

THE MILITANT

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Evicted Tennessee Negroes Set Up Additional Tent City



Mother and five children in tent city in Fayette County, Tenn. They were among farm-tenant families evicted in 1960 for voting in the presidential election. Now in adjoining Haywood County another tent city has been erected for Negroes who also are being evicted for having demanded their voting rights.

A second tent city, to house Negro tenant farmers evicted in the course of a drive to become registered voters, was established this month in western Tennessee. The tents — three large ones, with three more in preparation — have been set up in a cornfield on one of the few Negro-owned farms in Haywood county.

The first such settlement, known as "Freedom Village," is still in operation in adjacent Fayette county. It was established in 1960 when white landlords began mass evictions of Negro tenant farmers who had been involved in a voters-registration drive there. White-owned banks also refused credit to Negro farmers who had registered to vote, and white-owned businesses refused to sell gasoline or tractor parts to them.

School

Last fall, a voters-registration school was set up in Haywood county by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and a registration drive was begun there. Injunctions were obtained preventing landlords from evicting tenant farmers for registering to vote. But recently some 60 families, involved in the voters' drive, were threatened with eviction on a variety of excuses.

Odel Sanders, executive secretary of the Haywood County Civic and Welfare League which has set up the tents, said that an attempt was being made to relocate evicted families in other houses, but that "there's getting to be too many of them."

Mr. Sanders said that in addition to evictions for civil-rights activities, evictions where "machines have taken over the work" are increasing. In some cases, the desire of the landowners to punish Negro tenants for registering to vote, has led them to hasten the introduction of machinery. "Its all kind of mixed up in one big mess," said Sanders.

In another development, Rev.

Maurice McCrackin, treasurer of "Operation Freedom," an organization which has been providing assistance to evicted farmers in Fayette and Haywood counties, has been released from the Haywood County prison farm. He left Cincinnati last October for a tour of Western Tennessee and was arrested in Haywood county on a "vagrancy" charge.

At the time of the 1960 evictions, the Justice Department was finally moved to take court action to prevent Negroes from being thrown off their land on a mass scale. An injunction against further injunctions was secured at the time, but thus far there has been no federal move to block the new victimizations.

New York Hospital Workers Fight Union-Busting Move

NEW YORK, Jan. 10 — Negro and Puerto Rican workers at the Flower-Fifth Ave. Hospital here have attracted wide attention by their militant strike which began Jan. 2. Hospital management provoked the strike by trying to save \$150,000 a year at the expense of 160 workers. This involved pushing out their union, speeding up the pace of work and leaving some of them jobless.

Last November the hospital's food-handling staff was told its work was to be contracted out to the non-union Horn and Hardart restaurant chain and that from Jan. 1 the staff would be working for the contractor, not the hospital. But Horn and Hardart refused to keep the entire crew, saying it was going to run a more "efficient" operation. The "extra" workers were told they could apply for jobs at the chain's cafeterias elsewhere. Hospital management contended this constituted job security.

Exclusive:

Brazil Peasant Leader Tells of Fight for Land

Francisco Juliao Is Interviewed by Editor of Militant

By Joseph Hansen

RECIFE, Brazil, Dec. 30 — Last night in an interview granted to me as editor of *The Militant*, I had the unusual opportunity of hearing the story of the organization of the *Ligas Camponesas* [Peasant Leagues] from the leader who is given most credit for building this peasant movement into one of the most powerful potential forces in Brazilian politics — Francisco Juliao.

The interview was arranged through cooperation of leaders of the Brazilian Socialist party in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and Recife, all of whom went out of their way to help provide this North American socialist with the fullest possible picture of the economic, social and political problems their country faces.

Juliao, who joined the Socialist party in 1946, is today one of its leaders, now serving his second term as a member of parliament in the state of Pernambuco. Outside of Brazil his long socialist political record is not well known. The capitalist press in the U.S.



Francisco Juliao

presents him, in accordance with its custom in such things, sometimes as a newly-arrived small-town lawyer on the political make, sometimes as a puppet worked by Moscow strings, more commonly as a "Brazilian Castro." What really worries the masterminds who determine the line of the big press is the growth of the *Ligas Camponesas* on a national scale since the Cuban revolution and Juliao's acknowledged interest in

Cuba Sets Example for U.S. In Stamping Out Illiteracy

By Fred Halstead

While the State Department has been doing everything in its power to organize a condemnation of the Cuban Revolution at the forthcoming meeting of the Organization of American States, the Cubans have been celebrating the most spectacular victory of their revolution to date — the overcoming of illiteracy.

The completion of the Cuban literacy campaign of 1961—one of the greatest educational experiments in human history — remains unreported in the daily press in the United States. Yet for those seriously concerned with

education in this country, it stands as a shining example.

Three years ago, when the Revolution came to power, Cuba was one of the backward countries of the world in terms of literacy. About one-fourth her adult population could not read and write, and less than 60 percent of her school-age children were enrolled in classes. Today, Cuba ranks among the most advanced countries in these respects, with the illiteracy rate cut to 3.9 percent of her total population of 6.9 million, and virtually all her school-age children in classes.

Over 800,000 adults have been taught to read and write by the Revolution, 700,000 of these in less than the single year of 1961 — Cuba's "Year of Education."

This accomplishment was the result of a revolutionary mobilization of the Cuban masses, particularly of the teen-age youth. At the end of the campaign, just before Christmas, Havana was given over to a week-long festival of parades, parties, feasts and speeches in honor of these youth, members of the "Alphabet Brigades."

They poured into the capital from all parts of the country, their knapsacks on their backs, after having transformed rural Cuba, and having been themselves transformed.

These 100,000 "Brigadistas" were mostly city youth of relatively privileged sectors of the population from which the pre-revolutionary school enrollment was drawn. In the six to eight months they spent in the countryside, they lived with the peasants and workers whom they were teaching. Thus the literacy campaign deepened the revolution in many profound ways.

During the insurrection and in the first two years after the fall

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the success of the Agrarian Reform in Cuba.

At the home of one of his co-workers, we met Juliao on his return from a day in the countryside among the *camponeses*. Rather slight in build. Dark complexion. Face somewhat lined, but younger looking than the photographs. Eyes very much alive. That was my first impression. He was evidently tired after a rugged day in the tropical heat. But his smile and his warm handshake left us feeling that he was really interested in the interview.

Relaxing in a big chair in the soft evening air that swept from the ocean through the patio, he spoke slowly so that his Portuguese would not leave us too far behind; and, with the occasional aid of a Spanish or English phrase from other friends present, we overcame the language barrier.

Corvée

The *camponeses* in the Northeast, where things are the worst, Juliao explained, have lived under virtually feudal conditions. The *corvée* still exists — the *corvée*, requiring a man to work without pay one or more days for the landowner as well as give up part of the crop. Where labor is hired, the pay is forty or fifty *cruzeiros* (12 to 15 cents) a day. And manioc flour, a common food among the *camponeses*, is 60 *cruzeiros* a kilo. René Dumont, a French authority, declared that the food intake is so low it constitutes genocide through malnutrition. It is impossible to go on like that. That is how the *camponeses* feel.

That feeling, that need, was what led to their organization.

The old parties could do nothing even if they wished to. All of them are discredited in Brazil. New forces were needed. But in this no party had a monopoly — neither the Socialists nor the Communists.

Juliao described in some detail the conditions under which the *camponeses* live. Their huts. The lack of doctors. Take the figure for infant mortality — 242 a thousand. In some places it runs up to 50 per cent and more. India — perhaps only India — has worse figures. Tuberculosis affects a third of the population. More than 90 per cent are illiterate in the countryside.

"That figure," I said, "compares with the Cuban countryside before the revolution."

Yes, with Cuba before the revolution, Juliao said quietly.

Communication Problem

Illiteracy made the communication problem especially difficult in organizing these oppressed workers of the countryside. The *camponeses* are limited to a vocabulary of perhaps 3,000 words out of the 200,000 in the Portuguese language. To express thinking of wider range they use comparisons and imagery. Some of this finds expression in Brazilian poetry but few among the Brazilian intellectuals have learned how to speak the language of the *camponeses*. Thus it is very difficult for them to speak comprehensibly.

As Juliao described difficulties of this kind in working among the peasants, I picture the young socialist lawyer making his beginning as an organizer some fifteen years ago — six years before Castro led the Moncada assault in 1953. Juliao spent weekends, vacations, whatever free time he could find simply visiting peasant families near Recife. His problem was to earn their confidence and he did this by learning their prob-

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... Francisco Julião Interview

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lems and by doing what he could as a lawyer to help them. Not just a few times, but dozens and hundreds of times he visited them until he was accepted as a friend and a fighter for their rights.

The difficulties of organizing the *camponesos*, Julião continued, are great. Three enormous obstacles confront anyone who engages in this work. First of all the landowners write the laws and then to make completely sure they take the law into their own hands. They have a kind of private police — “*capangas*” — as brutal as can be found. In one notorious case not so long ago, with a hot iron they branded a *camponeso*, burning the initials of the landowner on his skin. To overcome fear instilled by such conditions is not easy for the *camponesos*.

Scattered

A second obstacle is the difficulty of bringing the *camponesos* together so that they can feel the strength of their numbers. They are scattered over vast areas. They are out of touch with each other. They are isolated. How to bring them together in close association?

Then there is the church. It is true that some priests genuinely have the interests of the *camponesos* at heart and even join in the work. But they are exceptional. The role of the Catholic church in Brazil is reactionary. The priests bring in God and Jesus Christ to try to keep the *camponesos* from organizing. They quote from the scriptures to instill resignation and dampen hope of ever making things right in this life.

To meet this propaganda we do not fight the beliefs of the *camponesos*. On the contrary, we use the scriptures to help meet the church's propaganda. We show that the quotations used by the priests happen to correspond with the interests of the landowners.

“Do the *Ligas* have a newspaper?” I asked.

No, responded Julião. The illiteracy is so high that few could read it. The work is done orally — by word of mouth. In some places news and messages are spread through a type of ballad.

“Then a lot depends on the cadres?”

Yes. It is quite difficult. But

Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES

The Evolution of Society from the Origins of Mankind to the Modern World. A course in historical materialism by William F. Warde, contributor to The Militant and International Socialist Review. Fridays at 8 p.m. beginning Jan. 19 at 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. 50c per session (students, 25c). A usp. Los Angeles School of Social Science.

Celebrate 3rd Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Dancing, special entertainment. Sat., Jan. 20, 9 p.m. 1930 South New England St. Contrib. \$1.25, students 75c. A usp. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

MINNEAPOLIS

Against Political Outlawing of Communist Party. Speaker, Henry Mayville, Sec'y, Minn. Committee to Defend Bill of Rights. Sat., Jan. 20, 8 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Hall 240. Contrib. 50c. A usp. Twin Cities Socialist Workers Party.

NEW YORK

CUBA IN COLOR TRANSPARENCIES — A chronicle of Cuba's social progress on slides made by Ed Shaw, Midwestern Representative Fair Play for Cuba Committee, during a tour of the island last November. Mon., Jan. 15, 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contrib. \$1. A usp. FPCC.

An Eye-Witness Account of Recent Developments in the Dominican Republic. Guest speaker, Steve Seltzer. Fri., Jan. 19, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. 50c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

students are pitching in and some intellectuals have learned how to participate. You must understand that this is not the work of a single party. Not the Socialists. Not the Communists. All who are interested in the work participate and it doesn't matter what party they belong to.

Old Parties Through

On the political side, Julião explained, the old bourgeois parties are washed up. In the last election a figure like Janio Quadros could still attract the *camponesos* but Quadros was the last illusion and not likely to be followed by another. Yet the *Ligas* are not a party and not dominated by a party.

“And what is the size of the *Ligas*?”

The size is difficult to determine. For the past two years they have gained at a high rate. They have spread all over Brazil. At Belo Horizonte a conference was held Nov. 15-18. More than 2,000 delegates attended. A national conference like that, of *camponesos*, is not easy to organize. For some of the delegates it took six days of bus riding to reach Belo Horizonte. Yet, despite the difficulties, it was a great success and marked a new point in the construction of a nationwide organization.

Julião spoke with enthusiasm, sweeping gestures emphasizing some of his points. His manner of speaking is that of a practical mass organizer and socialist propagandist. He wished that we might stay longer in Pernambuco so he could take us out to visit the *Ligas* and meet some of the *camponesos*. A week from now a big meeting is planned that should prove quite interesting. It really hurt to have to explain in response to that invitation how much we were already behind schedule.

Like Unions

“What kind of activity do the *Ligas* engage in?” I asked.

The daily activity is much like that of trade unions. It involves disputes with landowners and things like that. Unjust rents are only too often set by the landowners. A landowner will sometimes arbitrarily raise the rent. Cheating of the *camponesos* goes on all the time, since they can neither read nor work out accounts. More cheating goes on at the store owned by the landowner where the *camponeso* is forced to buy — at higher prices than ordinary. But the *camponesos* have their own way of knowing they are being cheated and they come to the *Liga*. A tenant may be thrown out; and the landowner may level his hut. A case of brutality on the part of the armed private police is frequent cause for action. Sometimes a legal question is involved. A *camponeso* settles in a wild place and lives there for years. Then a legal shyster comes along and tries to take his land, sometimes with the help of a crooked judge.

Political Goal

Beyond this kind of activity, however, the *Ligas* try to instill a great political goal — the organization of the *camponesos* into a national political force, a force capable of fighting for their own interests in the political arena.

During the interview, Julião emphasized this point repeatedly. In many different contexts he spoke of the overall goal of the *Ligas* — fundamental agrarian reform in Brazil.

There are two types of agrarian reform, Julião said. One kind is spoken of a great deal. Hundreds of beginnings have been made at it. Yet it never gets anywhere. This kind of agrarian reform is nothing but demagoguery, a fraud. We are not for that kind.

What the *Ligas* seek is a thoroughgoing agrarian reform that actually gives the land to the *camponesos* and which establishes

their rights as the majority of the nation and its basic social force.

What the *Ligas* seek is to lift the movement of the *camponesos* to a political level so as to give this sector of the populace the political voice and political representation that is its rightful due.

“Do you think an agrarian reform of that kind can be accomplished peacefully?”

That is not for the *camponesos* to decide. It depends on the landlords. It would of course be much better if it could be peaceful. The important thing is that however it comes, come it must. It is inevitable.

“The relation between the peasantry and the workers, especially the unions — what about that?”

Difficulty

It is a difficult problem but not insoluble. The unions tend to follow reformist channels — the organized workers are relatively better off. But the *camponesos* themselves continually establish links with the union ranks. In Brazil, Julião added with a rather wry smile, the workers are recruited from the countryside.

The interview lasted some two hours, Julião doing most of the talking, explaining in some detail points that were obscure to me. Then he reversed the situation by asking me to tell him something about politics in the United States and the problems of socialists there.

I began with some general observations and then — as has been the case with virtually every politically inclined person we have met on this tour — he asked me about the struggle for Negro equality. That took quite a bit of time.

Julião was interested in the various organizations of the Negro people, their activities, the obstacles they face and what is being done to overcome them.

The story of Robert Williams and Monroe, N.C., which he knew about in general, drew special concern from him. The details about the frame-up of Williams made him shake his head at the workings of American “justice.”

At one point we were interrupted by one of Julião's co-workers who showed him a clipping from a recent issue of *Newsweek*. According to *Newsweek*, Julião on hearing that Castro had announced adherence to Marxism-Leninism, had immediately declared: “I am a Communist.” And additional “admissions” of a similar kind to show that he was operated by push buttons on Khrushchev's desk.

Julião had not seen the article before. And of course this was his first knowledge of the statement ascribed to him by *Newsweek*. Julião's friends were somewhat divided in opinion. Was the article due to a misunderstanding on the part of a *Newsweek* correspondent? A misinterpretation of something Julião had really said? Or was it deliberately planted under inspiration of the State Department? In either case it was evidently designed as a kind of smear of both Castro and Julião with the additional intention of sowing division between them.

Contempt

Julião said little. The contemptuous turn of his mouth was itself sufficient expression of what he thought of a magazine that engaged in such “reporting.”

... Cuba's Example in Stamping Out Illiteracy

(Continued from Page 1)

of Batista on Jan. 1, 1959, the rebel army and other revolutionary organs taught 100,000 adults to read and write.

Early in 1961, a census was taken which revealed 979,000 adults still illiterate in Cuba. (The census itself was accomplished in record time by turning the entire membership of several mass organizations of the revolution — the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, the Federation of Cuban Women and others — to the task.)

Teachers Mobilized

Some 35,000 professional teachers were mobilized to begin the campaign. This core was supplemented by 120,000 adult volunteers who devoted their spare time to teaching in their own neighborhoods or places of work. The 100,000 “Brigadistas” were themselves school-age youth, who volunteered to leave secondary schools, take a short course on how to teach reading and writing, and then go into the field. The first contingent of these brigades left Havana about the time of the invasion last April.

As the year wore on and it became clear that all these forces would still not finish the job on time, an additional 15,000 volunteer “Brigadistas” were organized from among adult workers.

The heavy mobilization of the country's professional teachers for the literacy campaign left many younger children temporarily without adequate school attention. In response to demands by parents, a special program was developed to handle this problem, one feature of which was to have factories “adopt” classes for the duration of the campaign. Rooms on the factory premises were decorated and workers took turns teaching the younger children.

All told, including administrative personnel, some 300,000 persons took a direct part in the literacy campaign. They approached



Fidel Castro

virtually every illiterate in Cuba, urged him or her to take the course, and taught all but 270,000 of the illiterate adults in the country to read and write at least well enough to complete one-page letters by themselves. They also established a widespread adult education system which will continue and grow and carry forward from the level of mere literacy.

According to Armando Hart, Cuba's minister of education, the remaining illiteracy figure includes those of advanced age, those too ill to make the effort to learn, the mentally retarded, and 25,000 Haitian residents of Eastern Cuba who do not speak Spanish, but a French dialect which the “Brigadistas” were not equipped to teach.

Fidel Castro, in a Dec. 21 speech announcing 40,000 new scholar-

In another context, Julião wondered if it is known in the United States what hate its course has created throughout Latin America. The U.S. seems intent on building up still more hate. Then, as if he were afraid I might misunderstand, he added: “But this hate is directed against the imperialist policy of the U.S. — not against the people. We know the American people are good people and well meaning. It is the policy of the government that is gathering hate.”

Know Who to Blame

In stating this, Julião was only stating a fact that we have noted again and again on our tour. The Latin-American masses don't need a complicated analysis to determine that U.S. policy is designed to prevent them from breaking out of economic stagnation and social decay. They see fresh examples every day. Yet they do not extend their resentment to the American people.

One of the reasons for this is the tempered explanations of the Castro's and Julião's that the American people are not to blame. The smear jobs done on them by magazines like *Newsweek* do not provoke them. They are anti-imperialists; not anti-Americans. They believe in the international solidarity of the working people.

Our best way of responding and helping them in their battles is to intensify our own struggle for socialism. For that we could do with a few North-American Julião's. That was my feeling on saying goodbye to the leader who has shown such doggedness, courage and self-sacrifice in organizing the Brazilian *camponesos*.

ships for courses beginning this month, pointed out that the literacy campaign had been completed in the face of the most violent opposition to the Revolution by the U.S. “The great merit of our small nation,” he said, “is to have demonstrated before the world that the Socialist Revolution is possible in America, in the present correlation of world forces, and only 90 miles from the United States.”

U. S. Lags

On Jan. 7 the Kennedy Administration revealed that it will propose a \$50 million program to combat illiteracy in the U.S., where after 100 years of free-public education, about three percent of the population has never been to school. In addition, the U.S. has 7.8 million “functional illiterates,” that is persons over 25 years of age with less than five years of schooling. Of the white population in that age group, 6.4% are functional illiterates, of the non-white, 23.5 percent.

In announcing completion of the Cuban drive, Armando Hart said the data, techniques and experience of the literacy campaign would be used for future tasks in Cuba and are available to any educational, scientific, labor or teachers organization, internationally, for use in educational work.

A key pamphlet

In Defense of the Cuban Revolution

An Answer to the State Department and Theodore Draper

By Joseph Hansen
32 pages 25¢

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Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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Monday, January 15, 1962

A Big, Tired Lie

Washington's latest anti-Cuba White Paper, "The Castro Regime in Cuba," is a prime example of the poverty of the "ideological" side of its drive to crush the Cuban revolution. A weary repetition of distortions and falsifications, the paper could be better entitled "The Big, Tired Lie."

The document was submitted to the Inter-American Peace Committee of the Organization of American States on Dec. 6 and made public Jan. 4. It is intended to convince OAS members that at their Jan. 22 meeting they should invoke sanctions against Cuba. The claimed reason for this proposed act of hostility is that Cuba has become "a bridgehead of Sino-Soviet imperialism" in the Western Hemisphere.

The bulk of the 12,000-word State Department paper is devoted to establishing the already well-established fact that Cuba has entered into extensive, trade, cultural and political relations with the Soviet bloc. Conspicuously absent from the paper, however, is any mention of U.S.-Cuban relations and the degree to which these have shaped the present Soviet-Cuba relations.

The document stresses that 80 per cent of Cuba's trade is now with the Soviet bloc. Apparently it is hoped that the reader will forget that these trade arrangements came after the U.S. cut off the Cuban sugar quota and then clamped on a general trade embargo. (You see, Washington couldn't permit Wall Street to do business with an "undemocratic" country. However, prior to the overthrow of the Batista tyranny, the U.S. purchased 58 per cent of Cuba's products and sold it 73 per cent of its supplies.)

Even more indecent is the suggestion that Cuba's present arms build-up constitutes evidence of a threat of aggression. The paper points out that Cuban armed forces are larger than that of any other American country except the U.S. and reportedly ten times as large as the force maintained by Batista.

This argument might have been persuasive in some quarters prior to April 17, 1961 — the day a U.S. armed, trained and financed counter-revolutionary army launched the infamous invasion of Cuba.

Charging Cuba with efforts to "export" its revolution to Latin America, the State Department asserts: "The activities of Cuban diplomats and other agents, the training of foreigners in Cuba in sabotage and subversive techniques, and the intensive propaganda campaign throughout the hemisphere clearly demonstrates the manner in which the ground is being prepared in other countries for such activity."

Substitute "U.S." for "Cuba" in that paragraph. By doing so you get a pretty accurate, if partial, picture of the activities of the Kennedy administration, its lying diplomats and its sinister CIA agents whose training of Cuban counter-revolutionaries continues.

Finally, the paper complains that the Cuban government "is trying to destroy the friendly image of the United States."

How in the world could they ever hope to do that?

And That Stroke of the Pen?

The shift to the right within the Kennedy administration is becoming brutally apparent. As might be expected, the first casualty of this shift is civil-rights legislation and executive orders.

No political realist seriously expected drastic or effective action on civil rights from this administration or congress. But optimistic liberals held forth the prospect of some ineffectual, nibbling-at-the-edges, civil rights legislation and executive orders. That prospect is rapidly going down the drain.

In two tests of strength the liberal Democrats were badly beaten. One was their pressure and publicity campaign to get Kennedy to sign an executive order against racial discrimination in all federal and federally assisted housing. The other was on choosing a majority leader for the House of Representatives who had an "acceptable" voting record on civil rights.

During the presidential campaign Kennedy made much of Eisenhower's failure to exercise "leadership" on civil rights. In an August 1960 speech Kennedy declared: "Let me give one example of an important immediate contribution that could and should be made by the stroke of a Presidential pen. Eleven months ago the Civil Rights Commission unanimously proposed that the President issue an executive order on civil rights in housing . . . I have supported this proposal since it was made . . . The Democratic platform endorses it. A new Democratic administration will carry it out."

The above and similar campaign quotes were exhumed by the liberals, pleas were addressed to Kennedy to sign the same executive order which has been lying on his desk for a year. But Kennedy let it be known that he would not sign the order.

House Speaker Sam Rayburn's death moved Majority Leader John W. McCormack up a notch. Liberals hoped to fill the vacancy with Rep. Richard Bolling (D-Mo.) because he had a better voting record on civil rights than the Democratic machine choice, Rep. Carl Albert (D-Okla.) But Kennedy was so cool to Bolling's candidacy that even the ADA and AFL-CIO leaders refrained from backing him. Consequently, he withdrew as a candidate.

In the coming Congress the House will thus be in the control of McCormack, Albert and Howard Smith — as pretty a crew as ever ran slaves from the Guinea Coast.

The Nazi General in the Pentagon

By George Lavan

On Dec. 12 the Soviet Union asked the U.S. government to hand over General Adolf Heusinger, Hitler's former Chief of Operations for trial as a "war criminal." Heusinger is currently ensconced in the Pentagon as chairman of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's permanent military committee.

The State Department immediately denounced the Soviet request as "crude and ludicrous propaganda." The American press waxed highly indignant, describing the Soviet charges against Heusinger as belated, politically motivated and timed to take advantage of world interest in the Eichmann trial.

Whatever the Soviet "motivation" or "timing" may be, is unimportant. What is important is the fact that the governments of West Germany, the U.S. and NATO have elevated a man like Heusinger to high position despite (or perhaps because of) his record in World War II.

Though the State Department and the press try to convey the impression that nobody but Moscow objects to Heusinger, it is a matter of record that there have been protests raised in this country for more than a year against Heusinger.

On Nov. 22, 1960 Phil Baum, Director of the Commission of International Affairs of the American Jewish Congress composed a memorandum on the then proposed appointment of Heusinger to his present post.

Eastern Front

The memorandum pointed out: "General Heusinger served in the German army during the war as G-3 for the eastern front. In other words, he was chief of operations and planning at Hitler's supreme headquarters for all German military actions on the Russian front . . . Heusinger initialed and forwarded for action two military orders that were decisive in the Nuremberg judgments — the so-called commissar order and the so-called commando order."

Hitler's "commando" order, endorsed and forwarded by Heusinger, declared: "From now on all enemies on so-called commando missions in Europe or Africa challenged by German troops, even if they are in uniform whether armed or unarmed, in battle or flight are to be slaughtered to the last man . . . Under no circumstances can they expect to be treated according to the rules of the Geneva convention. If it should become necessary for reasons of interrogation to initially spare one man or two, then they are to be shot immediately after interrogation."

The "commissar" order, endorsed by Heusinger and sent on for application provided: "This struggle [against Russia] is one of ideologies and racial differences and will have to be conducted with unprecedented, unmerciful, and unrelenting harshness. All officers will have to rid themselves of obsolete ideologies. German soldiers guilty of breaking international law will be excused."

Letters to the press and public statements by prominent individuals, familiar with the re-Nazification proceeding so rapidly in West Germany, called for a U.S. veto of Heusinger's nomination for the high NATO post. Such a letter from Yale Law School Professor Jerome H. Skolnick appeared in the *New York Times* of Nov. 11, 1960 and another from Brigadier General Hugh Hester, U.S. Army (retired), in the *Nation* of Jan. 28, 1961.

On April 16, 1961 some 3,000 people gathered in Manhattan Center in New York to commemorate the 18th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. There were few in the audience who had not suffered the loss of members of their immediate families or relatives in Europe as a



CAUSE FOR ALARM. A wave of horror swept the world in December of 1960 when synagogues, like this one in Cologne, were smeared with swastikas in major West German cities. Neo-Nazis there have been emboldened by Washington's warm attitude toward former Nazi officials in the Bonn government and in NATO.

result of the Nazis' extermination of six million Jews.

This mass meeting addressed a special appeal to Secretary of State Dean Rusk to annul the appointment of Gen. Heusinger. The appeal characterized Heusinger as "one of Hitler's favorite generals, a leader of the Nazi invasions of a number of lands, and who, as commander of Nazi armies directed the special extermination squads (*oberkommando der Wehrmacht*) which committed atrocities against millions of Jews and other innocent peoples."

On April 17, 1961 a delegation of Jewish leaders from the Chicago Anti-Adolf Heusinger Committee, led by Rabbi Yampol of that city, obtained an interview with Senator Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) and presented him with petitions to President Kennedy against Heusinger's appointment. Morse forwarded the petitions to Secretary of State Rusk with a letter in which he said: "I have looked into Heusinger's record at the Nuremberg war crimes trials and I find myself in complete disagreement with what I understand is the position of our Government that Heusinger allegedly cleared himself in those trials."

On April 19, 1961 Morse introduced into the *Congressional Record* his correspondence, the appeal of the Warsaw Ghetto commemoration meeting, the American Jewish Congress memorandum and other material on Heusinger's record.

Too High Up?

To those who claim that Heusinger was too high up in the Nazi military hierarchy to know about or be responsible for the methods used in the field and in occupied villages, the following instances from the documentation put into the April 19 *Congressional Record* by Sen. Morse should suffice.

In August 1942 general headquarters issued an order putting its operational sector (the G-3 sector headed by Heusinger) in charge of the struggle against partisans. On Aug. 28, 1942, G-3 sent the following telegram to the German army group fighting in the Soviet Union: "The Fuehrer demands immediate retaliatory measures because of the attack on the railroad station in Slavnoya, and with the use of the most stringent measures of terror."

On Aug. 30, 1942 the army group center responded to G-3 as follows: "In accordance with your

instructions, we propose the following retaliatory measures in regard to the attack of the partisans on the railroad station, Slavnoye — to shoot approximately 100 persons who are members of the partisan units and members of their families who are suspected of participating or supporting the partisan attack. The homes of these persons are to be burned. Please confirm."

Heusinger's G-3 wired back: "Confirm measures which you outlined. Results of their execution are to be reported."

Typical Orders

These orders and telegrams, typical of thousands of similar military communications, were among army records captured by the Soviet and the originals have been displayed and photostats circulated to all interested. Their authenticity has never been challenged.

To follow up the reprisals in Slavnoye — this single drop in the ocean of Nazi terror — here is what happened. Several dozen children of the town were thrown alive into a deep well. None survived. And in the village of Gayanka, Heusinger's troops exterminated the whole population of 115.

Two weeks ago *The Militant* reported the U.S. army's presentation of a meritorious service award to General Franz Halder, Hitler's Chief of Staff from 1938 to 1944, the fifth former Nazi general to be so honored.

Preparing a third world war to safeguard "freedom," the politicians and brass hats in Washington eagerly embrace Hitler's heirs. If you think this is in contradiction to their professed devotion to democracy, you're quite right.

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BOOK REVIEW

Women: The Other Sex

THE SECOND SEX. By Simone de Beauvoir. Translated from the French and edited by H. M. Parshley. 705 pp. New York: Bantam Book, 1961, \$95.

The feeling of what it's like to be considered the inferior, unimportant, unessential, Other sex is the elusive but realistic fact of woman's existence that this book has captured. Its author, one of Europe's leading intellectuals, is a leading figure of the philosophical school of atheistic existentialism.

The Second Sex, while drawing heavily on Marxism, is based on the philosophy of existentialism, and builds on this foundation a minutely detailed psychological description of woman's life today, as well as the social training that goes into making woman an inferior creature and makes her accept that inferior position.

Contradictions

There are contradictions in de Beauvoir's philosophical conclusions, however. For example, the author accepts Hegel's idealistic concept that an innate quality of the human mind is an hostility toward every other human mind. In fact, de Beauvoir extends this idea to assert that each human mind is in a state of imperialism and tries to conquer all other minds. She then finds the attempts of males to dominate females "understandable."

In addition, de Beauvoir rejects Engel's theory, as outlined in *The Origin of the Family*, that women became subordinate during the pre-historical period when humanity first domesticated and accumulated large herds of animals. Engels reasons that man's work, which was overseeing these herds — and the slave labor developed to tend them — became more socially important than woman's work which was confined to domicile and garden. On the other hand, de Beauvoir, throughout *The Second Sex*, accepts and applies much of what Engels and other classical Marxist writers have to say.

De Beauvoir's basic tenet is that in society, Man has always been and is the Subject. That is, he is an active independent being who can reach beyond his personal limitations as a single mortal being by taking part in socially productive work that both changes the face of the earth now and molds the future. Woman, on the other hand, has always been and is, the Other. That is, she is a passive, dependent being who is confined to the routine petty tasks of the home and is denied both the economic equality and the personal freedom necessary for being

socially productive and creative.

All our culture, past and present, declares the dominance of the male and, as the Beauvoir points out, Woman eventually comes to see and accept herself as the Other. Besides, society brainwashes Woman into believing that by waiting passively and offering herself as an object-to-be-used, some day a Man, a Subject, will come along to offer her economic support and a moral reason for her life.

De Beauvoir notes that men, too, suffer from the socially-instilled passivity of women. In marriage, "men are enchained by reason of their very sovereignty; it is because they alone earn money that their wives demand checks, it is because they alone engage in a business or a profession that their wives require them to be successful, it is because they alone embody transcendence that their wives wish to rob them of it by taking charge of their projects and successes."

The Second Sex includes a huge amount of material such as: a history of women as a group; a section on women treated as mythical creatures (the Virgin, Earth Moth-

er, etc.); careful analyses of the lesbian, mystic, etc.; a suggested compromise with this society — the professional woman; and many other aspects of woman's life, along with an excellent chapter of conclusions.

Omission

One important omission of *The Second Sex* is an analysis of the situation of the average, non-professional working woman. The office or factory situation is the work situation to which most women are relegated. The myriad pinpricks of discriminatory language, gestures, etc., as well as the over-all economic discrimination of unequal pay, would have made worthwhile stuff for the typical careful scrutiny found elsewhere in de Beauvoir's book.

The Second Sex, as a whole, despite its occasional contradictions (always philosophical, never economic) and omissions, is overwhelming in both its vastness of subject and intensity of investigation. A classic, long recognized on the continent as such, it is finally available to Americans of all economic levels.

Maria di Savio

Story of a Nightmare

The Face of Adlai Stevenson

By Jerry De Muth

I had this dream all about Adlai Stevenson the other night. There he was, this Great Hope of the Bourgeois Liberal, standing in the UN — first lying about the bombing run on Cuban air fields, and then lying about the Cuban invasion.

Suddenly I saw him, the Americans for Democratic Action's

choice for President, touring Latin America, sounding out for backing of the United States' plans against Cuba. Then back in the UN, and this time he was defending French colonialism; and he was mumbling something about the right of a country to have military bases in other countries whether the bases were wanted or not.

Suddenly I could see nothing except Stevenson's face — there was his face right in front of me. His hand went to his chin as if he were going to scratch it but instead he began to pick on his chin. And he began to lift up his skin, to peel it back.

I'll be damned if he wasn't wearing a mask, and he was taking it off right in front of my eyes. He simply lifted the entire mask back, and stood before me, his true face revealed.

And goddammit, I swear, it was Richard M. Nixon.

[Reprinted, with permission, from the December-January issue of *The Realist*, a monthly magazine of "freethought criticism and satire." Published at 225 Lafayette St., New York 12, N. Y., *The Realist* sells for 35 cents a copy or \$3 for a year's subscription.]



Stevenson

It Was Reported in the Press

The Kennedy "Image" — "When the Democratic ultra-liberals look back at the Democratic national platform of 1960 and compare it with what the Administration is seeking from Congress, they see the President is running behind at least 3-to-1 in redeeming his campaign pledges and fear he just won't ever catch up. This criticism does not disturb Mr. Kennedy... While the President aims to keep enough ahead of conservative opinion to maintain a 'progressive image,' he does not intend to get so 'progressive' as to alienate the political center." — Roscoe Drummond in the Jan. 8 *New York Herald Tribune*.

U-2 By-product — Richard G. Jones filed a court suit in Olympia, Wash., Jan. 2 to regain his teaching job at Bremerton High School. He was fired in 1960 after one of his World Affairs classes voted 24-2 to send a telegram to President Eisenhower urging him

to apologize to the Soviet Union for the U-2 violation of Soviet territory. The students acted after a class discussion but Jones said he had neither "prompted or directed" them to send the telegram.

That Answers That — The House Un-American Activities Committee has been moved to attempt an answer to the exposures of its film, *Operation Abolition*, which is doctored to show the 1960 San Francisco student demonstration against the committee was "communist-inspired." The committee conceded a factual "error" in its filmed reportage of union leader Harry Bridges' participation. Distortions achieved by splicing out-of-sequence events were "explained" with this: "Certain events... made it necessary to use some film shots out of sequence to convey a true picture of what actually happened."

Shrinking Fast — "The National Planning Association recently cal-

culated that this year the same level of production as in 1961 can be maintained with 1.8 million fewer workers. The U.S. department of Labor has calculated that in the next ten years 26 million new workers will enter the job market — an average of 2.6 million a year. Thus about 4.4 million people will be added to the nation's jobless rolls every year if new jobs are not created for them by economic growth." — From an article, *White Collar Automation*, by Walter Buckingham in the Jan. 6 *Nation*.

Where Your Tax Dollar Goes — Federal auditors disclosed that the Office of Civil Defense contributed \$69,230 toward a "civil defense training center" that was patently intended as a veterans' memorial hall used by civic and private groups for dinners and dances. A local spokesman explained that the banquets held there "provided training in mass feeding for civil defense."

Letters from Our Readers

Sees Leninism Vindicated

Milwaukee, Wisc.

The controversy over Stalinism is interesting from many aspects. The "socialism in one country" concept, while carried to cynical and brutal extremes by Stalin, nevertheless is worthy of close study.

The tragic events of 1919 in Hungary, Berlin and Bavaria and the rise of Mussolini in 1922 show, I think, the folly of premature action against an entrenched bourgeoisie, especially one that was placed on its guard by the October Revolution.

On the other hand, Stalin's policy of subordinating foreign Communist Parties to a lesser role once the Soviet Republic had been consolidated and the 1929 depression had taken place was a historical blunder of the first magnitude; the most notable result being the seizure of power by Hitler in Germany.

The strength of the Sino-Soviet bloc today fortifies the Afro-Asian nations in the struggle against imperialism, as we have seen most recently in the casting out of Portuguese colonialism from India. It has shown, also, that the old days of gunboat diplomacy in Latin America cannot be revived without stirring up a hornet's nest of public wrath that would be felt from the Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego.

It has placed leaders like Kennedy and De Gaulle in the dilemma of trying to find a course to steer between reactionary extremists and the rising tide of socialism and national liberation.

Measures of desperation such as the vicious McCarran Act with its sadistic penalties; the so-called "Alliance for Progress" which seeks to halt the influence of the Cuban Revolution throughout Latin America; and the "Common Market," that attempted cartelization of Western Europe by American and West European capitalists which tries to pit the workers of this country and Western Europe against each other and drive down the living standards of both — all these things indicate the correctness of the basic Marxist-Leninist position.

Latin America but also the working people from all corners of the world support and firmly stand behind Dr. Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution.

The big-profit agents of the Wall Street monopolies are busy burning midnight oil conspiring in every possible way to overthrow the Castro regime. The champion exploiters are still composing the music but the downtrodden people of the world no longer want to whistle the tune.

All of the efforts of the State Department and the big-money interests of this country to isolate the new Cuba are doomed to complete failure. "Oh forgive them Lord, they know not what they do."

Che Guevara made the remark in a speech Jan. 1, 1962 that the Cuban people had advanced farther economically in the past three years than in all the past 33 years.

Guevara said that when the people are moved out of the slums and handed the keys to brand new homes with modern facilities they are bewildered. A few of the families are reluctant to accept the keys for they think it is all a dream.

Over 100,000 volunteer youth have travelled throughout the length and breadth of Cuba the past year to teach the older generation how to read and write. The demand there for books has tripled in the past six months. Just think what it means for an elderly person to pick up a book or paper and be able to read it. They actually think a miracle has happened. You must realize that these people never had any hopes of ever being able to read and write just one year ago.

Castro has said that a person that cannot read is not really free. He is right.

Why are U.S. citizens threatened with five years in prison and \$5,000 fine if they visit Cuba?

Could it be that our State Department doesn't want us to see a true democracy in the new Cuba?

Reader

For United Defense of CP

Newberg, Ore.

You are to be commended for your fraternal offer in defense of the Communist Party. It is gratifying to note that you recognize the danger involved in the "outlawing" of that party. Now is the time for all groups who believe in civil liberties to come to the aid of the Communist Party, even though some may be in direct opposition to its program.

Programmatic issues should not be permitted to becloud the immediate task confronting the left and progressives. If we allow the Kennedy administration to carry through its plan to imprison Communist Party officials and members, you and I could be next in line.

To struggle against the McCarran Act requires organization and this writer calls upon all in a united effort to repeal the McCarran Act. Remember, comrades, the old saw still holds good: "Either we hang together or we hang separately."

Dirk De Jonge

Likes Our Coverage

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Keep up the good news reporting to us workers including exposures of Southern racist riots and other situations of interest to us in Cuba, Europe, South America and Africa — news some dailies suppress.

H.P.

From a Maverick

New York, N. Y.

I received some very gratifying mail after an article appeared about me in the Dec. 22 *New York Post*. The article recalled various people who had been in the news at the time of previous Christmas holidays. It told how in 1955 my veteran's disability pension had been cut off because of my admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party. (Earlier I was fired from my Veterans Administration job, but won both job and pension back.)

The article quoted my saying that the best Christmas present I could get this year is more progress in civil rights.

One letter I received said: "I am so glad you made a statement on civil rights. Being a Negro woman I know what it is to be a second-class citizen. I am also glad your political views haven't changed."

The *Post* writer described me — sympathetically — as still "a political maverick." I consider that a very flattering description.

James Kutcher

The New Cuba

Mansfield, Ohio

Fifty-eight nations sent their delegates to the third anniversary celebration of the Cuban Revolution, Jan. 1, 1962.

Not only the people of Cuba and

Thought for the Week

"... the Latin Americans do not have our intense fear of 'international communism.' They fear and dislike United States intervention even more. Besides — to be realistic, if cynical — they profit by our reaction to Fidelismo. The Alliance for Progress Plan is, essentially, the United States answer to Fidel Castro." — From a Jan. 8 *New York Times* editorial.