

Cuba's Revolutionary Answer to the OAS

By Fred Halstead

The Second Declaration of Havana — the official answer of the Cuban Revolution to the recent Punta del Este conference — is a revolutionary document of historic importance. It was adopted at a mass demonstration, estimated at one million persons, in Havana Feb. 4.

The 10,000-word document is addressed "from the people of Cuba to the peoples of America and of the world." Its central theme is the Latin-American revolution against domination by U.S. big business, but it places this process in the international and historic context.

"What is the history of Cuba if not the history of Latin America?" asks the declaration. "And what is the history of Latin America if not that of Asia, Africa, Oceania? And what is the history of all these peoples if not a history of the most despicable and cruel exploitation by imperialism of the entire world?"

The document traces the history of social struggles from the rise of capitalism to the present, declaring socialism to be the new society which will be born out of the struggles of the current epoch.

It points to the peasants of Latin America who, as the largest class there, will play a key role

in the anti-imperialist revolution now unfolding. In this process, it says, the peasantry needs the leadership of the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals.

"In the existing conditions in Latin America," the document says, "the national bourgeoisie cannot lead the anti-feudal or anti-imperialist struggle. Experience demonstrates that in our countries, this class, though it has interests counter to those of imperialism, has been incapable of fighting it, paralyzed by fear of social revolution and scared by the clamor of the exploited masses."

In answer to the Punta del Este resolution which condemned Marxism-Leninism as "incompatible with the inter-American system," the document says the only things "incompatible with the destiny of Latin America" are: "the misery, the feudal exploitation, the illiteracy, the wages of hunger, the unemployment, the policy of repression against the working masses, peasants and students, the discrimination against women, Negroes, Indians and mestizos, the oppression by the oligarchies, the looting of riches by the Yankee monopolies, the moral suffocation of the intellectuals and artists, the ruination of small

producers by foreign competition, the underdeveloped economy, people without roads, without hospitals, without housing, without schools, without industries . . ."

The document points out that while the U.S. has been growing richer since World War II, poverty has been increasing in Latin America. There, "exports have less value, imports have higher prices, the inflow of capital decreases, percentages of infant mortality do not decrease, the number of illiterates is greater, the people want for lack of jobs, land, housing, schools, ways of communication and necessities of life."

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THE MILITANT

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Giant Demonstration Shows The Power of French Labor

By George Lavan

FEB. 14 — Yesterday the working people of Paris staged one of the greatest protest demonstrations in French history — a demonstration whose massiveness is sending shivers down the spines not only of the French capitalists but of those in Washington, London, Bonn and Brussels.

The tremendous outpouring and general strike was for the funeral of eight victims of De Gaulle's police, savagely murdered Feb. 8, when they tried to demonstrate their opposition to the fascist threat posed by the OAS (the Secret Army Organization which is carrying on a campaign of assassinations and terror bombings).

The organizers of the demonstration estimate that a million people participated in Paris; Reuters, the British press agency, estimated the figure at half a million; while the Paris correspondent of the *New York Herald Tribune* estimated it at a quarter million. Most reports compared the demonstration's size to two previous Paris demonstrations of this century — when the city was liberated in 1944 from the Nazi army and the 1934 protest against the attempted coup d'etat of French fascists.

Demonstrations took place in all the cities of France and the whole country was shut down by the half-day general strike.

At Pere Lachaise cemetery, where the interment took place, speeches were made by four representatives of labor, teacher and student organizations. The victims were buried close to the wall



De Gaulle

where the revolutionists of the Paris Commune of 1871 made their last stand.

The tragic deaths of the eight victims — three of them women and one a boy of 15 — occurred when De Gaulle unleashed thousands of helmeted, armed riot police against an anti-OAS demonstration called by the Communist Party, the Unified Socialist Party, labor and student organizations. In addition to those killed, untold hundreds were seriously injured. It was a case of De Gaulle having the police give Parisian workers a taste of what the Algerian demonstrators in Paris received last October when they protested a racist curfew imposed on them. In the following days some hundred bodies of Algerians — murdered by the police — were fished out of the Seine or found hidden in parks and woods.

But in contrast to its savagery against Algerians resident in France and French working-class demonstrators, the De Gaulle regime appears powerless and unwilling to adopt harsh measures against the fascists and colonialist ultras who are terrorizing France with assassinations and plastic bomb explosions. OAS

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How Some People Live In Our 'Affluent' Society

LOS ANGELES — Rains collapsed a retaining wall here last week and revealed a cave that was the only home available to a dozen or so men in this modern city in the richest country in the world.

Collapse of the wall killed John Martinez, 50, of New Mexico. There was no money in his wallet. Only a note from a chapel and a picture of two small girls, with the scrawl, "Grandpa, I love you."

Monroe Defendants Move to Subpoena U. S. Att'y General

NEW YORK, Feb. 13 — Subpoenas for Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Assistant Attorney General Doar, Terry Sanford, governor of North Carolina and Fred Wilson, mayor of Monroe, N.C., are being sought by Conrad Lynn, counsel for the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants. The subpoenas are of the variety known as *duces tecum*, which require those named to bring specified records and documents with them to court. In this instance the documents would have to be produced in court in the "kidnap" frame-up trial scheduled to begin in Monroe Feb. 19.

The plan to subpoena the high government officials was divulged today by Lynn at a New York press conference at the Hotel

Our next issue will feature an interview with Travis Britt, a Freedom Rider who was a leading activist in the voters' registration drive in McComb, Mississippi.

Tudor. Lynn has just returned from Cuba where he interviewed Robert F. Williams and his wife, Mable, who have taken political asylum there. Williams was one of those indicted in the "kidnap" frame-up. Both he and his wife were witnesses to the events out of which the case was concocted.

Object of the subpoenas is to get access to documents sent by Williams to federal and state officials listing KKK and police violations of civil rights in Monroe in the period leading up to the

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GI's Die for Tyrant In South Vietnam

By Harry Ring

FEB. 14 — President Kennedy's decision to plunge this country deeper into the South Vietnamese civil war can mean a blood-bath even worse than Truman's "police action" in Korea. Thirteen GI's have died in three plane crashes there during the past two weeks and these are just a small part of the casualties that are expected to come.

That's one of the reasons the American people aren't being told the truth about what's really happening in South Vietnam. The administration "fears that Americans are not ready to accept the idea of a long, drawn-out struggle," one Washington correspondent explains. Another adds: "Also linked to the public relations problem, officials say, is the increase in casualties in a guerrilla war that is being fought 7,000 miles away."

Kennedy's decision to put a four-star general in charge of operations there and to accelerate the flow of troops and equipment deliberately flouts the Constitution which says only Congress can commit the country to war. And he is cynically violating the 1954 international agreement of Geneva which prohibits foreign intervention in South Vietnam. Why?

The claim that "aggression" by North Vietnam is responsible for the civil war now in its eighth year and that the U.S. has intervened to stave off a possible victory of "totalitarianism" is the cruelest kind of lie. The civil war is a popular uprising of the peasantry against the oppression of the Ngo Dinh Diem dictatorship —

a dictatorship that survives only by the grace of U.S. guns and dollars.

How else can the hard facts of South Vietnam be explained? The Diem government has 150,000 troops under arms and the number is being boosted to 200,000. The U.S. has already committed 5,000 specially trained guerrilla units equipped with the latest weapons of jungle warfare. The Viet Cong army, as the guerrilla

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Hansen to Speak In New York on Latin America



Joseph Hansen

NEW YORK — Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*, will give a first-hand report of recent turbulent developments in Latin America at a public meeting Friday, Feb. 23, 8:30 p.m. Sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, the meeting will be held at the Henry Hudson Hotel, 353 W. 57 St.

During a four-month tour covering all the major South-American countries, Hansen witnessed important strikes and demonstrations in key cities and interviewed many leaders of Latin America's labor and socialist movements, including Francisco Juliao, leader of the Peasant Leagues of Brazil. The speaker will report on the present attitude of Latin Americans toward Cuba and toward the U.S. and analyze factors behind the explosive political situation in South America.

The meeting will open a national speaking tour by Hansen. His tour schedule will be printed in coming issues of *The Militant*.

Labor Upsurge in Venezuela Jolts Betancourt's Regime

By Mariano Torres

CARACAS, Feb. 11 — President Kennedy's success in avoiding being stoned during his visit to this city is still being cited as an encouraging sign of a favorable turn toward the U.S. in Venezuela. Events in the past few weeks, however, cast considerable doubt on the validity of this interpretation.

While the diplomats at the Punta del Este conference were considering, under pressure of the State Department, how to tighten the screws on Cuba, a new strike wave hit Venezuela.

The action began in the State of Táchira when taxi drivers decided to protest recent passage of a law requiring liability insurance coverage for all vehicles. Although the drivers are not necessarily against such insurance they con-

sider the obligatory premiums something of a racket, since in Venezuela — unlike the United States — it is next to impossible to collect insurance without lengthy legal proceedings.

In addition, the insurance rates for Táchira were set the highest in the country. The drivers were already under considerable economic pressure since prices of gasoline and parts are likewise the highest there.

Táchira is a conservative area in the Andes near Colombia where the parties that support the Betancourt regime hold a considerable majority and there are few followers of the Communist Party and the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria (Movement of the Revolutionary Left). The strike

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Dobbs and Coggins Discuss Civil-Rights Issue in Boston

BOSTON — Despite heavy snow, 70 people came to the Community Church Center Feb. 9 to hear an exchange of socialist views on the subject "Civil Rights — The Key to Progress." The speakers were Clarence Coggins, chairman of the Labor-Negro Vanguard Conference, and Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. The meeting was chaired by the veteran civil-liberties fighter Florence Luscomb.

Both Coggins and Dobbs emphasized the value of a fraternal exchange of ideas by socialists of differing views and the need for united action on issues on which there is agreement.

Both also stressed the need to defend the Communist Party against the efforts of the Kennedy administration to outlaw it. Coggins added that he felt the Communist Party had made a serious mistake in not defending the Socialist Workers Party members who were prosecuted under the Smith Act in 1940. The capitalist class, he said, knows only one left, and aims to knock out both the Communist and Socialist Workers parties.

Role of NAACP

In the civil-rights field, Coggins said, the NAACP was being held back from militant struggle by its middle-class leadership but where branches had a working-class leadership it was an effective organization. He felt that the Black Muslims touch upon a basic feeling of the Negro people but take it in the wrong direction. Rejecting the anti-integration views of the Black nationalists, he said Malcolm X had asked him "Would you put a wolf in with a sheep?" Coggins' reply was: "But I'm no sheep."

On the issue of civil liberties, he said the question must be approached from a class viewpoint and that he favored defending the civil liberties of all working-class groups but would not support free speech for fascists.

Dobbs said the Negro people have the double job of fighting for equal rights and for a fundamental social change which would eliminate the economic basis of discrimination. From this viewpoint, he said, there is a strong link between the fight for civil rights and the defense of civil liberties, particularly the defense of the Communist Party and all other radical groups.

Free Speech

He said he was opposed to supporting any moves by capitalist politicians to muzzle fascists like Lincoln Rockwell since such abrogations of free speech would be used as precedents against the left. Rather, he said, the fascists and right-wingers should be handled by organizing united counter-demonstrations and by organizing movements of self-defense to beat off attacks by the right.

Pointing to the revolutionary changes taking place throughout the world, Dobbs said this was upsetting the class equilibrium here and developing a new trend toward socialism among the youth and a simultaneous right-wing development. This, he concluded, will lead finally to a posing of the decisive choice: socialism or fascism.

Dobbs and Coggins both urged support for the victims of the racist frame-up in Monroe, N.C., and the audience responded generously to an appeal for funds to be forwarded to aid the legal defense.



Conrad Lynn

... Monroe Case

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white-supremacist rioting of last Aug. 27 in the course of which occurred the events on which the "kidnap" charge is based. Williams had carefully and in detail documented these events as a basis for requesting federal and state protection for Negroes and Freedom Riders then in Monroe. When local police and state police and FBI agents raided Williams' home after the racist rioting, Williams' copies of these documents disappeared. Lynn hopes, however, to subpoena the originals into court.

A serious setback for the defense, and by the same token a gain by Monroe's Jim-Crow officialdom was the Feb. 8 announcement by Ohio's Gov. Michael V. DiSalle that he would extradite Mrs. Willie Mae Mallory, a defendant in the "kidnap" case to North Carolina. Cleveland attorney Bernard A. Berkman succeeded in having the Court of Common Pleas grant a stay of extradition to Feb. 26 by which time he will seek a writ of habeas corpus asking the Ohio court to overrule Gov. DiSalle's extradition order.

The three defendants scheduled to go on trial in Monroe on Feb. 19 are Richard Crowder and Harold Reape, Negro youths 19 and 17, respectively, active in anti-Jim Crow struggles in Monroe, and John C. Lowry, a 20-year-old Freedom Rider from New York.

... French Demonstration

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plans for a coup d'etat are openly discussed by all. Many of De Gaulle's officials are making obvious preparations to jump on the OAS bandwagon if it succeeds or if the decrepit "strongman" dies or is assassinated.

Army officers in France are considered untrustworthy for putting down an attempted coup by the OAS. The police, riddled with fascists and OAS sympathizers, are also considered untrustworthy. Indeed, the OAS successes in the

bombing campaign, are largely attributed to the police's beneficent attitude to the bombers. Judges are reluctant to bring in guilty verdicts or mete out heavy sentences to those they feel may be in power tomorrow.

No Paralysis

Until yesterday many pessimistic observers thought the French working class was paralyzed and unable to respond to the great danger facing it. This seeming paralysis was the result primarily of the disastrous policies followed by the two big workers' parties — the Communist and the Socialist — in regard to the Algerian war and the fascist threat.

That the Algerian war could drag on for seven years, demoralizing and bleeding the French working class and strengthening the military and fascists, is the result of both parties having initially supported the war. Their votes in Parliament granted the sweeping emergency powers to the militarists in Algeria to suppress all democratic rights there and impose a reign of terror over the Algerian civilian population.

Reversed Line

In the past few years the CP has reversed its line, and the Socialist Party has split. Now both the CP and the split-off socialists (PSU) call for an end to the war. But they lack an independent program for mobilizing the French workers to force an immediate granting of complete independence to Algeria thus ending the war.

The savagery of De Gaulle's police on Feb. 8 aroused the French working class. In yesterday's demonstration it saw and felt its strength and solidarity. It is to be hoped that with self-confidence restored, it will now forge a program to stop the war and the fascists.

Poor Settlement Imposed In Yale & Towne Strike

Mayor Richardson Dilworth of Philadelphia has hoodwinked the Philadelphia labor movement into accepting a settlement of the 22-week Yale and Towne strike which leaves 400 scabs in possession of strikers' jobs.

The settlement, proposed by a "citizen's board" headed by Gaylord P. Harnell, president of the University of Pennsylvania, was accepted Jan. 28 by Lodge 1717 of the International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO, by the narrow vote of 431 to 423. The local's president, Samuel Luterotty, recommended acceptance while the majority of the union negotiating committee did not.

Luterotty explained his position saying: "We were told by the mayor and the governor that whichever side rejects this plan must suffer the consequences. The first picket who shows up tomorrow morning will be made a horrible example." Luterotty claimed that outside support could not be expected for the picket line. The heated debate appeared to turn on the question of how much reliance could be placed on the support of the Executive Board of the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council as against the threats of punitive action by the government.

Backed Down

The AFL-CIO Council — with the independent United Electrical Workers and the Teamsters supporting — had threatened a city-wide mobilization in support of the Yale and Towne strikers early in January after the company had hired some 400 strikebreakers.

But the executive board of the council played its part in Mayor Dilworth's game by ordering a "postponement" of the demonstration in line with a two-week "cooling-off period" proposed by the mayor and governor David L. Lawrence. These two Democratic Party politicians also appointed a "citizen's board" to recommend terms for settling the strike.

The "citizen's board" knifed the union and the company quickly agreed to the recommendation. The agreement follows the pattern of the "Simpkins proposal," a formula worked out by a federal mediator and reluctantly agreed

to by the union — before the company started hiring scabs — as the most minimum basis for ending the strike. It provides for some loss in conditions and a modest wage increase.

The worst part of the agreement provides that strikers the company wishes to replace with the scabs already hired, will have to file grievances and go to arbitration to seek re-instatement.

... Cuba's Answer

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One hundred and seven million people in Latin America suffer racial discrimination, the document relates. These are the Negroes, Indians, Mulattos and mestizos [part Indian]. "What confidence in the Alliance is there among the masses in Panama where there is one wage for the Yankees and another for the Panamanians, whom they consider an inferior race?"

In semi-colonial Latin America, the document says, "there die of starvation, curable diseases or premature aging, around four persons per minute . . . ten million every five years. These deaths could easily be avoided, but they still occur. Two-thirds of the Latin-American people die young, and live under the permanent shadow of death . . ."

"Through it all, there flows out from Latin America into the United States a continuous torrent of money, \$4,000 a minute, \$5 million per day, \$10 billion every five years. For every \$1,000 that goes to them, they leave one dead. A thousand dollars per death: that is the price of what is called imperialism. A thousand dollars per death, four times a minute!"

Revolutionary Process

"The revolution," says the declaration, "is today inevitable in many Latin-American countries. This fact is not determined by anybody's will," but by the above conditions and "the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, the world crisis of imperialism and the universal movement of struggle of subjected peoples."

The declaration says that certain vices of the revolutionary movement "should be left behind," including "divisionism . . . sectarianism, dogmatism, the lack of a broad enough outlook to analyze the role of each social stratum, its parties, organizations and leaders." These "make difficult the unity of action which is indispensable among the democratic and progressive forces," says the document.

"The duty of all revolutionaries," it continues, "is to make the revolution. We know that in America and in the world the revolution will win, but it is not for revolutionaries to sit in their doorways waiting for the dead body of imperialism to pass by." Every year victory is advanced "means millions of children saved for life, millions of minds saved for culture, infinite sorrows avoided."

... GI's Die for Tyrant in Vietnam

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forces are known, numbers but eight or nine thousands regulars. Yet they control decisive areas of the countryside and are inching toward the capital city of Saigon. Even with the beefed-up U.S. intervention, the most optimistic Pentagon estimate is that significant gains cannot be hoped for in less than three to five years. Clearly the Viet Cong has the support of the people.

A Feb. 10 UPI dispatch understated the situation this way: "Diem . . . has thus far had little success in enlisting popular support."

In a Jan. 17 dispatch from Saigon, *New York Times* correspondent Homer Bigart reported, ". . . the South Vietnamese government is still losing its fight with the Communist for the minds of the civilian population." He said American officials explained the Viet Cong fighters are winning because they're "closer to the people," and that they effectively stress such themes as freedom of speech, press and religion, freedom from dictatorship and freedom from imperialist domination.

"At the village level," Bigart wrote, "Viet Cong agents preach discontent by pointing out the government's inability to provide medical care and other social services. Among the farmers they can exploit the anger over soaring prices . . ."

"Unfortunately," he continued, "the government has given the

Viet Cong agents much ammunition for propaganda by its failure to evolve an effective rural policy . . . Another touchy point is that of the hundreds of millions of dollars of U.S. aid poured into South Vietnam, only a small trickle has penetrated to the grass roots."

Blunt Facts

The situation was reported more bluntly in a recent series of articles in the Canadian *Globe and Mail* by Fred Nossal who wrote: "The Diem oligarchy has silenced, for the time being, most of his opponents. Many are in jail . . . Some have left Saigon, complaining that if South Vietnam is part of the free world they want no part of it . . . Today, many of the government's former political critics have become bitter enemies who live with the Viet Cong in the jungles . . . plotting President Diem's overthrow."

After vividly describing the torture he saw inflicted on a captured peasant by Diem's troops, Nossal continued: "To the peasants who have . . . been abused and ill-treated by both town-based officials and by ruffians who call themselves soldiers . . . the Viet Cong are, in fact, quite popular because their campaign of murder is directed not against the poor peasants but against the police, officials, businessmen and landlords."

Is there any good reason why GI's should die for the Diem dictatorship?

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

A rare opportunity to view a special collection of 200 lithographs by the great French artist Honoré Daumier. Plus showings of the film, "1848" which recreates through art works of the time the French Revolution which inspired Daumier to create the drawings which earned him the title — "Michael Angelo of Caricature." Fri. and Sat., Feb. 23 and 24 from 7 to 10 p.m. Sun., Feb. 25, 1 to 7 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum and Young Socialist Alliance.

NEW YORK

WHAT MAKES LATIN AMERICA EXPLOSIVE? — A first-hand report by Joseph Hansen, editor, *The Militant*. Just back from four months in principal Latin American countries. Fri., Feb. 23, 8:30 p.m. Henry Hudson Hotel, 353 W. 57th St. (Off 8th Ave.) Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

William F. Warde, contributor to *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*, speaks on *Where Is America Going?* Fri., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. Whitcomb Hotel, 9th & Markets Sts. Contrib. 75c (students, 50c). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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Monday, February 19, 1962

Washington's Argentine 'Victory'

At the recent OAS conference neither the threats nor blandishments of the U.S. were able to move the Argentine delegation into support of diplomatic sanctions against Cuba. But within ten days of the conference's end Argentina broke diplomatic relations with Cuba. Thus what the Kennedy administration and Wall Street were unable to get at Punta del Este they got in Buenos Aires.

Kennedy and his hate-Cuba entourage are falling all over themselves backslapping one another over this "victory," but it is another nail in U.S. imperialism's coffin in Latin America.

Argentine Premier Frondizi stuck tough against sanctions on Cuba at the time of Punta del Este not out of any love for that island or justice but from fear of exposing himself before the Argentine people as a sycophant of Washington. Against this stand U.S. interests mobilized their true friends in Argentina, the forces of blackest reaction — the militarists and the oligarchy. Though the true power in Argentina, these elements are so discredited that they could rule in their own name only by the most savage type of tyranny. That is why a Frondizi is so useful to them — and to Washington. But in their blind hatred of Cuba they dealt the none-too-stable Frondizi regime what may prove a fatal blow — they publicly humiliated and exposed it, threatening its immediate overthrow unless it followed orders on Cuba.

And in revealing to the Argentines the true power structure of the Frondizi regime, Washington has revealed to all Latin America the physiognomies of its real allies in the "Alliance for Progress," if you'll pardon the expression.

'No Protest Is Worthless'

"When a man puts himself in opposition to the currents of history, he is indeed in an unenviable position . . . No protest against injustice is worthless," wrote Dr. Adolph Reed, history professor of Southern University, Baton Rouge, La., in a 14-page protest to University President Felton Clark.

The letter condemned Clark's policy of systematic expulsions from the all-Negro college of student demonstrators who sparked antisegregation protests in Baton Rouge. A similar letter was signed by 142 faculty members. In an obvious attempt to keep the teachers in line at the strife-torn college, Clark warned them not to bite the hand that "feeds" them.

Calling that "an unveiled, naked power threat," Prof. Reed replied, "Southern University is not your personal fief. This is a public facility . . . and does not come under the category of a baronial estate and serfs dependent on the *noblesse oblige* of the lord of the manor."

To the president's branding of the student demonstrators as "hoodlums . . . vicious . . . and culturally void," Reed countered, "Does it occur to you that the student leadership . . . comes mainly from students high in academic ranking?"

He called upon the presidents of Negro universities to adopt a policy other than "blind allegiance to status quo."

Such teachers at Southern University are giving the most valuable lesson of all to their students: that words taught in the classroom — words like justice and equality — are not mere utterances at a blackboard, but ideas to be acted upon, regardless of risk.

Kennedy's 'Peace' Program

Those who followed the "lesser evil" theory in the last presidential elections, hoping that the Democrats would be more inclined toward peace — or at least more subject to pressure from peace forces — than the Republicans were, have received a number of rude shocks. A look at Kennedy's proposed budget for the next fiscal year provides another.

For its first two years, the Kennedy administration is adding \$14 billion to war spending, over and above what the Eisenhower administration planned. Kennedy is spending over \$6 billion more for war preparations than Eisenhower had figured would be spent this year. Kennedy plans to spend \$8 billion more during the next fiscal year than the level Eisenhower planned as a plateau.

In absolute terms, the war budget for fiscal 1963, which begins next July, is a cool \$51.64 billion. The average war budget during the latter part of the Eisenhower era was about \$42 billion. For four years of the Kennedy administration it is expected to average \$52 billion.

It would be tragic indeed if the presently growing sentiment against this armaments madness were to be sidetracked to support for capitalist politicians of either the Democratic or Republican variety again. To be politically effective, this sentiment must be channeled into the struggle for independent political action — for a labor party, separate from, and opposed to, both capitalist parties and their candidates. Politicians who are responsible to parties controlled by big business will not stop the arms race.

... Labor Upsurge in Venezuela

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began quite abruptly. Bus drivers joined in sympathy as did many truck drivers. The strike was so solid that even privately owned automobiles stayed off the streets.

The strike spread to other cities, becoming virtually nationwide. By noon on Jan. 22 all taxi and bus traffic was paralyzed in Caracas. The radical movement happened to be calling for protest action against the Punta del Este conference. The response to the call appeared very impressive since the streets were almost deserted, thanks to a strike that had no direct connection with what was going on at the same time at Punta del Este.

This situation lasted for three days. The government put heavy pressure on bus drivers on the public payroll to go back to work, firing many of them. The entire radical movement, however, rallied behind the strike and the government finally made some concessions, including a promise to "reconsider" the law in Congress.

Anniversary

Besides its chance coincidence with the Punta del Este conference, the strike also came on the fourth anniversary of the toppling of dictator Pérez Jiménez. Anticipating popular demonstrations to commemorate this anniversary, the government had closed the schools. However, the students participated in the popular celebration with their customary ardor. Acts of violence were numerous. A powerful bomb broke a good deal of plate glass at the U.S. Embassy.

In the crowded areas of the city where the poor live, there were many clashes with the police. Casualties were heavy on both sides, more than fifty being killed. Troops were deployed throughout Caracas. For three days all vehicles coming into the city were stopped and searched for arms.

The MIR newspaper *Izquierda* and the CP's *Tribuna Popular* were temporarily banned. The homes of some CP leaders were raided, allegedly in search of weapons. Many well-known MIR and CP figures were imprisoned. By Jan. 28 some 150 people had been arrested for "loitering" around the military barracks in La Guaira with clubs, machetes, pieces of iron, etc.

Pro-Cuba Slogans

Despite the lack of transportation on which they depend to get to the job, the working class as a whole was surprisingly sympathetic to the strike. Not only in radical-minded Caracas but in Táchira slogans appeared in favor of Cuba and against imperialism. In Táchira a radio station was seized.

Acción Democrática and COPEI (Christian Social Party), the two government parties, mobilized squads to cover walls with anti-Communist slogans. In a single day the government pasted up tens of thousands of posters advocating that Cuba be "condemned" and accusing "the Communists" of being criminals and murderers.

The government emerged from this conflict with its prestige at a new low and its popular following still further reduced. A few weeks before the Punta del Este conference, Betancourt's party, Acción Democrática, split. This brought into play against the government the majority of the Federación Campesina, an organization of some 700,000 peasants. Only the urban trade unions remain under control of pro-government leaders, but the decline in their authority was quite noticeable during the strike wave.

The sharpness of the new rise in the class struggle was also apparent in the high number of victims.

Due to a deepening financial crisis, the government finds itself in a very difficult situation. It should be added that its principal

base, the army, has always been uncertain. The Betancourt regime today appears about to go down.

Despite this situation, neither the MIR nor the Communist Party proclaims revolution as the only way out. They continue to follow a class-collaborationist approach, projecting a "popular front" with the two bourgeois parties, URD (Unión Republicana Democrática) and a dissident Acción Democrática formation known as the Ars group.

The URD has virtually accepted the projected front but publicly indicates that it is a URD idea and that it is proposed as a basis for the party chief, Jóvito Villalba, to run for office in the next presidential election two years from now.

The Ars group declares that it doesn't want any alliance with the "extremists" and that it constitutes the orthodox Acción Democrática party.

The MIR and the Communist Party demand "a democratic and patriotic government"; they launch slogans against imperialism; they defend Cuba; but they don't formulate a program that speaks primarily to the workers and unemployed, who live in difficult

conditions. However, the discontent with the government is so widespread, even among the ranks of Acción Democrática and of COPEI, that whoever speaks out most strongly against the government is certain to win a majority.

The youth of the MIR and the Communists, who had moved rather far from the leaderships of their respective parties toward immediate formation of guerrilla fighters, have been drawn back in view of the past few weeks' success against the government. This should not be interpreted as meaning that the youth have given up armed struggle; they continue to believe that it is possible to take power through pure guerrilla action, mainly in the countryside, instead of turning toward the workers and helping them break loose from the bureaucrats who still dominate the unions.

Turbulent events are on the order of the day in Venezuela. This does not signify that the triumph of the revolution is at hand. What is signified is the urgency of constructing a party capable of orienting itself correctly and guiding the workers in taking advantage of the great opportunities that are now opening up.

'With Cuba Until Death'

A declaration of solidarity was sent to the Conference of American Peoples then meeting in Havana by the Peasants, Workers and Students Movement (MOEC) of Colombia. The following English translation of it was sent from Bogotá to *The Militant* with the request that it be published in order to inform the people of the U.S. that the position taken by the foreign ministers at the OAS conference at Punta del Este did not represent the real sentiments of the Latin-American people.

* * *

The Peasants, Workers and Students Revolutionary Movement of Columbia (MOEC) proclaims its material and moral solidarity with the great struggle undertaken by the Cuban people in defense of their national sovereignty and their economic emancipation from the powerful bondage exerted by the big North-American monopolies which have subjugated our American nations and obstructed our economic development.

Cuba's great example of intervening the big monopolistic associations, removing ownership of the land from the hands of big landowners, as well as abolishing exploitation of its mineral resources, was what determined the emergency meeting of the "Conclave of the Beggars."

They met under the pressure of the large U.S. financial circles. Their objectives were to isolate our neighbor, the Republic of Cuba, from the rest of the countries of our Continent; and to exert against Cuba the decisions arrived at in the multilateral and bilateral agreements of Rio de Janeiro and the resolutions of the ninth and tenth Inter-American Conferences of Bogotá and Caracas in order to repeat the Guatemalan experiment in Cuba by invading its territories.

Let us all make the firm decision to restore and defend the principles of *non-intervention* and *self-determination* of all nations. Every nation should be free to choose the political and economic system which it thinks is fit for self-development and to maintain trade relations or relations of other sorts with all other people of the world, with no interference in their internal affairs.

We believe that the statement made by that great patriot, Lázaro Cárdenas, who presided at the first Latin-American conference is quite right when he says that "... the fundamental force which

has halted the development of Latin America is North American imperialism."

When the imperialists support the free-enterprise system they are also supporting the freedom of those who get big profits by exploiting the productive labor forces of our nations. For these very reasons and circumstances they are trying by every possible means to crush all movements and popular upsurges in order to avoid the establishment of popular governments that can put all the resources at the service of the working people.

Cuba is the only way for Latin America. All of the attainments of its revolution are pointing out to us the way to put an end to the domination of foreign financial capitalism. Its authentic, anti-imperialist and antifederal agrarian reform accomplished the elimination of the latifundia (ownership of the land by a few proprietors); a system in which agriculture is submitted to a one-crop economy; and also eliminated unemployment, misery, the low consumption index and technological backwardness.

We have learned from the Cuban revolution as well, that these attainments can never be reached by peaceful reforms, but only by revolution.

If North-American imperialism calls for an invasion of Cuba, we the people of Latin America will oppose with all our strength, utilizing all forms of struggle and defense to split such a purpose. It is for this very reason that we must stay united by the strongest bonds of cooperation and solidarity with all of the revolutionary movements which have emancipation from the tyranny of the North as their main goal.

We are with Cuba until death.

Yale to Broadcast Hansen Debate

Joseph Hansen will participate in a debate at Yale University sponsored by the Yale Broadcasting Co. on the subject, "Which Way for South America — Castro's or Kennedy's?" The debate will be held Feb. 25, 7 p.m., at Yale Political Union Hall (Old Chi Tsi House), 211 Park St., New Haven.

The meeting will be broadcast over station WYBC, AM and FM.

The New Anti-War Movement

Grass-Roots Pickets for Peace

By Tim Wohlforth

For several years there was little active resistance within the country to the government's pro-war policies. To be sure, small pacifist groups staged demonstrations but no significant numbers of people were convinced that such individual acts of protest were an effective method of countering the war drive of an immensely powerful country.

Now things are beginning to change. Large numbers of people are becoming involved in public demonstrations around the issue of peace. Some attack the shelter program. Others demand an end to nuclear testing. Still others call for disarmament. But whatever the particular demand or organization, all express — in one fashion or another — a deep dissatisfaction with the present militaristic course of the American government.

Washington March

Most active so far are students and women. On many campuses across the country peace organizations are springing up and engaging in demonstrations. On Feb. 16-17 some 5,000 students were slated to converge on Washington, D. C., for a national demonstration organized by four of these organizations and co-ordinated by the newly-formed Turn Toward Peace.

Following the initiative of Mrs. Dagmar Wilson in Washington, D.C., tens of thousands of women in major cities throughout the United States have been engaged in Strike for Peace demonstrations. In New York City, for instance, at least 5,000 women are actively engaged in such demonstrations — now being conducted on an almost weekly basis.

The women's action, like the students', is extremely important for two reasons. First, these demonstrations involve thousands of women, who never before publicly protested anything, in an important form of political activity. The mushroom growth of Women's Strike for Peace actions throughout the country and their extremely loose, informal organization are signs that these actions have been largely spontaneous and organized by people new to political activity of any sort — let alone to picketing and parading.

Secondly, the form these actions are taking is important. It is not by accident that the word "strike"



appears in the group's title. The degree of dissatisfaction with the pro-war policies of the U.S. government is expressed by this choice of an independent, militant method of demonstrating their feelings. These women are no longer content with distributing petitions or writing letters to congressmen. They feel they must strike — they must gather together as many women as possible in a public show of protest.

What Program?

At the present stage of development of this movement, action rather than program takes precedence in the minds of the participants. This is partly because there is so much divergence on a program for peace among the participants. But it is perhaps even more because the bulk of the participants at this stage do not really have a clear idea of how peace can be achieved. They simply feel deeply that things cannot be allowed to continue as they have. One simply must protest — against the missile race, the shelter stupidity, the nuclear tests, the arms race in general.

This sentiment is of course quite natural and, on the whole, healthy during an early stage of the development of the movement. But demonstrations of such a serious nature must of necessity lose in effectiveness through lack of a worked-out program and

political outlook. So far the tendency in the peace movement is for the programmatic expression of the movement to contain, limit, and dull the effect of the actions.

This can be seen clearly in the case of the Women's Strike for Peace. The organization is formed independently of the Democratic and Republican parties thereby denoting the belief that these parties will not bring peace. If one of these parties were considered truly a peace party then such independent organization would be unnecessary. It is equally obvious that its demonstrations must be considered a protest against present U.S. policy. While many participants may feel that the USSR is equally to blame for the present world situation, it is not dissatisfaction with Soviet policy which impels the demonstrations. Recently 3,000 women marched in the rain in front of the White House. President Kennedy peered at them from his window, not feeling it necessary to go out to talk to them. Perhaps he was won over to peace? Sadly, this is not the case. The president turned from the window to put the final touches on his multi-billion-dollar arms budget and probably to give last-minute instructions to Secretary Rusk about to leave on his anything-but-peaceful mission to Punta del Este.

Sign of Strength

That Kennedy should publicly refer — and with pretended sympathy — to the demonstration at all is a recognition of the movement's potential significance. However, the political impact of the demonstration is minimized when he is able to claim an identity of interests between this movement and himself. He can do this only because the movement's program does not as yet express adequately the militancy in action of the demonstrators.

Each participant in these demonstrations must ask herself whether its purpose is to rally support around the "peaceful" policies of the U.S. government or to protest the fact that U.S. policy is anything but peaceful. If the latter is the case, then the movement must make clear in its statements that present U.S. policy is anything but peaceful; that American women oppose this policy and that they demand of Kennedy much more than a glance from a window and a pious statement in favor of peace in general.

Letters from Our Readers

Rusk at the OAS

Cleveland, Ohio

Secretary of State Dean Rusk made a miserable job of trying to play the role of judge at the OAS meeting in Punta del Este. The jury didn't give much attention to his hysterical pleas and double talk.

At one point in Mr. Rusk's speech he made the claim that the Castro government was depriving the Cuban people of their human rights. Then in his very next breath he said an attractive aspect of the Cuban Revolution was that it was wiping out illiteracy, building hospitals, homes and schools, raising the living standards and taking an interest in the people's welfare.

Mr. Rusk tried to convince the ministers that the Castro government did not have the support of the Cuban people. The whole wide world knows this is absurd.

When the army of specially-trained exiles landed at dawn one morning last April they were driven back over 20 miles and into the sea from whence they came. Many heroic men from the 339th Battalion from Cienfuegos charged upright into the mercenaries' automatic fire and grenades. If this isn't support for a government I wonder just what Mr. Dean Rusk would consider support?

The 1,200 prisoners that the Castro forces captured are not destroyed as, no doubt, most people in our country believe. All but six of them are now planting trees and crops on the Isle of Pines. I will also add that they are eating their three square meals a day. Of course these prisoners are kept under guard but what other nation would even consider letting the sun shine on men that invaded their land to kill and conquer.

C.G.

'More Power'

Hagen, W. Germany

Thank you very much for *The Militant* which is most helpful for us over here. Of course I would not miss such an excellent paper, and enclose subscription cost for 1962. Above all, we all wish *The Militant* more power!

F.W.J.

Where Do We Stand?

Columbus, Ohio

I would like very much to know what your policy is concerning political and social revolution. I would also like to know where the Socialist Workers Party stands on the question of revolution in the United States.

From your articles and editorials I gather, perhaps erroneously, that you follow the old French syndicalist-anarchist idea of the "general strike" whereby capitalism is overthrown by an absolute mass strike of the proletariat. Yet in some of your issues you follow Leninist doctrine and in others you appear strangely passive. Is this confusion due to an understandable reluctance to express radical opinions in view of the recent inquisition? Please correct me if I am wrong.

S.P.

[We believe that the fundamental problems confronting the American people — the threat of war, economic insecurity, discrimination, etc. — will be fully and finally resolved by a social revolution. By "social revolution" we mean a basic transformation of the country's economic and political structure. Through such a fundamental change we envision the socialization of the principal means of production, with planned production for use replacing private production for profit.

The basis for such a reorganiza-

Thought for the Week

"If work were really such a good thing, the rich would have taken it all long ago."—A peasant proverb in Haiti.

tion of the economy would be the establishment — by democratic majority decision — of a workers' and farmers' government to replace the present government which functions in the interest of the capitalist class, a minority of the population controlling the country's economy.

A general strike by the labor movement, organized for specific periods to win specific economic or political demands, can be a major weapon in advancing the interests of the workers and minority groups. However, we believe an even more basic necessity for social change is that advocated by Lenin — the building of a working-class party based upon a Marxist program, i.e., the abolition of capitalism and creation of the foundations of socialism.

A summary of the political views of the Socialist Workers Party is available in Joseph Hansen's pamphlet, *The Socialist Workers Party — What It Is, What It Stands For*. It can be ordered for 25 cents from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.—Editor.]

Fan Mail

Walcott, N.D.

Enclosed find \$5 to make sure my subscription won't run out. I find the paper very excellent reading and can hardly wait for one issue to another to arrive.

O.B.

Subsidized Strike-Breaking

Scottsdale, Ariz.

The U.S. government has developed streamlined methods of subsidizing big business. There's the story of the Post Office running nearly \$1.5 billion in the red while the Luce publications are subsidized with special postal rates so they can distribute their fascist propaganda and be assured of high profits.

A new method of gouging the taxpayer is by billion-dollar corporations collecting from the government the cost of scab-herding and strike-breaking. The United Aircraft Corp. which broke a strike of the International Association of Machinists last year has presented a bill to the government. It said it spent \$10 million breaking the strike and demands the government pay \$7.5 million of this.

Were the big-wigs of the unions not locked tight with the government and Wall Street, such strike-breaking would be answered with strikes and more strikes until the corporations and their cohort, the government, relented and made proper concessions.

C.H.

Not Strong Enough?

Brecksville, Ohio

You have the whole capitalist press to compete with, not to count radio, television and the other "free" mediums of expression. Come out a little more strongly.

G.S.

Vote of Confidence

Baldwin Park, Calif.

Many people have different kinds of faith. I have a faith too — faith in the truth and honest reporting of *The Militant*. I put it above any.

G.V.

Likes Cuban Coverage

Vancouver, Wash.

As I have for some months not been on a payroll, I hope you can extend me three months for the dollar enclosed. I am much interested in your coverage of the Cuban revolution. I believe we should try to listen to the sound of all the bells.

C.G.

It Was Reported in the Press

Educating Cigar Smokers — Samuel Silberman, chairman of the Consolidated Cigar Corp., said in a Feb. 6 speech that he wasn't too concerned about Kennedy's ban on Cuban tobacco because he felt the consumer could be re-educated to enjoy cigars that contain no Cuban tobacco. "And while we're re-educating the consumer," he added, "we want to re-educate him to a blend that will allow us to maintain proper profit margins."

No Credit With Chiang — "An outpost of capitalism, the Taiwan Stock Exchange Corporation, opened the first stock exchange on the far eastern island yesterday . . . All transactions will be in cash."—The Feb. 10 *New York Times*.

Wants 'Liberation' in Cuba — Isadore Marks, a Miami contractor, has offered Cuban counter-revolutionaries a \$100,000 building rent-free as a "relief and recreation" center. "There are absolutely no strings attached," declared Marks. "I have only one selfish motive. Maybe if these people get consolidated, they'll overthrow Castro faster and I'll get back the property he took from me in

Cuba." He said he had 33,000 acres of mining property before it was nationalized."

Trust-Busters at Work — "A bubble-gum maker, Topps Chewing Gum, was charged by the Federal Trade Commission with illegally securing exclusive contracts with 414 out of 421 major-league baseball players to include their pictures in packages of bubble gum. The FTC alleges that Topps has acted 'to the detriment of free and open competition in the bubble-gum and picture-card industries.'"—The Feb. 9 *Wall Street Journal*.

Conversation Piece — A Florida firm offers a Human Body Radiation Recorder. It "measures and adds up significant radiation that strikes your body from fallout, X-ray or bomb blast" and is "suitable for key chain or locket." Only \$2, cash.

Madison Avenue Hypo — "The very bulk of advertising is its own worst enemy because somewhere along the line an irritation starts building up against irritation. This is one of the reasons people aren't bothered more than they are by advertising. If they had to absorb it all, they would go mad. Thus,

we see as the immunity builds up it costs more to advertise every year. It's a little like narcotics: it must be taken in ever-increasing dosage to achieve the same effect." —Advertising executive Howard Gossage.

New York Living Standards — A New York family of four needs \$99.04 a week to maintain an "adequate but modest" standard of living, according to a Feb. 7 report by the Community Council of Greater New York. A recent study by the Teamsters Union disclosed that New York factory production workers, who are among the better paid, averaged \$84.36 a week in 1960.

Kennedy's Pal — The University of Santo Domingo has revoked the honorary law degree awarded Senator Smathers (D-Fla.) in 1957. The university's governing council said the action was taken because of Smathers' "great friendship" with the late dictator Trujillo. A close friend of President Kennedy and an influential voice in shaping Washington's anti-Cuba policy, Smathers now favors cutting off economic aid to any Latin-American country that resists lining up against Cuba.