

THE MILITANT

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Interview from Colombia

Editor Tells How U.S. Helps Stifle Liberty in His Country



STREET SCENE IN BOGOTA. This dramatic photo of police firing at student demonstrators was taken in 1954 during struggle to oust dictator Rojas. That fight was won but liberty still has not been established in Colombia.

By Carol Weston

The following is an interview with Hesper Eduardo Perez, chief editor of *Pueblo*, a weekly newspaper printed in Cali, Colombia. With a population of 600,000, Cali is the third largest city in Colombia and is the capital of the southwestern department, Valle del Cauca.

Q: In your opinion what is the most serious problem facing Colombia today?

A: We can define it in the following form: A country with a feudal economy, monoculture (coffee), with an industrial development scarcely in its manufacturing stage, needs far different treatment than that given by the ruling classes of the country. With economic monopolization acting as a brake on industrialization and with an exaggerated dependence on international coffee prices, the recourse of the Colombian capitalists has been to unload the deficit on the working classes.

For this, naturally, they have had to nullify the political rights of the people, establishing in the national constitution itself the legality of a totalitarian regime. Colombians who do not belong to one of the two governing parties — Liberals and Conservatives — are not able to elect or be elected. We can say, actually, that Colombia faces a profound crisis of its whole system of life. The immediate expression of this is the political crisis — paralysis of the government and the parties and the lack of democratic processes.

Q: Do you believe the "Alliance for Progress" represents a solution for these problems?

A: In no way. For two principal reasons: first because the "Alliance" refers to social problems and solutions of a superficial and temporary character. Colombia, like all Latin America, has grave socio-economic structural problems whose true solution must be realized on the road of profound

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Behind Argentine Political Crisis

By Fred Halstead

Here is some background of the Argentine political crisis precipitated by the sweeping victory of the Peronista parties in the March 18 provincial elections, and the bald-faced nullification of the election results in key provinces by President Arturo Frondizi, acting under pressure from the military.

Juan D. Peron first came to political prominence in 1943 when a military coup overthrew the dictatorship of Ramon S. Castillo and ended the domination of Argentina by the class of big landlords and cattle barons. Under Castillo, the major economic forces in Argentina had been British, and later U.S., capitalists who bought agricultural products from the landlords, sold manufactured goods, and inhibited industrial development.

The objective of the officers who made the 1943 coup was to break the grip of foreign capital on the country, to rule in the interests of the native industrial capitalists, and to establish Argentina as a rival power in South America to the U.S.

Peron, a colonel in the army, was appointed secretary of labor

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"The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought"

A MAJOR SPEECH BY FIDEL CASTRO

— The full text begins on page 3 —

Tribute to C. Wright Mills

—See Page 6

Steel Barons Stall On Wages; Profits Continue to Spiral

By John Molloy

Steel wage negotiations have been dragging on in an atmosphere of secrecy. One can well understand the reticence of the steel tycoons. They are not advertising the fact that steel profits were up more than 50 per cent for the last quarter of 1961, nor that the first quarter of 1962 is running at an even higher rate. All that has appeared in the press from Steelworkers President David J. McDonald are statements that negotiations are continuing, that he has no comment about them and that they will resume next day. This hush-hush makes one wonder if there is anything to hide.

The Feb. 28 *Wall Street Journal*, in a front-page article significantly titled, "Steel's Work Push," listed the methods used by management to reduce crews and increase production. More foremen, piecework, percentage incentives, phony technological improvements (which take a job out of the past-practices category and lead to revision of work rules) and outright contract violations are some of the ways used.

The success of this "efficiency" campaign and the technological improvements introduced have reduced payroll costs by 30 cents a ton despite higher hourly earnings. One official of a major steel company said, "I don't think the local work-rules clause in the contract is as much of a problem as some people thought." He goes on to say, "It may take a little longer than it would without the 'past practice' clause, but there are ways of getting around it."

Judging from the facts in the *Wall Street Journal* article and the results achieved by the bosses, the article could have been titled "Steel Pushes Union." Could this be why McDonald has little to say? Or could it be the range of a possible settlement reported in *The Christian Science Monitor* of March 22 which says: "An eventual settlement for between nine cents and eleven cents an hour in 1962 — none of it in wages — appears possible."

Our Editor on Tour

Students Hear Hansen, Prof. Max-Neef

By Joyce Cowley

BERKELEY, March 24 — Last night an audience of close to 100 heard *Militant* editor Joseph Hansen and Professor Manfred A. Max-Neef discuss "What Makes Latin America Explosive?"

The meeting was held at the Women's City Club under the auspices of the Berkeley *Militant* Youth Forum and was attended in the main by students, many of whom earlier that day had picketed President Kennedy to protest against both his foreign and domestic policies [See story this page].

The audience responded enthusiastically when Hansen gave eyewitness descriptions of strikes and demonstrations in the Caribbean and South America, and told of the wide popular support for the Cuban Revolution throughout Latin America.

Professor Max-Neef, a Chilean economist and expert on Latin-American economic development,

Castro Opens Fight On Bureaucratism

By George Lavan

Premier Fidel Castro has launched an all-out campaign to cleanse the Cuban Revolution of whatever anti-democratic abuses may have crept in and to nip a growing bureaucratism in the bud. The Cuban leader fired the opening gun of this campaign, which is a major historic develop-

ment in the Cuban Revolution, on March 13 in his speech to the students at the University of Havana, the full text of which is printed in this issue of *The Militant*. On that occasion Castro denounced tampering with or falsifying the facts of history as cowardly and anti-Marxist, decried privilege and called for a spirit of self-sacrifice by revolutionaries.

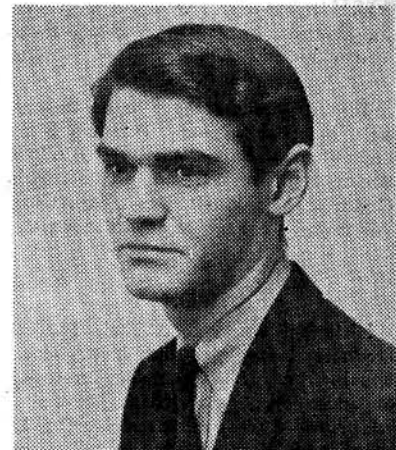
The second gun of Castro's campaign was fired in a three-hour television speech March 26 about Cuba's new united party which is being organized by the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations.

The speech took the form of a withering exposure and denunciation of methods employed by Anibal Escalante, Communist Party (Partido Socialista Popular) leader, who had been entrusted with the key post in organizing the new party.

Escalante, Castro charged, had abused his position to build an island-wide "apparatus" of Communist Party appointees in key posts regardless of their abilities, merits or the desires of the people in the units involved. This "apparatus" had been extended throughout all branches of government and had created a bottleneck where the smallest matters had to be passed on by Escalante. Citing names, dates and places, Castro gave numerous instances of the resulting anti-democratic abuses and injustices.

While announcing Escalante's dismissal, he took the Cuban Communist Party to task for a shortsightedness and sectarianism which alienated workers and discredited the revolution. Bureaucratic and tyrannical methods and the falsification of history would not prevail in the new party or in Cuba, he vowed.

Coming issues of *The Militant* will devote more detailed coverage to this important speech.



JOHN LOWRY, 20-year-old Freedom Rider, who faces trial May 7 along with Richard Crowder, 19, and Harold Reape, 17, in Monroe, N.C., "kidnap" frame-up. Lowry is now on a national speaking tour. The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants is undertaking to furnish transportation to the trial for Asian and African students in this country who are interested in the workings of American justice.

Financial contributions to help with this project may be sent to: Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants, Suite 1117, 141 Broadway, New York 6, N.Y.

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A Letter From a Railroad Fireman

On Oct. 17, 1961, railroad employers and unions, representing 196,000 workers in the operating crafts on U.S. railroads, agreed to submit a dispute over work rules to a Presidential Railroad Commission. Over a year later, on Feb. 28, this commission formally presented its report to President John F. Kennedy. The recommendations are not binding, but are expected to be the pattern for settlement. The report recommends drastic revision of basic work rules covering five crafts: engineers, firemen, trainmen, conductors and switchmen. Chief among these is the elimination of firemen on all yard and freight Diesel locomotives. Since Diesel has replaced steam on U.S. railroads, this could be a death blow to the firemen's union. The following letter from a railroad worker is reprinted for the information of our readers.

The chiefs of the Railroad Brotherhoods after a lifetime of class collaboration and service to the railroad moguls have made the ultimate sacrifice — they have destroyed their craft unions. The chiefs helped set up the Presidential Commission to study operating rules. This commission has become the instrument of their destruction.

This Presidential Commission says: "eliminate the locomotive firemen, cut the ground crews to suit the carriers, extend runs, cut pay." In short, drive 100,000 men from the industry and ruin the working conditions of those who are left.

When the Trainmen held their last convention, Gilbert, head of the Firemen, begged to join the Firemen to the Trainmen. The icy refusal of W. P. Kennedy, President of the Trainmen, presaged the present betrayal. For in setting up the commission in 1961 in cahoots with Secretary of Labor Mitchell, the Trainmen and the Engineers conspired to sacrifice the Firemen to keep themselves in business. This plot, so consistent with the Brotherhood chiefs' long record of betraying and scabbing on other crafts, has not slowed the government-railroad-management wolf pack for a second.

Now this wolf pack is ready to gulp half the membership of the

Trainmen (by cutting the size of crews and by automation) and to take a huge bite from the earnings of the Engineers. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in over three-quarters of a century has got dragged into only one strike — in 1946. That lasted a day and a half. When the telegraphers struck, the Engineers got their own train orders. When the switchmen struck, they threw switches. When the shopmen had their unions smashed in the strike of 1921-22, they repaired their own leaky engines and kept them running until the strike was broken.

In wage negotiations the Engineers stood aloof until the other crafts won something, then they complacently lapped up the gains. A variant of this was to jump into negotiations early and make a tiny settlement that perforce became the pattern for the industry. The special rules and favors given them through the years as a reward for these humble chores are now about to be snatched away. If they are to be saved it must now be by the very unions that the aristocratic crafts prevented from organizing until the 1930's.

Too Little; Too Late

When the Trainmen's Brotherhood refused to support the struggle of the Firemen on the Canadian roads, it became clear that they would not lift a finger to save the U.S. Firemen. Bestirring itself too little and too late, the Trainmen's union in late years has joined with the Conductors — they helped the non-operating crafts win free insurance (but not for their own members) in the Louisville and Nashville strike. They won the 40-hour week for their yard men (while the Engineers and Firemen continue to work seven days).

President of the Trainmen, W. P. Kennedy, now has proof if proof were needed, that he cannot solve the problems of his membership in these times and still be a right-wing labor politician, devoted to maintaining the two-party system, supporting John F. Kennedy and the cold war. The rank and file of the Trainmen can see, even if their president will not, that the only salvation is unity with the greatest force in the transport in-

dustry — the Teamsters Union. Now the rank and file see that Robert F. Kennedy's attack on Hoffa was an attack on all labor, especially transport labor. Now the bitter fruits of remaining shamefully and dishonestly silent while the government tried to cripple the Teamsters are being harvested.

The refusal of the Trainmen to follow the example of the Transport Workers Union and strike against mergers is going to result in the loss of jobs for thousands of their members. Carriers' journals are elated at the prospective "\$150,000,000 annual saving" from merger of the New York Central and the Pennsylvania. No one suggests giving a penny of this money to the railway workers who will be sacrificed as this Scylla and Charybdis grind together.

The plea for railroad efficiency shows that the American capitalists are never satisfied even when they are well off. Consider that a country the small size of England requires 300,000 rail workers and the big U.S.A. has now only about 700,000.

With minimum maintenance of road-bed and rolling stock the American railway workers have run trains over the great mountain ranges and the vast distances, through the great cities, through heat and frost, while their numbers have been almost cut in half in ten years. The cry of "featherbedding" is indeed a false cry but it is echoed by the daily press because it is a weapon to destroy working conditions in every industry.

**Yours for transport unity,
Casey's Fireman.**

P.S. Firemen are necessary on the yard and rail freight locomotives. There are many places where the engineer cannot see signals, switches, people on the ground, hand motions, etc. This information he now gets from the fireman. The fireman has to flag in emergencies. He makes repairs to get the engine over the road. Most important of all he serves his apprenticeship to become an engineer.

Half a century ago in the day of the hand-fed steam engines, all fireman jobs in the South were held by Negroes. When the mechanical stokers came in, and later the Diesels, the whites decided these jobs were too good for Negroes. By collusion between the Engineers union and management, intimidation, changing runs, etc., the Negro firemen lost their jobs. Many a Negro fireman was blasted from the cab with shotgun fire. Now it turns out that the white firemen and their all-white union were weak custodians of the jobs they stole and are in their turn losing out.

NEW YORK

To commemorate the memory of

Paddy Hehir

IRA hero - Union Leader

An Irish songfest led by

The Clancy Bros.

Jimmy Gavin

Lloyd Gough

Sunday Bitter End Cafe
April 8th 147 Bleecker St.
1-5 p.m. Contribution \$5

Tickets available at:

McGowan's Off-Broadway Bar
57 Greenwich Ave.

Socialist Workers Party
City Office - 116 University Pl.

Jefferson Bookstore
100 East 16th Street

No tickets will be sold April 8th

All proceeds to the Hehir family

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN

Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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Monday, April 2, 1962

The Algerian Revolution

The immediate task of the Algerian Revolution is to establish Algerian rule throughout the country. Complete self-rule is the only basis for social progress in the country. This means that in the present interim period prior to the referendum, whose overwhelming vote for independence is a foregone conclusion, the principal preoccupation of the Algerian Freedom Fighters will be building and spreading their power and organizations throughout the French-occupied areas.

This is vital because once de Gaulle has succeeded in disciplining the rebellious French colons, French imperialism will move to perpetuate their reactionary economic and social interests within Algeria.

For the Algerian masses who have shed their blood for more than seven years, nominal independence will not suffice. They want a whole new way of life. It is unthinkable that after all the sacrifice and suffering the Algerian people could return to the old rut of landlessness, poverty, disease, illiteracy and economic backwardness.

Two roads are open for the Algerian Revolution. It can take the road of Tunisia under Bourghiba: retaining capitalism in a backward country. Little has changed in Tunisia save the nationality of the heads of government. Formerly French, they are now Tunisian. But life remains as wretched as ever for the masses.

The other road is that taken by Cuba. The article we print on page five shows that the Cuban example is being closely watched by Algerians. Cuba's agrarian program and other basic reforms not only gave immediate benefits to the people but put the country on a road with endless vistas of progress.

The first step in Algeria is the consolidation of independence, the second must be the socialist transformation of Algerian society.

Van Doren, Kennedy & Nixon

In a forthcoming book, former Vice-President Nixon waxes indignant at Kennedy's unscrupulousness and duplicity during the campaign. Knowing about the CIA's secret training of a Cuban invasion force, Kennedy, nonetheless, publicly called for precisely just such steps and criticized the Republicans for not taking them.

Nixon now reveals the depth of his "patriotism" in his famous TV debates with Kennedy: "There was only one thing I could do. The covert operation had to be protected at all costs. I must not even suggest by implication that the U.S. was rendering aid to rebel forces in and out of Cuba. In fact I must go to the other extreme . . ." Thus Tricky Dick recounts how he lied over a coast-to-coast hook-up.

The White House press secretary on Kennedy's behalf denies the statements of Nixon and former Secretary of the Interior Seaton that Kennedy had been officially told by the CIA of the project. (The word *told* was used advisedly rather than *knew*, for everyone in Washington on Kennedy's political level knew about it, let alone all the top Florida politicians with whom Kennedy has close links.)

So liar Kennedy, stating it should but wasn't being done, was debating liar Nixon, who said it shouldn't and wasn't being done.

Was Kennedy's lapse temporary? Did he reform after inauguration? Simply recall his (and Ambassador Adlai Stevenson's) conduct immediately preceding and during the invasion.

Charles Van Doren and others caught in the rigged quiz show scandal of a few years back were banned from broadcasting by the TV networks for having deceived the American public.

In all fairness and consistency, the TV networks should now extend the same ban to President Kennedy and former Vice-President Nixon.

A Phony Amendment

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has joined with six other organizations favoring civil rights in opposing a proposed constitutional amendment to abolish the poll tax as a requirement for voting in federal elections. An amendment to the constitution must first be passed by two-thirds votes in both Houses of Congress and then ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths (38) of the states.

The NAACP points out that by a simple majority vote Congress can pass a law abolishing the poll tax. To entangle it in the unnecessary and cumbersome amendment form, it correctly declares, "would provide an immutable precedent for shunting all further civil-rights legislation to the amendment procedure."

This procedure is snail-like at best and often leads only to the graveyard. The proposed anti-child labor amendment, for example, sent by Congress to the state legislatures in 1924, still is not part of the constitution.

The Kennedy-endorsed Holland amendment is a phony, intended to stall action on civil rights. The fact that five senators from Southern states, which still retain the poll tax (the rest have other devices for restricting voting by Negroes), are going through the motions of a filibuster, may fool some of their ignorant white-supremacist constituents but it should fool no informed opponent of Jim Crow.

Weekly Calendar of Events

CHICAGO

What Makes Latin America Explosive? A first-hand report by Joseph Hansen, editor, *The Militant*. Fri., April 13, 8:30 p.m. International House, 1414 E. 59th St. Contrib. \$1 (students 50c.). Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

The Truth About the Monroe Defendants. Hear John Lowry, Freedom Rider and Monroe defendant. Fri., April 6, 8 p.m. Hyde Park Co-op., 1526 E. 55th. Contrib. \$1 (students 50c.). Ausp. Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants.

DETROIT

Historical Forces and Their Musical Products (with recorded illustrations). Speaker, Dr. Henry Herrmann, professor of education, Wayne State University. Fri., April 6, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

A Course in Historical Materialism. THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIETY FROM THE ORIGINS OF MANKIND TO THE MODERN WORLD. By William F. Warde, contributor to *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*. Continuing each Friday, 8 p.m. sharp. Forum Hall, 1702 East Fourth St. Contrib. 50 cents per session (students 25c.). Ausp. Los Angeles School of Social Science.

MINNEAPOLIS

What Makes Latin America Explosive? Eyewitness report by Joseph Hansen,

editor, *The Militant*, Sat., April 7, 8 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Hall 240. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Socialist Workers Party.

NEW YORK

Help us deliver medical supplies to the people of Cuba. Join Joe Stack & His Crew at a Mercy Party. Sat., March 31, 7:30 p.m. Polonia Club, 201 Second Ave. (Between 12th and 13th Sts.) Refreshments. Contrib. \$1.

Marti and the United States. A discussion by Dr. Philip Foner, author of *A History of Cuba and Its Relations With the U.S.* Mon., April 2, 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contrib. \$1. (students 50c.). Ausp. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

SCOTT NEARING, back from three months in East Europe, gives four talks on *The Socialist Century*. Academy Hall, 853 Broadway. 8:30 p.m. Contrib. \$1. Tues., April 3, "The Cradle of Socialism." Thur., April 5, "Socialism in Eastern Europe." Tues., April 10, "Socialism in the Western Hemisphere." Thur., April 12, "Fifty Years of Socialism."

WILL SUCCESS SPOIL JOHN GLENN? Speculations by satirist Paul Krassner, editor of *The Realist*. Fri., April 6, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 75c. Ausp. *Militant Labor Forum*.

Saturday Classes in Marxism. Each Saturday at 11 a.m. and 1 p.m. at 116 University Place. Ausp. *Militant Labor Forum* and Young Socialist Forum.

Fidel Castro Speaks to the Students

'The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought!'

On March 13 Cuban Premier Fidel Castro addressed a University of Havana meeting commemorating the fifth anniversary of a heroic but unsuccessful student attack on the palace of dictator Batista.

Dr. Castro's speech was carried on a short-wave broadcast and the following translation was made from a tape recording of it.

People of Cuba, this is a doubly important occasion for us. First of all because we observe a historic date, singularly important in the revolutionary process, and secondly because we are meeting with the youth. We are meeting with the students.

Already this fifth anniversary — fifth anniversary? — and fourth commemoration — the numbers don't come out right. It was in 1957. The fifth? The fact that that event took place in 1957 and that the revolution triumphed in 1959 had me a bit confused. But at any rate, what I want to say is the following: There is something new, there is a change, there is an appreciable qualitative change in the make-up of this meeting. This meeting to mark the fourth anniversary reflects a substantial change in the life of the nation, it already reflects a profound change in the life of the students, in the make-up of the student body, in the university itself.

It can truly be said that today we can all participate in this meeting with true satisfaction, with the true and only satisfaction with which one can remember the fallen. And this university of today, this student body, these rows upon rows of young people present here, are telling us that we have a right to feel satisfied on a day like today, and that we are doing homage in a fitting way, in the only fitting way in which the dead can be honored.

And that is the way we are honoring José Antonio Echevarría and all those who fell on that 13th of March: With 3,000 holders of university scholarships present and with thousands upon thousands of young people present who hold scholarships to the university preparatory schools and to the preparatory technological institutes. We commemorate this anniversary with a youth which is growing up and developing in the midst of the revolution, with a youth which is more and more unified, more and more revolutionary. And we commemorate this anniversary of the 13th of March with the befitting presence of the sons and daughters of the workers, of the humble, of the masses from the countryside.

Builders of the Future

And the hopes of the revolution are entrusted to this youth. To this youth are entrusted the most genuine hopes of our people. And to this youth are also entrusted the most genuine and most human hopes of us, the revolutionists, of all the revolutionists. And this youth must be spoken to, this youth must be encouraged, this youth must be educated. They must be oriented, they must be forged. This youth must become what we all dreamed for the future. This youth must become what we all hope the people of tomorrow, the country's new generations, will be. This youth must become what all of us would have wanted to be, to lead the lives that all of us would have wanted to live. In short, with this youth the future must be built.

And what type of youth do we want? Do we, perhaps, want a youth which will simply limit itself to listening to and parroting what we say? No! We want a youth which will think. Perhaps a youth which will be revolutionary just to imitate us? No! Rather a youth which will learn to be revolutionary of its own accord. A youth which will convince itself. A youth which will fully develop its own thinking.

And why do we think that this youth will develop along revolutionary lines? Simply because it has all the conditions for doing so. It has all the conditions which will permit it to develop into revolutionists, to think and to act as revolutionists.

We do not say that example is worthless. Example influences. Example is valuable. But even more valuable than the influence exerted by example is that exerted by one's own conviction, by one's own thinking. And we know that this youth will be revolutionary simply because we believe in the revolution, because we have faith in revolutionary ideas, and



Fidel Castro

because we know that those ideas will win the minds and will win the hearts of this youth.

And what is the purpose of this preamble? What are we going to speak about tonight? We simply want to speak to the youth about the youth. And this preamble has something to do with what I am going to explain here tonight and which young people should analyze.

I am going to make a criticism here tonight of an occurrence which appears to be minor but which we should nevertheless analyze and criticize and we are going to analyze it publicly. We have here before us tonight an example which is going to serve as a lesson to us and which is going to serve so that we may make a revolutionary analysis.

The *compañero* who acted as master of ceremonies read a series of documents at the beginning of this meeting — a few words, some writings, and among them he read the political testament of José Antonio Echevarría. And while he was reading we also read the testament. On the last page of a pamphlet which had been handed to us, we, too, read along, mechanically, *compañero* José Antonio Echevarría's political testament to the people of Cuba.

And he began to read it. He read the first paragraph. He read the second paragraph. He began to read the third paragraph and when he was at the end of the third paragraph we noticed that without reading three lines he skipped to the fourth paragraph.

Listen, *compañeros*, do not be hasty to pass judgment, nor even to blame the *compañero*.

And it seemed to us that he had skipped. And out of curiosity we read that part since he had skipped it. And it says — I am going to read the third paragraph — "Our pledge to the people of Cuba was given in La Carta de Mexico which united the youth in one line of conduct and action. But the circumstances needed for the student sector to fulfill the role assigned to it were not present at the right moment, forcing us to postpone

the fulfillment of our pledge." From there he skips "... If we fall may our blood ..." — and I read the three lines which are: "We believe that the time has come for us to fulfill our pledge. We are confident that the purity of our intentions will bring us God's blessing so that we may bring the rule of justice to our nation."

Pay attention, because this is very interesting. Amazed, I said to myself, "What is this? Could these three lines have been left out deliberately?" This doubt gnaws me and I ask him when he finishes reading, "Who gave you these papers? Who prepared this?" He said, "No, when I entered I was given instructions. I told them that I was going to read this and they told me to take out these three lines."

Is it possible, *compañeros*? Let us analyze it. *Compañeros*, could we be so cowardly, and could we be so intellectually warped, as to come here to read the political testament of José Antonio Echevarría and be so cowardly, so morally wretched, as to suppress three lines? Just because these three lines are an idiomatic expression or José Antonio Echevarría's way of thinking which we have no business analyzing?

Mutilate History?

Are we going to mutilate what he wrote? Are we going to mutilate what he believed? And are we going to feel crushed merely by what he believed or thought in the matter of religion? What kind of faith is that in one's own ideas? What concept is that of history? And how can history be conceived in such a wretched manner? How can history be conceived as something dead? As something putrid? As an immovable stone?

Could such cowardice be called a dialectical concept of history? Could such a manner of thinking be called Marxism? Could such a fraud be called socialism? Could such a deception be called communism? No!

Whoever conceives of history as he should, whoever conceives of Marxism as he should, and understands and interprets it and applies it to history, will not commit such an act of stupidity. For with that criterion we would have to start suppressing all the writings of Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, who expressed the thinking of his day, who expressed the thinking of his class, who expressed the revolutionary thought corresponding to a period in which the creoles, representatives of the island's wealth, rebelled against the Spanish yoke and Spanish exploitation.

And what ideas influenced those men? The ideas of the French Revolution, that is to say, the ideas of the bourgeois revolution.

And what ideas influenced the Fathers of the American Republics? What ideas influenced Bolívar? Those very same ideas! What ideas influenced Martí? What ideas influenced Maceo? What ideas influenced Máximo Gómez and the other men of that glorious breed? What ideas influenced our poets, representatives of Cuban culture, of those days at the beginning of our history, if not the ideas of the age?

Then we would have to suppress Martí's works because Martí was not a Marxist-Leninist, because Martí responded to the revolutionary thought proper to our nation at that time. If Marxism-Leninism is the ideology of the working class when that class emerges and, conscious of itself, flings itself into the struggle for its emancipation, how could we expect Marxism-Leninism to be the ideology when the task before a country, the task before Latin America at the time of independence, and the task before our nation, were national tasks, tasks of a different kind, of another type, corresponding to the



FROM AN HISTORIC PAGE IN CUBAN HISTORY. Batista's palace guards carry away one of the wounded after the March 13, 1957, student attack on the palace. About 40 were killed including student federation leader José Antonio Echevarría. Photo is reproduced from April 1, 1957, issue of THE MILITANT.

development of our nation at that specific moment?

If we followed that line of thinking we would have to destroy the concept of the revolutionist from Spartacus to Martí. As a result of that short-sighted, sectarian, stupid and warped concept, which denies history and denies Marxism, we would be forced to deny all values, all history. We would be forced to deny our very roots; when all that treasure of human progress, of human effort, of human sacrifice, should be gathered up and added to our nation's beautiful history and to the beautiful history of a mankind which is progressing, which has progressed from the beginning, which is progressing and will continue to progress more and more.

If we pursued to its end that line of thought, we should come to believe that we were super-revolutionists, of believing that we had made all of the nation's history, forgetting the tens of thousands of *mambises* [19th Century fighters for Cuban freedom] who fell; forgetting the tens of thousands of heroes who died along the way, all of whom in one fashion or another marked the way, wrote the nation's history, and created the conditions thanks to which we, fortunate generation, had the opportunity of achieving the highest goals and of seeing dreams come true, the dreams of generations of fighters, who, one after the other, sacrificed and immolated themselves in preparing the way.

Heroic Leader

That he invoked his religious beliefs — if this phrase is an expression of that sentiment — does not detract from José Antonio Echevarría's heroism. It detracts nothing from his greatness, nothing from his glory. For it was the expression of the revolutionary sentiment of the university youth, of the generous sentiments of that youth, speaking through one of its most courageous leaders, that produced such a serene and selfless testament, such a serene and generous testament, as of one who was almost certain that he was going to die. Through those efforts, through that sacrifice, through the commingling of all that generous blood, of that rebel blood, that heroic blood, in which was blended the desire for freedom of all the youth from Mella to José Antonio Echevarría. With Mella's blood and with José Antonio Echevarría's blood and with the blood of many like them, the nation's history was written. And the greatness of the revolution consists in knowing how to unite all that effort, all that blood, to

make the revolution and to carry it forward.

How can we face our enemies with integrity while playing tricks like these? The fact that the counter-revolutionaries have tried to use this phrase in their attempt to present José Antonio Echevarría as a representative of their thinking, that is, the thinking of the counter-revolutionaries, the fact that they have tried to use this phrase to fight against the revolution, to fight Marxism, the fact that the counter-revolutionaries with the hypocrisy and moral feebleness which characterizes them, should act in this fashion, is understandable. But that we, revolutionists and Marxists, should for that reason suppress that phrase, is not understandable.

No Exclusion

It is known that a revolutionist may hold a religious belief. He may hold it. The revolution does not force anyone. It does not go into his heart of hearts. It does not exclude the men who love their country, the men who want justice to exist in their country, justice which will put an end to exploitation, abuse and odious imperialist domination. It does not force them. Nor does it hold them in disgrace simply because they may have in their heart of hearts some religious belief.

It is common knowledge that the *latifundistas* [great landowners], the exploiters throughout history, have wanted to use religion against revolution. And it is there, in the *Second Declaration of Havana*: The Roman patricians who had their religion, which was the religion of the ruling class, used their religion to persecute the Christians, to burn them at the stake and to sacrifice them in the circus. Christianity was the religion of the poor, the humble, the slaves, the poor of Rome. Time passed. Slavery disappeared, that is to say, that system of slavery. A new social system came into being — feudalism. And then the priests, the archbishops, the popes and those nobles, burned at the stake those men of revolutionary sentiments who were opposed to that feudal system. Then, the leading philosophers, thinkers who expressed the sentiments of a class which was being born, were burned at the stake by the inquisitors.

Later, another social order, capitalism, was established. Capitalism developed and turned into imperialism. Then we find the archbishops anathematizing the proletarian revolutions and asking for the shooting of the leaders of the revolutionary class, that is, of the workers. Then, invoking reli-

"We Have Faith in the People"

gion; they persecute revolutionary thought.

The *latifundistas*, the lackeys, the criminals who came to Playa Giron, brought with them four priests. And one or two of the four priests were dropped by parachute. And they came on their way, saying masses, pretending all the time to hold beliefs which they do not hold — because what religious beliefs could that band of traitors, exploiters and lackeys have? Perhaps the majority of them never went to church. Nevertheless they were kneeling there before the priest when they had come to kill *campesinos* and workers; when they had come to restore the dominance of the U.S. corporations, of foreign exploitation, and of the yoke of the *latifundistas* and exploiters of every kind. And they came with crucifixes in their hands.

Deception

It is common knowledge that that is the pose of the counter-revolutionaries and that with that pose they try to deceive people who believe. Since they do not have a worthy banner, since they do not have a cause which will attract the masses, they try to resort to religious beliefs, to superstitions, to anything. But what fault is this of any good Catholic, a sincere Catholic, who may be a member of the militia, who supports the revolution, who is against imperialism, who is against illiteracy, who is against the exploitation of man by man, who is against all social injustices? What fault is this of his?

Very well now. We write a revolutionary document. We publish it in several languages. All the people support it. More than a million citizens, who are present when it is read, vote for it. It creates an extraordinary impression in Latin America. And what do we say? We say that in the struggle for national liberation, in the struggle against imperialism, all progressive elements, all patriotic elements, should be united and that in that front there should be not only the sincere Catholic, who has nothing to do with imperialism or with *latifundismo*, but also the old Marxist fighter.

We declare this to the whole world and we come here with an unheard of display of cowardice to delete from the testament of a *compañero* the invocation he made of God's name. While on the one hand we tell them that they have to unite, and that if they are patriotic and revolutionary in the fight against *latifundismo* and exploitation, no obstacle is posed by the fact that one is a believer. That one has a religion, is a Christian or any other — and that other may be a Marxist, putting his faith in Marxist philosophy — that that is not an obstacle; and we come here with this display of cowardice to suppress a phrase. This could not be overlooked. Because what is this? A symptom! A wretched tendency — cowardly, warped — of someone who does not have faith in Marxism, of one who does not have faith in the revolution, of one who does not have faith in his ideas.

And so that we may complete seeing it as an example right here and now, it so happens that the *compañero*, who received that order to omit that part, is a poet. He has this little book of verses and among his verses he has one entitled, "Prayer for the Anonymous God." Then he begins by expressing his belief and later he says to me, "I had a guilt complex about all these things." How can he avoid having a complex? He is a *compañero* who is a member of the militia, a *compañero* who is a master of ceremonies, a *compañero* who is integrated into the revolution. And by virtue of the fact that he once wrote verses which spoke of God, he has to live with a guilt complex. And how is he to avoid getting a complex if, when he ar-

rives here, he is told, "Take out that word!"

Into what is the revolution changed by this? Into a tyranny! And that is not revolution! Into what is the revolution changed? Into a school of docile spirits! And that is not the revolution! And what must the revolution be? The revolution must be a school of revolutionists! The revolution must be a school of courageous men! The revolution must be a school of unfettered thought!

The revolution must be a forger of character and of men. The revolution above all must be faith in one's own ideas, application of one's ideas to the reality of history and to the reality of life. The revolution has to induce men to study, to think, to analyze in order to possess profound conviction, so profound that there will be no need to have recourse to such tricks.

For if we constantly speak of this, it is because we have faith in the people, because we believe in revolutionary ideas, because we know that our people are a revolutionary people, and because we know that our people will be more revolutionary each day, because we believe in Marxism-Leninism, because we believe that Marxism-Leninism is an undeniable truth. It is simply because of this, because we have faith in our ideas and in the people that we are not so cowardly as to be able to accept such a thing.

We are sincerely sorry for the person who is responsible for this, but he should make a thorough self-criticism. How can we, in the presence of a new generation, a generation which is beginning to study, which is thirsting for knowledge, which is thirsting to read, which is thirsting to embark on the study of history, which is thirsting to embark on the study of Marxism, how can we put on that generation blinders so large that we will not permit them to read the full text of a historical document of a *compañero* of the revolution, a *compañero* who, like Martí, Maceo, Mella and Guiteras, made history and who step by step prepared the way of the nation?

First Step

Yes, perhaps the first step was a very small one, but it was the first step, the first humble step. And so after the first, the second, and after the second, the third — that is how the history of the nation was built. And if today we find ourselves on this advanced stage of history and of revolutionary thought, it is because this stage began being built with the first humble step of our first patriots.

There are many here who imagine themselves better revolutionists than anybody else and who think that the revolution is made by yelling. Who think that the revolution is made by yelling, "To the left! To the left!" I don't want to single out the Rebel Youth for criticism because after all they have corrected some of their slogans.

For example, they used to say: "We are socialists, forward, forward, and whoever doesn't like it let him take a laxative!"

Frankly, I didn't like that slogan because it wasn't positive. They changed it to: "We are socialists, forward, forward, and whoever agrees with us let him raise his hand!" That slogan is a positive one. The former slogan compared socialism to a laxative and said that whoever didn't like it should take a physic. It doesn't invite anyone to study; it doesn't invite anyone to become a Marxist. It says that you have to swallow it whether you like it or not — ". . . If you don't like it take a laxative." Who are you going to win over with that?

"To the left! To the left! Always to the left!" That is not socialism. That could be *Leftism*, *Infantile Disorder of Communism*. I think that we are sufficiently grown up



Illingworth of the London DAILY MAIL did this cartoon immediately after the failure of the U.S.-organized invasion of Cuba. Fidel Castro's ringing declaration that the Cuban Revolution must deepen democracy, not restrict it, will go far in exploding Kennedy's lying propaganda that the Cuban regime is totalitarian.

and mature enough to be able to face these problems in order thereby to create a true revolutionary spirit but not a spirit which consists of mere words, nor a spirit which is forced upon people. How dare they? Who has been forced to accept socialism here? The people have become Marxists out of personal conviction; because the revolution itself has convinced them. No one has imposed it upon them, gentlemen, Batista tried to impose imperialism and there was no way in which he could do it. There was no way in which he could impose his reactionary spirit, his military, imperialist and capitalist rule. He could not do it.

It is the people; it is the revolution itself with its accomplishments, with its struggles, with its proofs which has been convincing this people which has an extraordinary political sensitivity. And it has turned this people into one of the most advanced of the present day; into one with an extraordinary revolutionary spirit. This is not our opinion alone. It is an opinion expressed by many visitors who reached this conclusion after seeing how the man in the street thinks and what the children talk about. For these visitors have gone to the schools and the children have given remarkably good answers to their questions.

This notwithstanding, we believe that a greater Marxist spirit must be created and that in the youth — above all — something more than a socialist spirit must be created: a communist spirit must be created.

The Rebel Youth have been discussing here whether to change the name of the organization, whether to give it a new name, what name should they give it, whether they should call it the Socialist Youth. I have given my sincere opinion. I believe that this youth, this new generation which we are forging for the future — to their organization, to the young people's organization of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution, we should give the name of Or-

ganization or Association of Communist Youth.

Now, why should we do so? Why? Simply because we must distinguish between socialism and communism. First of all it must be clearly understood that social systems cannot be imposed, that they must be built upon definite bases. And we are constructing the bases of socialism. We are marching towards socialism. We are not yet at the stage of socialism. The revolution is socialist. We are socialists but we are building socialism. The society itself is not socialist although the majority of the people may be so.

What do you think of that? This is so because there are still many traces of the capitalist past and we are now engaged in constructing socialism. The present generation is living through that stage of the construction of socialism and it is logical that the party of the revolution should be called the United Party of the Socialist Revolution, because we are constructing socialism. But not the youth, the youth constitutes the future generation; a generation which should live at a more advanced stage — not in socialism but in communism.

The Future

And this simply means — anyone can understand this — that the future generations must be prepared for the society of the future; that we must now begin to forge the man of the future. His feelings must be forged, his conscience, his character, his spirit. In him must be developed a more generous conscience, a more revolutionary spirit — more advanced, newer. Where is he to come from but from the youth, where we find the raw material for the formation of future generations?

We have to start now to create that spirit, but there has not been much evidence of that spirit. We have such excellent raw material — a youth who have just accomplished the feat of eradicating illiteracy in one year. We should lose no time in making a great

effort to create that communist spirit in the youth.

What happens very often and is depressing to behold? Let us take a look at a Rebel Youth. He is a young man who has a well-developed revolutionary spirit and conscience. But he is 18 years old and single. He is given employment in one of the ministries. There exists in that ministry a wage scale and suddenly, a boy of 17, or sometimes 16 or 18, and single is put to work, and because of the wage scale he starts earning 500 pesos a month because he was given an important position. Does this make good revolutionists? Does this create a communist spirit? No!

If later on he marries a girl who earns a good salary then between them they might well be earning 1,000 pesos a month. And as happens in many similar cases, what do we create through such a procedure? We create a citizen who becomes accustomed to receive more, much more, than he needs. And the socialist formula is that each person gives according to his work and receives according to his work and the classical communist formula is that each person gives according to his ability and receives according to his needs.

Corruption

It would be very difficult to make a communist out of that young man who did not have those needs. It would be something else again if that young man had seven little brothers and sisters who had lost their father and mother and he had to support the whole family and he explained his situation. But if his parents are earning salaries and he has no other needs, are we not corrupting that young man? Well, if we don't corrupt him, are we not accustoming him to an income that is much higher than what he needs? This is not the way to form revolutionists. This is not the way to form communists. A greater revolutionary spirit must be created toward work, toward others, toward the whole people, toward society and toward life. This must be done and it must be done with youth.

Well, we have had certain problems. Salaries have been increased. More than satisfactory salaries have been paid to those in certain categories of technical work. But can it be called evidence of revolutionary spirit in the young men who are now in the secondary schools, those who took part in the literacy campaign, who will soon be in the universities and later, still young, perhaps only 20 and 22 years old and already having finished training as specialists, perhaps as surgeons or in some other specialized line of work, and who perhaps marry girls who studied, specialized and graduated with them — is it evidence of revolutionary spirit for these couples to earn 1,600 pesos a month between them?

Is that revolutionary spirit? This is all right for those who have already graduated, including those who are at present specializing in the universities. But in all of this generation, in all these 60,000 holders of scholarships, are we or are we not going to start to create a truly revolutionary attitude, a higher attitude, a more generous and more revolutionary attitude toward society and toward life?

These are matters which truly worry us, and they are matters which we should sincerely begin to put into effect. And we should work to create a new society, a new generation without privileges, free of anti-social individualism; the generation that is going to live in abundance, where all will be able to have all their needs fulfilled as a result of the efforts and the labor of all.

What better conditions are there for accomplishing all this than the conditions surrounding this youth

(Continued on Page 5)

...Castro Speaks to the Students

(Continued from Page 4)

of ours? A youth which does not have to be concerned with their fathers' earnings, nor with the family income, nor with the number of brothers and sisters. A youth which by the mere fact that they are young, by the mere fact that they live in this country, by the mere fact that they want to improve themselves, to be useful to their nation, without worrying, I repeat, about their fathers' incomes nor their families' economic situation, receive scholarships, come to the capital or wherever it may be, go to study in the finest schools, live in the most comfortable mansions, are supplied with clothing, shoes, food, are given free medical attention, all the educational services, all the cultural services, all recreational facilities, because we have made the effort, the people are making the necessary efforts so that our youth will not lack anything.

Workers Will Sacrifice

And this morning at a meeting of labor leaders, more than 300 houses in an old summer and vacation resort of the upper classes were turned over to the Executive Committee of the Cuban Confederation of Workers for use by the workers. When I spoke with those workers who are the heads of families it was a fact of extraordinary significance for us — right there near one of those schools where there are 5,000 young people studying, where formerly the ordinary citizen could not even walk — when we spoke about all that that meant for the welfare of the nation, I asked them if any of them had members of their families there and saw that many of them raised their hands.

For us, it was a cause of great satisfaction to find that all the effort that was being made was worthwhile, and that if we had to go hungry so that the youth might grow strong and healthy we were willing to go hungry. And it was a great satisfaction for us to see that outburst of enthusiasm and approval. A feeling of satisfaction which increased later on when we stopped at a construction site where there were about 50 workers who, in the course of a conversation, we asked if they had a member of their family among the holders of scholarships.

And almost all those humble construction workers raised their hands because one had a son, another had two, another had a nephew, another a brother, another had his sweetheart studying in La Nacional, the school for former domestic workers, now studying typing and shorthand. And there was hardly one who did not have a member of his family or near relative there. It was the working class, that class which produces, that class which works, and that class which feels the revolution so deeply, and that sees very close at hand what the revolution means. What better conditions than these, I say, in which to forge revolutionists, where the young people receive all because society gives it to them, because the working people gives it to them? And here they are going to study according to their ability and they are going to receive according to their needs.

Already they are students who practice a type of communist formula — everyone studies according to his ability and receives according to his needs. What better conditions and what better revolutionary school than these? What better conditions are there for developing and stimulating the revolutionary spirit of the young, the true revolutionary spirit, conviction and conscience, deep understanding, education?

We have revolutionary schools where sometimes classes are given for 45 days, or three, four, eight months. If we could allow the young people to study Marxism, not for three months, not for a year, but rather for five years, seven years, eight years, through



Members of a Cuban rice co-operative. Under the government education program thousands of children of working-class and peasant families are receiving a free higher education. Fidel Castro urged students to become revolutionists worthy of the sacrifices the Cuban people are making to ensure their education.

junior high school, through the university preparatory school, through the technological institute and through the university in order that we might better develop that true revolutionary spirit, that profound conviction of the true revolutionist who knows how to think, how to discuss matters, who has conviction and discipline, who has a new awareness, a new attitude toward life.

Qualities of Leadership

That is the type of revolutionist we want. That is the type of revolutionist that we want in the political organization of the revolution. That type of man who can set an example. That nucleus which will have authority, not merely because it is a nucleus but rather because it sets the example; which has authority not just because they impose it on someone but rather because everyone recognizes it. Because a lazy person who wants to pass as a revolutionist will not have anyone's respect. The privileged person who wants to pass as a revolutionist will not gain anyone's respect. And that is why it is necessary to win the authority which example and conduct bring. That is what the nucleus will have to be.

We will not rest, *compañeros*, and we should not rest in the unending task of seeing to it that the best men and women of the nation are gathered in the political apparatus of the revolution, in the United Party of the Revolution. And that the best young people of the nation, the most disciplined, the most reliable, the most studious, the most self-sacrificing, the hardest working, the best part of our youth, should belong to the young people's organization of the revolution. And that it be an honor, a very high honor, always an honor, always a satisfaction, that is the prize to which revolutionists should aspire, the satisfaction felt by those who fulfill their duties as men, the satisfaction felt by those who fulfill their duties toward society and toward the nation.

No privileges should be forthcoming! War against privilege! War against all manifestations of weakness, against all self-seeking!

The revolution has integrated its political leadership. The revolution has advanced in the field of organization. Now we should continue forward like an arrow shot toward the future. We must work well, selected the best. We must put an end to these minor matters; to this type of hollow, vain and useless sectarianism. War against that sectarianism which leads to privilege, which leads into the swamp.

Let us get out of that filthy swamp, that mistaken sectarianism, and let us begin, *compañeras* and *compañeros*, let us begin to do what history expects of us, what the nation expects of us, what America expects of us, what the world expects of us — with true revolutionary spirit, with a truly new spirit, with a truly creative spirit, in which the touchstone for every man and woman of the nation shall be merit, shall be the spirit of sacrifice, shall be the revolutionary conscience, shall be love of the revolution.

Patria o Muerte! Venceremos!

Algerian Liberation Fighters See Cuba As Pointing the Way for Colonial People

A recent issue of *El Djeich*, the magazine of the Algerian Army of National Liberation, carried an analytical article about the Cuban Revolution, emphasizing similarities between conditions faced by the Algerian and Cuban people in their struggles against imperialism. The following is an excerpt from that article.

"Immediately after the victory, [Cuba's] Rebel Army transformed itself into a vast army of reconstruction on a national scale. Promises had been made, programs outlined — they had to be translated into immediate deeds. Everywhere the army went to work — clearing land, building homes for the most destitute, creating new factories, and consequently, jobs, multiplying the number of buildings.

"This new-style army is no mere fruit of chance. Like Castro himself, the Cuban patriots did not fight out of a simple taste for adventure, as certain sections of

Fascists Bomb Home Of French Trotskyist

The fascistic Secret Army Organization recently exploded a plastic bomb at the house of Pierre Frank, veteran leader of the French Trotskyists. This bombing of Frank's home was fully reported by all the chief newspapers in France, except *l'Humanité*, newspaper of the French Communist Party, which gave the address but refrained from giving the name of the Secret Army target. Frank was a target because of the open and militant support of all French Trotskyists for the Algerians' struggle for independence.

2 American Girls Give Facts On Church Provocation in Cuba

Ilah Warner and Martha McCurdy are two American girls living in Havana. Both are Catholics. Both are ardent friends of the Cuban Revolution for they have seen what the revolution has done for the Cuban people compared to conditions which existed under Batista.

Canada's Fair Play for Cuba Committee (known in French as *Amis du Peuple Cubain*) recently printed a letter from the two young American women and we reprint the following section of it.

I know, at the moment, the big story in the States and Canada is the so-called religious procession that happened a couple of weeks back on the feast of the Virgin of Charity. And boy! what a show that was! It was actually part of a giant conspiracy that involved many aspects. You probably know that simultaneously there were masses in Miami and Mexico. Anyway, here's what happened here in Havana.

It has been customary for many years to have a religious procession on the feast of the Virgin of Charity, Cuba's Patron Saint. It is held in the morning. Well, Bosa Masvidal, an important member of the Catholic hierarchy here, who has lost considerable money due to the Urban Reform, is one of Cuba's most rabid counter-revolutionaries now. He went to the Ministry of the Interior to request permission to hold a religious procession between the hours of seven and nine on a Sunday morning. The Ministry wrote a letter stating that the permission was granted, which they made him sign, since his tricks are very familiar to all. There wasn't anybody on the island who did not know full well that the procession was only a political maneuver. Masvidal decides to an-

nounce that the permission was denied, and that they wanted the procession to take place at five in the afternoon.

In the meantime the Revolutionary Government showed the letter signed by Masvidal on television, so that it was crystal clear that Bosa Masvidal was lying.

At approximately three in the afternoon, the small church begins to fill with all of Havana's counter-revolutionary element, including plenty of scum that had never darkened a church door in their whole natural life.

The Under-Secretary of Interior goes to the church to point out to Masvidal that permission had not been denied to him, but neither had it granted him the right to create a national and international scandal. When Masvidal piously informed him that this was a religious procession, the Under-Secretary pointed to the "congregation" who were shouting counter-revolutionary slogans, and said, "These don't sound like religious chants to me," and left. Several hours later the procession left the church, carrying sticks, rocks and a few firearms.

Now, we are Catholics, and therefore have taken part in numerous religious processions, but neither of us have ever carried sticks, rocks or firearms.

They destroyed a trailer or wagon belonging to the Ministry of Public Works and also struck militia men and police in order to provoke them, which fortunately they did not. The crowds in the street, however, did not show such patience and the police and militia had to exert considerable force to protect the demonstrators from the crowd. The demonstrators retreated to the church, from the church, someone, who incidentally has been identified by people in the crowd as one of the priests, fired into the crowd and killed a 17-year-old worker.

I have in my hand a clipping from the much respected *New York Times* and I can say that I have rarely read such bald-faced lies. The headline reads: "4,000 in Havana Denounce Regime." The number of demonstrators probably did not reach 200, subtract that from 4,000 and you'll get the number of people who gathered in the streets to oppose the demonstrators.

I also have an AP release on the story where it says "shots were fired as police and militia broke up a march on the presidential palace. One man was killed, three wounded and scores suffered bruises from police clubs."

Notice how cleverly they write "one man was killed," without stating where or by whom. I might add that they never got within smelling distance of the presidential palace.

Later in the AP release it says, "In the crowd were Cubans of all walks of life, men, women and children — middle class and poor, white and colored." Indeed they were, but not on the side of the demonstrators; AP doesn't mention that.

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A Tribute to C. Wright Mills

By William F. Warde

With the death of C. Wright Mills the scholarship of our nation has lost one of its ablest heads and the poor people of the Americas one of its most sympathetic hearts.

As Professor of Sociology at Columbia University, Mills published a series of outstanding studies of our social structure from 1948 to 1956 in which he investigated the leaders of the trade unions, the Puerto Rican immigrants and the American middle classes. These were capped by *The Power Elite*, his most probing work, which deftly undraped the anatomy of capitalist rule in the United States. The facts he amassed on the domination of the monopolists and their military and political agents demolished the fiction that under the democracy of the almighty dollar our country was heading toward or had already reached the happy harmonious state of equality in a classless society.

Mills became the most influential sociologist in the English-speaking world. His books sold in hundreds of thousands of copies and were translated into many languages. They were read avidly not only in the West but throughout the Soviet bloc. He was one of the contemporary writers most closely followed by dissident intellectuals there and felt a close kinship with them.

Maverick

The Texas-born teacher was eyed askance as a maverick by his more conservative colleagues, especially after he deflated their scientific pretensions in *The Sociological Imagination*. In compensation, his views and evaluations had a powerful impact upon the most inquiring minds among the younger generation. They learned from him many truths about the realities of political, economic and cultural life in the United States which corresponded to their own sentiments. He gave sanction and support to their militancy and radicalism. They looked upon Mills as the outstanding spokesman in the universities for the new Left movement which was in revulsion against the bipartisan cold war policies on the one hand and the abominations of Stalinism on the other.

In *The Causes of World War III*, published in 1958, Mills spoke out vigorously against Washington's deadly drive toward nuclear catastrophe and offered a counter-program and perspective. His bold opposition to the policies of the militarists and monopolists aroused the fury of their intellectual armor-bearers. It led to a public clash with some of his former co-thinkers.

His defiance won admiration and support not only from students. Members of college faculties, who were aghast at the belligerent course of U.S. foreign policy but could not themselves come out against it in the witch-hunt atmosphere, felt that Mills was speaking for them.

Mills held an exalted and even

exaggerated opinion of the function of intellectuals in our society. He felt that they should, by vocation, remain independent of established institutions and conventional judgments, acting as critics of the deficiencies of their own countries and cultures. They should uphold and promote the ideals of rationalism, humanism, democracy and equality cherished by liberalism in its most progressive form. He sought to draw people out of purely private preoccupations into concern with public affairs. He exemplified this political and social courage in his own writings and activities.

Although Mills stood out as an exception in these qualities in the academic world of today in the U.S., he prefigured and prepared for the future.

The Cuban Revolution marked the big turning point in his life and thought. While Fidel Castro and his *compañeros* were marching from the Sierra Maestra to Havana, Mills had been evolving steadily toward the left. Intending to write a book on Latin America, he visited Cuba where he became caught up in the exhilaration of the people's revolution. He conceived a tremendous admiration for the actions, ideals and objectives of the young leaders of the July 26 movement. These appealed to all that was generous and humane in his character.

He returned to the U.S. determined to make known to his fellow-countrymen the truth about the achievements, aspirations and aims of the Cuban Revolution and to warn against any attempts by the U.S. authorities to crush it. He wrote *Listen, Yankee* in six weeks. The words of his message poured forth like molten lava. He succeeded in capturing the spirit of "Fidelismo" at its crest, just as John Reed had conveyed the essence of the Bolshevism of 1917 in *Ten Days that Shook the World*.

Blockbuster

Listen, Yankee had the effect of a blockbuster on the reading public. To date it has sold almost 600,000 copies in this country alone and has gone through three reprintings in the Spanish translation published in Mexico City.

Mills' earlier heart attack may have been accelerated by the extreme tension he underwent in his defense of Cuba. It hit him just before he was scheduled to debate former Assistant Secretary of State and Kennedy's adviser on Latin American Affairs, A. A. Berle, over the CBS National TV network. He came close to death at that time but pulled through.

His thoughts, passions and hopes became focussed on the success of the Cuban Revolution which he viewed as the dawn of a new world for the otherwise hopeless millions of Latin Americans. I was with him for a day during the April 1961 invasion by the CIA mercenaries. He was angered and ashamed by this conspiracy of the State Department on behalf of Big Business. He was bitterly contemptuous of liberal intellectuals like Schlesinger and Rostow in the Kennedy braintrust who were seeking to justify this illegal, this criminal assault upon the sovereignty of a small but proud neighbor. Despite his illness, he exerted all efforts to organize his fellow intellectuals in protest.

Mills was a partisan fighter not only in words but in deeds. He was in earnest when he declared in a message to the San Francisco Fair Play for Cuba Committee that if he were able and in Cuba he would be combatting the invaders.

* * *

It is not easy to categorize the man, his work and his positions. Mills could be defined as a most radical liberal, even though he believed he had gone beyond orthodox liberalism. He became a Fidelista humanist and a Utopian socialist with a revolutionary dis-



C. Wright Mills

position. He had a highly unorthodox personality which refused to conform to any standard patterns of professorism. He wrote plainly and simply to be understood by the average person. His style was often as pungent as a Texas barbecue. He was a craftsman who built a home with his own hands.

Evolution of Thought

He began his career as a disciple of Thorstein Veblen and later came under the methodological influence of two liberal German sociologists: Max Weber and Karl Mannheim. In tracing his evolution he told me that these figures had disclosed the historical limitations of liberalism to him. In his earlier works he tried to settle accounts with the ideas of classic liberalism. He came to believe these were important for their emphasis upon democratic values but were inadequate for the 20th Century empires which were dominated, not by small enterprises, but by immense aggregations of centralized bureaucratic power in the economy, the state and cultural life.

He discovered that his mentors, Veblen, Weber and Mannheim, were all in their own ways heavily indebted to Marx and had, in fact, engaged in continuous debate with the principles and methods of scientific socialism. He more and more felt the need of coming to grips with the doctrines of Marxism in order to work out his own sociological positions. Although his views were in flux at the time of his death, he did have a special conception of the development of contemporary sociological theory in general and his own in particular. Progressive social thought, he believed, had proceeded from liberalism through Marxism, which shared common values of humanism, rationalism and democracy, and was now headed toward some higher synthetic doctrine which had still to be defined and discovered.

* * *

About a decade ago I corresponded with Mills in connection with his support of James Kutcher, the Legless Veteran who had been deprived of his government job in Truman's loyalty purge. We became personally acquainted as a result of his research on his latest book, *The Marxists*. I aided him in verifying the selections and seeing the manuscript through the press while he was in Europe.

In addition to clarifying his own attitude toward Marxism, Mills wanted to use his prestige and authority as a sociologist to draw the attention of the student youth to the importance of understanding the ideas of scientific socialism as part of their education and orientation in the world of today. He maintained that, unless they were informed about the essentials of Marxism, people could not consider themselves properly educated in politics or social science.

While Mills emphasized the immense value of knowing about

scientific socialism, he was not a Marxist and did not claim to be. He was a critic who believed that for all its merits Marxism was outdated. By itself, he held, Marxism was no more capable than its predecessor, liberalism, of providing answers to the major problems posed by contemporary world developments. Thus, under the guise of accepting what was valid and valuable in Marxism, he presented a compendium of the liberal prejudices and arguments against historical materialism.

His position on this score developed in sharp contrast with that of the leadership of the Cuban Revolution. While he was designating Marxism as obsolete and utopian, and yet defending the Cuban Revolution, its architects, harmonizing their theory and practice, were discovering and celebrating the validity of scientific socialism.

Beneficial Effect

Despite his incorrect appraisal of the body of Marxist thought, the main drift of *The Marxists* cannot help but have beneficial effects in the prevailing reactionary political and ideological climate of the United States, where Communism is officially stigmatized as subversive, liberalism is condemned as creeping Socialism, and Marxism is as heretical as Protestantism was under the feudal Popes. It should help break down officially inculcated prejudices against Marxism.

That is not all. One of the principal contentions in his survey of Marxism is that Lenin and Trotsky together formed the pivot of Bolshevism, the most heroic and consistent effort to translate Marxist ideas into revolutionary practice. Whatever his criticisms of Trotsky, he esteemed him as one of the finest minds of our century. "No Marxist, including Marx himself and Lenin," he wrote, "filled so many revolutionary roles as brilliantly as did Leon Trotsky."

In *The Marxists* he brings forward Trotsky's contributions to revolutionary thought and action against the Stalinist detractors and slanderers. He not only restores Trotsky to his rightful place in the history of Marxist thought and the Russian Revolution but directly challenges the Soviet govern-

ment to publish and circulate all of Trotsky's works. Until and unless the countries in the Soviet bloc do this, he maintained, they cannot be considered to have freedom of thought even in the domain of Marxism. When Soviet intellectuals chided him for not being a Marxist, Mills sometimes replied that he was better acquainted than they with the best Marxist theory of the 20th Century because he had read the writings of Trotsky which up to now they have been forbidden to do.

He projected a series of works to follow *The Marxists*. One was to be on Yugoslavia, which he regarded as the most hopeful of all the national experiments in workers' democracies, another outlining a program for the New Left, and a third which would be a compilation of Trotsky's writings. Although we had drawn up a tentative outline for the contents of *The Trotsky Reader*, he was unable to proceed with the project because of ill health. In one of his last letters he wrote me that he intended to "take hold of the Trotsky materials this spring."

* * *

Now his work is done. It will continue to have a progressive and liberating influence upon American life and thought.

In a letter to Natalia Trotsky, whose death preceded his by a few weeks, asking permission to republish the writings of her husband, I gave the following characterization of Professor Mills:

"He has shown by his criticism of U.S. militarism, and above all by his stand in defense of the Cuban Revolution, that he is one of the most courageous and honest of all academic figures in this country today. He belongs to the same university faculty as did John Dewey, and they are of the same intellectual and moral stature as well as of the same general trend of thought."

I can neither add nor subtract from this. And I am glad that Wright knew of this tribute before his death.

The slogan of the Cuban Revolution "Venceremos" was emblazoned on the door of his study at home. No better word could be said in farewell to him:

"We Will Win!"

... Will U.S. Invade North Vietnam?

(Continued from Page 1)

Diem's troops on recently reported raids into North Vietnam since this form of "aggressive" action has been long and loudly urged on Diem by the Pentagon.

The *Wall Street Journal* article by Henry Gemmill, reporting the thinking of the Pentagon, states that U.S. policy makers will not accept a defeat in South Vietnam or any "neutralization" formula such as has been projected for Laos.

Pentagon strategy is first to try a "slow-bleeding" tactic against the Viet Cong and against North Vietnam, which for propaganda reasons is declared to be the military base of the guerrilla war against dictator Diem. It is hoped that this strategy "can be enhanced in the final months by helping the South Vietnamese anti-Communists organize guerrilla attacks within North Vietnam, threatening the stability of Ho Chi Minh's regime there."

But if such strategy doesn't bring victory within three years, the article reports, a crisis will be reached. North Vietnam and China might enter the war, spreading the fighting to Korea and Formosa. On the other hand, the U.S. "might itself choose to take the initiative" in escalating the war.

"Suppose for instance that Ngo Dinh Diem's government, already lacking solid support throughout

the countryside, suffers further grave erosion, while the Red guerrillas gain. Suppose, too, that the American public becomes disturbed by slowly mounting casualty lists in what appears to be an elusive futile contest." Then, the *Wall Street Journal* says, "the first move would likely be an ultimatum to Ho Chi Minh. If this went unheeded, U.S. bombers would in fact go to work on the airfields, ports and rail lines of North Vietnam. If army divisions were poured in, they'd be thrown into North Vietnam, not South Vietnam."

What's Behind The Events in Cuba?

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Los Angeles Steel Union Official Blasted For Playing Footsie With Birch Society

LOS ANGELES — Four hundred delegates to the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor heard representatives from Steelworkers Local 2058 repudiate John Despol, appointed administrator over their local, and call for assistance in fighting Despol's encouragement of Birchite attacks on the Steelworkers.

This airing of the situation before the Federation followed an earlier denunciation of Despol, a former California AFL-CIO officer, by Manuel Sierras, a Local 2058 leader. Sierras had blasted Despol for his invitation to Robert Welch, leader of the John Birch Society, to help fight "Communists" in Local 2058.

The Federation meeting March 19 heard Leonard Levy, West Coast Vice-President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, report out an eight-page statement of a Federation subcommittee exposing anti-labor efforts of ultra-right organizations. Levy called for intensive educational work among labor's rank and file to alert them to the dangers of the mounting rightist attacks on the American trade union movement and for rebuking "certain AFL-CIO leaders" who have been "taken in" by these rightist groups. He emphasized that the danger to social gains won by the labor movement comes from the right, "not the left."

Levy was followed to the microphone by Carl Kessler, delegate for Steelworkers Local 2058, who reported on the Birchite attack on

his local union. Denouncing Despol for spreading dissension and distrust, Kessler pointed out that although Despol had been sent into the local by the International to strengthen it, he had, instead, picked up the line of the Birchers. Accusing the membership of Local 2058 of harboring a "Communist conspiracy" in its ranks, Despol had issued what Kessler termed a "heinous appeal to Welch, head of the Birch Society, for help," thus opening the door of the labor movement to the Birchers.

Kessler's appeal to the delegates for their support in fighting off this attack and in the removal of Despol, "a man who has no longer a place in the labor movement," met with applause.

Later in the meeting Sid Rose, Regional Director of the National Association of Broadcast Engineers and Technicians, attempted to get the floor for "a 30-second defense of John Despol." Federation Secretary-Treasurer Bill Bassett commented that the Steelworkers International had representatives present who had had the opportunity to defend Despol, if it were warranted. He also pointed out that Delegate Kessler's statements concerning Despol's actions were a matter of public record. No representative of the Steelworkers rose to defend Despol. Federation Chairman George Roberts ruled Rose out of order, instructing the secretary to strike his remarks from the minutes of the meeting. Meanwhile, members of Local

2058, employed at the Consolidated Western Steel plant in Maywood, are becoming incensed over Despol's failure to appoint a negotiating committee to prepare for renewal and improvement of their contract, which expires June 30, along with those of Basic Steel. At a local meeting March 22, Despol stated that it was more important for him to get at the source of "certain slanderous remarks" made about him, than to tackle the matter of negotiations with the company.

Phillips Case Slated For Court Hearing



Wendell Phillips

LOS ANGELES — Wendell Phillips' challenge of California's reactionary Dilworth Act is an important contribution to the cause of academic freedom nationally and particularly in Orange County, an ultra-right stronghold. Phillips is the first teacher in Orange County, and one of the few throughout the country, who has openly admitted to the witch-hunters his membership in radical parties in order to test the right of socialists to teach.

When the Board of Trustees of Fullerton Junior College, under Birchite-type pressure, held a hearing to suspend Phillips from his position as instructor in welding, he answered all questions about his former membership in the Communist Party and his present membership in the Socialist Workers Party. His only refusal came when he was asked to be an informer and name other people.

Unprecedented

This line of conduct is unprecedented in Dilworth Act cases. In 1960 Harold Collins of Orange County's Huntington Beach Union High School District was fired after refusing to answer questions regarding Communist Party membership. The next year Sam Wellbaum of the Garden Grove Union High School District was charged under the Dilworth Act. His hearing ended inconclusively when he agreed to resign if charges were dropped. Nonetheless he lost his next job because of the hearing.

Phillips' position is that of admitting membership and challenging the Dilworth Act's constitutionality.

Bertram Edises, noted civil liberties attorney, has called the Phillips firing an illustration of "the ease with which persecution for beliefs tends to spread," and said that the case "merits the support of all who believe in political freedom."

The case is scheduled to be heard in Superior Court in April. The Wendell Phillips Academic Freedom Committee, P.O. Box 33176, Los Angeles 33, Cal., is asking for contributions to this important fight for civil liberties.

...Interview from Colombia

(Continued from Page 1)

agrarian reform and the rounded development of the national economies.

The second reason is that the dollars entering Colombia through the "Alliance" plan will remain in the hands of that group of landlords and capitalists which already controls, in an absolute fashion, the life of the country.

Q: What about U.S. influence in your country?

A: Aside from the fact that Colombia is economically and politically subordinate to the interests of the U.S. State Department, there are a number of forms of ideological influence, notably in university education, in the trade unions, and in cultural activities in general.

North American investors operate their own businesses under privileged conditions. In addition, they form part of native companies, which they are taking over little by little. "Icallantas" was one business with national capital — the major part of it state capital — and in 1961 it became the property of the Goodrich Company.

At least three Colombian universities are controlled with North American capital as well as ideology. In the trade union offices affiliated with ORIT [the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers, which is controlled by the top officers of the AFL-CIO], the U.S. embassy works unceasingly, advising the union leaders and distributing through the unions, the propaganda of the United States (for example, propaganda against Cuba).

There are frequent missions of

the CIA and FBI in Colombia, making inspections and training Colombians for jobs of spying on and denouncing whatever is declared to be "Subversion" or "Communism."

In the strike movements, which have had great social effect, the agents of these organizations are always present. Strikes, in the eyes of these people, are insurrectional movements, not struggles for social justice.

Q: How is the problem of Cuba seen in Colombia?

A: We can look at it from two points of view: the activity of the U.S. government against Cuba and the presence of many Cuban exiles in Colombia; and on the other hand, the attitude of the Colombian people toward the Cuban Revolution.

On the first aspect: the Colombian government acts as an agent of the U.S. State Department in regulatory actions against the news media which tell the truth about Cuba. At the same time, it facilitates the entrance and distribution of propaganda against Cuba, publishes its own pamphlets on the subject and gives legal privileges to the activities of the Cuban exiles, who have their own newspaper and hold meetings with greater freedom than native Colombians can. In addition, the Colombian army has been included in the anti-guerrilla training being directed in Argentina and Panama by the Yankee army.

As regards the Colombian people, they are decided partisans of the Cuban Revolution, in spite of the obstacles to learning about it, and of the intense propaganda of the big newspapers.

Q: What is the position of the political movement to which you belong in the elections?

A: As I said before, there are no political rights for Colombians who don't call themselves Liberals or Conservatives. The National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) cannot have candidates and cannot vote because that is prohibited by law. For this reason, and because the elections will simply produce a change of men without a change in the misery and exploitation of which the Colombian people are victims, we proclaim **Belligerent Abstention**, which means a rejection of the anti-democratic form of the present government and a way of struggling for a revolutionary change.

The economic and political oligarchy controls the national wealth and subjects the people to its will by means of the two parties — Liberal and Conservative — which are responsible for the decomposition in which the country finds itself. One terrible consequence of this system is the death by political violence of more than 300,000 *campesinos* [peasants and farm workers] in the last ten years.

Our movement, and other similar political groups with a revolutionary orientation, is struggling against corruption, privileges, subjection of our nation to the U.S., all the work of the wealthy sections of the population which live off exploitation and vassalage. We feel ourselves linked to the great task of emancipating Latin America, and we firmly believe that when the causes of oppression are eliminated, all peoples, including the North American, will form a great fraternal human community, the salvation of our world.

Protests Staged in Major Cities Against Louisiana Racist Arrests

ATLANTA, Ga. — A nationwide series of demonstrations was held last month protesting the arrests and "criminal anarchy" charges against three members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The three are Dion Diamond who was arrested Feb. 1 upon entering the campus of Southern University, Charles McDew and Robert Zellner who were arrested Feb. 16 when they visited Diamond in the Baton Rouge jail. [Ronnie Jones, Chairman of the local CORE, also faces "criminal anarchy" charges in Baton Rouge.]

The demonstrations began in Washington, D.C., on Feb. 28, when members of the Nonviolent Action Group (NAG) there pick-

eted the home of Senator Allen J. Ellender (D-La.), protesting "cruel and inhuman treatment of Negro students" in the senator's home state. Later the NAG group presented a petition bearing 1,154 names to the Justice Department, asking it to investigate the Baton Rouge arrests.

On March 13 members of SNCC and NAG staged a sit-in in the office of Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. After conferring with Justice Department officials, the group engaged in a sit-in until the office closed. On March 16 another group of demonstrators was bodily removed in wheelchairs from the Attorney General's office.

That same day in New York's Foley Square, an integrated group of 100 persons picketed the federal court house in protest against the Louisiana anarchy charges. The New York demonstrations were sponsored by CORE, SNCC and Students for a Democratic Society. Other demonstrations were scheduled for Chicago, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Four SNCC members are among the eleven Freedom Riders slated for trial March 26 in Albany, Ga., as a result of their participation in a SNCC-initiated Freedom Ride from Atlanta to Albany last Dec. 10. It was this incident which touched off the historic week of anti-segregation demonstrations in Albany which saw over 700 Negroes arrested.

Among the eleven were SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman, Robert Zellner, SNCC office manager Norma Collins, and SNCC volunteer worker Joan Browning. Zellner is SNCC's only white staff member in the South.

SNCC field secretaries have been in the Albany area since October, 1961. SNCC is an independent, autonomous organization, with headquarters at 197½ Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Ga. It currently has field secretaries in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Maryland, working with local citizens toward "removing racial segregation and discrimination from the American scene."

... Hansen Tour

(Continued from Page 1)

of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee on "The Latin American Revolution — When? Are More Cubans on the Way?"

SAN FRANCISCO, March 25 — Saul Landau, an editor of *Studies on the Left*, and Allan Isaksen, a delegate at the Stockholm Peace Conference representing the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, shared the platform with Joseph Hansen here last night.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the FPCC to discuss "The Latin-American Revolution — When?" Isaksen presented the viewpoint of "How Europe Sees It," Hansen — "How South America Sees It."

Landau, chairman of the meeting, paid tribute to the late C. Wright Mills whom he described as an intellectual leader whose chief concern was with the Cuban Revolution. He also recounted some of his experiences in Europe which he toured with Mills in 1961.

The well attended meeting was followed by a social where there was opportunity for further discussion of the points made by Hansen, Isaksen and Landau.

... Argentine Crisis

(Continued from page 1)

and welfare. At that time, only a small proportion of Argentine workers were organized and Peron encouraged the growth of labor unions. During the economic boom accompanying World War II, Peron was able to allow the workers significant concessions and to play a key role in the birth of powerful new unions, which constituted a counterforce to the landlord class and foreign imperialists.

In the fall of 1945, Peron was arrested and removed from his post by other officers who thought the concessions had gone too far. The new labor movement struck and workers actually took over Buenos Aires demanding Peron's return. He was reinstated. In 1946 he ran for president on a labor party slate and won the election.

He consolidated his personal machine in the labor unions as well as in the government, and maintained rigid state control over the unions, industry and the sale of agricultural products abroad. Peron's rule rested on hostile class forces — the workers and the native capitalists — and he was able to maintain it only by strengthening his personal dictatorship. But during the early part of his regime, the modern labor movement in Argentina was built, and his name is associated with it.

When world prices for agricultural products dropped after the Korean War, Peron began to lose support. In September, 1955, a newly formed coalition of the possessing classes — representatives of U.S.-owned concerns, native capitalists and landlords — gained the support of the army officer caste. The military demanded Peron's resignation and launched an armed attack. The unions demanded arms for the workers, but Peron refused the request and fled the country.

Peron's attempt to break the grip of foreign capital and industrialize the country while maintaining the capitalist system had failed. From that time to this, the native capitalists have rested upon the support of the U.S. and the military caste. The March 18 election, however, showed that the labor movement is still the strongest force in the country.

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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New York 3, N. Y.

THEATER REVIEW

The Slapstick Slaps Hard

PURLIE VICTORIOUS, a play by Ossie Davis. Starring Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee. Directed by Howard Da Silva. Longacre Theatre, New York City.

Purlie Victorious is described by its author-star, Ossie Davis, as a "comedy." Davis, an accomplished film and stage actor, plays the title role. His wife, Ruby Dee, one of the stars of both the film and stage versions of "Raisin in the Sun," plays opposite him as his girl, Lutiebelle Gussie Mae Jenkins. A fine supporting cast turns in an enthusiastic and jubilant performance.

Some Broadway critics, long accustomed to seeing Negro performers confined to roles as cooks, maids, or superstitious buffoons, were forced to acknowledge the excellence of Lorraine Hansberry's "Raisin in the Sun" a few years ago. That play dealt with the real-life problems and conflicts of a Negro family in a serious artistic manner. Now some of these critics seem eagerly to snatch at the comic aspects of Davis' play to reassure their jolted sensibilities.

More Than Burlesque

"A burlesque!" exclaims one scribe, who hastens to praise its satiric touches "poking fun at every cliché of Southern life" so far invented. Good clean fun, say others, with every category coming in for its share of "kidding," the white colonel, the Uncle Tom, the Jim Crow system, the NAACP, the cops, the colored "mammy," and so forth.

The high percentage of Negroes in the audience, however, helped testify that something more than burlesque spoofing makes this play notable.

Purlie Victorious Judson is a fiery young Negro preacher with no congregation and no church, poetic in his vision of freedom through rebellion by his people. He wants to buy and renovate an old church building with \$500 recently inherited by his family. The money is held "in trust" by Ol' Cap'n Cotchipee, the archetype of the Southern colonel, who owns a cotton fief in south Georgia. He also "owns" several hundred Negro sharecroppers and a bullwhip to teach them their eternal place. The plot revolves around Purlie's attempts to claim his inheritance.

Ol' Cap'n's teenage son is the only white integrationist in Cotchipee County. His heresy is due to the influence of his Negro housekeeper. He argues with his father who grabs him by the throat one day.

"Don't you get non-violent with me, boy!" shouts Ol' Cap'n, bringing down the house.

Purlie's brother, Gitlow, is Ol' Cap'n's "Uncle Tom." His master



Ossie Davis as Purlie Victorious Judson, and Ruby Dee as Lutiebelle Gussie Mae Jenkins, in the play, *Purlie Victorious*.

calls upon him to support his claims that the "nigra" prefers the Southern way of life.

"You is the boss, boss!" loyal Gitlow instantly affirms. Together they sing plaintively, "Gone are the days . . ." from "Old Black Joe," with Ol' Cap'n rocking in his chair, clutching his bullwhip and weeping at his wayward son's apostasy.

But "Uncle Tom" Gitlow's servility emanates not so much from innate cowardice as from a shrewd appraisal of conditions. He explains to Purlie why his rash intention to "stomp" Ol' Cap'n for pawing Lutiebelle is a mad and hopeless thought: Ol' Cap'n has on his side, against lone Purlie, not only the sheriffs, dogs, policemen, and Governor of the Sovereign State of Georgia, but also the Army, Navy, Air Force, FBI and President of the United States!

There you have it. Burlesque? No, not on your life! These unflinching lines are addressed to this nation's ruling institutions, elites, and all their retainers. Pointing to the medieval, ignorant, obsolete "Southern colonel," spattered with

ridicule but still wielding his bullwhip — his "type" no longer exists in real life, say the critics — this play exclaims: "white man boss, this is what you look like to us!"

Purlie insists on engaging Ol' Cap'n in combat and returns later to describe his "merciless" extermination of the latter. When his proud story turns out to be mere bluster, Purlie is unabashed. His valor is unstained, the deed is already in part accomplished by his resolved determination to see it through, only the time is still not ripe. "I never yet told a lie," he says, "that I didn't intend to make come true some day!"

If the broad caricature of Ol' Cap'n is a "lie," i.e., a piece of comic license, then the genuine eradication of all the concrete evil he stands for in our country is what the Negro people surely "intend to make come true some day!"

I recommend this new play to all those readers who take delight in the well-aimed shafts of satire which always precede great social mobilizations.

Peter Allan

Letters From Our Readers

Cuba the Prelude

Prospect, Ky.
Your fine paper has just reached me through a student at the University of Louisville. Down here in the boondocks we don't see much stuff to the left of *Time* and *U.S. News & World Report*. *The Militant* is indeed refreshing.

Having lived in Latin America for many years, including eight in Havana, I am gratified to see that you support the Cuban revolution, the prelude of things to come south of the border. Because of the indoctrination and brainwashing so efficiently performed by our commercial publications few American laboring people know that Fidel Castro's battle against injustice and privilege is their battle, too.

Enclosed is my check for subscription.

Henry Wallace

Letters We Love Dep't

Anaheim, Calif.

Please find enclosed \$5 as a small token of appreciation for a wonderful paper that dares tell the truth. May it long prosper. The issue of March 5 containing the *Second Declaration of Havana* is very special.

Subscriber

A Man Who Knows

Winston, Montana

My total 1961 income was \$454.80; my sole employment at 58 is about two months out of 12 sweating in the hay field from 4 a.m. to 9 p.m. at a straight 60 cents per hour, no overtime pay; no pensions; no unemployment insurance; no coffee breaks; no breakfast before 9 a.m. (during emergencies about 2 or 3 p.m.) I suffer from chronic asthma, sinus, hernia, total blindness in one eye — plus a very non-conformist and rebellious spirit against such an insane status quo which squanders jillions for human annihilation.

The paper for this letter comes from Warde's trash box when their retail store folded, for my budget does not include any such luxury as stationery from Woolworth's, haircuts, etc. Our "coffee" is chicory at 35 cents per pound; our bread is not day old but weeks old at five cents per loaf (some farmers use it for chicken feed) — and our butter is not oleo, but bacon grease. That is, when we have any. We see pictures of a beef steak or pork chop in newspaper ads inserted by some supermarket — but that's about as close as we'll ever come to such luxury.

But — somehow — we'll manage to scrape up \$3 to renew our sub, for *The Militant* is something we just couldn't do without.

Your coverage on Cuba is excellent and I can confirm everything (including all letters on the subject) as 100% for I was there over a decade ago and what I saw was simply ghastly and fiendish plus what all the *guarjijos* told me about the horrors which prevailed under *El Carnicero* (The Butcher) — the efficient tool for U.S. imperialism. Many of these fine people (mostly naked for many didn't even have rags) didn't even own a *bohio* (a miserable collection of tin not near the equivalent of an American doghouse) and most of them lived on nothing but yucca — that is, when they had any.

I think the two very lengthy obituaries on Natalia Trotsky in two issues are of dubious value. I would much rather see this space devoted to a very badly needed exposure of our badly adulterated, chemicalized and, in some cases, toxic foods. A recent book by William Longgood, *The Poison in Our Food*, says "there is

hardly a bite we eat any more which has not been treated with some chemical poison somewhere along the line." Well, what could be more important than the food we ingest? We all know that bourgeois society is replete with various types of swindles, but shabby merchandise or exorbitant profits will not damage our health such as "all these myriads of poison with which we are now surrounded in our foods." (Longgood.)

I would welcome comment by other readers on this subject.

Joseph Hunsinger

Landlords the Real Enemy?

Oxford, Pa.

I am much interested in the questions raised in the letter of S.P. of Columbus, Ohio, in your Feb. 19 issue.

I think we have been led astray by Karl Marx's emphasis on industrial capitalism, to the neglect of the more important causes of class rule and unemployment — the private ownership of land. By land I mean what the landlord owns; all of the minerals, timber and top soil, as well as the site value. Without permission of a landlord no one can work, and that permission depends on what profit the landlord can see in giving or renting that permission.

To offset the disadvantage that the non-owner suffers, industrial capitalism makes jobs and somewhat relieves unemployment. But industrial capitalism is not responsible, legally, any more than land ownership is, for the total relief of unemployment. In fact, it is to the advantage of all who employ labor for profit to have a large amount of unemployment.

The landlord is the real enemy of the poor. Compared to the landlord, the industrial capitalists are our friends. Anyway, the captains of industry are all hired men, and the socialist state will have to hire them for want of more skilled managers of industry. The landlord, who is a mere parasite on civilization, and has been since the first robber built an empire, is our real enemy.

A. Craig

Need for Self-Defense

Santa Cruz, Calif.

Our friend (foreigner now) Robert Williams is so right on "non-violence." He shows what happened in India — Britain feared no revolution because they were "peaceful" in India. All over Africa they suffered abuses by co-existing through non-violence with their "Mother" countries' "Wall Streets" until recently.

In Germany millions of poor Jews died and burned with only prayers for defense.

In 1942 I was in Vallejo, Calif., where, with government help, scabs and goon squads came in to break strikes and beat up the workers until we organized a Labor Militia. Out of the ranks of organized labor came defense squads. I still have the Central Labor Council's authorization papers for building a defense.

Martin Luther King spoke here in Monterey — long pacifist speech and only one good thought in it: "Don't be a conformist."

But vigilantes with blackjacks have different ideas. Robert Williams knows from experience that many a lynching could have been prevented had there been defense squads.

Negroes in the South should be non-violent as long as they can, but be prepared to defend themselves in an organized manner. The NAACP has too many "leaders" who think fighting back if necessary is not in keeping with the respectability of their political and maybe richer "friends."

H.C.B.

It Was Reported in the Press

Oh, Freedom — "Cuban refugees call it 'The Gateway to Freedom' . . . This, officially, is the Immigration Service's Opalocka detention center. Here every day, 60 Cuban men are screened to determine if they are properly oriented to live in democratic America. A few, less than 25 in the past year, are branded 'security risks' and sent to another installation in Tampa for permanent detention." — Erwin Potts in the *Miami Herald*.

Cancer, Anyone? — More than 521 million tons of soot drifted down on New York City last year. The sootfall averaged 68.4 tons per square mile each month. Manhattanites were hit by 89.1 tons per square mile per month.

Compassionate Capitalism — "TRENTON, March 19 — Several hundred shore residents, whose homes were destroyed by the March 6 storm, must continue to make mortgage payments on their nonexistent dwellings. Charles R.

Howell, State Commissioner of Banking and Insurance, explained today that officials of major banking and loan institutions in the state had declined at a conference here to accept his request for a moratorium on the payments." — A New Jersey dispatch to the *New York Times*.

Inner-Space Program — On the basis of a five-year study, the National Council for Good Cities says new housing and other building and rebuilding is needed for more than half the people in the country. It estimates the cost of achieving this at one trillion dollars — that's a thousand million.

Consumer Protection — After revelations that some New York butchers were selling hamburger containing as much as 90 per cent fat, colored with beef blood, Mayor Wagner's administration adopted a bill making it a misdemeanor to include more than a solid 30 per cent of fat. The federal government permits this same amount of

fat-packing in hamburger meat shipped inter-state.

But Will It Protect Scabs? — The Pinkerton Detective Agency has acquired a company that makes the Radar Eye, an electronic device designed to sound warnings against intruders.

Only the Crazy Ones? — "No manufacturer in his right mind would even think of cheating a housewife." — Charles H. Brower, president of the advertising firm of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborne, Inc.

Survival Sales Slow — Newark's West Side Adult school canceled a slated survival course for 400 when only four people registered. Last year the course was dropped when only six registered. Lack of customers for the course was attributed by the school to "appalling public apathy."

Our Rational Society — The federal government is currently paying stiff fees to store 206 million pounds of surplus butter.