclosed two names. As far as I know, they are both people very much interested in revolutionary socialism, and are not readers of your paper.

I think you have an excellent paper and wish it were larger.

H.W.

King's Proposal to AFL-CIO

New York, N.Y.
Your reports on the recent AFL-CIO convention didn't mention that Rev. Martin Luther King was a guest speaker there and that in his talk he proposed that each AFL-CIO member donate one dollar to a campaign to win the right to vote for Negroes in the South.

I think Rev. King is on the right track in this and should be given credit for a practical and much needed proposal. The unions themselves would certainly have a much easier time organizing the South if the Negroes there could vote because the Dixiecrat sheriffs and other officials who give union organizers a bad time wouldn't have it so easy getting elected.

Unionist

Thought for the Week

"Trujillo maintained himself in power with American arms, and in the startling television reports on the disturbances in Santo Domingo, it was hard not to feel some embarrassment at the spectacle of U.S.-made tanks and tear-bombs being used to bolster an unpopular regime. The pictures provide final proof, if it was needed, that this equipment was acquired not to defend the Hemisphere against external aggression, but to keep the populace from expressing itself."—Prof. Ronald Hilton in the December *Hispanic American Report*.