

— Carl Skoglund —

By Farrell Dobbs

Carl Skoglund, veteran union and socialist leader, died December 11, at Washington, N.J. After 76 years of purposeful life, the end came in a matter of seconds through a heart attack.

His life story contains rich lessons for the working class. It refutes the oft-repeated lie that labor cannot produce leaders capable of acting honestly and continuously in the interest of those who toil. His is a story of political class-consciousness, of ability to see what must be done to advance the workers' cause, and of the courage to act accordingly despite all opposition and persecution.

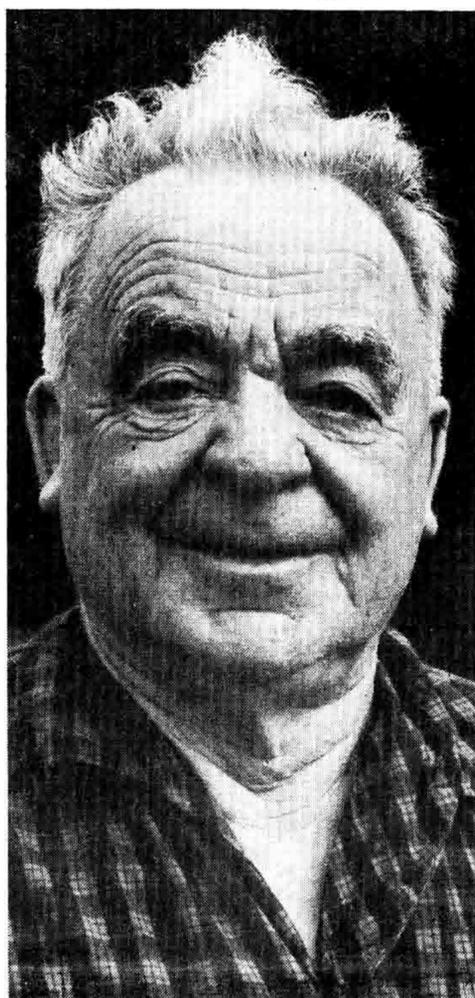
Carl was born April 7, 1884 on an ancient feudal estate in the back country of Sweden where his ancestors had been serfs. His boyhood saw rapid change of the region through penetration of the pulp and paper industry which transformed an agricultural people into industrial workers.

In this setting Carl was thrust in his early teens into the role of family breadwinner when his father died. This virtually robbed him of his childhood and deprived him of anything but the barest formal education. Despite these handicaps he was destined to become a learned man who understood the nature of out-lived capitalism. He could visualize a socialist future for mankind. He knew how to fight for it and how to teach other worker-militants to fight.

As a young pulp-mill worker he cut his teeth in the Swedish class struggle, coming soon to play a role as a strike leader. In the same period he joined the socialist movement where he learned the revolutionary internationalism to which he remained faithful the rest of his life.

When about 20 he was called up for military service during Norway's struggle for independence. In the army he demonstrated his internationalism by helping to promote fraternization with Norwegian workers in uniform. When the government refused to demobilize the troops, after Norway's separation from Sweden, Carl played a leading role in protest demonstrations which were to become famous in Swedish history. These experiences hardened him into the staunch opponent of militarism and imperialism war which he remained all his days.

His class-struggle role put him on the capitalist blacklist, a form of persecution he was to experience many times. Finding it increasingly hard to make a living, in 1911 he de-



decided to go to the United States.

He went to Minnesota and found work as a lumberjack in the north woods where he came in contact with the Industrial Workers of the World. He began to learn the concrete nature of the American class struggle and to teach socialism to other young worker-militants. His work in the timber industry was cut short when he nearly lost his foot in an accident. The lumber barons simply fired him, leaving him on his own, as they did so many immigrant workers. He went to Minneapolis where

he worked as a janitor, fireman, in the building trades — anything he could get — until he landed a job as a railway shopman. Soon he was playing a leading role in the union and during the great railway shopmen's strike of 1923 he became chairman of the strike committee for three trans-continental lines running out of Minneapolis. The strike was defeated and once again Carl found himself black-listed.

During these years he had become increasingly active in the radical movement and had helped build the Communist

party after the Russian Revolution of 1917. He was a delegate to the famous Bridgeman Convention of the CP which was raided by the witch-hunting political cops of Attorney General Palmer in the early twenties.

The union bureaucrats, groveling before the capitalist witch-hunters, next opened fire on Carl. They outlawed him as a trade unionist and helped the bosses black-list him from industry. As Carl himself would have put it, his situation was not too good, but he stuck to his guns and fought harder than ever for class truth.

Meanwhile, a new form of reaction — Stalinism — was growing like a cancer inside the world Communist movement. When it led to an international showdown in 1928, Carl sided with the revolutionist Trotsky against the betrayer Stalin, and was expelled from the Communist party.

He quickly took his place in the leadership of the American Trotskyist movement, which was to become the Socialist Workers Party of today.

Now he was blacklisted by the bosses, the capitalist government, the union bureaucrats and the Stalinists. His employment problem was made even worse by the onset of the depression. Finally he wound up driving a coal truck and in the process, put himself in a key position to act when the Minneapolis truck drivers decided they needed a union.

Carl played a major role in developing the strategy through which the truck drivers were organized. He was a leader of the 1934 general drivers' strikes which put an end to open shop conditions and made Minneapolis a union town.

Later he became president of General Drivers Local 544 and took a leading part in the fight to unionize Minnesota and the surrounding area.

When the Roosevelt government began preparations to take the country into the second world war, Daniel Tobin, then head of the Teamsters International Union, demanded support throughout the union for Roosevelt's war policy. The leadership of Local 544 insisted on its right to oppose the imperialist war. Tobin, with the aid of the government, set out to remove the leaders and install a dictatorship over the local union.

During the summer of 1941 Roosevelt engineered indictments, under the Smith Act, of 29 leaders of Local 544 and the Socialist Workers party. Carl

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Mass Demonstration in Algiers Puts New Power on Rebel Side

"Reaping the Tempest's Harvest"



Massive nationalist demonstrations broke out in the principal cities of Algeria, sending French fascists scurrying for cover. The biggest demonstration occurred in Algiers. Pictured above is a scene in Dar Es-Saada where nationalists used a car and a truck to move from one part of town to another. The demonstrations gave tremendous new force to the rebel side. Commenting on this consequence to the fascist provocations, a French functionary said glumly: "They have sown the wild wind. Now they are reaping the tempest's harvest."

Fascist Gangs Flee Streets

By Paul Abbott

The Algerian struggle for freedom from imperialist France has taken a tremendous step forward. For the first time in the six-year war, the masses moved into the streets of Algiers in a demonstration of such power as to completely alter the relation of forces between the heroic guerilla bands and the American-backed French army.

The demonstration came as an unexpected consequence of a tour by Gen de Gaulle, who is seeking to build up support for a referendum in France Jan. 8 that would empower him to set up a puppet government in Algiers.

The fascist-minded "colons" in Algiers have expressed fanatical opposition to even this shadowy resemblance to independence for the colony. As de Gaulle flew into Algiers, they met him with provocative demonstrations.

Thousands of young fascists marched into the streets Dec. 9, waving banners reading, "This is France," and shouting, "Keep Algeria French!"

To underline their demands, they hurled nails, rocks and bottled-gas bombs. As police attempted to cope with them, they shouted, "De Gaulle to the gallows!"

These were the same forces which, together with reactionary officers and generals, installed de Gaulle in power in 1958. De Gaulle's incapacity to crush the Algerian freedom fighters by either force or stratagem has infuriated them. De Gaulle feels the need to stall, gain time, even make a partial retreat. But the colons interpret as "betrayal" anything less than a policy of exterminating Algerians who dream of independence.

The Algerian community came into action at this point. Without advance notice, thousands poured out of their ghettos in Algiers to support de Gaulle against the French reactionaries.

They shouted, "Algeria is Algerian." They called for independence. They waved flags of the rebel National Liberation Front. This demonstration was Dec. 10.

A censorship was clamped down on outgoing news, but the reports trickling into the press services left no doubt that the entire Algerian community, representing the great majority of the population, was involved.

Because of the censorship, it is difficult to determine exactly what happened next. But two things seem clear. The army turned its guns on the Algerians. They defied the guns and continued to demonstrate.

Here are some extracts from the Dec. 11 account by Alain de Lyaot, correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune:

"Fear, almost terror, was in the hearts of the Europeans of Algeria. They saw huge Moslem crowds surge out of their quarters waving the green and white flag of the rebellion and of the National Liberation Front (FLN), the rebel organization.

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Rock-Hurling Racists Gain in New Orleans

DEC. 14 — Apparently confident that they have nothing to fear from city or federal authorities, racist hoodlums have been waging a campaign of terror against white New Orleans parents who sent their children to one of that city's two elementary schools where token integration has been put into effect.

Last Tuesday a peak of 23 white children were attending the Frantz school but by the week's end the number was down to eight. This was attributed to the "growing panic among terrorized white parents" by a New York Herald Tribune correspondent.

Names and addresses of the white families sending their children to Frantz school were obtained by the White Citizens Council and distributed in mimeographed leaflets.

Rocks were thrown at their homes, car tires were slashed, stones and eggs were hurled at them on the street and several were forced to leave their jobs.

A leader of a group of white families calling itself "Save Our Schools" angrily demanded that the police act against the racist gangs.

The white parents involved have been "intimidated by a small group of lawless, irresponsible citizens," said Mrs. Mary Sand. She listed a series of specific cases of violence.

"Despite these flagrant demonstrations," she charged, "there have been no arrests of adults or ringleaders of this violence. Stone-bearing adults still roam the neighborhoods where these families live."

The reaction of New Orleans "law enforcement" officers was reported by the Dec. 11 New York Post: "Police Supt. Joseph L. Giarrusso said that none of the persons who say they have been threatened have given evidence that justifies arrests."

The sole action taken by the federal government in face of this organized resistance to the execution of a federal court order was to supply marshals to escort the lone Negro child at Frantz school and the three at McDonogh from their homes and back. The Justice Department has not even gone through the motions of offering protection to the white families involved.

Mrs. Delma Windham, one of the white parents whose lives have been threatened, commented bitterly: "I never thought I would wake up in a free country and find I couldn't send my children to school."

Meanwhile, in Atlanta, Ga., racists responded to a massive Negro rights demonstration by

Canada 'Happy' To Sell More Goods to Cuba

Washington's efforts to starve out the Cuban revolution by a trade embargo suffered a setback when Canadian Minister of Trade George Hees announced Dec. 9 that his country would be "happy" to provide Cuba with the goods she is barred from buying in the U.S.

Hees' stand was buttressed three days later when Prime Minister Diefenbaker declared that Canada expects "other nations" to respect its right to trade with Cuba.

The Canadian stand was taken while a Cuban trade mission was in Ottawa seeking to arrange for the purchase of \$150,000,000 worth of Canadian products in 1961. Such an agreement would mean a ten-fold increase over 1959 Canadian-Cuban trade and would be a help to Canada's sagging economy.

"We're confident we can do more business with Cuba," said Hees after a conference with Dr. Regino Boti, Cuban Minister of the Economy.

Diefenbaker also said his country would not encourage "bootlegging" of U.S. goods to Cuba. Reports are current in Washington that the embargo is being circumvented by the shipment of goods through Canada. Some businessmen apparently believe the hate-Cuba campaign is a good thing but that profits are even better.

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Which Country Is Erecting an 'Iron Curtain'?

As far as federal authorities are concerned, Cedric Belfrage is definitely not welcome in the United States. Particularly if he's en route to Cuba and not even if barring him from passing through is in clear violation of international travel procedure.

Belfrage, "editor-in-exile" of the National Guardian, was deported to England in 1955 under the McCarran Act on the basis of an informer's allegation that he had been a member of the Communist party 18 years before that.

On Dec. 2 he set foot on "free" American soil again. Bound from London to Havana, he landed at New York's International Idlewild Airport where he was to board a Cubana Lines plane.

Had Papers

Belfrage had all necessary travel documents from Great Britain and Cuba, the only two governments with jurisdiction in the matter. No transit visa is required of a traveler who is simply changing planes in another country. The most that ever happens is that such travelers are confined to a special lounge until their plane is ready to leave.

But Belfrage was taken into custody by Immigration officials at Idlewild, held until a decision came from Washington, and then put on a plane bound back for London.

He is now in Havana, having made the second trip via Madrid, where he was cleared through without question.

Jobless Rate for Nov. Hits 20-Year Record

Unemployment data released in Washington Dec. 12 pointed to a lean Christmas for a lot of American workers. There were 4,013,000 people out of work in November, according to the Department of Labor, the largest number for that month since the government started making monthly estimates in 1940.

The department estimated that 6.3 per cent of the labor force was jobless. During November 308,000 people lost their jobs. In manufacturing, layoffs were double the "normal" November figure.

The government's cheery pre-holiday news was rounded out with the prediction that the jobless situation is going to get worse before it gets better. Even if business conditions don't get worse, a spokesman said, there will be 5,200,000 people looking for work next January.

Along with the flood of pink slips came a reduction in the work week for those still holding their jobs. The November work week was 39.3 hours as compared to 40.6 hours at the beginning of the year.

Some 100,000 workers went on part time during the month, bringing the total in that situation to about 1,400,000. While the total number of employed people in the country continued to rise, the employment figure for the key manufacturing segment of the economy was a half million less than at the start of the year.

The extent to which manufacturing production has been crippled was indicated last week when the government designated nine more industrial centers as "substantial" unemployment areas (at least six per cent

Wilkinson View Debated on TV In Los Angeles

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 11 — Frank Wilkinson, a First Amendment defendant and leader in a drive to abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, maintained in a TV debate tonight that since Congress has no right to pass any law abridging the right of free speech, it therefore has no right to investigate for the passage of such a law.

The debate on KCOP was moderated by the reactionary Tom Duggan. He was supported by Harold Fishman, a political commentator. They held that Congress has the right to investigate private opinions.

A. L. Wirin, chief counsel of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union, supported Wilkinson's view that to concede to Congress the right to investigate private opinions would open a new avenue for reprisals against the leaders of such organizations as the trade unions and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Wirin emphasized what he called a "historical and incontrovertible fact," that "every new idea, every new cause, is unpopular at the time that it begins and it needs the protection of privacy in its first stage."

Next Week

The Militant will feature articles about Carl Skoglund by some of his closest friends and comrades.

# Mass Algerian Demonstration

# The Declaration of 81 Communist Parties

By Cyrus Thomas

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"About 6,000 Moslems went on a rampage in the Belcourt district, an Algiers suburb, setting fire to buildings, wrecking cars and smashing windows. They were held back from invasion of the city by riot police. The struggle lasted more than eight hours.

"The greatest terror was caused by the Moslems in the Casbah, where thousands went wild, shouting 'Independence,' 'Down with the Ultras,' 'Long live the FLN.' Troops, including paratroopers, were rushed to the area and sealed it off."

"The troops used machine-guns against the unarmed demonstrators. The censorship has permitted only low figures to be given on the casualties. These have gradually been upped until the latest admission is 125 dead and some 400 wounded. There are grim rumors originating in diplomatic circles that the figures are far higher.

Lytrot gives a dramatic account of the effect of the Moslem demonstration on the fascist-minded demonstrators:

"The sudden and completely unexpected appearance of Moslem mobs in the city meant the almost immediate end of the rioting by European settlers against President Charles de Gaulle's current trip to Algeria to seek support for his policy of self-determination for this North African territory.

"A group of several thousand settlers had assembled on the Rue Michelet late this morning to shout 'Algerie Francaise' when they suddenly had to give way to an Army convoy. The convoy passed at full speed while the Europeans flabbergasted, made way. It included some fifty trucks full of troops, some thirty tanks, as well as armored cars and half-tracks.

"The word immediately spread that Moslems were marching into the city. Within a matter of minutes, the European demonstration was over."

Lytrot ventured into the Casbah. He saw scenes resembling the outbreak of a revolution. "There, thousands of Moslems, seized by a sort of frenzy, roamed about in groups of several hundred waving the green and white flag of the Algerian rebels and the National Liberation Front.

"The Moslems were about to surge out of the native quarter of more than 100,000 population when the Army sealed all its

exits. The Moslems were about to march on the European city armed with knives, axes and clubs.

"At each exit from Casbah, which is in the western part of Algiers, soldiers armed with rifles and submachine guns stood all day at the ready. "Inside, the spectacle was one of mass hysteria, an explosion of pent-up hatred and uncontrollable joy which bordered on delirium."

He was met by a young Moslem, who told him that he had nothing to fear.

### Can't Be Stopped

"The young man in Western clothes said, 'Nothing can stop us now. Why did the Army shoot at us? We are just saying what de Gaulle said, an Algerian Algeria, but they still want to stop us, and the Europeans, too. Come and see.'"

Lytrot reported a number of incidents indicating the intense excitement of the Moslems, their joy at the mass explosion that had demonstrated to the entire world their wish to be free. The Moslems were not the least hostile, but brimming with friendliness.

"This mood was in complete contrast to that in the European sectors, where gloom and deep fear prevailed.

Lytrot's impressions have been confirmed by others. Joan Thivier wrote from Paris to the Christian Science Monitor, Dec. 12:

"Three days of European rioting in Algiers have met with a Moslem riposte that has brought insurrection and rebellion face to face Algeria. . . .

"This is the first time the Moslems in any numbers have dared to demonstrate in the face of the European population, or carry nationalist emblems, despite the enormous number of police, riot squads, and paratroop units which are desperately trying to keep the two communities apart."

## - Carl Skoglund -

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was one of the 18 who were convicted and, when the Supreme Court refused their appeal, imprisoned in 1944.

While Carl was awaiting trial under the Smith Act indictment in 1941, a new vicious attack was made on him. Like so many immigrant workers he had not obtained citizenship papers. Seizing this pretext, the government arrested him on a deportation warrant and held him in \$25,000 bail.

Sitting in a Minneapolis jail, he was told he would be deported to Sweden, a thing that could mean death to this antifascist fighter with the threat then looming that Hitler would take Sweden. He was also told "off the record" that the deportation action against him might be withdrawn if he would turn state's evidence in the Smith Act trial.

He hurled this insult back into the teeth of the government agents, stood like a rock with his fellow defendants in the court room and went to prison like a man, his head held high.

When he had completed his 16-month sentence in 1945, the government renewed the deportation attack. For nine years the Skoglund Defense Committee was able to keep him out of jail. Then in 1954, at the height of the McCarthy period, he was ordered to appear at Ellis Island for deportation on January 28. After 43 years in this country and just before his seventieth birthday, he was to be thrown out as a social pariah.

It made no difference whatever to the witch-hunters that he was already suffering from the heart ailment which would finally take his life.

His attorneys managed to block the January deportation order but in May 1954 his bond was cancelled and he was thrown into jail on Ellis Island. All attempts to get him out failed and in August he was suddenly ordered deported with less than 24 hours' notice. His attorneys

Joseph Barry, reporting from Algiers for the New York Post, said Dec. 13:

"Shortly before noon yesterday, a young Arab woman working in the huge government headquarters building on the Algiers Forum, one of the young Moslem elite or third force de Gaulle is counting on, cried to an American correspondent, 'They must stop! Tell them to stop!' And, between sobs, she told him that that morning she had seen French soldiers firing into a group of young boys in the Casbah as they danced and chanted of Algerian independence."

"This week-end witnesses a turning point in the life of Algeria, France and so of the Western world. The change was swift, sudden and deadly."

Volney D. Hurd, chief of the Paris News Bureau of the Christian Science Monitor, reported that "the Moslem demonstrations got out of hand." On the one hand, they began destroying European-held "property," and on the other, "their desire to have their voices heard in support of the FLN led them to walk directly into machinegun fire with fanatical disregard."

"There's your real referendum!" said one Moslem."

The army is now attempting to put down the Moslem community in a bloodbath.

"The Casbah looks half Warsaw ghetto and half Warsaw uprising," writes Joseph Barry. "Yesterday afternoon we went through the barbed wire barrage up the refuse-strewn streets and small boys led us to self-constituted ministries of information. The Casbah is FLN. If the Algerian Moslems were silent, they certainly are no longer. By now, 100 may have died in the shooting that still goes on but the FLN flags go up every time the French forces leave."

It is obvious that the Declaration of the 81 is an elaborate compromise. Also, that no question of principle was in dispute. Nor was there at bottom any genuine conflict over ideology or doctrine. What then was at stake?

It appears to this writer that the differences between the main protagonists in the CP camp were over more mundane and material things, although cloaked in ideological trappings. They involved important matters of strategy and tactics affecting various component parts of the Soviet bloc under pressure of the cold war.

Does the Kremlin version of "peaceful coexistence" involve a deal at the summit with world imperialism and especially its mightiest representative, the United States, at the expense of China or other states in the Soviet bloc? The fact that China is excluded from direct participation in such negotiations would tend to create the suspicion that such could be the case.

Ergo — the Chinese CP discovers Lenin's precept on the inevitability of war under capitalism and a controversy ensues with arguments pro and con on the validity of Khrushchev's theory of "peaceful coexistence."

If the dispute took the form of a direct polemic between the main protagonists it could serve a very useful purpose by providing clarification of an important point of Marxist doctrine. But such is not the case. The battle has been wordy and prolonged. Yet the combatants never confront each other face to face. Instead, a drumfire of criticism is directed at some third party, usually an abstraction like "revisionism" or "dogmatism" or maybe Tito who always makes a convenient target.

Wasn't It Settled? The argument over "peaceful coexistence" was presumably settled in November 1957 when 12 delegations of Soviet bloc states met in Moscow and adopted a declaration upholding and reaffirming the policy of "peaceful coexistence."

"The Communist and Workers' parties taking part in the meeting declare that the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of the two systems, which has been further developed and brought up to date in the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, is the sound basis of the foreign policy of the Socialist countries and the dependable pillar of peace and friendship among the peoples. The idea of peaceful coexistence coincides with the five principles advanced jointly by the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India and with the program adopted by the Bandung Conference of African-Asian countries. . . .

The November 1960 conference of the 81 "unanimously reaffirmed their allegiance to the Declaration and Peace Manifesto adopted in 1957" by the conference of the 12. Yet the intervening years were rife with reports of disagreement and controversy between Moscow and Peking over the "principle" of peaceful coexistence.

It seems the issue will not down! The Declaration of the 81 iterates and reiterates its adherence to the "principle" of peaceful coexistence: "The Communists of all the world uphold peaceful coexistence unambiguously. . . ."

Memorial Meeting NEW YORK — A memorial meeting for Carl Skoglund will be held Sunday, Dec. 18, 2 p.m., at 116 University Place. Farrell Dobbs will be the principal speaker.

the forces of peace and socialism new successes. The U.S.S.R. will become the leading industrial power of the world. China will become a mighty industrial state. The socialist system will be turning out more than half the world industrial product. The peace zone will expand. The working class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies will achieve new victories. The disintegration of the colonial system will become completed. The superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will be absolute.

"In these conditions," the authors conclude, "a real possibility will have arisen to exclude world war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world."

This is the idyllic picture painted by the authors of the declaration, of how "peaceful coexistence" will work its magic on a world we never knew.

"Let us assume for a moment that the capitalist ruling class of the advanced industrial powers in Europe and Asia will gracefully and peacefully yield to the 'superiority of the forces of socialism.' Can anyone imagine the capitalist ruling class of this country, the most predatory in all history, the class which did not hesitate to drop the atom-bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, standing idly by awaiting its inevitable doom? Nonsense!

Do the authors themselves believe what they say in the declaration?

One gets the impression that a dozen different authors, each with his own angle, was turned loose on the document. Every statement is qualified, circumscribed and contradicted by a different statement. If they deliberately started out with the intention of putting something in to suit every conflicting view expressed at the conference they were highly successful.

Significant Change One thing however is certain. The document does reflect the Kremlin's change in attitude toward support of colonial revolts. This appeared to be one of the real disputes between the Kremlin and Peking taking place behind the ideological facade. In this connection it appears that the view of Peking prevailed.

As applied to the struggle for national liberation and colonial independence the "principle" of peaceful coexistence is now considerably modified.

"The peoples of the colonial countries," says the declaration, "win their independence both through armed struggle and by non-military methods, depending on the specific conditions in the country concerned. They secure durable victory through a powerful national-liberation movement. The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting." (My emphasis.)

This language reflects the welcome decision of the Kremlin to offer substantial aid in current critical colonial and semicolonial uprisings, namely: Cuba, Algeria, Laos, the Congo. This constitutes a considerable change in policy. How much of the change is due to pressure from the Chinese CP and others is hard to say. It is safe to conclude, however, that such pressure was no negligible factor.

STATUS QUO POLITICS In fact, therein lies the crux of the matter. The "principle" of peaceful coexistence as applied in practice first by Stalin and then by Khrushchev was based on the maintenance of the status quo.

Status quo deals with capitalist imperialism involved the sacrifice of the working class and colonial people who were used as pawns in the game of Soviet diplomacy.

In the days of Stalin all of this was justified in the name of "building socialism in a single country." Significantly enough, Stalin's unique theoretical contribution to the science of Marxism found no mention in the 20,000 word Declaration of the 81!

None of his disciples found it necessary to insert one word of explanation of how, why, when or where, the theory of building "socialism" in one country was jettisoned.

Lenin long ago proclaimed that we are living in the epoch of wars, proletarian revolutions and colonial uprisings. But all of this has now changed, say the latter-day exponents of "Marxism-Leninism." Where Lenin called for the extension of the revolution on the basis of the class struggle as the only guarantee of the survival of the first workers state, the authors of the declaration outline the basis of their coexistence theory: "The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries. In conditions of peace, the socialist system increasingly reveals its advantages over the capitalist system in all fields of economy, culture, science and technology. "The near future will bring

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Labor Politics "Which Way for Labor: Democratic Party or Labor Party?" by Murry Weiss. Bulletin No. 3 of Marxist Studies, 22 pp. 25 cents. Pioneer Publishers 116 University Place New York 3, N.Y.

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Just Published THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA By Joseph Hansen

"The Cuban revolution is an event of major significance in North as well as South America. . . . The rise in fear among the reactionary property-holding classes is registered in the preoccupation of the capitalist press and the State Department over the 'menace' that has appeared on the tiny island in the Caribbean. In contrast, the rise in hope among the workers and peasants throughout Latin America is visible in constant trade union resolutions and popular demonstrations in support of Cuba." Joseph Hansen, editor of the Militant, tells the story of that revolution in this informative new pamphlet previously serialized in the Militant. 25 cents per copy.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

the American Communist party, for instance, has continued to suffer internal difficulties since the big crisis following the Twentieth Congress revelations about Stalin's paranoia and crimes against the working class and the socialist movement.

In the colonial countries, the ranks tend to become caught up in the great sweep of independence struggles that inevitably move in the revolutionary-socialist direction.

Tito's successful defiance of Stalin and insistence on maintaining Yugoslav independence continually tempts imitation, particularly in Eastern Europe. The existence of still another Communist viewpoint beside those of Moscow and Peking helps stimulate independent thinking.

The various national CP leaderships thus feel the need for additional authority to crack down on dissident opinion as well as a more radical line to offset the attraction of revolutionary tendencies like the one that toppled dictator Batista and led the Cuban Revolution to victory.

The Declaration of the 81 indicates considerable fear in the Kremlin of being outflanked from the left.

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## Calendar Of Events

DETROIT New Year's Eve—celebrate at Debs Hall. Refreshments — dancing — entertainment. From 9 p.m. on. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum. 3737 Woodward. Contrib. \$1.

LOS ANGELES Enjoy New Year's Eve with the Militant readers. Stereophonic dance music, favors, refreshments. Contrib. \$1.75 (students, \$1) includes international cuisine. Forum Hall, 1702 East 4th St. For reservations phone AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.

NEW YORK Welcome Home reception for Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein and Mrs. Jean Rubinstein. Just returned from a tour of Europe and the USSR. Tuesday, Dec. 27, From 5-7:30 p.m. at 393 Central Park West, apt. 71, at 93rd St. (96th St. Station, Ind. Subway.) \$2 contrib. includes buffet. Ausp. Independents and Socialists for Electoral Action.

Celebrate Xmas and New Year's with the Militant Labor Forum. On Xmas Eve join around the fireplace at 144 West 23rd St. (Third floor studio.) On New Year's Eve the festivities will be at 116 University Place, from 9 p.m. on. Favors, refreshments, danceable dance music. Contrib. \$1.50.

## Local Directory

BOSTON Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200. CHICAGO Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210, WE 9-5044. CLEVELAND Socialist Workers Party, 5511 Euclid Ave., Room 203. DENVER Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California. MAIn 3-0993. For labor and socialist books, International Book Exchange, 1227 1/2 California. Open 5:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Mon. through Fri. DETROIT Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Temple 1-6135. LOS ANGELES Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop, Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon — 5 p.m. daily, Sat. 9 a.m. — 5 p.m. MILWAUKEE 150 East Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall #40. Federal 2-7741. NEWARK Newark Labor Forum, Box 361 Newark, N. J. NEW YORK CITY Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, AL 5-7852. OAKLAND - BERKELEY P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. PHILADELPHIA Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 P.M., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820. SAN FRANCISCO The Militant, 1145 Polk St., Room 4 Sat. 11 A.M. to 3 P.M. Phone PR 6-7296; if no answer, VA 4-2321. SEATTLE 1412—18th Avenue, EA 5-0191. Library, bookstore.

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Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN Managing Editor: DANIEL ROBERTS Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY  
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## That TV "Debate" on Cuba

It is unfortunate that the nationwide television debate on the Cuban revolution scheduled for Saturday, Dec. 10, between C. Wright Mills and Adolph A. Berle, Jr., failed to take place as planned.

C. Wright Mills, Professor of Sociology at Columbia University and prominent author, was taken to the hospital after suffering a heart attack the day before the scheduled debate. According to the latest report, Mills is still on the critical list but improving. We hope that his recovery will be rapid. As a true friend of the Cuban revolution, he can play a powerful role in bringing the truth about this enormously important event to the American people.

This is attested to by his recently published best seller, "Listen Yankee," one of the best accounts to date of the aims, aspirations and accomplishments of the Cuban revolution.

The choice of ex-Congressman Charles O. Porter of Oregon as a substitute for Mills must have created no little confusion in the minds of the viewers and considerable consternation among the supporters of the Cuban revolution. The program, aired

The question to be debated was: "What Should the United States Policy Be Toward Cuba and Latin America?" Mills was chosen as an avowed opponent of U.S. policy toward Cuba on the basis of his publicly recorded statements and publication of "Listen, Yankee." That much was clear.

Adolph A. Berle, Jr., former Roosevelt "brain trust" and Honorary Chairman of the Liberal party of New York, was selected because of his outspoken hostility to the Cuban revolution and his support of

## Fifth Birthday of the AFL-CIO

Five years ago this month, the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations met in New York City, to merge the two organizations. The present AFL-CIO was born on Dec. 5, 1955 amid high hopes that the unification would put an end to jurisdictional squabbles, enhance labor's political influence, lead to an aggressive campaign to organize the unorganized and reverse the antiunion offensive of the employers and their stooges in government.

Five years have passed since the merger and the balance sheet shows a dismal record of frustration, retreats, demoralization and defeats. The jurisdictional disputes continue to rage. The recurrent campaigns to organize the unorganized have been wretched flops. The membership of the merged organization has fallen to a new low. Strikes have been broken. The influence and prestige of the organized labor movement is lower now than at any time since the early thirties.

And the end is not yet! The roster of "right-to-work" states has increased to nineteen. In the recent election, proponents of "right-to-work" legislation won significant victories in a number of additional states. To the crippling restrictions of Taft-Hartley has been added the union-busting provisions of Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin. Regulation and control of union affairs is more and more vested in the hands of boss-controlled government agencies. Gains made and conditions won in previous struggle are being lost and sur-

## China Nears Nuclear Status

The prospect that China will soon join the select group of nuclear powers is giving Washington the jitters. Upon his return from a Moscow conference of nuclear scientists, Philip Noel-Baker, 1959 Nobel Peace Prize winner, predicted that China would have the atom bomb by 1961. Speaking in Britain to a disarmament campaign meeting, Noel-Baker said:

"The Chinese government is likely to conduct its first nuclear test within 12 months. It will have a sizable nuclear stockpile by 1965."

In these days of nuclear diplomacy no nation is considered a world power which does not belong to the exclusive atomic club which now comprises the United States, Russia, Great Britain and France.

The prospect of China producing and testing a nuclear bomb has created a major foreign policy dilemma for the State Department. As the New York Times of Dec. 10 puts it, the problem "is how China, which is not participating in the Geneva talks, could be made to comply with or become a signatory to a test ban negotiated by the three major nuclear powers."

The United States, you see, does not "recognize" China or the Peking government. In fact, it "recognizes" Formosa as the seat and Chiang Kai-shek as the government head of China. It is bad enough now, but what heights of absurdity would

State Department policy. His position was a matter of public record as he made radio speeches and wrote articles attacking Castro and the new Cuba especially during the recent election campaign. His selection was understandable.

But on what basis was Porter selected to substitute for Mills? When Mills was stricken, the NBC program director called the New York Chapter of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and asked if they could supply a substitute. A list of names was submitted, all of them prominent members of the FPCC, all of them opponents of U.S. policy and all of them qualified to uphold their end of the debate.

For some unaccountable reason, NBC rejected all of the names submitted by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and proceeded to make its own selection. On what basis? So far as the public record shows, ex-Congressman Porter, one of the band of young Democratic liberals defeated in the last election, publicly disavowed support of the Castro regime and the Cuban revolution.

In an article written in the Dec. 3 issue of the Nation on "Why the 'Peace Congressmen' Lost," Porter cites the Cuban question as one factor in his defeat. His complaint is that his opponent smeared him for "encouraging Castro." To Porter, Castro is a "dictator and pro-Communist," which is exactly how Adolph A. Berle, Jr., characterizes the leader of the Cuban revolution.

With both participants in fundamental agreement the "debate" took on the ludicrous aspect of two palookas doing a minuet. NBC got what it wanted!

rendered under increasing employer attack.

The tremendous potential power of a united union movement seventeen million strong has not been realized. It was not realized because of a leadership irrevocably committed to a policy of class collaboration — or as they put it in their own jargon, "labor-management cooperation" — on the economic and political arena. Given a false policy in the leadership, numbers alone proved ineffective.

Despite the havoc of cowardly, ineffectual leadership, the American union movement is today potentially the most powerful force in the country. Harnessed to a correct policy of class struggle in all fields, this force can be decisive in resolving progressively the task of utilizing the wealth produced by labor for the benefit of all instead of for the enrichment of the few.

For that it is necessary to advance the movement for building a left wing leadership in the unions on all fronts. The central slogan of any genuine left-wing movement should be to break with the bankrupt policy of class collaboration which has demoralized, weakened and undermined the fighting capacity of the union rank and file. A good start would be to begin now a vigorous campaign for an independent labor party, based on the unions, to wage an effective struggle against the boss-class political monopoly exercised through the so-called two-party system.

this fantasy reach were. China to acquire its own nuclear stockpile?

With China in possession of the nuclear bomb, it would no longer be possible for the Great Powers to meet at the summit to decide the fate of the world. This lends credence to the report in the same issue of the New York Times which says: "From comments of Soviet officials at Geneva, United States officials believe the Soviet Union may also have some desire to prevent China from developing atomic weapons." If it were otherwise, how explain that the Soviet Union has thus far kept the bomb from China?

The question of Quemoy and Matsu; the admission of China to the United Nations; the U.S. imposed embargo on China; the humiliation of being treated as a pariah among the nations of the world — all this would be changed were China to acquire "its own nuclear stockpile." That is the

No wonder there is a fluttering in the State Department dovetails. If we understand correctly the temper of the Chinese people and the Peking government, they will not be easily seduced into accepting the degrading position of a third- or tenth-rate power by any test-ban treaty made without their participation or compliance. The day of reckoning is near at hand. Washington's malignant China policy is due for fumigation.

# Haiti — Wall Street's Alternative to Cuba

By Fred Halstead

On Nov. 25, Haiti's leading Roman Catholic was expelled from the country on charges by dictator Francois Duvalier that the Archbishop gave aid to a "communist inspired" student strike. If any such move had been made against a religious leader in Cuba, the newspapers would still be devoting headlines to it. They gave the Haitian situation brief mention and then dropped it after reporting the Archbishop's denial of the charge.

The background to this latest event in Haiti's social crisis deserves attention here because it reveals the alternative to "Fidelismo" that U.S. big business offers when it succeeds in preventing a revolution from continuing its logical course.

In December, 1956, the Haitian people, through a general strike in Port-au-Prince, forced a Batista-like dictator — Paul Magloire — to flee the country. At that time most of Haiti's three and a half million people were independent farmers who eked out a near starvation existence on their small plots.

Their main cash crop was coffee which accounted for 70 per cent of Haiti's exports. The country had almost no industry and an urban population of only 15 per cent. Eighty-eight per cent of the people were illiterate because of a lack of school facilities.

Haiti's soil is very fertile and could easily support its population with improved agricultural implements, techniques and irrigation. But Haiti's foreign trade was monopolized by U.S. shipping companies, and her credit system was controlled by the National Bank of Haiti, a subsidiary of the National City Bank of New York.

The farmers had to sell their crops to the shipping companies — often at far below the world market price — or not sell them at all. And loans for farm machinery and development of cooperatives were simply not available to the small farmers.

The country was ruled by a thin strata of capitalists who, for the most part, were simply agents for U.S. firms. They formed a generally light-skinned ruling elite (as opposed to the dark-skinned Negro masses) and often chose a "cooperative black man" to represent their interests. Magloire was such a man.

### Magloire's Record

He came to power in 1950 as a popularly elected president who promised a vast irrigation and hydroelectric project in the Artibonite valley. He guaranteed foreign investments against nationalization, outlawed workers political parties and unions.

Magloire made a deal with a U.S. construction firm to build the Artibonite dam and spent about \$40 million on it, twice what it should have cost. But most of the money ended up in the pockets of government and construction company grafters. The concrete crumbled and the dam was not completed.

This infuriated farmers who starved during the droughts it should have been preventing.

These are the things the Haitians hoped would be changed when Magloire was overthrown four years ago. But there was no well-organized revolutionary group to take over and proceed forthwith to make the needed changes as in Cuba in 1959. A junta of the old army officers took power, appointed a provisional president and promised elections in the future.

There were two main presidential candidates and one little-known aspirant who campaigned for the promised election. Senator Louis Dejoie, a light-skinned, wealthy planter was backed by the rich; but he said he opposed corruption in the government and army.

His program was to spread the plantation system in Haiti, absorbing the small plots of the individual farmers into efficient capitalist enterprises. He said the farmers, which this would displace, could be absorbed into new capitalist industries which would be attracted by Haiti's low wages if government corruption could be eliminated. He was not popular among the masses.

Daniel Fignole, a dark-skinned Negro university professor and union leader, who traditionally acted as spokesman for striking workers in Port-au-Prince, was the other well-known candidate.

His program was to establish credit to back cooperative farms, make efficient use of tax money on public works and an education system, eliminate corruption, legalize unions and strikes. The U.S. press reported that he was said to have "extreme left-ist" views.

Francois Duvalier, the third candidate, was a dark-skinned Negro, a physician, whose program was unclear.

### Army Intervenes

As the date of the election approached in the spring of 1957, the army began interfering with the registration of voters supporting Fignole and Dejoie. Followers of both resisted and civil war broke out briefly.

All reports agree that the workers and unemployed in Port-au-Prince, who virtually controlled the city after having won over sections of the troops, demanded that Fignole take power. The provisional president appointed by the junta resigned and Fignole was designated provisional president.

It is undisputed that Fignole immediately restored freedom of the press, pledged early elections and allowed full activity to the other presidential candidates. He also abolished the hated "irrigation tax" on the peasants, decreed paid vacations for workers, halved the presidential salary (his own), cut salaries of army officers and dismissed many of the army's corrupt clique, appointing civilians to watch over some army functions.

But Fignole made a fatal mistake. He relied on the old army to protect his regime. The urban masses gave him full support, but they were unarmed. Just 19 days after Fignole took office, a group of army officers burst into a cabinet meeting in the presidential palace in Port-au-Prince, put a gun to Fignole's head, spirited him away in the dead of night to an isolated airfield and put him on a secret flight to Miami.

When these army chiefs, headed by General Antonio Kebreau, announced the "resignation" of Fignole, the working class of Port-au-Prince, caught by surprise, came into the streets to protest. Kebreau was prepared. He met the unarmed demonstrators with machinegun fire, turning the workers' slum district of the city into a slaughterhouse.

Though the number of dead cannot be ascertained because they were dumped into mass graves by Kebreau's men, who prevented relatives from claiming bodies, even the conservative New York Herald Tribune estimated at the time that the number was 1,000.

Mass arrests and house raids followed; and a common sight, reported by tourists, was the marching of convoys of prisoners through the streets. Many were transported to La Gonave, an uninhabited island 40 miles offshore, where they were left without food or shelter.

As this story was being told by reporters and returning tourists, the New York Times had the following to say in an editorial in its July 13, 1957 issue:

"Surely, civic peace is what Haiti needs now more than anything on earth — even more than a freely and fairly elected government. . . . Only the military junta can now do that and prepare the way for presidential elections. General Kebreau is known to be an honorable man, and there is no evidence that he seeks dictatorial power for himself. . . . Only if there is internal peace can the United States extend economic aid or organizations like the International Monetary Fund make loans. . . ."

Contrast that statement with the current campaign of the New York Times against Castro's regime in Cuba, ostensibly because of the lack of elections there.

"Civic peace" enforced by a corrupt military junta dripping with the blood of the poor and the humble is all right with the New York Times as long as the protection of U.S. financial interests is assured.

It is not the intent here to criticize Fignole, who is still carrying on his fight from exile, but another lesson is also obvious from this. If Fignole had armed the workers in Port-au-Prince, if he had deployed some workers militia to protect his cabinet meeting that night of terror three and a half years ago, he might have saved his country untold bloodshed.

Assuredly, he would not have

### Sicilian Court OK's Heckling Priest on Politics

A Sicilian court has ruled that it is no offense to heckle a Roman Catholic priest during a church sermon if the priest is talking politics.

Giuseppe di Bella was arrested during a recent election when he shouted in church during a sermon by the local priest: "Don't hold a rally — get on with the mass!"

won the editorial praise of the New York Times.

Kebreau, incidentally, was immediately granted a one-million dollar loan by the National Bank of Haiti (a subsidiary of the National City Bank of New York) to meet his army payroll.

### "Election" Held

Under the guns of Kebreau's army, the long-promised election was prepared. It was held without the participation of the two major candidates. The rigging was so raw that even the honest capitalist, Louis Dejoie, had to flee into exile, and the dark horse, Francois Duvalier,

who had made no rash promises about eliminating the privileges of the army caste, became the president of Haiti on Oct. 22, 1957.

Duvalier continued the old pattern set by Magloire. By May 2, 1958, the opposition had become active again. Duvalier placed the country under "state of siege" (a modified martial law) where it has been ever since.

There are no legal trade unions, strikes or opposition parties. Per capita income is still \$25 a year. The peasants still have no cooperatives.

Eighty-eight per cent of the people are still illiterate. The students still have no jobs waiting for them when they finish school. The shipping monopolies still control the country's trade and the National City Bank of New York still controls the National Bank of Haiti.

One more thing. In 1959, several hundred farmers starved to death, and thousands more are on the verge of starvation as the result of a drought. Those who live far enough up the valley have as part of their view the cracking hulk of the Artibonite dam . . . still unfinished.

## What's Good for GM

# Everybody Buy a Buzzer

By Ralph Powers

They may not agree on what to name it but all the experts concede that the American economy lacks oomph. All the bounce, zoom and sizzle has gone out of it. If only some way could be found to pry the dollars out of the wallets of the consumers by sending them scurrying to the stores clamoring for some new gimmick!

"What this country needs," says J. A. Livingston, business expert of the Louisville Courier-Journal, "is a new broom to sweep the shelves clean."

Some new gimmick would do it, he affirms. "Prosperity, after 15 years, is jaded." What has kept the economy going since the end of the war, he asserts, is a series of "intermittent booms."

First there was a boom in appliances, a boom in housing, one in television and automobiles and, of course, the biggest boom of all — in military "hardware." "The drab fact of current economic life," Livingston laments, "is that production has got ahead of consumption. Expectations of manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers have exceeded what you and I will buy. That's the major difference between business oomph and business off."

Of course, he adds dourly, there may be no other alternative but to wait until consumers literally eat their way into accumulated inventories.

"But," he prayerfully concludes, "a boom, in something big, something everybody wants, would be quicker. Any ideas?"

### The Gimmick

Livingston made his fervent plea for a new gimmick on Nov. 27. As if in answer to his prayer, a week later on Dec. 5, there appeared an announcement in the press that the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization had come up with a new product for every household throughout this broad land.

This handy little gadget is a buzzer to be installed in each home to warn of nuclear attack in the event of war.

Leo A. Hoegh, director of ODCM, said that "the price of the buzzer, when mass produced, is about \$7.50." "There you have it! A doodad without which no cozy little home would be complete, at a bargain price hardly anyone could not afford to pay. The nuclear warning buzzer would be in addition to the purchase of a home fallout shelter which is being highly recommended by ODCM officials. No, there will be no tie-in sale, as yet. You can buy either one or both of these items depending on how loyal you are to the "free enterprise" system.

### If Properly Alarmed

Neither will be of any use in the event of a nuclear attack, of course, but a buying spree by consumers would serve to grease

the wheels of industry and commerce. According to the Dec. 6 New York Times, the head of ODCM "expressed confidence that the citizen, properly alerted, would be willing to pay for both buzzer and home fallout shelter" to help his own survival!

The nuclear buzzer is called "NEAR," for National Emergency Alarm Repeater. It works like this:

In the event of war, say an enemy submarine 1,500 miles offshore, hurls a salvo of rockets. Say the salvo is instantly detected and the information instantly relayed to the North American Air Defense Command at Colorado Springs. If the NEAR system is in full operation, Civil Defense heads assure us, the entire country can be alerted within one minute.

Since the missiles will land three minutes after they are fired, that will give everybody at least two minutes to get up and get going.

But go where? Scientists have long agreed that there will be no time to run and no place to hide.

Yet every citizen will be exhorted to buy the buzzer and build a shelter as a "patriotic duty."

"The NEAR device," says the New York Times, "is being built by the A.C. Sparkplug Division of General Motors." And, as everyone who is anyone knows, what's good for General Motors . . . !

## In Other Lands

# Civil War Mounts in Laos

### Opposing Forces Battle in Capital

The press describes the current situation in Laos as "tangled," "ambiguous," a "scattered civil war," even "chaos." The forces involved are indeed complex, but they boil down to a sharpening struggle between Western imperialism and its puppets on the one hand, and variegated revolutionary forces that have begun to receive aid from the Soviet Union.

The premier, Prince Souvanna Phouma, fled from Vientiane, capital city of Laos, to "neutralist" Cambodia, Dec. 8, as a rightist pro-Western army clique moved from the south toward the city. The "leftist" forces of Captain Kong Le took over.

Kong Le has proclaimed that he is a "neutralist." He is suspected in the eyes of the State Department, however, because of his friendly relations with North Vietnam, with the People's Republic of China, and with the Pathet Lao (Communist party). He has accepted support from guerrilla forces that have long been struggling for the country's independence.

The pro-Western insurgent rightists, headed by Defense Minister General Phoumi Nosavan, enjoy Washington's backing. Their arms were made in the USA, and the bulk of their funds can be traced back to the U.S. Treasury. They are, naturally, attempting to stamp out "communism."

Kong Le's de facto rule is not recognized by the State Department. As the New York Times put it editorially Dec. 13, the "one legal authority left is the King. . . ."

The big new fact in this developing struggle is the material support which the Soviet Union has flown in to help the Kong Le forces. This includes both heavy artillery and ammunition, according to dispatches from Laos.

Washington, of course, is outraged about this, a feeling that is understandable in view of the some \$300,000,000 it has poured into the small country in an effort to shore up the reactionary pro-U.S. government.

The Soviet government answered in a note Dec. 13: "Flouting the sovereign rights of the Laotian Government headed by Prince Souvanna Phouma, the United States now openly supports the rebel group of Nosavan,

supplying it with arms, military equipment, ammunition and money."

The accuracy of the charge can be gathered from the admission of the New York Times in its Dec. 11 summary of the week's news: ". . . Washington obviously favored the rightist insurgents and most if not all U.S. aid had been channeled to rightist troops rather than to the Government's. Last week U.S. officials reported that Washington had interrupted military aid shipments to the rightists because they were fighting the Government instead of the Communists. But if it comes to a war between the rightists on the one hand and Kong Le and the Pathet Lao on the other, the U.S. would be expected to resume aid to the rightists."

At the moment heavy fighting is reported in the capital city between the opposing forces.

### Labor Party MP's Press Washington To Recognize China

The question of increasing the pressure on the United States to recognize the People's Republic of China is being raised more insistently in government circles in Great Britain.

Labor party figures are credited for pushing the point of view that a change in attitude in Washington is long past due. In a key debate last week, Desmond Donnelly, a Labor party member of Parliament, failed to win a motion in the House of Commons to censure the Conservative government for failure to press the United States energetically to abandon support of dictator Chiang Kai-shek and deal instead with the real China.

The motion lost 177 to 259, but the New York Times reported Dec. 13 that "the debate demonstrated the strength of support on the Conservative and Labor benches for China's admission to the United Nations at the earliest possible moment."

Donnelly did not argue as a partisan of the Mao government. He contended that China was building "the greatest and most dangerous military force the world has ever known."

But this led him to the conclusion: "How does the British Government propose to conduct disarmament negotiations with-

out that kind of country being present at the conference table?"

Denis M. Healey, Labor's principal speaker in the debate, argued that "the Chinese Government's behavior in the Far East has been noticeably less aggressive than in the past."

Government spokesmen held out the hope that the incoming Kennedy administration might take a different attitude toward the issue from that followed so stubbornly and blindly by the Eisenhower administration.

### Labor Victory 'Worries Ottawa'

Canadian workers were vastly encouraged when the labor party being organized by the Canadian Labor Congress in conjunction with the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation won its first seat in Parliament even before the party was formally established.

Canadian capitalist politicians were not encouraged. This was indicated in a Nov. 19 Toronto Globe & Mail article entitled, "Obscure Backbench Seat Worries Ottawa."

That "obscure backbench" is likely to be "cast a long shadow" over the next session of Parliament, the article observed.

Occupant of the new seat is Walter Pittman, 31, a Peterborough high-school teacher who defeated the Conservative and Liberal candidates in a district that had long been a Conservative stronghold.

The paper said: "Since Mr. Pittman's totally unexpected victory in a supposedly solid Conservative seat and a substantial increase over former CCF votes in other Ontario ridings, an element of uncertainty as to the potential strength of the new Party has arisen."

### Advertisement

## "Listen, Yankee"

Reviewers in the capitalist press did a savage hatchet job on "Listen, Yankee," C. Wright Mills' powerful exposition of the views of the Cuban revolutionaries. But they haven't been able to kill the book. It's now in its second printing.

If you haven't read it yet, order it now. Only 50 cents. PIONEER PUBLISHERS, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

### They Still Want Service



Last February these South Carolina junior-college students occupied the Jim Crow Woolworth's lunch counter in Rock Hill and insisted on service in the face of hoodlum attacks. Last week, there were new sit-ins in nearby Columbia as the Southern students rights fight gained new momentum.

## Milk the Cows Fast; Start Shoveling Dirt

"The cow will be queen if fallout settles on the farm."

That's the considered judgment of Anthony J. Wright, a Canadian journalist who recently provided a preview of a truly remarkable pamphlet scheduled for publication by the Canadian government next April.

The advice to farmers, now being prepared for the printers, "is another sign that Ottawa is doing much to rid Canadians of the notion that nuclear war would be so terrible it's not worth preparing for," Wright explains.

A lot of people, it seems, have been taking such a gloomy view of the perspectives facing the survivors of H-bomb blasts, that they have become easy prey for panic-mongers.

"One of the arguments of the defeatists here," says Wright, "has been that it would not avail much to save humans if our crops, animals and other foods were to be blighted and we were to die from hunger two or three weeks after creeping out from concrete warrens."

What they overlooked was man's best friend, the cow. The cow is the source of the life-giving milk you buy in cans or cartons in the supermarket. The cow can save us in a world devastated by the H-bomb.

Of course, it will require quick thinking and still quicker handwork. "Farmers are told to milk cows before fallout drops on them."

The Diefenbaker government suggests another measure that could prove decisive. "If there is time, the farmer should pile earth up against the barn before fallout begins."

People inclined to go to extremes might think it well to start putting up fallout-proof buildings for cows right now. Wright is reassuring. "There is no point in building special shelters for animals."

#### Shelter in the Barn

However, some thought might be given to the person entrusted with the herd. It is suggested that "the farmer should build a small shelter within the barn for someone who will milk the cows."

"This little shelter should be

kept stocked with sealed containers of water and food and should have a bed."

Also, plenty of silage and hay should be kept in the barn so that the cows can be kept inside for as long as possible after fallout commences.

Even with mishaps, there are all kinds of possibilities for the alert farmer. Cattle and other livestock that happen to be hit by fallout can be killed and fed to humans, "but their bones and offal should not be consumed."

If meat is not needed, the cattle can be saved. "Animals exposed to fallout should have their coats clipped or hosed down. They should be given small quantities of contaminated food or water rather than allowed to starve to death. Cows given contaminated feed would yield unsafe milk. However, it might be made into butter to be tested later."

#### Plan Crops Early

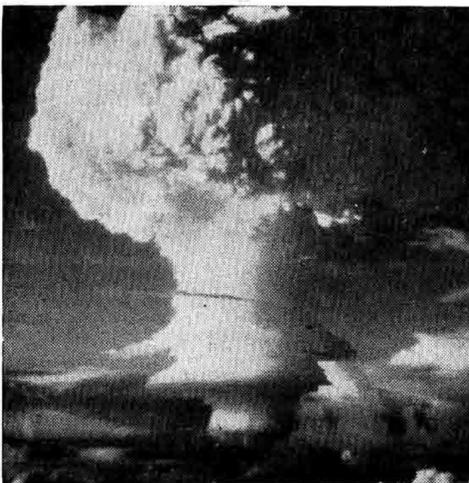
Assuming the farmer doesn't get the cows milked before fallout begins, or doesn't get enough dirt piled against the barn to protect the animals from contamination, the family vegetable patch offers a possibility for survival, particularly if the fallout problem was borne in mind in the planting season.

"It might be dangerous to eat plants if they had been developing after fallout began — they might have been polluted by the soil."

"But farmers and others are told that if they are starving and growing plants have to be eaten, potatoes would be the least dangerous, then peas, beans and green vegetables."

Officials don't pretend that it will be all peaches and cream in the post-explosion period. For example, "The government warns Canadians that cooking does not do away with the radioactivity of fallout dust."

Civil Defense officials in the United States might well study this balanced approach. While giving ample warning about any illusion that you can kill fallout in a pressure cooker, the agency could act now, in a city like New York, by converting the subway stations into underground barns. While waiting for fallout, the CD could sell the public genuinely fresh milk, thus making the project self-liquidating.



In the pre-atomic era farm youth went behind the barn for a smoke. Now, suggests the Canadian government, when they sight the smoke of a hydrogen explosion they should dash inside the barn and start milking the cows.

## A Bill of Rights Man

By Harry Ring

Despite last-ditch efforts by one of America's most vindictive witch-hunters to keep him behind bars, Dr. Willard Uphaus is a free man again.

The 70-year-old religious pacifist, who was released two days before completion of his one-year prison term, was acclaimed by thousands of people throughout the country for his courageous defiance of the demand that he become an informer.

Dr. Uphaus was imprisoned for "contempt" of New Hampshire's judiciary under an ambiguously worded sentence according to which he was to be held for one year or until he "purged" himself — something he had firmly declared he would not do even if it meant spending the rest of his life in jail.

On Dec. 8, New Hampshire Attorney General Louis Wyman filed a motion for a court order asking that Dr. Uphaus be kept beyond the one-year term unless he complied with the demand to yield the guest list of the World Fellowship Center of which he is director.

Wyman's cold-blooded move intensified the wide protest that had built up against his relentless persecution of Dr. Uphaus.

Dean Samuel H. Miller and two of his associates of the Harvard University Divinity School branded Wyman's action as "vindictive and excessively punitive, inasmuch as the state of New Hampshire had already exacted its pound of flesh."

The executive secretary of the New Hampshire Council of Churches declared he was "shocked." The executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee said, "This is disgraceful. This is clearly a case of persecution of religious conscience." The vicar of Old North Church, Boston, added: "It will be a sad day in America when the dictates of the individual's conscience are curtailed."

Faced with this kind of reaction, and with the sure knowl-



DR. WILLARD UPHAUS

edge that public indignation would be far deeper if he went along with Wyman's demand, New Hampshire Superior Court Judge George Grant, the man who originally sentenced Dr. Uphaus, dismissed the attorney general's petition.

Two days later, in a surprise move, Grant issued the writ that freed Dr. Uphaus ahead of schedule. The judge undoubtedly assumed it was well worth two days to the state of New Hampshire not to have another battery of reporters and cameramen at the prison gates when they opened for the victim of so disgraceful a persecution.

So ended — unless Wyman decides on further legal action — five bitter years for a man who has devoted his energies to the cause of peace, freedom and brotherhood.

Wyman had subpoenaed the World Fellowship guest list back in 1954 on the basis of state legislation which established him as a one-man inquisitorial committee "to determine whether subversive persons are presently within this state."

Dr. Uphaus stalwartly declared that yielding the list

could only mean reprisals against the camp guests and that doing so would violate his religious beliefs and his adherence to the right of freedom of assemblage guaranteed under the First Amendment.

Convicted of "contempt" for this stand, his case was carried through the tortuous legal process that finally led to the Supreme Court. The high court ordered a new trial, strongly suggesting the conviction was unconstitutional. A new trial was held and a new conviction handed down. The high court against passed judgment — it upheld the conviction even though not a single new legal element had been added to the prosecution.

Finally Dr. Uphaus entered prison. It was not an easy year. He was confined to his cell throughout. The only time he breathed fresh air in that entire year was during his weekly visit for medical treatment at a building about a half city block from where he was confined.

When his wife and friends visited him, he was compelled to stand facing them from behind a wire grill, while a guard stood in alert attendance.

Throughout the entire ordeal he remained unshaken. On the eve of his release he told newsmen he felt that he had upheld "the right of people to assemble peacefully, a right that would be destroyed if I were to turn over the names of any of our guests at World Fellowship."

Nor did freedom mean for Dr. Uphaus that he had completed his fight in defense of free assembly. On Bill of Rights Day he was slated to address a gathering in New York sponsored by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

A symbol of the continuing assault on the Bill of Rights, Dr. Uphaus also stands as a splendid symbol of the kind of courageous opposition to the inquisitors that will ensure the ultimate restoration and preservation of the liberties embodied in the Bill of Rights.

## "So You're Going to Prison"

Just before he began serving a six-month term for defying the House Un-American Activities Committee, mathematician Chandler Davis told the Militant he didn't feel that going to prison was anything "to feel downcast about."

"I'd hate to feel," he said, "that there's nothing I believe in sufficiently to spend six months in jail for."

Davis has completed his hitch. He tells about it in a somewhat specialized but very interesting article he wrote for the Dec. 3 Nation. It's entitled: "So You're Going to Prison?"

If you missed the issue and think you may sometime be jailed for defying the House Committee, sitting-in at a Jim Crow lunch counter or protesting the bomb, order a copy from the Nation at 333 Sixth Ave., New York, 14. It may come in handy.

Designed to help the potential prisoner "plan his trip," the article offers some sound suggestions on getting along from day to day. It presents vivid insights on prison procedures ("a way of life you won't relish"), a sketch of the guards or "hacks" ("they suffer from an occupational disease") and fellow inmates ("the enemies of society are not a bad lot.")

What is life with the "hacks" like? Here is a conversation: "You know, Davis, we had hundreds of those conscientious objectors in here during the war."

"Yes sir."

"These guys aren't sincere, they don't mean that about conscience."

"Oh, really?"

"Now, or those that are sincere are crazy."

"Oh, really!"

"Yeah, I mean they're always going on hunger strikes. Now what's the point of that? We just force-feed them."

Davis explains: "The hack was neither venting spite against CO's nor baiting me, he was just chatting."

People don't form close friendships in prison, Davis explains. ("It may incur that most scornful of prison comment: 'He's found a home.'")

But, he adds: "On the whole my friendships with the other inmates were the outstanding redeeming feature of my prison experience."

He concludes: "What you've accomplished while in prison will be close to nothing. Still, you may have accomplished something just by going, if your offense was well chosen."

### The American Way of Life

## Let Them Know You're There

There are so many good features in our way of life that sometimes they seem to contradict each other.

For example, one frequently expressed bit of Americana is: "If you don't like it here, why don't you go back where you came from?"

On the other hand, it's difficult to think that anyone might not like it here and would actually want to go back where he came from. So when someone voices such a strange sentiment, nobody listens.

This was the problem of Herando Pineros Garcia, 32, a native of Colombia now resident in Los Angeles.

Garcia, a laborer, decided that the American Way of Life was for the birds. "I been here six years," he said. "I live like a dirty rat in a garbage can. I want to go back to Colombia, but nobody will listen to me."

Garcia apparently hadn't learned the American practice of speaking up good and loud. "I've been to the Bureau of Public Assistance and the Police Department and the Immigration Service," he said. "I talk softly, but nobody listened."

However, Garcia did catch on when he was offered a hint. "The Immigration Department said they cannot help me leave the country," he explained, "unless I break the law."

So he walked into the Los Angeles courthouse with a group of people seeking marriage licenses.

Without any warning he picked up an outsized receptacle for cigarette butts and hurled it against a big plate-glass window.

The window caved outward while the ash stand bounced back toward Garcia. He picked it up and pitched it against an-

other window, shouting, "I gotta see somebody."

Garcia went quietly with courthouse guards to the police building where he was booked for "malicious mischief"; namely, breaking \$1,000 worth of glass.

He told newsmen: "So I use brute force. I break the windows. Now maybe a judge or somebody important will listen to me explain my necessities."

While Garcia seemed to be catching on to our ways pretty well, he did indicate that he had some do-it-yourself experience before he reached our golden shores.

He told police he had a brush with the law in Colombia when he went to a judge and asked him to help collect a debt. The judge wanted half the money.

"So," said Garcia, "I broke a chair over his head."

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Realist** — In a Dec. 7 speech, Col. Serge Tometti of the Army Command Corps expressed irritation over "nice but completely unrealistic people" who consider germ and chemical warfare "too horrible" for offensive use. The colonel didn't deviate from declared Pentagon policy that germ warfare will be used only if someone else uses it first. He merely pointed out how foolish the U.S. was not to have used it in World War II. No one in Washington took exception to his remarks.

**Oops!** — The Strategic Air Command disclosed Dec. 7 that on Oct. 5 a radar signal bounced off the moon and appeared on its central control screen as a signal that the Soviet Union had launched a missile attack. But the error was caught "in less than 60 seconds."

**Optimistic Pessimism** — On the basis of a depth survey of 1,480 executives, Dun's Review reports that businessmen are less optimistic about profits in the coming quarter than they were a year ago. But they are more optimistic than they were at the peak of the 1958 recession.

**Responsible Leadership** — Since his election, the President-elect has been devoting himself assiduously to that most

royal of pastimes — golf. He does not, in fact, like the game but he is a dutiful man determined to bear all burdens for the people's sake. —Columnist William V. Shannon.

**Moment of Truth** — George Lane, a plant service foreman, recently retired from a San Francisco company after 42 years work. Management and union personnel joined at a banquet marking his retirement. Lane was called upon to speak. He stood up and said: "There are only two professions where age is against you and prior experience is unnecessary. One is this outfit and the other is prostitution."

**Does Macy's Tell Davison's?** — A picket line at Macy's Department Store in New York Dec. 3, protested the maintenance of a Jim Crow lunch counter at Davison's, Macy's Atlanta, Ga., affiliate. A Macy spokesman said it was a local problem.

**For Your Xmas List** — "A Handbook for Neurotics," by A. T. Haerem, M.D., deals with such problems as "prespeech butterflies" and "postargument heartburn."

**Modern Times** — The Michigan Supreme Court upheld state compensation payments to

James Carter, a General Motors employee, who suffered a nervous breakdown while working on the assembly line at the Chevrolet Gear and Axle plant in Detroit. Carter said removing burrs and grinding holes on a hub-cap assembly line was bad enough but the final straw was the foreman who gave him such a hard time he wound up in the hospital for a month.

**Moderation** — The Louisiana legislature recently toned down a resolution which said the "Supreme Court supported by the entire Federal judicial system and the Executive Branch of the Federal Government is making common cause with the Communist conspiracy." The final version read: "some" of the judiciary and "some" of the members of the Executive Branch.

**Recession Ahead?** — A cookbook has just been published entitled, "365 Ways to Cook Hamburger."

**You Can Say That Again** — "Eisenhower and Kennedy Confer on World Problems for 3 Hours; Put Stress on Defense of Dollar." —Lead headline in the Dec. 7 New York Times.

**Know-how** — The Wall Street Journal, ever alert to imaginative new ways of hustling a

back, reported Dec. 8: "A Florida company puts sea water through orange juice concentrate equipment, sells the resulting salty concentrate as a mineral diet supplement."

**The Liberal Outlook** — A special committee of the Investment Bankers Association reported prospects are good that President-elect Kennedy will "liberalize" the already very liberal depreciation allowance on corporation taxes.

**Hard Sell** — It costs the average family \$81.14 a year to operate a TV set and the average number of viewing hours per year is 1,853, according to a survey reported in TV Guide. Since about one-sixth of each television hour is devoted to commercials, the survey estimates that commercials cost viewers about 25 cents a week.

**Face Value** — A Long Beach, N.Y., bank is offering a cent a piece for Kennedy and Nixon buttons as credit toward new savings accounts. The limit is 200 buttons per depositor.

**On Their Toes** — Maryland authorities announced Dec. 9 that they had smashed a counterfeit ring that turned out bogus checks and credit cards. After a 36-day investigation, of-

ficials said they had caught three of the men involved and that a fourth was under suspicion. It was not known how long the ring had been operating or how much bogus material had been circulated. The alleged counterfeiters were convicted working in the print shop of the Maryland State Penitentiary.

**Rights Progress** — Chinese patients, who were previously restricted to nonwhite hospitals in South Africa, can now be admitted to hospitals for whites—but only in private rooms.

**Better To Be a Mouse?** — Mice, rats, insects and fungi consume enough food each year to feed a quarter of a billion humans at the rate of two pounds of cereal products a day, according to a survey by the International Federation of Agricultural Producers.

**It's a See-Saw Fight** — The federal census reveals that the nation has 193,647 bartenders and 167,471 clergymen.

**Thought for the Week** — "Dr. Duvalier has full powers, has imposed martial law and has relied greatly on strong-arm police methods. At the same time he is the constitutional and elected president of Haiti..." —From a Dec. 5 New York Times editorial.

## Letters from Our Readers

### Prospective Vote

Editor: I enjoy your paper very much and wish you much success.

When I become 21 you'll probably have another vote on your side.

R.T. Los Angeles

### Real Aims Abroad

Editor: All that Castro did with American industries was to take over the run-away shops that were looking for cheap labor to exploit.

The same thing applies all over the world. The exploiters in Africa have no interest in the Negroes or whites there. They are only interested in the natural resources and the profits they can get for what they produce. Some of the material is sold to the merchants of death, the producers of war weapons.

We send billions of dollars abroad with strings attached to build up a war machine, not to help the starving millions. We have millions of tons of surplus food. But do we help the starving? Not by any means.

A.J.P. Dorchester, Mass.

### Alberta Backer

Editor: Was very pleased to learn that the response to the Socialist Workers' campaign was so good. Enclosed please find \$2 toward the campaign expenses.

One thing is certain. By the time Kennedy and Johnson step off the driver's seat a lot of U.S. workers will be convinced that Meany and Reuther's advice as to who they should vote for isn't worth very much.

J.G.B. Entwistle, Alta. Canada

### Defends Record Of Catholicism

Editor: I was disappointed in your Xmas book list for two reasons: First, because it did not include "White Collar" and "The Causes of World War III," by C. Wright Mills; secondly, because it did include Paul Blanshard's "American Freedom and Catholic Power."

Blanshard is a member of the chauvinistic myth-building element that is Wall Street's most valuable ally. It's significant to note the number and length of quotes from his book in the fascist Georgia Tribune.

As for the Catholic hierarchy, while they cannot be called socialists, you will find their record generally favorable. Remember that the Jesuit weekly, America, spoke out repeatedly

against Senator McCarthy, that the Catholic Digest and even the economically conservative Tablet have called again and again for an end to racial discrimination, that Pope Leo XIII issued a strongly pro-labor encyclical at a time when American unionism was in general disrepute.

Remember that the late Pope Pius XII called on world rulers to avoid all future wars and that Bishop Fulton Sheen has said that the atom bomb, even in a "defensive" war, would be immoral.

Please! Give no further aid or comfort to the small, weakening portion of our clergy who would exclude American Catholics from progressive activities.

W.A.H. Arverne, N.Y.

### Around Left End

Editor: Some of your readers may be interested in the following item which was printed in the Nov. 21 Militant from a couple in Indiana: "Yours is the only radical party that knows how to fight for as well as talk about socialist solutions." This speaks volumes.

B.P. Missouri

What's behind the UN maneuvering? That's what many wonder, because this session is different from any in the past.

Here's an interesting theory that may turn out to explain it—in football language. To begin with, what Khrushchev has been angling for over years is a deal with the United States and England. Such a deal might be possible if a satisfactory compromise could be arranged.

Khrushchev was even willing to agree that England and the U.S. with their foreign investments and colonies (in the case of England) have "legitimate" interests in the colored countries—at least for the immediate future.

Then came Castro of Cuba. The heart of the Castro idea is that no country is truly independent if the capitalists of a big foreign power have any property in that country.

When Castro, a man of action, proceeded to put his ideas in effect instead of talking it out in propaganda, Khrushchev was in a spot. He had to face up to the question: "Are you for economic control of foreign countries through investments, or are you against it?" He couldn't let Castro outbid him.

John L. Lewis has been quoted as saying the secret of successful labor leadership is to make sure that no rival makes a run around your left end—that is, advocate stronger contracts, and take a more radical stand generally.

If the theory turns out to be right, Khrushchev changed

ground to make sure that Castro couldn't make a long, sweeping run around his left end, by being more radical than Khrushchev.

### On the SLP

Editor: I am glad to see the question of the Socialist Labor Party being taken up at last. This has been long overdue. There is no doubt in my mind that the SWP will win the debate with the SLP since the contemporary SLP is far more rigid and sectarian than De Leon ever was.

It should be remembered that De Leon more than once tried to bring together his party and the Socialist party of Debs, and participated in the working-class "united front" that was the founding of the Industrial Workers of the World, along side of Debs.

The main difference between the SWP and the SLP is summed up in a letter in the Nov. 21 Militant from a couple in Indiana: "Yours is the only radical party that knows how to fight for as well as talk about socialist solutions." This speaks volumes.

The SLP's dogma against participating in reform movements because they are "concealed measures of reaction" is in reality an aid to the reformist upholders of capitalism. It simply gives the Dubinskys and Adlai Stevensons a free hand.

A reform is a concealed measure of reaction when it is used as a substitute for socialism. By isolating itself from the class battles of the workers, the SLP only guarantees that these battles will degenerate in substitutes for socialism.

George Payne New York

### "Wrong Line"

Editor: In the matter of Cuba, you don't fall for the State Dept. line. But in the matter of Hungary in 1956, planned no doubt by the State Dept. (CIA, etc.) you fall for the State Dept. line — "workers' revolution."

In the matter of Formosa, you fall for the State Dept. line — give it to China. What about self-determination for Formosa? Or haven't you heard about the Government-in-Exile, now in Tokyo?

A.B. Chicago

### From the Editor

Dear "R.C.S.": It is not our policy to publish letters sent anonymously. We will be glad to publish your letter if you identify yourself. Needless to say, names are not published without authorization. Joseph Hansen