

THE MILITANT

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Latin Gov'ts Resist Demand By U.S. for Gang-up on Cuba

By Harry Ring

JAN. 24 — Regardless of the final outcome, U.S. policy has suffered a setback at the meeting of the Organization of American States. With the opening session already stalled for several days, Washington has retreated from its original demand for collective diplomatic sanctions against Cuba and, as of now, is backing a "compromise formula that would suspend Cuba from the OAS but would not bar individual OAS members from maintaining diplomatic ties with Cuba.

Failure thus far of the U.S. to blackmail key Latin American governments into full support of a gang-up on Cuba dramatically underscores the decisive fact that large masses of the Latin American people want no part of the U.S. plans for imperialist aggression against Cuba.

If the U.S. fails to get all it wants from the OAS parley, it won't be for lack of trying. Rarely has a large and powerful government so crudely and nakedly sought to whip its smaller neighbors into line. And the degree of resistance from governments that are at its economic mercy is unprecedented.

On arrival at Punta del Este, Uruguay, Secretary of State Rusk bluntly warned that those countries which failed to line up against Cuba would be cut off

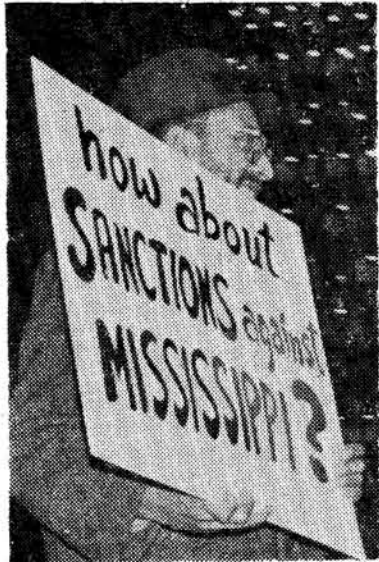
Seeks Data in Cuba For Monroe Trial

NEW YORK, Jan. 23 — Conrad Lynn, counsel for the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, announced today that he will shortly leave for Cuba to take depositions from Robert F. Williams and his wife, Mable, concerning events they witnessed in Monroe, N.C., last Aug. 27. That was the date of the police-encouraged rioting by white-supremacist mobs against Freedom Riders and anti-segregation pickets in the courthouse square. Out of the day's racial strife, local authorities framed "kidnap" charges against Williams and four others.

Williams fled arrest and was granted political asylum in Cuba where his wife and children have joined him.

Because of the U.S. ban on travel to Cuba, Lynn had to make special application to go there. The State Department stalled until he protested that their delay was endangering the defense of his clients who face trial on Feb. 19. On that date Richard Crowder and Harold Reape, Negro youths active in the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee, and John Lowry, a white Freedom Rider from New York are scheduled for trial. Because of the rapid approach of the trial and the very considerable legal expenses entailed, the CAMD is in urgent need of funds. Contributions should be sent to: CAMD, Suite 1117, 141 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

CAMD is also urging the sending of wires and letters to Gov. Michael V. DiSalle, Office of the Governor, Columbus, Ohio, asking that he refuse to extradite Mrs. Mae Mallory to North Carolina where she would face the same charges.



A GOOD QUESTION is posed by this demonstrator, one of several hundred who turned out for a picket line at the UN Jan. 22 to protest anti-Cuba moves at the OAS. The demonstration was organized by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

from the aid program so mockingly entitled, "Alliance for Progress." To emphasize the point, the contingent of diplomats was buttressed by two Democratic and two Republican congressmen. Unhindered by diplomatic protocol, these politicians can be brutally direct in threatening to cut off U.S. funds.

Despite the tremendous pressure, seven governments representing four-fifths of the Latin American population have sought to maintain a posture of independence from Washington's dictates.

The stand of these governments, according to this morning's *New York Times*, is motivated by "fears that major domestic disturbances would follow support for any sanctions against Cuba."

In addition, the same paper reported Jan. 22, "Some ministers from small countries openly declared that their governments would not survive three months if they voted in favor of sanctions."

There is good reason for this fear. The grinding poverty of the Latin American people brought about by ruthless U.S. exploitation of their economies has created a rising revolutionary tide. Last night, more than 15,000 Uruguayans turned out for two pro-Cuba rallies in Montevideo, site of a conference opening today to protest U.S. aggression against Cuba. The conference will be attended by prominent left-wing figures from all parts of Latin America.

In Caracas, Venezuelan police killed 14 people as demonstrations raged throughout the city. Celebrating the fourth anniversary of the overthrow of the Perez Jimenez dictatorship, demonstrators assailed the U.S. role at Punta del Este.

Also yesterday, one person was killed in La Paz during a pro-Cuban demonstration called by the Bolivian labor federation.

Washington can twist arms at the OAS. But in the final reckoning its drive to lay the basis for a new invasion of Cuba will bring it into head-on collision with the people of Latin America.

Negro Students In South Suffer New Expulsions

By William Bundy

Jan. 23 — The weapon of expulsion from school is increasingly being used against Southern Negro students active in the fight against racial injustice. The expulsions tend to lead to further demonstrations of sympathy, which put Negro administrators and principals on the spot. In addition, the expelled students tend to become even more active in the civil-rights struggle.

In Baton Rouge, La., Southern University, the country's largest Negro institution of higher learning has been closed down till Jan. 29, while the nearly 5,000 students are screened. Dr. Felton G. Clark, the university president, has indicated that students active in civil-rights demonstrations will not be re-admitted. Student leaders have indicated that counter action will be taken if the administration carries out its threat.

Dr. Clark has been under strong pressure from the segregationist state board of education which has final authority over the institution. Last week he expelled seven students accused of being leaders in a Dec. 15 demonstration by

(Continued on Page 2)

New York Electrical Union Makes Gain for All Labor By Winning Shorter Week

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, Jan. 22 — A significant breakthrough in labor's fight for a shorter work week to combat automation and technological unemployment was scored here last week when 9,000 construction electricians won a basic five-hour day, 25-hour week after an eight-day strike. The victory — for the construction division of Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers — was hailed by the New York City Central Labor Council and other labor bodies here as the prelude to a "giant advance" by labor nationally.

At the same time, officials of the Kennedy administration called the contract "unjustifiable" and a violation of the position against a shorter work week taken by the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy. The committee — an innovation of the "New Frontier" — is composed of a number of top corporation and union officials.

AFL-CIO spokesmen in Washington were also reported to be "unhappy" about the settlement.

"Labor officials," reports a Washington dispatch in the Jan. 21 *New York Times*, "see it as an embarrassment to the labor movement." This flies in the face of a resolution favoring the shorter work week passed by the AFL-CIO convention last month.

The Kennedy administration's position is similar to that of editorials in the major newspapers condemning the electricians' victory as "inflationary." The newspapers are also claiming that the settlement is simply a case of a small but powerful group of workers getting ahead at the expense of the general public.

Actually, Local 3's new contract is economically sound. In pressing the negotiations for the shorter work week through to a successful conclusion, the local's president, Harry Van Arsdale, displayed immeasurably more civic responsibility than either the newspapers, the Kennedy administration, or the AFL-CIO leaders who are presently "embarrassed."

The new contract encourages increased productivity in the industry but at the same time provides increased assurance of full employment for present members of the union and — what is just as important — opens up new jobs for younger workers.

Under the old contract there was a six-hour day, five-day week, at an hourly rate of \$4.44. An additional hour-a-day of overtime was guaranteed at time-and-a-half, making the wage for a 35-hour week \$165.00 before taxes.

The new contract calls for a five-hour day, five-day week, at an hourly rate of \$4.96. The men will work an hour overtime every day, which means a 30-hour week at a wage of \$161.00 before taxes. When unemployment appears among journeymen electricians, overtime will be cut down or eliminated.

The union will also raise the number of apprentices it now allows on jobs from 1,000 to 2,000. Wages for these men during the

(Continued on Page 2)

Natalia Trotsky Dies in France

Natalia Ivanovna Sadova, widow of the great Bolshevik leader, Leon Trotsky, died of cancer on Jan. 23 in Corbeil, a town 21 miles south of Paris. She was 82 years old.

Mrs. Trotsky, who had lived in Mexico ever since that country gave her and her husband political asylum in 1936, visited friends in France last year. She had intended to return to Mexico, with a brief delay to visit friends in New York, but her health failed on the eve of her scheduled departure from Paris. During her illness of several months she was surrounded by friends and lived in the home of a physician.

Mrs. Trotsky's body will be cremated and the ashes returned to Mexico to be placed alongside her husband's in a monument in the garden of the home in Coyoacan where they lived and where he was assassinated by an agent of Stalin in 1940.

Natalia Sedova was born in Romni, a small town in the Ukraine. She became imbued with revolutionary ideas while a student at boarding school in Khar'kov. In 1901 she went to Switzerland to study at the University of Geneva. There she joined the discussion circle of Georgi V. Plekhanov, the father of Russian Marxism. In Paris in 1903 she met Leon Trotsky who had just escaped from Siberia. They immediately fell in love and joined their lives together.

She had two sons both of whom fell victim to Stalin's merciless persecution of Trotsky and the Left Opposition. Leon Sedov, who was active in politics and had accompanied his parents when they were expelled from the Soviet Union, died in Paris under mysterious circumstances in 1937. A revolutionary leader in his own



Natalia Trotsky

right, he had been constantly surrounded and hounded by Stalin's secret agents.

His younger brother, Sergey Sedov, a student of science who was not interested in politics, had chosen to remain in the Soviet Union when his parents were exiled. He was arrested in 1934 or 1935 and during the great purges there was mention of charges against him of "mass poisoning of workers." His mother never received any news about him after that until, in 1956, she received a message from an old Bolshevik, released from prison after the 20th Congress, that he had seen Sergey in February 1937 during a transfer of inmates from the Lubyanka prison in Moscow. Till the end of her life she tried unsuccessfully to learn about the subsequent fate of her son.

Following the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, Natalia Trotsky addressed a letter to the heads of the government and party in the Soviet Union, asking for a public investigation against her husband his assassination and for his writings to be allowed to circulate in the USSR.

Next week's *Militant* will feature a more detailed biography and appreciation of this heroic woman.

To Hold N.Y. Memorial For Natalia Trotsky

NEW YORK — Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, announced that a memorial meeting in honor of Natalia Trotsky will be held here Friday, Feb. 2, at 8 p.m.

The meeting will be held at 116 University Place and is open to the public.

Cal. Socialist Fights For Right to Teach

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 18 — Wendell Phillips, welding instructor and Socialist Workers Party member, who has been fighting for the right to retain his teaching position, was officially suspended Jan. 15 by the Fullerton Junior College board of trustees. The decision specified that he was being terminated because he had failed to answer all questions put to him at a prior public hearing of the board, as provided for in the repressive Dilworth Act, and had violated other provisions of that act. Phillips has 30 days in which to file an appeal of the decision. If an appeal is not filed within that period he will be automatically dismissed.

Phillips announced today that he will definitely appeal the board's decision and will use whatever legal means deemed necessary to seek his reinstatement as a teacher.

The board of trustees acted under pressure of Birchite elements whose stronghold is in the Orange County area, location of Fullerton Junior College, and who are attempting to act as screeners of the right of individuals to teach in the public school system.

At the board's public hearing Dec. 18 the only questions that Mr. Phillips refused to answer were questions requiring him to inform on political associates. Phillips stated at that time, "I do not intend to play the contemptible role of an informer."

Top Post for Hitlerite Bares Military Threat to Liberties

By Carl Goodman

The floodlight of publicity on General Adolf Heusinger, Hitler's chief of operations, now a top commander in NATO, reveals more than his crimes, it illumines the bloody record of the West German militarists as a whole. Whom but Nazi officers would Washington select to lead what it considers its number one fighting force in Western Europe? For the war being prepared against the Soviet Union, America's big-business rulers want ruthless and efficient killers with a fascist outlook, a record of atrocities and a passion for revenge. Hitler's officers fit the requirements perfectly.

The second most powerful army in Western Europe — the French — is led by people of the same stamp. It has been estimated that not just a few disgruntled generals and colonels are fascists but that the bulk of the French officers' corps — down to the rank of company commander — is fascist-minded. These officers have been at war for the last 17

years to preserve the French Empire in Asia and Africa. They have been beaten or stalemated by the Vietnamese, the Moroccan and Algerian freedom fighters. They burn to avenge these bitterly frustrating defeats on any victims they can find. Recently, President de Gaulle announced that he hoped soon to pull the French army out of Algeria so that it could find its true "glory" in combatting communism on the European continent. The French militarists, it should be added, have matched in Asia and Africa the worst tortures and atrocities committed in Europe by Hitler's commanders.

But what about the American brass? How peace- and democratic-minded are they, the top leaders of the overall anti-Soviet crusade? It is certain that the Birchite Gen. Walker, who recently resigned from the army to be able to spout ultra-reactionary propaganda, is no isolated case.

Last year Secretary of Defense McNamara issued an order subjecting public speeches of generals and admirals to censorship. This was an attempt to curb extreme war-mongering and red-baiting utterances, that is, those going beyond what the Kennedy administration considers prudent at this time. The order still left the top brass plenty of room on the right in which to roam. Furthermore, McNamara's order did not prohibit the propagation of fascist-like ideology throughout the officers' corps, it merely screened this process from public view.

In a Jan. 14 article, Hanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the *New York Times*, describes the American military as "frustrated by the lost peace after all-out victory in World War II, the cold war, Korea, and now nuclear stalemate." He indicates that some people are likening this mood to that of the French officers' corps.

As far as atrocities are concerned, it is to be feared that the American brass is quite capable of matching the German and French. This is indicated by the fire-bombings of the working-class districts of Hamburg and Tokyo during World War II, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Operation Meat-grinder in the Korean War and the napalm bombings during the same war of virtually every village north of the 38th Parallel and innumerable villages south of that line.

The monstrously reactionary tendencies in the principal armies of the "free world" — and we can be sure that they are at work in the British and Japanese military establishments as well — represent an enormous threat to world peace. In addition, they are a mortal danger to the working people of the Western world, to their socialist aspirations and democratic rights. The French military have proved this to the hilt. Three times since 1958 they have openly menaced the French working people with a totalitarian dictatorship. And when they staged their first coup, they succeeded in installing the semi-authoritarian rule of General de Gaulle.

NEW YORK

Fair Play Rally
To Protest
Anti-Cuba Moves at OAS
Speakers:
Carleton Beals
Corliss Lamont
Julio Medina
William Worthy
MON., 8:30 PM, JAN. 29
Palm Gardens 306 W. 52 St.
Contrib. \$1
Ausp. Fair Play for Cuba Comm.

SWP Assails Move To Bar Communists From Calif. Ballot

By Maria di Savio

SAN FRANCISCO — A proposed amendment to California's constitution, which would deny Communist Party members the right to hold office, was denounced at a public hearing here by a spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party.

Mrs. Frances James, chairman of the SWP's electoral committee, told state legislators conducting the hearing that the amendment under consideration was an "attempt to curtail one of the fundamental constitutional liberties of our state — the right to hold office when chosen by the votes of the people." She declared further that "equally at stake . . . is the right of voters to select persons of any political view they choose to represent them in the governing bodies of the states."

The amendment, proposed by Assemblyman Louis Francis, Republican from San Mateo, would deny public office and tax exemptions to Communist Party members. It is the latest of 19 "anti-subversive" measures brought before the Assembly — most of them by Francis. This particular amendment was drafted and introduced at the request of the head of an Orange County manufacturing company.

SWP spokesman Frances James stated that Assemblyman Francis knew that "no court in the land has established that the Communist Party believes in the forcible overthrow of the government" and that was why the Communist Party had been made the specific target of the proposed amendment.

After urging the committee to vote against Assemblyman Francis' bill, Mrs. James said: "In the event the legislature votes to put this measure on the ballot, the Socialist Workers Party will cooperate with all those opposed to the amendment in a campaign to ensure its defeat by the electorate."

... Expulsion of Southern Students

(Continued from Page 1)

1,500 persons in downtown Baton Rouge.

The seven are active in the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality. Their expulsion touched off another demonstration Jan. 15 during which students sang Freedom-Rider songs in front of Dr. Clark's house. Clark then shut down the university.

In another Baton Rouge development, Elton Cox, a CORE field secretary, and one of those arrested after the Dec. 15 demonstration was broken up by police using tear gas, sent a telegram to President Kennedy. It asks that Negroes be allowed to buy surplus gas masks so "we might continue our peaceful demonstrations here in the Southland."

Recent expulsions of college and high-school students in Albany, Dawson and Leesburg, Georgia, have brought protests from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. "Such tactics usually exist only in police states," said SNCC Field Secretary Charles Sherrod.

In Albany, more than 40 students were suspended indefinitely from Albany State College after they participated in the historic demonstration last month. One of these, 18-year-old Ola Mae Quarterman, was arrested for sitting in the front of a city bus. Sherrod, too, was jailed in Albany on a charge of "loitering" at the Trailways Terminal where he was waiting for a bus to Dawson, Ga. SNCC protested to Attorney General Robert Kennedy Jan. 19 asking "enforcement of the ICC ruling in Albany."

Dennis at Detroit Forum Warns McCarran Act Aims Beyond CP

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — In a talk before the Friday Night Socialist Forum, Thomas Dennis, Jr., dispelled any illusions that the McCarran Internal Security Act, which requires registration of Communist Party members, is aimed only at that party. The real victims of this law, Dennis said, are the vast majority of Americans who are interested in peace, economic advancement and racial equality.

Briefly outlining the act's provisions, Dennis showed how it can be used to silence "ban-the-bomb" activities and how it has already been used again a labor union, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Over 200 organizations have already been cited as coming within the scope of the act; the latest group to be threatened with its provisions are the Freedom Riders.

Forced Confession

"The question of registration involves registering to a definition of a Communist as an agent of a foreign power, a saboteur, active in espionage, advocate of force and violence," Mr. Dennis pointed out, "so that registration forces one to confess crimes prosecutable under the Smith Act, Voorhis Act and others. It's a matter of damned if you do and damned if you don't, because refusal to register results in penalties of five years in jail and \$10,000 in fines for every day of such refusal."

The provisions of the McCarran Act for setting up concentration camps provoked considerable discussion from the audience. A number of such camps have already been built (one is in Michigan) and are ready and waiting for occupancy.

Smith Act Charge

Mr. Dennis and five other persons were indicted under the Smith Act in 1953. They were charged with being leaders of the Communist Party in Michigan. A veteran fighter against the Mc-

Carran Act for the past eleven years, Dennis appeared at the forum as a representative of the Michigan Committee for Constitutional Liberties. The collection taken at the meeting was donated to that committee to help it in its task of spreading information about the McCarran Act and aiding in the defense of its victims.

During the discussion period, Frank Lovell on behalf of the Socialist Workers Party declared it was the elementary duty of every radical and every labor organization to fight political oppression by the big-business rulers of this country and to defend victims of such oppression.

Teamsters Rebuke AFL-CIO on Bias

The January issue of the *International Teamster* contains the text of a resolution on racial segregation passed by the Teamsters Union General Executive Board at its quarterly meeting which closed in Miami Dec. 7. Excerpts follow:

"The General Executive Board of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters deplores the resolution adopted by the recent meeting of the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO which censured A. Phillip Randolph, President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and charged him with bearing the 'major' responsibility for the 'gap' that has developed between organized labor and the Negro community."

"This injustice is particularly shocking in view of the fact that no measure of equal force has ever been adopted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council against any leaders of AFL-CIO affiliates which continue to maintain Jim Crowism in their organizations.

Labor's Record

"The International Brotherhood of Teamsters recognizes that the American labor movement has made greater advances in organizing and in improving the living standards of Negroes than any other voluntary, public organization or institution in this country.

"The International Brotherhood of Teamsters, together with many others who also champion both the labor movement and civil rights, categorically rejects the charges leveled against that distinguished advocate of trade unionism and human brotherhood, A. Phillip Randolph."

The censure motion referred to was passed by the AFL-CIO Executive Board last October. At the AFL-CIO convention in December the censure was not directly reconsidered, but a recommendation was passed to "deposit" all documents on the matter with the AFL-CIO Executive Council. This is generally interpreted to mean that the censure will be buried.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

Robert Fink analyzes **THE PRESS: How and Why It Lies**, Fri., Jan. 26, 8 pm. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

The Militant Labor Forum will not meet Fri., Feb. 2. The Socialist Workers Party will hold a public memorial meeting for Natalia Trotsky that night at 8 p.m. at the Militant Labor Forum Hall, 116 University Place.

Cuba Libre Party. Celebrate the 3rd Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Cuban buffet. Entertainers. Dancing. Sat. Jan. 27, 8:30 p.m. 305 E. 21 St. Contrib. 99c. Ausp. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Reception for FRANK WILKINSON, field representative, Nat'l Committee to Abolish HUAC, on the day of his release after nine months in prison for opposing the House Un-American Activities Committee. Peter Seeger sings! Thurs., Feb. 1, 8 p.m. 99c. contrib. includes refreshments. Palm Gardens, 306 W. 52nd St., just west of 8th Ave. Ausp. New York Council to Abolish HUAC.

Winter Issue INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

features
The Myth of "People's Capitalism" By Art Preis
Stalinism and the 22nd Congress By Murry Weiss
Soviet Students in Revolt By Martha Curti
Kennedy: The Candidate and The President By Myra Tanner Weiss
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Monday, January 29, 1962

Behind the Dominican Events

To read the headlines in the U.S. press is to get the impression that Dr. Rafael F. Bonnelly, who now heads the Dominican Republic, is a "democratic liberal" and that a fundamental change in the government has taken place. Such an impression is false.

The Dominican people did win a significant victory on Jan. 18 when they forced a military junta headed by Gen. Rodriguez Echavarria to relinquish the direct control which it had seized two days before. The gain lies in the fact that in mass action the Dominican people glimpsed their own power. The removal of President Joaquin Balaguer and General Rodriguez Echavarria was thus forced upon the U.S. State Department and its Dominican puppets by mass demonstrations culminating in a general strike.

But the new government is not much different from Balaguer's. Before the press build-up began, the new president's true record slipped into a Jan. 18 *Associated Press* dispatch: "Dr. Bonnelly has been in Dominican public life since 1939 . . . In 1952 he went on to the Dominican national Senate. Two years later he was made Interior Minister and head of the police." This was under the Trujillo dictatorship, during which Bonnelly was also president of the council of directors of the Dominican Reserve Banks.

As for the militarists, a *United Press* dispatch of Jan. 19 describes the scene at a press conference where Bonnelly's assumption of power was announced: "Sitting in one corner of a crowded room during the conference at the Palace was Rodriguez Echavarria. He was unarmed and smiling. . . . Gen. Rodriguez said in a statement to this correspondent that the 'change' was the result of a series of 'negotiations and agreements' which he claimed he had been making. He said these negotiations included the visit of U.S. Charge-d'Affaires John C. Hill to San Isidro earlier yesterday."

Bonnelly's remarks at the same conference revealed his overriding concern for the preservation of the old military machine and his desire to avoid any idea that these Trujillo-trained butchers should be called to account. "I want history to write in its pages," he declared, "that the entire officialdom of the Dominican military forces participated in this act." And again: "We are with the people we ourselves saw massacred Tuesday afternoon and with the people also are the armed forces."

Bonnelly so far has refused opposition demands that Balaguer and Rodriguez Echavarria be brought to trial for their role in the murders of eight demonstrators on Tuesday, Jan. 16 by Air Force troops.

As long as the old Trujillo military machine remains intact, those who enrich themselves on the poverty of the Dominican masses will maintain their privileges.

Let All Sides Be Heard

The developing ideological and political crisis within the Soviet bloc is a matter of concern for every partisan of socialism. The manner in which the dispute has shaped up between and within the various non-capitalist countries must also be a source of concern for those trying to determine precisely what the issues are and how to assess them.

The principal barrier to such an assessment is the absence of free, open debate between the various contending forces. It has become a commonplace among the commentators of the capitalist press that when Moscow blasts Albania it's really referring to China, and when Peking assails the Yugoslavs it's really hitting at Moscow. But the reader is on his own in determining how accurate the information and analysis of the particular commentator may be.

Similarly, when the heads of the Soviet regime lash out at Molotov and others of the so-called anti-party group, the "debate" takes the form of a rebuttal without a presentation. That is, those under attack are not permitted to present and defend their views. We are simply informed what their views allegedly are and why they should be rejected.

Such procedures are a caricature of the norms of debate within the working-class movement and a mockery of the principles and methods of Lenin — whose authority is invoked by each of the contending groups. In Lenin's party and international movement, serious disagreements were thrashed out in open debate, with a fair hearing guaranteed to all viewpoints, and with the rank-and-file as the final arbiter of the disputed questions.

Restoration of Leninist democracy is crucial to resolution on a Marxist basis of the issue now rocking the Communist world. To talk either of de-Stalinization, as the Kremlin leaders do, or of a return to an international policy of revolutionary class struggle, as the Chinese do, will have decisive meaning only on the basis of scrapping the Stalinist concept that those on top settle all disputes.

Nor can it be effectively argued that a return to open debate would provide ammunition for anti-Soviet propagandists. The present veiled, one-sided polemics give such propagandists a wealth of opportunity for innuendo, distortion and scandal. Open, democratic debate is the effective antidote for poisonous rumor-mongering.

Italian CP Youth Rebut Thorez on Trotsky

By George Lavan

The Nov. 11 issue of the Italian Young Communists' newspaper, *Nuova Generazione*, which was attacked by French Communist leader Maurice Thorez at the Nov. 25-27 meeting of his party's central committee, carried a front-page headline, "Why Do We Open a Debate on the Problems of Socialism?" In reply, it said the following:

"The interest and the polemics stirred up by the vigorous taking of position by the Soviet Communists is drawing the attention of public opinion to the new 'negative mythology' of the 'personality cult.' If this mythology is justified by the difficulty of the political struggle, it nonetheless risks — by an almost fatal linking of cause and effect which seems to be endless — holding back that rational clarification with the critical instruments of Marxism which Togliatti had already wished for in his celebrated interview in *Nuovi Argomenti*.

"Certainly we did not wait for the 22nd Congress to demand that that interview be the point of departure for a complete critical analysis on our part. Certainly we shall not await the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to declare the need for a critical revision of the whole of Soviet history — including its most recent period — to encourage a more correct analysis, independently of all value judgment, of the role played by Trotsky himself in the October Revolution.

"We uphold this viewpoint not so much because we are animated by a premature desire to ease our consciences, but rather because the very enormity of the latest revelations underlines the urgency for analysis which alone can set us right.

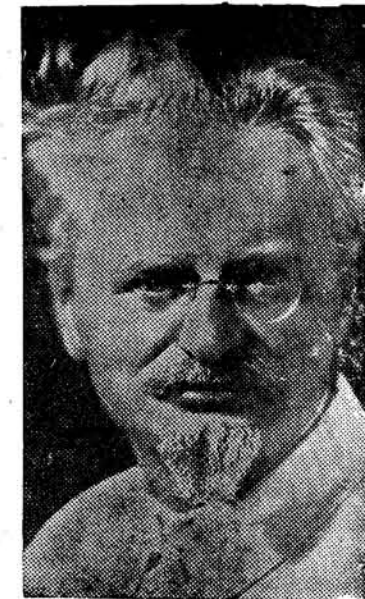
"The 22nd Congress of the CPSU, courageously lifting the veil from the errors of the past, has disclosed a series of problems: how the ideological unity of the international Communist movement is defined; the relations between workers' parties; the deepening of internal party democracy; the regulation of self-government and the institutionalizing of liberty in the state

"The international workers' movement doesn't start from zero. Forty years of history has built a strong and respected socialist world, has opened perspectives of peace for all humanity; with this pride we reopen without qualms a debate which was interrupted for a long time — and by methods which were not always legitimate. Today we can declare that a new generation is entering the struggle of the workers' movement, a generation which has not lived through the 'Stalinist epoch' and which seeks its revolutionary vocation by appealing to the critical reasoning power of Marxism-Leninism and not to manufactured and ritualistic unanimity."

One of the photos in the youth paper is accompanied by these lines: "Lenin speaking at a meeting; near him is Trotsky, one of the most original figures of the October Revolution and upon whose ideas discussion is today reopened. He is to be credited with, among other works, one of the most interesting histories of the Revolution and the most beautiful pages on Vladimir I. Lenin."

Numerous other passages in articles in this issue of *Nuova Generazione* would merit translation if space permitted. As it is, we can only mention that two subjects touched on are Trotsky's explanation of the degeneration of the party and his position on the role of the trade unions in the economic management of society.

All the above citations are from issue No. 42 of *Nuova Generazione*. Issue No. 44 contains an article entitled "Socialist Democracy and Popular Sovereignty." After declaring the need "to free the workers' movement of the filth



Leon Trotsky

which 20 years of Stalinism has produced in it," the editor writes:

"It is clear then that a solution will not be brought about merely by erasing Stalin's name with a stroke of the sponge while seeking on the other hand to keep in existence the theoretical structure of Stalinism, but rather by delving into the substance of Stalinist policy and by recognizing whatever of it still exists and hampers a complete expression of the revolutionary policy of the workers' movement."

Issue No. 45 says: "Let's not forget that Khrushchev and his group are really the survivors of the victorious Stalinist faction of 1934, which Stalin later decimated to strengthen his own personal power. It can be conceded in this sense that it is not so much the need of covering up his own responsibility in the persecutions of those terrible years which prevents Khrushchev from making an analysis [of the real causes of Stalinism] . . . but the fact that probably still operative in his group are the factors which led him to range himself before 1934 with the Stalinist faction against both the right and left oppositions. Herein resides his contradiction: if it is not surmounted, it will be difficult to explain the origins of the degenerations and to erect a solid and sure barrier against their return Trotsky himself recognized in the Bolshevik bureaucracy an "excrecence — dangerous but inevitable" Once the voice of the party was stifled, once the working class was intimidated, the ground was fertile for the flowering of the 'personality cult' which was not the cause of all the evils but the result of the evil already accomplished."

The first issue of *Nuova Generazione* to respond to Thorez's attack was No. 46. This was also the issue referred to by PCI secretary member Pajetta at his press conference as the one containing an article against Trotskyism. Reflecting the pressure to which the paper obviously had been subjected, the issue contains articles attempting to demonstrate disagreement with Trotskyism. Nonetheless the tone of these very articles and the arguments used reveal much — and to the credit of the Italian Communist youth — about the type of discussion going on in their movement.

An article entitled, "Why We Are Not Trotskyists," is preceded by an introduction headed, "Reply to Thorez." Extending across the entire top of the page is an immense photo of Trotsky, bearing the caption: "Leon Trotsky When He Was First Commander of the Red Army."

Here is the introduction: "During the last meeting of the Central Committee of the PCF, Comrade Maurice Thorez in the course of the discussion devoted — within the framework of some polemics against our party — some words

also to *Nuova Generazione*. 'An organization of the Communist youth,' he said, 'has recently published a paper across whose page appears this headline: The Degeneration of the Socialist State. In this paper they likewise speak of restoring Trotsky to his place.'

"In reality the headline was: 'The Bureaucratic Degeneration of the Socialist State.'

"On the alleged 'rehabilitation' of Trotsky that we would have brought about the bourgeois press has devoted considerable space. In seeking scandals — which is its occupation — this press, from *France Soir* to *Figaro*, from *Messaggero* to *Corriere della Sera*, has simply mounted a foolish campaign based on nothing. The matter should not even deserve a reply. But since now some things are said on the same subject by the general secretary of the PCF a clarification and correction are necessary.

"A clarification: we are not Trotskyists and have no sympathy for Trotskyism. We are deeply convinced that Trotsky was beaten in 1925 not because he was weaker or for other reasons but because he was wrong, as well as subsequently. We are sufficiently mature not to be afraid to pronounce Trotsky's name, to say that he was the first commander of the Red Army, and similarly that Zinoviev was first president of the Third International. History is not a thing which can be manipulated at will and because, as good Marxists, we believe neither in angels nor devils we are not afraid to read the judgment which Lenin made on Trotsky in his testament, to read Trotsky's works without thereby changing position towards his policy"

The article in this issue most strongly distinguishing itself from Trotskyism nonetheless contains passages such as these:

"There are two important objectives: (1) On the one hand to do justice concerning those infamous accusations by which a political opposition was made out to be a conspiracy of spies and traitors There is no valid reason for permitting the scaffolding of accusations of the great trials to continue to exist and we have no need of performing a slow and tiresome labor of research in order to free ourselves from them. For what political reason and with what kind of seriousness should we continue, after the 22nd Congress, to believe that a good part of the Leninist general staff had already in 1917, or subsequently, sold themselves to the bourgeoisie?"

"(2) On the other hand, and perhaps even more important, is the matter of restoring Trotsky's political and ideological positions to their original form and criticizing them for what they actually were. This is a long, difficult task, demanding even before a historical analysis, a change of mentality. Last week for example, *Vie Nuove* [Communist Party weekly paper, issue referred to is that of Nov. 23, 1961] published the text of the debate in the Bolshevik central committee over the peace of Brest-Litovsk. Everybody knows that on that occasion the dispute was between Lenin and Bukharin and that Trotsky, while having a special position, decided the struggle by his vote and those of his supporters, in favor of Lenin. All that appears clearly in the verbatim record reprinted by *Vie Nuove*, but nevertheless the weekly entitles the whole article, 'Dispute with Trotsky.'

"So it is necessary to return to the sources, to patiently reconstruct the reality on the basis of the documents. And that no longer is very difficult. Trotsky's works have been widely published and, as far as we know, a more faithful and precise reconstruction of his thought will not prevent us from criticizing therein politically and ideologically erroneous conclusions"

After the Bomb — Prosperity?

By Art Preis

Last week I commented on the grandiose Self-Cremation and Self-Burial program that the U.S. Department of Defense is peddling under the title, "Fallout Protection, What to Know and Do About Nuclear Attack." The country is being saturated with 25,000,000 copies of this booklet describing the so-called "Shelter Program." This is being represented falsely as a program which will save millions of lives in the event of an all-out H-bomb attack on this country.

I pointed out one central flaw in the program, namely, that it is based on the calculation of an attack by five-megaton H-bombs, equal in power to five million tons of TNT. Actually, the five-megaton bomb was obsolete when the very first one was exploded in tests by the U.S. in early 1954. It frightened the scientists and heads of states when it proved to be of 14-megaton force. Today, I showed, H-bombs of 20- to 25-megaton range are considered merely "medium-sized" and bombs of more than 50-megaton power have been test-exploded by the Soviet government.

Insoluble Problem

Hanson W. Baldwin, the authoritative military analyst of the *New York Times*, said on Jan. 8, in discussing the "Shelter Program," that "the problem of the protection of cities and populations against nuclear attack is virtually insoluble. No solution or even near solution is in sight." Baldwin explains:

"Fallout-shelters in a city struck by nuclear weapons would do no good. The occupants would be killed by blast or tumbling buildings, burned to death by heat or asphyxiated by smoke or lack of oxygen in the resulting fire storm."

But what of those in remote rural areas who might conceivably survive blast, fire, asphyxiation and even lethal radiations? "To those in other areas who lived in shelters for days or weeks and emerged to a scorched earth, the problem would be: where do they go, and who tells them?; how do



Some experts are predicting that survivors of a nuclear war may find themselves in a better position materially than they were before the holocaust. Here's a preview of the good times a'coming.

they get there?; where do they find food? and so on and so on, endlessly."

Now keep calm — even if you're the worrying type who's anxious about what you're going to do if you just should survive an H-bomb attack. The Behavioral Sciences Division of the Air Force's Office of Scientific Research has come up with some downright cheerful perspectives for H-bomb survivors. These are contained in a study made for the Air Force agency by Human Sciences Research, Inc. The title of the study, as reported by the Associated Press on Jan. 6, is "Social Phenomena in a Post-Nuclear Attack Situation."

Self-Regulating

If you wonder where you will find habitable shelter after some of those 50- and 100-megaton jobs hit the built-up areas of the country, the study suggests some reassuring possibilities, to wit:

"It is unlikely that a disproportionate number of buildings would be destroyed relative to the number of people. To the con-

trary, the hypothesis appears tenable that there would exist more than sufficient habitable dwellings to house the surviving population."

Or to put it in plain words, there'll be so few people left that even the few sticks and stones still hanging together after the H-bomb blasts and the fire-storms will suffice to give the survivors shelter. Of course, heat, light, gas, running water, including flush toilets, and garbage collection will be out.

And, as far as food is concerned, you may even be living for a time off the fat of the land, minus all fresh vegetation and meat, which will have been destroyed by nuclear radiations. An attack, says the study, would reduce the population without destroying the same proportion of consumer goods. Thus, in food, "a surplus may be created, due primarily to the sharp reduction in population." In short, you may be pretty lonely, but if you grub around enough in the rubble, aided by a Geiger counter in working order, you will probably find enough food whose radiation is low enough to be edible.

Police Protection

But what do you do if another survivor comes along and tries to take your food from you? Call a cop? The military have thought of that, too. The AP dispatch reports:

"With communications gone and state and local governments destroyed or unable to act, military officers could be confronted with the need for ruthless and pitiless command decisions. Courses on these subjects have been taught in such places as the Army's Command and General Staff School since the days of the first atomic bombs."

Well, suppose you do survive an H-bomb war, with all your family and friends cremated, crushed or atomized, with all the radioactivated canned sardine and chicken snacks you can use, and a 100% American "ruthless and pitiless" military dictatorship? At least you'll be "saved" from socialist "regimentation."

It Was Reported in the Press

All's Well — Bishop Frederick Buckley Newell, of the Methodist Church in New York, says Christians should not fear nuclear war because "God has always used the destructive process for His redemptive purposes." He predicted that if nuclear destruction occurred, "God would build a better world."

A Likely Story — Quizzed by Senators prior to his appointment as director of the Central Intelligence Agency, John A. McCone said that while he owned \$1,000,000 worth of stock in Standard Oil of California this would not influence his judgment in handling CIA matters in the oil-rich Middle East.

Ask the Man Who Owns One — "WASHINGTON, Jan. 8 — 'I wonder whether it's a crime to be a dictator?' This question was asked at a press conference here today by Archbishop Ngo Nanh Thuc, of Vietnam. The Archbishop made it clear he thinks the answer is 'no.' He is a member of a family which controls virtually every phase of life in embattled Vietnam." — From a *Baltimore Sun* dispatch.

Getting Down to Cases — The John Birch Society claims its sole aim is to fight "communism." But Roy Tillman, president of the Oklahoma AFL-CIO, charges the Birchites are "calling the shots" on a campaign in that state to enact an anti-union "right-to-work" law. Tillman said the campaign is being master-minded by Glenn A.

Green, director of information for the so-called "National Right to Work Committee." He said Green "readily admits being active in the Birch Society."

"Deliberate Speed" — The board of trustees of Lafayette College in Easton, Pa., has directed school fraternities to end discriminatory practices "as soon as reasonably possible." The board said it will make a new study of the situation around Jan. 1, 1965.

Figures Don't Lie, But . . . — Commenting on federal statistics purporting to show that most Americans now own their own homes, the Peoria, Ill., *Journal Star* noted that about 60 per cent of the country's homes are mortgaged for more than half their total value. The paper commented: "Probably it's fairer to say that most Americans today do not really 'own' their own homes, but 'use' them in a kind of service arrangement."

Our Rational Society — New York cops have traditionally hauled off male and female prisoners in separate vans. The city has now purchased three new vans which will carry 12 male and four female prisoners — in separate compartments.

Testimonial — "The Bible Belt endurance record is held by a white-haired old lady from Kansas, who has read the Bible through 1,523 times, wearing out several copies, and never misses a day reading the Good Book

through at least once. She has plenty of time, serving a life sentence for armed robbery." — From an article on speed-reading in *Economic Intelligence*, a U.S. Chamber of Commerce publication.

Our Balanced Economy — The U.S. consumer debt — installment payments, charge accounts, credit cards, etc. — stood at \$55.5 billion at the end of last November.

Spiritual Values — A principal reason for the cold war is the need to fight "materialistic" communism. What we're fighting for was rather well expressed in a recent advertisement by Alexander's, a New York area department store chain. It declared in part: "How do you make love to a woman? . . . Alexander's does it with cash registers . . . Nothing warms like cold cash. And cold cash makes a store hot . . . Alexander's would like to see you . . . Drop in any time. With cash."

Comes the Revolution — "Almost unnoticed, a quiet revolution with far-reaching implications for politics in New York City has been taking place in the way political clubs are organized and in the functions they perform. It is perhaps best epitomized by the substitution of coffee and doughnuts for beer and sandwiches as typical refreshments at club meetings and by the active discouragement of card-playing and other social activities in the club's quarters." *New York Times* political analyst Leo Egan.

Letters from Our Readers

Fascist Incident in Chicago

Chicago, Ill.
On New Year's Eve we went to a party in a North Side hall. (Within the preceding 24 hours a Jewish synagogue not far away had been bombed.) Before the hall we found a picket line of the "White Youth Corps," teen-agers marching with an older leader. They carried the flag of the USA, signs with anti-Communist and racist slogans and the leader had a camera. Periodically he photographed interracial groups who arrived.

On the steps of the hall and extending across the sidewalk was a large flag of the USSR. Persons entering the hall or passing the building walked on the flag, some without knowing it was a flag.

The police were notified and arrived in a very short time. The picket leader gave a command and photographed his boys posing with their signs and the American flag, standing on the flag of the USSR. Then they picked up the flag and prepared to leave. The police checked the name of the leader and the complainant (myself) and promised to patrol the block to avoid incidents.

It began like this in Germany before World War II! Many men died to defeat the Nazis (in those days the Communist USSR was our ally). In the USA the Communists have been outlawed, but the Nazis, Fascists, racists and anti-Semites carry on. The Negroes, Jews and, in some areas, the Catholics, and the foreign born are still the victims.

To allow Americans to trample on the flag of any country hurts us in the eyes of the world. To allow any group to threaten and persecute another group weakens our hope for democracy. The anti-Communist slogan seems to have become the rallying cry of every hoodlum group. I repeat, *it began like this in Germany!* Let Americans be ever alert.

Anna H. Morgan

Freedom Riders' Story

New York, N. Y.
The Freedom Rider movement deserves serious study by those who are interested in social struggles in the U.S. today. There is more to the story of the Jackson Freedom Rides and jailings than meets the eye in the press reports, and not much else has been written on the subject as yet.

For that reason, I would like to bring to the attention of your readers a little pamphlet which is useful as source material. It is called *Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves* by Mary Hamilton, Louise Inghram, and Others. It was published in November, 1961 by *News & Letters*, 8751 Grand River, Detroit, Mich., and sells for 25c.

F. H.

Facts About Cuba

Chicago, Ill.
The following is the text of a Jan. 8 letter I wrote to Norman Ross of the *Chicago Daily News*.

In your *News* article of Jan. 6, you appeal for understanding and a helping hand for the 100,000 Cuban refugees, most of whom are located in Miami, Fla.

It may surprise you that all Americans do not share your concern and compassion for our latest immigrants, and with good cause.

In the Escambray region in Cu-

ba, 14 of these counter-revolutionaries seized a Cuban youth and a peasant farmer and tortured them to death with an icepick, stabbing the boy in the abdomen 14 times. Then they dragged them to a tree and hanged them until they died. This is not propaganda. It can be confirmed very easily.

Young Manola had earned the hatred of the counter-revolutionaries because of his dedication, like countless other Cuban youths, to the Herculean task of stamping out illiteracy in Cuba in one brief year. He worked in the fields from dawn to dusk with the peasant farmer, then taught him for four hours daily. Most of these dedicated youngsters lived with the farmers they taught, worked with them, milked their cows, tended to livestock, plowed the fields.

The girls helped the farm women with the cooking, housework, the children — never forgetting for a moment that the most important of all tasks was the alphabet.

With your unlimited facilities for securing any information, your knowledge of Cuba and its people seems very narrow indeed.

(Mrs.) Nellie De Schaaf

The Shark and the Sardines

Fond du Lac, Wisc.
Please find enclosed \$2 to help you keep going.

I have just finished reading *The Shark and the Sardines* by Juan José Arévalo, former president of Guatemala. It's claimed to be one of the most widely read books in Latin America.

I think more of us in the USA should get the book and read it, so we can know, as well as the Latin Americans do, what our own country is doing. Our commercial press, with its lies and deceit, tries to keep us ignorant of what is happening.

I felt the book didn't expose the part the Vatican is playing in Latin America. It is one of the largest Sharks swimming in that corrupt pool. But despite that it is a book well worth reading.

C. T.

Soviet De-Stalinization

Cleveland, Ohio
I have never been an apologist for the Soviet regime, nor am I a partisan of the so-called de-Stalinization of Stalin now taking place there.

As a "determinist," I believe the laws of cause and effect determine the conduct of human beings and that under like conditions all human beings will act alike.

On the basis of this belief it is my assumption that the alleged misconduct of Stalin, however vicious that may have seemed to be, was prompted by fear on his part — as well as Communists generally — that the Soviet Union was threatened with destruction and that his own life was in jeopardy. It was this, I believe, that drove him to an unbalanced state and shaped his conduct.

I think the present de-Stalinization is an expression of the new strength of the Communist bloc in the world and a feeling on their part that such stringent measures are no longer needed. Khrushchev is also pleading for universal disarmament, the Russians not wanting any more wars, having been victims of too many and trusting that peace in the world is now possible.

Joseph Manlet

Thought for the Week

"He is not spoiling for a fight with the Southern conservatives over civil rights. He has been urging the unions to keep wage demands down . . . And he has been trying to assure the business community that he does not want any cold war with them . . . He came into office just a year ago on the narrowest of margins sounding like a liberal crusader. He is ending it like a calculating machine." — James Reston, of the *New York Times*, commenting on Kennedy's new budget.