

# Bitter Street Battles in Bolivia

By Joseph Hansen

LA PAZ, Oct. 31 — Grave disturbances last week in this two-and-a-half mile high city in the Andes spoke eloquently of the incapacity of the Dr. Victor Paz Estensoro government to find an effective solution to the social and political crisis wracking Bolivia. The disturbances also indicated how little faith exists among the populace in possible help through "Alliance for Progress" handouts.

On Wednesday, Oct. 18, the government survived another attempted rightist coup d'etat. Similar attempts have been repeatedly crushed through the aid of the militia and armed workers and peasants. The situation was so well in hand that the government announced Friday that it would not declare a "state of siege."

Twenty-four hours later the government declared La Paz under a "state of siege." The reason for the sudden about face was a popular demonstration in which

some 20 were wounded and two killed. (The government later denied the deaths, stating that "two students" were "gravely wounded.")

The demonstration, spear-headed by students, supported the Chauffeurs Union in protesting a government decree boosting the price of gasoline from four cents a liter to seven cents. (From a little more than 18 cents a gallon to almost 32 cents.)

There was some violence in the demonstration; a few automobiles were burned or damaged. However, the ruling party, the MNR (Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria), appears to have been involved in some provocative incidents. For instance, a well-organized crowd appeared suddenly at the headquarters of the Chauffeurs Union and set it on fire, causing \$50,000 damage.

In retaliation for the student role in the demonstration, the government issued a decree Sunday closing schools for the year. It also announced it intended to stick tough on the rise in the price of gasoline.

On Monday, Oct. 23, which happened to be the day we arrived in La Paz, not a bus, taxi or "colectivo" (taxi that pick up fares until all seats are filled) was running. In fact there were not many automobiles on the streets. That morning the Chauffeurs Union had declared a general strike of indefinite duration.

To determine what the issues were was not easy, since all reports were tightly censored. It was odd to see the country's main newspapers carrying not a word about the "state of siege" on the front page and, inside, nothing but brief, carefully trimmed, self-contradictory items.

Late Monday afternoon a crowd of some thousands gathered on El Prado, a beautiful, wide street. Trees, lawns, flowers and park benches decorate center islands. At the bottom of the street is a plaza near the university.

The crowd sought to reach the plaza, where speakers might be heard; but police barred the way. The crowd pushed forward. The police threw tear-gas grenades,

(Continued on Page 3)

## THE MILITANT

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## Progress in USSR

An Editorial

Any ambiguity about Stalin's role in Soviet history which may have existed after the 20th Congress of the Soviet Community Party was completely dispelled at the recent 22nd Congress. There were not, nor can there any longer be, claims that the dead despot simply made "mistakes" in the "latter years of his life." From the rostrum of the Soviet CP he was branded repeatedly and in detail as a bloody tyrant, responsible for murders, suicides, frame-ups, extortions by torture of false confessions, and mass purges of innocent and loyal Communist Party members and Soviet citizens.

Accounts of the tremendous economic and military losses due to Stalins unchallenged ineptitude and ignorance, which had been equally admixed with revelations of his crimes in Khrushchev's speech at the 1956 Congress, apparently are now passed over as common knowledge. For the speeches at the recent gathering dwelt primarily on the prolonged nightmare of injustice under Stalin and the personal complicity therein of those of his lieutenants who have unsuccessfully challenged Khrushchev's primacy in the Kremlin.

Without mincing words Khrushchev told the Congress that defendants who confessed in 1937 to being "German, British or some other spies" had done so "in order to have done with torture, to die the quicker."

In exposing the labyrinthine details of the Kirov assassination in 1934 — the assassination which served as the pretext for the subsequent "confession" trials and purge of the old Bolsheviks — Khrushchev confirmed what Leon Trotsky and his co-thinkers said at the time. The evidence is overwhelming that Stalin and his secret police connived at the assassination and facilitated it.

But in carrying his revelations about what he still euphemistically calls the "cult of the individual," back to 1934, Khrushchev is opening a veritable Pandora's box for himself and the bureaucratic oligarchy he represents.

He is saying that the "cult" had reached such monstrous proportions by 1934 that Stalin was able to organize a crime, requiring not merely the collaboration of Molotov and Voroshilov but of entire branches of the party and government, in order to stage a gigantic frame-up drastically affecting the lives of hundreds of thousands, if not millions of people in every layer of Soviet society. Inquiring Soviet youth and conscientious Communists everywhere will ask how this can be explained as the aberration of an individual. How could such a situation have come about? What is wrong with a political setup which allowed it to happen? Must not the explanation lie in the years before 1934 when Stalin was concentrating power in his unscrupulous hands?

But the previous period is precisely the decade following Lenin's death, the period of Stalin's destruction of Lenin's party as a democratic organization in the course of outlawing the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

Any study of that period will quickly show that Trotsky was not fighting an individual but the growth of a system based on the political expropriation of the party rank and file and the Soviet workers by an economically privileged bureaucracy. Stalin as the representative, protector and arbiter of differences of this bureaucracy came to personify its rule. But its rule did not end with his death, nor has it ended with the removal in disgrace of his body from Lenin's mausoleum.

In making de-Stalinization the central theme of the 22nd Congress, Khrushchev was doing more than belaboring the Mol-

(Continued on Page 3)

## Ecuador Overtake Increases Strength Of Radical Forces

By Joseph Hansen

SANTIAGO DE CHILE, Nov. 11 — The popular uprising in Ecuador that brought down the government of José María Velasco Ibarra is regarded among radical circles here as the opening of a revolution that will tend to be as thoroughgoing as the one in Cuba. The new government headed by Carlos Julio Arosemena Monroy is considered to represent no more than a capitalist stop-gap effort to halt development of the profound crisis that brought the masses into the streets on a national scale.

New Tax Bite

The immediate cause of Velasco's downfall was a series of taxes and other measures that resulted in an abrupt rise of some 30 per cent in the cost of living. In addition, instead of substantial aid under Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress" program, Ecuador received slashes in the prices of its principal exports to the United States, coffee, bananas and cacao. This further depressed the economy.

In face of this situation, Velasco's stubborn insistence on a program of "austerity" for the masses — an insistence evidently inspired by the administrators of "Alliance for Progress" aid — cost him first his popularity and then the presidency.

The masses were goaded into action when Velasco replied with

(Continued on Page 2)

## Negro Labor Council Scores Union Leaders on Jim Crow

The second annual convention of the Negro American Labor Council, meeting in Chicago Nov. 12, voted to send a delegation to next month's AFL-CIO convention to back up A. Phillip Randolph.

Randolph, the NALC's president and the only Negro on the executive council of the AFL-CIO was censured by that top body last month for demanding immediate action against racial discrimination by unions, including an end to the exclusion of Negroes by certain AFL-CIO affiliates.

The censure, voted by the executive council with only Randolph dissenting, was attacked by David Livingston, president of District 65 of the Department Store Union in an article in the Oct. 29 issue of the union's newspaper, *The 65er*.

"Everyone knows," wrote Livingston, "that the weakest spot for our trade union movement is in the South. Does any competent organizer believe that the South will be organized without the enthusiastic support of Negro workers?" Labor, sad Livingston, must



Part of the picket line at the Manhattan campus of Hunter College as students struck for the right to hear all points of view.

## N.Y. Student Strike Protests Ban on Communist Speakers

By Fred Mazelis

NEW YORK — Nearly 3,000 students joined in a strike for academic freedom at Hunter and City Colleges Nov. 9. The action was sparked by an administrative ban on Communist Party members speaking on any city college campus.

The students boycotted classes

at Hunter for three hours and for two hours at CCNY. Striking students formed picket lines and sat in at libraries and cafeterias.

At CCNY, the boycott was sponsored by the Student Government. There was a lively, fighting spirit on the picket lines which were set up in front of City's six major campus buildings. Pickets chanted, "Ban the ban!" "We demand the right to hear!" Placards charged, "Administration Against Academic Freedom."

During the picketing, the idea spread of joining all the demonstrators into a single force. By this time about 500 of us were concentrated on the North Campus and we marched in a body to the South Campus where a brief protest rally was held.

Round of Jeers

While marching to the South Campus we passed the field where ROTC members were on review. There was a round of jeers from the pickets who regard the ROTC members as supporters of the cold war and not interested in fighting for civil liberties.

Further along we passed one of city police cars which had been keeping close tabs on the picket lines. A solid chorus of boos rang out.

An estimated 30 per cent of the students participated actively in the boycott action. At Hunter the figure was put at 40 per cent. Reporters from the daily press said that many of those who didn't join the boycott were sympathetic to its aims.

The protest movement began building up when the head of Queens College rescinded an invi-

(Continued on Page 2)

leade the fight for civil rights if it is to build the trade union movement in all sections of the country.

In his speech before the 500 delegates to the NALC convention, Randolph answered the censure by calling for a broader NALC "primarily of Negro trade unionists and unorganized wage earners to achieve basic power." He called for a "crusade to desegregate the Southern AFL-CIO state conventions and city central bodies," and for a "bona fide American labor party to advance, strengthen and defend the principles of democracy, freedom, human dignity, interracial brotherhood and the cause of the American working class and world peace."

The delegates to the convention of the NALC, which has 10,000 members nationally, were fighting mad over the censure issue.

"Where was David Dubinsky," Richard Parrish, NALC national treasurer, asked the convention "where was Walter Reuther, where was Joe Curran, where was Jim Carey? Where were all these liberals when the vote [to censure Randolph] was taken?"



## Fair Play Student Council Editor Well Received on Campus Tour

DENVER — Bert Wainer, editor of *Student Council*, a Fair Play for Cuba newsletter, has thus far addressed 20 college student meetings in a three-month nation-wide tour.

Wainer visited Venezuela last summer and is now speaking on the subject — "Latin America Looks at Cuba."

The *Denver Post* of Oct. 18 reported Wainer's charge that the "United States is sponsoring a military build-up in the Caribbean that will probably lead to another invasion of Cuba." The *Colorado* newspaper said, "Wainer's statement comes two days after a protest by the National Advisory Council of FPCC that

'counter-revolutionaries are being trained at dozens of bases in this country and throughout the Caribbean.'

When the *Denver Post* asked Wainer if he had "knowledge of any infiltration of the group by Communists or other Marxist groups, as charged by [J. Edgar] Hoover," he replied, "We never ask the background of members. We take anybody who supports the three main points of our program": Lifting of the travel ban to Cuba, lifting of the U.S. trade embargo, and restoration of diplomatic relations with Cuba.

The *Denver Post* said that Wainer "is not disturbed by the failure of the Castro government to call general elections in Cuba." Wainer added, "If the U.S. would 'take the heat off,' Cuba would establish the 'highest form of democracy in the world.'"

At the University of Colorado at Boulder, the Fair Play spokesman debated Robert Brown, a counter-revolutionary who claimed to be a former member of the July 26 Movement. Wainer said, "If one believes in democracy, that is, the right of people to choose, then all you have to do is to travel throughout Cuba and find out how the people feel about the government." He told how he had accompanied hundreds of American students to Cuba last winter, before the travel ban was instituted, and how they had been deeply impressed by the revolutionary people striving to build their own free society. "At the very least," he was quoted by the *Colorado* daily, "Let us say 'hands off Cuba' and let the Cuban people decide their own fate."

As evidence that students were waking up and opposing the State Department ban on travel to Cuba, Wainer pointed to the passage of a resolution calling for an end to this ban at the recent congress of the U.S. National Student Association. The USNSA's 14th Congress was held last August at the University of Wisconsin with 388 colleges and universities represented.

Wainer's tour has so far taken him to Vancouver, Seattle, Portland, Berkeley, San Francisco, Los Angeles, San Diego, Tucson, and Salt Lake City. His tour, which now takes him into the Central States, will bring him finally to the East Coast. Information about the tour in these areas can be secured from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

## Conference Slated On Labor-Negro Vanguard Action

A preliminary conference to discuss ways and means of strengthening labor-Negro vanguard action has been called for 10 A.M., Saturday, Nov. 25, at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. in New York City.

In announcing the gathering Clarence Coggins, Provisional Chairman, stresses the need for vanguard political action "firmly grounded in the science of social transformation and upheavals within modern society." He advances as key aims: "Resurgence of the American labor movement. Winning of the struggle for Negro rights. An end to the cold war. Economic security and higher mass living standards."

### Against Witch Hunt

Coggins denounces government attempts to outlaw the Communist Party and calls for struggle against all witch-hunt repressions of civil liberties.

Those interested in the conference are asked to contact Clarence Coggins, Provisional Chairman, 18 Gardner Avenue, Jersey City, New Jersey. Telephone HEnderson 4-0003.

## Berkeley Socialists Push Fight to Rebut 'Anti-Communists'

Board of Education officials in Berkeley, Calif., who are presenting ultra rightist speakers, like Joost Sluis of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, as part of an alleged public education program, have been put on the spot by a request from the Socialist Workers Party for use of the same public facilities for a series of lectures.

### Strong Criticism

Criticisms of the series of free lectures entitled, "Facts about Communism," being presented at the Berkeley Community Theater under the auspices of the Berkeley Evening School were voiced loudly and persistently at the Board of Education meeting Oct. 17. About a dozen speakers condemned the anti-communist speakers as "narrow," "reactionaries" and "unqualified." At this point Matthew F. Wise, secretary of the Socialist Workers Party in Berkeley, requested equal time in use of the school facilities for a series of SWP-sponsored lectures on "The Fascist Threat to American Civil Liberties Today." Such a series he declared would be a "wholesome antidote" to the current series which he characterized as "right-wing and reactionary" and serving "to fan bigotry and hysteria rather than to stimulate wholesome critical thinking."

### Board Stalls

Having complied with the board's demand that a written application be submitted, the SWP secretary again raised the "equal time" demand at the board meeting on Nov. 8. He was again put off, this time with an explanation that his request would be acted upon after the board had made an "evaluation" of the current series which ends Nov. 16.

At the same meeting the board made public a commendation it had received from the Alameda County chapter of the American Legion for presenting the "Facts About Communism" series and letters of support from individuals. One such, a from a retired army general asked: "Why should we hear both sides of communism? Anyone who wants to know can go through the barbed wire . . . and then try to get back."

## ... Ecuador Overturn

(Continued from Page 1)

police violence to a peaceful nation-wide protest strike Oct. 4. This led to indefinite continuation of the strike in some areas and, when armed force was further employed by the government against the strikers, demonstrations continued in various places until they finally flared in explosive form Nov. 6 in Guayaquil, the country's largest and most industrialized city. Hundreds were wounded and 17 killed in battles between the police, on the one hand, and students and workers, on the other. Velasco fled the city, returning to Quito, the capital. The next day, his government fell.

In 1960 Velasco was elected to his fourth term by a majority of 400,000 votes. In the final days of his rule he was reduced to desperate appeals to the most reactionary forces and their American backers for help. This was the reason for his expelling the head of a Cuban trade commission and the head of *Prensa Latina*, the Latin-American news agency that has challenged both AP and UPI with its favorable coverage of the Cuban revolution.

### No Welcome Mat

Velasco did not get a popular reception in Quito on returning from Guayaquil. The masses poured into the streets Nov. 7, taking them over. The armed forces were incapable of handling the situation; in fact the armed forces throughout the country tended to display sympathy with the populace and one regiment was reported to be defying its command.

The top brass realized that it could not save the regime. Velasco nevertheless still sought to hang on by arresting Vice President Arosemena, his constitutional successor. The uprising had become so formidable, however, that Velasco risked losing his life. He appears to have recognized this finally, and sought refuge in the Mexican Embassy where he issued denials that he had resigned.

The generals split over what to do next. The army command sought to install the conservative Camilo Gallegos Toledo, head of the Supreme Court. Congress, however, had already designated Arosemena.

To block the will of Congress, the army chiefs sent tanks to surround the building, thus imprisoning the new president. However, navy and air officials and some sections of the army decided to go with the congressional decision. Jet planes fired rockets and machineguns at the tanks. The chiefs of the ground forces retired from the political field for the moment and Gallegos hastily resigned.

### 'Leftist'?

Arosemena thus became the immediate beneficiary of a popular uprising. What type of politician is he? The reactionary press describes him as a "leftist of extreme variety," who returned from a visit to the Soviet Union in July. Arosemena denies being a "leftist," describing himself as a "liberal" without particular party affiliation. Belonging to a family of bankers, his father was once president of Ecuador.

A telephone dispatch from Guayaquil, published in the Nov. 7 edition of the Santiago newspaper *Ultima Hora* describes Arosemena as a "copy of Velasco." If the former president was impulsive, Arosemena is "three times worse." But he is definitely not a wild "leftist" as the U.S. news agencies make out.

Arosemena's first action was to name a cabinet which contains the name of only one major leader of the Socialist party, General Secretary Manuel Naranjo. Representatives of the main forces that headed the popular uprising, the unions, the students, revolutionary defenders of the Cuban revolution, are not included. And the

Communist party, which is calling for "unity" behind Arosemena, was conspicuously excluded from the cabinet. In his first press interview, the new head of state declared that he was "extending his hand to his enemies as well as his friends." The emphasis should be on *enemies*, since capitalist or pro-capitalist politicians dominate the cabinet. (Liberals, Conservatives, Christian Democrats, "independents," and "independent" Socialists.)

This move, of course, was well received in imperialist circles. A brother of the president, Eduardo Arosemena, a member of the Ecuadorian Embassy in Washington, declared that the new head of state could be counted on "to attempt to put into practice the ideas of the Kennedy plan for an 'Alliance for Progress.'"

### Tough Situation

Arosemena, however, faces a difficult situation. To ease the economic and social situation in Ecuador without structural changes would require some billions of dollars. And not in the distant future, but now. Ecuador is not likely to get aid on such a scale from Washington.

The alternative is a thoroughgoing agrarian reform, the expropriation of foreign and native capitalist holdings and the introduction of economic planning, as in Cuba. Will Arosemena follow the Cuban example? It would be completely illusory to expect this bourgeois figure to follow such a revolutionary course.

Instead it can be expected that he will seek to gain time through demagoguery, perhaps further congressional "study" of agrarian reform, and even feeble action. With time, he undoubtedly counts on shoring up the armed forces, on weakening and dividing the combination that toppled Velasco and eventually re-stabilizing the capitalist state.

Among the popular forces, however, the desire to follow through "à la Cubana" is very deep. Students in both Quito and Guayaquil are already calling for an "energetic campaign" against the deposed members of the government; that they be brought to trial before popular tribunals to answer for their crimes; that their properties be confiscated.

### Students Act

In Guayaquil a crowd of students took over the offices of the liberal daily *La Nación*, refusing to leave until the editors agreed to publish an editorial demanding confiscation of the private holdings of the followers and backers of Velasco.

Among the forces to observe in Ecuador in the coming period are the Confederación de Trabajadores de Ecuador, the Federación de Estudiantes Universitarios, the Movimiento Revolucionario de la Juventud Ecuatoriana; and certain currents in both the Communist and Socialist parties. It is among these that a leadership will be formed, capable of carrying the revolution forward from its auspicious Nov. 7 beginning to definitive victory.

## Monroe Defendant Released on Bail

Albert Rorie, 17-year-old Negro youth of Monroe, North Carolina, who was sentenced to three-to-five years for shooting a policeman in the leg — a charge which he denies — is out on bail.

Conrad Lynn, attorney for the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, who represented Rorie at his Nov. 2 trial, filed notice of appeal Nov. 13. Simultaneously, Dr. A. E. Perry, CAMD chairman, posted bail of \$2,500 and an appeal bond of \$250 for Rorie who is the fourth defendant in Monroe for whom the CAMD has arranged cash bail. The total sum posted is now \$17,750.

The shooting for which Rorie was convicted allegedly took place during the police-encouraged white-supremacist rioting Aug. 27 against Freedom Riders and local Negroes protesting segregation. At the trial, a cop admitted he had searched Rorie after the alleged shooting and, finding no weapon, had released him. Rorie had been conspicuous in anti-segregation picketing in Monroe.

Last week in Monroe, Brown Massey, 15, was reportedly beaten by a gang of whites. On Aug. 27 Massey had been badly beaten and jailed. When his sisters, braving the mob, went to see him at the police station, they too were jailed on charges of "inciting to riot."

## Weekly Calendar

### CHICAGO

The Truth About Robert Williams and the Monroe Defendants. Speaker, civil rights attorney Conrad Lynn. Sun., Dec. 3, 8 p.m. Monumental Baptist Church, 729 East Oakwood. Admission free. Aisp. Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants.

### DENVER

Two Special lectures. Fri., Nov. 24, 8 p.m. William F. Warde on *Where Is America Going?* Sat., Nov. 25, 8 p.m. Evelyn Reed on *Changes in Sexlove, Marriage and the Family*. Contrib. 70 cents per lecture, both \$1.25. (Students, 40 cents per lecture.) Party, Sat., 9:30 p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California.

### LOS ANGELES

Two Sunday Classes. Through Nov. 26. (1) Current Economic Thinking in the Light of Marxist Theory. Instructor, Theodore Edwards. Each Sunday at 11 a.m. (2) Strategy in the Struggle for Negro Liberation in the U.S. By Negro Affairs Committee, Militant Labor Forum. Each Sunday at 12:30 p.m. All sessions at Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. 50 cents per session. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

### NEW YORK

Enjoy Thanksgiving Dinner in the country with friends of the Militant Labor Forum. Thur., Nov. 23, at Mountain Spring Camp, in the New Jersey Poconos foothills. Two hours from New York. Turkey dinner and light supper, just \$3. For reservations and transportation, phone AL 5-7852. (There will be no forum Fri., Nov. 24. On Fri., Dec. 1, Scott Nearing speaks on *What is Freedom?*)

## ... Student Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

tation made by a student club to Benjamin J. Davis of the Communist Party. Then Malcolm X, the Black Muslim leader, was barred from Hunter College, as was Charles Buckley of the *McCarthyite* magazine, *National Review*. These actions were climaxed by the City University Administrative Council barring Communist Party members from speaking on any city campus. It justified this reactionary ban on the Supreme Court's decision that the Communist Party must register with the Subversive Activities Control Board as a "foreign agent."

Even if this frame-up charge were true, there is nothing in the law or the Supreme Court decision which says Communists may not speak to students. In fact, the legality of the ban was challenged Nov. 13 by six professors of constitutional law at the City University.

The mounting pressure on the administration was indicated when Dr. John Everett, chancellor of the university, replied that if the professor can prove they're right, "We are always in a position to reconsider the ban." Continuation of the student protest movement will certainly help Dr. Everett see the light.



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Vol. 25 - No. 42



Monday, November 20, 1961

## ... Progress in USSR

(Continued from Page 1)

otov-Malenkov-Kaganovich-Voroshilov group with a handy club. His triumph over his former collaborators was complete and secure prior to the Congress. He was emphasizing anti-Stalinism to gain popularity for his regime among the stirring Soviet masses and to efface as much as possible the stigma from himself. For, as is well known, his complicity in Stalin's crimes was as great as that of the "anti-party group."

Moreover, anti-Stalinism serves him well in his dispute over foreign policy with China and its auxiliary Albania. By being able to fling the charge of Stalinism at the Chinese CP, Khrushchev is able to obscure Peking's many legitimate criticisms and grievances against his foreign policy as carried out in formal diplomacy as well as in the programs imposed upon the Communist Parties in capitalist and colonial countries.

To persuade the Soviet masses that his foreign policy is anti-Stalinist while that of Peking is Stalinist, is to assure himself not only of domestic support on the issue but the support of large sections of the Communist Parties throughout the world.

The Chinese leadership by its resistance to the exposure of Stalin's crimes and its support of the discredited Hoxha regime in Albania facilitates Khrushchev's powerful propaganda campaign against them.

For Khrushchev's "peaceful coexistence" foreign policy is but a continuation of Stalin's policy. The triumphant bureaucracy's rejection of Lenin's revolutionary internationalism was summed up in the famous slogan of "socialism in one country." Translated into practice it meant converting the Communist Parties in the capitalist and colonial countries from revolutionary movements into so many chips in the diplomatic poker game. In return for, or simply in the hope of inducing, favorable diplomatic deals with the ruling classes of the various capitalist countries and empires, the policies of these CPs would be turned on and off by the Kremlin. It would water down their policies to merest liberalism or stiffen them a bit as it thought best for bargaining. The actual interests of the workers of these countries — culminating in the overthrow of capitalism or colonial rule — was the last and least consideration of the Kremlin foreign policy manipulators. From revolutionary internationalism under Lenin and Trotsky, the world policy of the USSR under Stalin became that of narrow nationalism.

When, by the collapse of the capitalist regimes after World War II, the East European countries accrued to the Soviet orbit, the Kremlin's narrow nationalist policy continued. The political and economic policies imposed on these nations was based neither on their interests nor on the overall interests of the Soviet sphere but on the interests of the home territory of the Kremlin bureaucracy — the Soviet Union.

When, contrary to Stalin's perspective and program for that country, the Communist Party came to power in China — the greatest event since the Russian Revolution itself — the Kremlin continued the same nationalist policy, though somewhat less crassly in view of China's size compared to the small nations of East Europe.

Thus when Peking is angered at the prospect of a summit deal at which it will not be represented and where its sovereignty over Taiwan, its diplomatic recognition and its admission to the UN are not preconditions for a settlement; when it finds that the policy of "peaceful coexistence" in colonial countries translates to restricting revolutionary movements from the actual taking of power, it is objecting not only to Khrushchev's foreign policy, but to Stalin's simply extended into the present.

The 22nd Congress is important as a measure of the processes taking place beneath the surface in the Soviet Union and in the Soviet bloc as a whole and their interaction. Khrushchev's brandishing of the banner of anti-Stalinist reform with such vigor, after the slowing down which followed the 1956 Congress, testifies to the developing political mood of the Soviet masses. In turn his response to this pressure cannot but give even greater impulsion to it. The process can end only in undermining the very system of rule Khrushchev represents and is trying to reform — the rule of the bureaucracy. Even in its most reformed guise it will prove intolerable finally to the Soviet people who, with the young generation in the vanguard, will press on until economic privilege is destroyed and workers' democracy restored.

The ending of the Soviet Union's isolation has destroyed the old relationship established by Stalin among Communist Parties. No longer is the world Communist movement a monolithic bloc. Now it is an aggregation of monolithic units. For, *de facto*, the right of political tendency or faction now exists among them. There is the Russian tendency, the Chinese, the Albanian, the Italian, the Polish, the French and the Yugoslav. Each of these is as yet monolithic. But their external clashes will hasten already existing internal pressures within each party toward formation of tendencies or factions fighting for internal democracy and groping toward principled revolutionary positions.

Thus from within and without the dead hand of Stalinist monolithism is perishing.

# ... Street Fighting in Bolivia

(Continued from Page 1)

using a type of gas not seen before in this city. It forms a yellowish haze that bites persistently. The crowd retreated, reformed and came back again. When the tear gas was exhausted the crowd succeeded in overcoming the police and chased some of them into a deep gulley where the La Paz river runs through the city.

Heavy police reinforcements came through surrounding streets with fresh supplies of tear gas. It was at this point that we joined the category mentioned in the press as "curious bystanders."

The gas did not prove sufficient to disperse the demonstrators and rifles came into play. I can testify that rifle fire in La Paz sounds much the same as in other areas despite the rarefied air.

A student advised us not to venture closer to the rifle fire as it was dangerous. Some people had "already been killed" and "many were wounded."

A few demonstrators were running down the street, away from the persistent shooting. Our own inclination was to match their pace; however, we followed the example of those who kept close to walls and moved in a more leisurely way, taking into account the difficulty of any exertion at this altitude.

### Rocks Flew

It turned out that it didn't really matter much in which direction we went, for street battles were in process in various areas over strategic squares. The demonstrators used rocks, bottles — some empty and some filled with gasoline and flaming wicks — and pieces of iron. Some of the iron was obtained from the park benches which had been wrenched from the islands in the center of the Prado and smashed. The wooden backs and seats, left in the streets, served to slow down police vehicles.

The militia turned out to defend the government. Truckloads of workers armed with rifles moved to key positions. Many trucks carried both militiamen and police.

I talked with one militiaman standing with his rifle at a corner. All he knew, he said, was that the government was in danger of being overthrown and he was "guarding the national revolution."

Throughout the night rifle fire could be heard; occasionally, explosions.

The tightly censored articles in next day's press explained that "extreme reactionaries" had joined forces with "extreme leftists and Communists" in an attempt to overthrow the government, but the situation was under control. A crowd had assaulted *La Nación*, the official government paper, and set fire to the editorial offices and the engraving plant. Casualties were officially admitted to be five dead, 52 wounded. In addition 216 persons had been arrested, of whom some 30 were "thieves" who had taken advantage of the disturbances to pillage small stores.

Early Wednesday miners from other towns began arriving to defend the government. Entering the town in trucks, they fired their rifles in the air and tossed "cachorros" (small dynamite bombs) to announce their presence. At one road entering La Paz a barricade had been built. It lasted but a few minutes. The miners placed exactly enough dynamite to move it to one side and drove on.

Some 6,000 armed peasants were also reported to be moving on La Paz to defend the Paz Estenssoro government.

For its part, the government made a display of attempting to break the strike by force, mobilizing whatever vehicles it could to replace buses and "colectivos." But on Saturday, Oct. 28 the government agreed to hold to the old price of gasoline for taxis and colectivos, subsidizing the difference.

They were also granted permission for an increase in fares from 20 per cent in some cases up to 50 per cent in others. On this basis the strike came to an end.

The concessions, according to the press, were granted by Paz Estenssoro himself. But the solidity of the settlement remained in doubt. Minister of Labor, Dr. Alfredo Franco Guachalla announced that the public was not bound to pay anything higher than the old fares. The Central Obrera Boliviana (COB) was sounding out sentiment among its affiliated unions on staging a general strike to protest the rise in price of gasoline.

In La Paz it was difficult to determine whether the strife was confined solely to this city or was nationwide. *La Nación* printed a startling story Oct. 28 reporting "three dead and more than ten wounded as a result of grave disturbances in the city of Potosí yesterday . . ."

According to this official newspaper, a well-planned demonstration attempted to take government buildings in an "open, armed subversive move." The MNR militia and the army broke up the attempt with tear gas and rifle fire.

*La Nación* blamed the incidents on "students, chauffeurs and also criminal elements instigated by extremists." The demonstrators were said to have been armed with guns, dynamite and other explosives.

On the following day reinforcements were sent by air from La Paz, and *La Nación* said in a second report that under "pretext" of protesting the increased price of gasoline "the subversives" sought to take over City Hall and police headquarters, among other buildings, "in order to proclaim a Red State in this mining capital."

Other papers did not report these events. *El Diario* was so indignant over what *La Nación* published that it announced that it was suspending its editorial column until government officials

mended the completely arbitrary way in which they were exercising their censorship over the news.

The character of *El Diario's* editorials can be judged from an Oct. 24 warning: "Dangerous Delay in Aid." The reiterated promises of help made in connection with visits of Bolivian officials to the U.S., and the repeated postponements are "making the populace lose all hope in the efficacy of the aid which today has the attractive name of 'Continental Alliance for Progress.'"

Among the unions, debate was intense over the decree increasing the price of gasoline. According to some spokesmen it was a move conceived by the international oil trust to discredit the government monopoly of this industry and prepare the ground for turning it over to private ownership.

The government reply to this was that the government monopoly was headed toward bankruptcy because of the low price; that the price was much higher in other countries comparable to Bolivia; that the increased price would make possible an ambitious road-building program; and that the price of gasoline constituted such a small part of the Bolivian cost of living that it would scarcely be noticed — certainly it would not prove inflationary.

However confused the situation appeared to the majority of Bolivia's working people, it was clear enough to one taxi driver picked at random. "Look," he said; "I pay 40,000 bolivianos (12,000 bolivianos=\$1) a day for gasoline. I pay 30,000 bolivianos a day to the owner. Today I was unusually lucky. After meeting expenses I got a fare to the airport, 15,000 bolivianos; then you, 5,000 bolivianos. Most days it's less. How can you live on that? How can we absorb the new price of gasoline? How can we raise fares? True; it's our government; we don't want a worse one. But we can't do anything less than cry out."

## Xmas Book List

**THE COOL WORLD**, by Warren Miller. An excellent novel about a juvenile gang in Harlem by the author of *90 Miles from Home*. Special price, \$1.49.

**THE SHARK AND THE SARDINE**, by Juan Jose Arevalo. Already a classic in Latin America, this brilliant indictment of U.S. imperialism has just been translated into English. \$4.95.

**THE INTERNATIONAL**, by Alfred Maund. A noteworthy novel about the contemporary union officialdom. \$5.95.

**THE ROAD TO WIGAN PIER**, by George Orwell. Available for the first time in a U.S. edition, this is a masterful account of the jobless in an English mining town. Paper, 50c.

**THE WEST INDIES AND THEIR FUTURE**, by Daniel Guerin, noted French Marxist scholar. \$3.

**NEGROES ON THE MARCH**, by Daniel Guerin. Based on an extensive tour of the Southern U.S. Special price, cloth, \$1, paper, 50c.

**ISLAND IN THE CITY**, by Dan Wakefield. An invaluable account of Puerto Ricans in New York. Paper, \$1.75.

**REVOLT IN THE SOUTH**, by Dan Wakefield. A report on the rising Southern Negro struggle. Paper, 95c.

**STRIDE TOWARD FREEDOM**, by Martin Luther King. An account of the non-violent resistance movement. Paper, 50c.

**THE UN-AMERICANS**, by Frank J. Donner. A leading civil liberties attorney provides a devastating documentation of the fruits of the House witch-hunters' activities. Paper, 60c.

**GRAND INQUEST**, by Telford Taylor. A fact-filled companion volume to *The Un-Americans* by a constitutional lawyer. Paper, 75c.

**SOULS OF BLACK FOLK**, by W. E. B. DuBois. A new reprint of one of the earliest and best works of the famed scholar. Paper, 50c.

### BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON CUBA

**UN SPEECH**, by Fidel Castro. Paper, 25c.

**HISTORY WILL ABSOLVE ME**, by Fidel Castro. \$1.

**CASTRO SPEAKS ON UNEMPLOYMENT**. 25c.

**FIDEL CASTRO SPEAKS TO THE CHILDREN**. 25c.

**THE DECLARATION OF HAVANA**. 10c.

**GUERRILLA WARFARE**, by Che Guevara. Cloth, \$3.

**LISTEN, YANKEE!**, by C. Wright Mills. Paper, 50c.

**SATIRE ON CUBA**, by Jean-Paul Sartre. Paper, 50c.

**CUBA: ANATOMY OF A REVOLUTION**, by Leo Huberman and Paul Sweezy. Paper, \$1.75.

**M-26: BIOGRAPHY OF A REVOLUTION**, by Robert Taber. Cloth, \$4.95.

**HOW CUBA UPROOTED RACE DISCRIMINATION**, by Harry Ring. 15c.

**THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA**, by Joseph Hansen. 25c.

**IN DEFENSE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION**, by Joseph Hansen. 25c.

### MARXIST CLASSICS

**THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND**, by Engels. Back in print and reduced from \$2.50 to \$1.98.

**THE CIVIL WAR IN THE UNITED STATES**, by Marx and Engels. \$1.95.

**SELECTED PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS**, Vol. 1, by G. Plekhanov. \$3.75.

**BASIC WRITINGS OF MARX AND ENGELS**, edited by Lewis S. Feuer. Paper, \$1.45.

**FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY**, by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, \$3, paper, \$1.95.

### BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY

**TERRORISM AND COMMUNISM**. A classic work of Marxist theory. Out of print for three decades. Paper, \$1.95.

**MY LIFE**. Recently reprinted autobiography. Paper, \$2.45.

**WHITHER FRANCE?** The French social crisis as analyzed in the mid-1930's. Special price, paper, \$1.45.

**LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION**. A brilliant exposition of the role of the artist in a workers' state. Cloth, \$2.98, paper, \$1.50.

### BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS BY JAMES P. CANNON

**NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR**. The views and insights of a veteran socialist as expressed in articles written over three decades. Ranges from the Sacco-Vanzetti case to reviews of Hollywood films. Cloth, \$4, paper, \$2.50.

**THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM**. A participant's account. Cloth, \$2.75, paper, \$2.

**THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY**. A compilation of articles written during a 1940 political dispute in the Socialist Workers Party, this is a first-rate exposition of the Leninist concept of democratic centralism. \$2.75.

**SOCIALISM ON TRIAL**. Stenogram of Cannon's testimony in the country's first Smith Act trial, this is a simple, vivid exposition of the socialist viewpoint. 50c.

**AMERICA'S ROAD TO SOCIALISM**. A series of lectures assessing our country's present and future. 35c.

**SOCIALISM AND DEMOCRACY**. Invaluable as an aid to understanding the current conflict in the Soviet countries. 15c.

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## BOOK REVIEW

## Shark and Sardines Sign a Treaty

THE SHARK AND THE SARDINES. By Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo. Translated from the Spanish by June Cobb and Dr. Paul Asegueda. 356 pp. New York: Lyle Stuart, 1961, \$4.95.

This is an angry book, written by a former president of Guatemala, who knows how to use his anger, not let it use him. It is the study of the rape of Latin America by American imperialism. As the jacket says, it is "not a happy book for Americans to read," but in this reviewer's opinion, it is a book that every thinking American must read if he is to understand what is really behind President Kennedy's so-called Alliance for Progress program.

The book begins with the beautifully written, though horrifying Fable of the Shark and the Sardines. This tragic allegory is the recurring theme of the whole book. A vast and terrible storm at sea tears the ocean floor asunder and leaves a poor little sardine trapped in a shallow pool, about to be swallowed up by a huge shark. Suddenly a Medusa-like figure, the Squid, calling herself the Law, appears. After a lengthy speech setting forth the glory of the impartial heavenly Law as dictated by King Neptune and administered by herself, the Law arranges a "compromise" between the sardine and the shark. A "treaty" is signed on illuminated parchment, a thing of beauty indeed. As the voracious shark, understanding well all the double-talk contained in the treaty, swims away, he growls at the sardine, "Just wait till I get you alone."

Today, even though all Latin American nations are "united" with the United States in the Organization of American States (Pan-Americanism), the individual nations are bound to the U.S. by individual "treaties" which grant the Shark all the privileges needed for American mercantile interests to extract raw materials without regard for the poverty left behind. Chile, for instance, is one of the richest copper producing countries in the world. In 1942 the American government set the price it would pay for this vital war material. Chile was an ally and therefore had to accept the low price to further the war effort.

After the war Chilean copper was sold to the U.S. government at the same low price, even though the price, on the world market, had gone up many times. The U.S. government "stockpiled" this copper — but actually sold it to U.S. manufacturers at a much higher

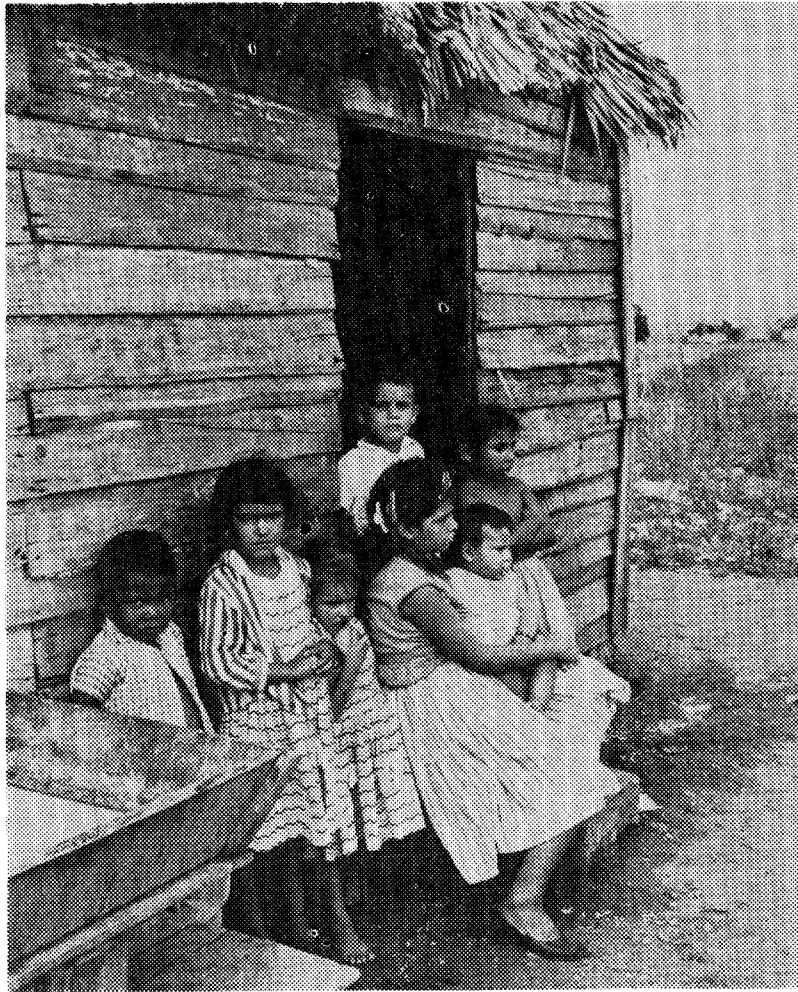


Photo courtesy INRA

Under U.S. imperialist domination this was a typical example of living conditions in the Cuban countryside. Photo was taken at what is now the ultra modern Hermanos Saiz cooperative farm in Pinar del Rio province.

price, and even sold it on the world market to our so-called enemies. Of course, Chile has had to accept many of the "loans" forced on these small republics as a means of keeping American control. She has to abide by her "treaty" with the U.S., watch her most important raw material being drained away, without duty and almost entirely tax free because she is under "deep obligation" to her "friend," the Shark.

Dr. Arvalo takes the specific case of Nicaragua to illustrate how American monopoly got actual control of most of the Latin American countries. He traces this history from the first treaty between England (the Mother Shark then) and the U.S. in 1855, down to today. This story, with only variations on the theme, is the story of the continent, the Isthmus and the Caribbean Islands.

For this, its first edition in English, Dr. Arevalo has written a brief but powerful preface specifically addressed to the American reader.

This is an important book for all Americans to read—and study. If you want to see what American imperialism has cost the Latin American people, look at the picture accompanying this review. The children are all dressed up to have their picture taken, but if you look closely you will see the swollen bellies which come from hidden hunger, the young-old faces, the hovel in which they live. Once you have read this book you will no longer wonder at their seeming lack of appreciation "for all we've done for them." You will ask instead "What price have they paid?"

Marvel Scholl

## Letters from Our Readers

## From the Caribbean

Kingston, Jamaica

The People's Freedom Movement takes pleasure in commending *The Militant*. We firmly believe it is only a socialist newspaper such as yours that will consistently present the situation in its perspective, plumbing everything to the bottom and putting forward the interests of the workers and peasants.

Such an organ is inseparable from the enhancement of the struggles of the Negro people and the oppressed classes in general in your country. Consequently it is a vital asset to the millions of people struggling against monopoly capitalism, i.e., imperialism, for political and economic emancipation.

We are hoping to receive more copies of *The Militant* and to become subscribers in due course. Please send us whatever general information and publications you can. Information on monopoly capital in the West Indies is urgently needed.

Steering Committee  
People's Freedom Movement

## Enemies of Freedom

San Antonio, Texas

This empty gang of miscellaneous fools who are embarked on a game of witch-hunting are the real enemies of freedom.

To want to punish a man because of his ideals shows an entire lack of honesty on the part of McCarthyite-minded individuals who temporarily work their way into the political machines, come and go, and build themselves up at the expense of more intelligent people.

My respect for every witch-hunt victim mounts when I look with disgust and loathing at these professional patriots who selfishly hoist themselves into a high place of temporary power on some Congressional committee.

Then we see in our modern game of politics the John Birchites denouncing as "Communist" every evenly balanced mind that refuses to respond to hysteria.

Communism thus gets to be the whipping boy of every damned fool who is seeking publicity. Well, the Communists can't always be wrong.

Paul Dennie

## Candle Lighter

Fond du Lac, Wisc.

Please find enclosed \$2 to help keep the candle burning. It's better to light a candle than curse the dark. The mouthpieces of the 40 thieves try to smother all the liberal papers that uphold the rights of the common man. Anything that's good for him they call "Communism."

C. T.

## Modern Times

New York, N. Y.

As an illustration of just how far down the road to fascism we have come, when I came to the point of answering your "cry for help" for *The Militant* I was reluctant and finally decided not to send you a personal check.

You see, I have 25 years service in a defense-plant industry where I am one of the more outspoken and subscribe to your paper.

Keep up the good work for socialism, civil liberties, desegregation and the defense of the Cuban revolution.

Enclosed is a \$2 cash contribution for the best paper printed.

Reader

## Thought for the Week

"Certainly these Africans are interested in food, clothing, dams, and industrial plants and in acquiring, as rapidly as possible, the technical know-how to put the enormous natural wealth of their lands into production to satisfy the basic needs of their teeming populations. But it should be evident that the African desires even more ardently the dignity of being recognized as an equal with his former masters. This desire is so ingrained that any formula that does not incorporate it is doomed to failure." — Charles H. Loeb in the Nov. 4 *Cleveland Call & Post*.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Allies for Progress** — Francisco Batista, brother of Cuba's ex-dictator, and Luis Rodriguez, who had been in the Batista government, were arrested on petty larceny charges in Miami Nov. 10. The head of a pest control company said he had hired the two men to solicit accounts from Miami's Latin population. He charged they pocketed part of the money they collected from customers and used it to start a rival company.

**Risky Business** — A counter-revolutionary terrorist in Santa Clara, Cuba, lost an arm Nov. 8 when a bomb he was planting exploded.

**That U.S. Welcome Mat** — A month ahead of time, Konni Zilliacus, a left-wing British Labor member of Parliament, applied for a visa to attend a Nov. 10 dinner in New York. Washington "studied" the visa application until the eve of the dinner and then wired Zilliacus that despite "urgent" efforts it had not been able to complete the study in time.

**A Good Question** — A letter-writer in the Nov. 13 *New York*

*Times* pointed to the U.S. Senators who stress the importance of building the neutron bomb which would destroy people but not property. He commented: "The sacredness of property in comparison to human life has never received such an unequivocal and damning endorsement. How much lower can man sink in his prostitution of moral and spiritual values?"

**No Surprise** — Rudolph W. Jones, a Negro, was fired from his job as chief engineer and news director for Cleveland radio station WABQ because he stood on his rights under the Fifth Amendment when interrogated by the House Un-American Activities Committee on possible past "communist" affiliations. Commented Jones: "I'm not surprised by any of it. Injustice has followed me most of my life, and this is just another dose of it."

**Set a Thief to Catch a Thief?** — Colorado Sheriff Robert M. Roberts, former FBI agent, was a key figure in the investigation that led to the suspension of 39 Denver cops for participating in an organized burglary ring. On Nov. 9,

Sheriff Roberts was himself convicted of burglary and conspiracy. He admitted his role in several burglaries with Denver criminals. He said that he had worked with the criminals as part of a scheme to catch the crooks on the police force.

**Bill of Rights** — Carey McWilliams, editor of *The Nation*, and I. F. Stone, editor of *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, will speak at the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee's annual Bill of Rights Dinner at the Hotel Commodore in New York Dec. 15.

**Saturated** — In a Nov. 9 speech, Dr. Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence College, asserted that the U.S. concept of the "Soviet threat" was not broad enough. But he did offer a good estimate of the present state of affairs: "Our contemporary society is saturated with the ideas and values of commercial enterprise and cold-war philosophy, in which all problems, including those of education, are dealt with in terms of how we can meet the Soviet military threat."

Detroit, Mich.

I thought Ethel Bloch's piece in the Oct. 30 issue about her uncle, the ILG and the Dubinsky leadership — "They Failed to Hand On the Torch" — told a great deal more about what is wrong with the present union movement than anything that has been recently said.

It is something that a good many auto workers can understand because the Reutherite leadership is a latter-day replica of the Dubinsky gang.

I have passed it around in the shop and today one of the men told me the piece was a "gem" and that it ought to be reprinted and widely circulated.

F. L.

## Sweet "Charity"

Dallas, Texas

Hospital clinics are supposed to charge according to the patient's ability to pay. When one goes through their third degree to gain admittance to their sacred portals they first want to know your name, religion — if any — your income, and an itemized account of what it's spent for. Which, if it wasn't so serious, would almost make a poor person laugh. (What do y'a do with all yer money?)

Yes, what did I do with it? I haven't got any, and darn little to show for it. In my case, I've been sick several years and the little medical care I could afford didn't leave me too much in the way of money to worry about.

All the brands of religion here are busy building new colleges and hospitals and running big fund drives for them.

I think education and medicine should not be taken over by religions. They are public business and shouldn't be under creeds and dogmas.

Thelma Lucio

## Sobell-Rosenberg Cases

Glens Falls, N. Y.

About your Oct. 30 article on Morton Sobell. Those Americans who have protested his imprisonment are quite right. It was an outright frame-up. Not the first, of course. Neither will it be the last.

Perhaps you have read *Enemies of the State*, by Francis X. Busch, who is described as one of the country's great trial lawyers. If you have, you will recall Mr. Busch's final comment on the Rosenberg case:

"No one can seriously question the fairness of the trial or of the legal procedures which brought the case on eight separate occasions to the highest court in the land. But there remain some disturbing questions: Was the Espionage Act of 1917 designed to punish equally one who furnished secret military information to an enemy in arms and one who has furnished such information to an ally? And granting that the Act makes it a crime to transmit such information to an ally in time of war against a common enemy, does conviction for such an offense justify a sentence of death? Finally, should the death sentence be imposed in any case where substantially all the incriminating evidence comes from confessed accomplices?" (Emphasis mine.)

If the above is true, I wonder why Mr. Busch thinks there is no doubt about "the fairness of the trial?"

K. M. G.