

Striking New York Printers Break Publishers' Front as Post Resumes Publication

By Jack Katz

NEW YORK, March 6 — The militant perseverance of New York City's printers achieved an important breakthrough on March 4 when the lock-out carried on by four of the city's newspapers for 86 days was breached by the *New York Post's* resumption of publication.

When Typographical Union No. 6 struck four newspapers in this city last Dec. 8, the *New York Post* and other major dailies belonging to the Publishers' Association shut down in order to put a combined, murderous pressure on the union and to blame the printers for callously "imposing" a news blackout on the public.

Simultaneous with the announcement that the *Post* would resume publication, its owner, Dorothy Schiff, resigned from the Publishers' Association.

On the picket line, the strikers greeted the news of the breach in the publishers' ranks with jubilation. The publishers could not conceal their fury. Their chief negotiator, Amory Bradford, said *Post* publisher Dorothy Schiff would regret her decision. The politicians, from President Kennedy on down, who had tried to break the strike on the spurious grounds that it was intolerable for the printers to deprive the people of New York of all their newspapers, were silent. None of them hailed the ending of the news "black-out," which they had so deplored. Nor did they revise their previous statements blaming the "black-out" on the strike without any mention of a lockout.

Old Pact

Mrs. Schiff was able to resume publication at will. She merely called back her employes and the paper is publishing under the old contract. After the strike is concluded the union will negotiate a separate, new contract with the *Post*.

In addition to blowing sky-high all the publishers' propaganda claims about the union's disregard for the public and rendering interference by politicians in the strike all the more difficult, the resumption of publication by the *Post* seriously weakens the publishers' front. The *Post*, which used to have a press run of 375,000, put out an edition of half a million on March 4. These were quickly sold out. Should the *Post* further increase its press run it can begin to cut seriously into the readership of the other papers. It is an axiom of the newspaper business that if people read any daily paper for a while and get used to its comic strips and other features,



Bertram Powers

they will out of habit continue reading it. Thus the publishers of those papers still carrying on the lockout, who can resume publishing whenever they wish, will now have to balance the possible permanent loss of circulation to the *Post* against their anti-union feelings.

For the four papers which are struck — and two of these are evening papers in the most direct competition with the *Post* — it is a choice between permanent loss of circulation or abandonment of their original, measly take-it-or-leave-it offer to the union. For these to start publishing it will mean they will have to begin to engage in what they have so far avoided — true collective bargaining.

What Amory Bradford, the publishers' spokesman, meant about Mrs. Schiff's regretting her decision to resume publishing the *Post* could well be the action of Macy's and Gimbel's, the city's two giant department stores. They are refusing to advertise in the *Post*. Dorothy Schiff let the cat out of the bag several weeks ago when she said the "Madison Avenue crowd" was supporting the publishers' adamant stand.

Newspapers derive about 90 per cent of their revenue from advertising and only about ten per cent from circulation. The "Madison Avenue crowd" are the big advertising agencies.

Since part of the hullabaloo disappeared (Continued on Page 2)

Miss. Racists Shoot Down a Rights Worker

GREENWOOD, Miss., March 1 — James Travis, a 20-year-old field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, was gunned last night by three white men and is in a hospital in critical condition.

Travis is in the University Hospital in Jackson with a shoulder wound and a flattened bullet lodged near his spine at the base of his neck.

Robert Moses, director of SNCC's Mississippi voter registration project, and Randolph Blackwell, field director of the Atlanta-based Voter-Education Project, were riding with Travis on a highway outside of Greenwood. Three white men followed them in an untagged white Buick.

The three whites opened fire on the Negroes with pistols. Bullets smashed both front windows. Travis, the driver of the car, shouted that he had been hit. Moses grabbed the wheel and brought the car to a halt. Travis was given emergency medical attention at Mississippi Vocational College and then brought to a hospital.

The shooting was a direct reprisal for SNCC's voter-registration work. Moses said that 150 Negroes had attempted to register in Greenwood in the two days before the shooting, "the first real breakthrough in Mississippi."

Jimmy Travis was born in Jackson, Miss., and grew up there. He was among 30 young people from Mississippi who joined the Freedom Rides in 1961. Since that time he has worked for the movement. Last summer he was in Vicksburg, Miss., on SNCC's voter-registration project there.

For the past month and a half, he has been working on a similar project in Orangeburg, South Carolina. He wanted to work in Miss., however, and came to Greenwood.

SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman said in a wire to President Kennedy: "Travis, Robert Moses, and Randolph Blackwell almost died last night. This incident is clearly connected with the fact that at least 150 Negroes have tried to register in Greenwood this week. We urge you to take executive action to prevent murder in Mississippi."

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 1 — James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent (Continued on Page 2)

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Poll Shows 64% Against A U.S. Attack on Cuba

By Fred Halstead

MARCH 5 — In spite of the unprecedented barrage of anti-Cuba propaganda hitting the U.S. public since last fall, a majority of the American people are opposed to an invasion of Cuba. More are opposed now than were before the Cuban crisis, according to the Gallup poll published Feb. 26.

When asked if the U.S. should "send our armed forces into Cuba to help overthrow Castro," 64 per cent said no. Only 20 per cent said yes, and 16 per cent had no opinion. The same question had been asked last October just before Kennedy's brink-of-nuclear-war speech. At that time 63 per cent said no, 25 per cent yes, and 13 per cent had no opinion.

Similar sentiments have been reported by newsmen across the country. It is clear there is considerably less hysteria about Cuba in the country as a whole than there is in Washington. Senator Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) declared on the Senate floor Feb. 18 that he suspected the CIA was responsible for many of the hysterical allegations by Congressmen that tiny Cuba is a military threat to the mighty U.S.

Morse revealed that the editor of the Cuban counter-revolutionary magazine, *Bohemia Libre*, had offered him "a sensational collection of photographs" on the "Cuban military buildup." Said Morse, "One must assume that other members of Congress have been offered not only pictures, but countless allegations as well by the Cuban refugees, their political organs and their publicity organs."

Morse said the fact that the CIA subsidizes these organs "raises the suspicion that the taxpayer's money is being used to promote a particular policy favored by the Agency." Morse also reported that *Bohemia Libre* has recently ceased

publications. According to the Feb. 8 *Washington Daily News*, "reports from Miami's Cuban colony are that the Central Intelligence Agency had been subsidizing it, and a couple of weeks ago, got tired." Among reasons cited for the CIA's dumping of the magazine was: "that if the actual size of the CIA's subsidy of *Bohemia Libre* got into the hands of Congress, it would embarrass the Kennedy administration — and the CIA — just about as thoroughly as the Bay of Pigs disaster itself."

Senator Morse expressed alarm (Continued on Page 6)

Dominican Cops Attack Students



Lyndon Johnson

The inauguration of the Dominican Republic's new "democratic" president, Juan Bosch, on Feb. 27 was marked by a brutal attack upon a peaceful student demonstration by Dominican police.

The unarmed demonstrators were described as sympathizers of the Venezuelan Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN). It was young members of the FALN who seized the Venezuelan freighter *Anzoategui* last month and sailed it to Brazil in protest of the visit of Venezuelan President Romulo Betancourt to the United States.

Apparently the students were demonstrating because Betancourt was on the reviewing stand, as was Vice President Lyndon Johnson. Betancourt, ran into other trouble on his way home from his conference with Kennedy. In Mexico he tried unsuccessfully to get Mexican President Lopez Mateos to include something against Cuba in the customary joint communique issued during such visits.

A UPI dispatch said that the Dominican demonstrators also shouted anti-American slogans. As the police attacked the students, security guards hustled Vice President Johnson and Betancourt off (Continued on Page 4)

No Young Help Wanted

Jobless Rate for Teen-Agers Hits 15%

By Barry Sheppard

Even the high unemployment rate for the country as a whole doesn't begin to tell the story of unemployment among the youth. The jobless rate for young people is 15 per cent. For the whole working class, it is 5.8 per cent. The situation is even worse among young people of racial minorities.

Unemployment among teenagers has become such a sore spot that even Attorney General Kennedy has expressed concern. He linked the rise in unemployment and in school drop-outs to the rise in juvenile crime. Over one million youth were arrested in 1960.

Kennedy quoted these figures to a House committee meeting: 4.9 per cent of the working class is unemployed in Los Angeles and 23 per cent of the working youth are idle. In New York City, 18 per cent of workers under 21 are out of work.

Many young people, especially those racially oppressed, face the future with cynicism and despair. They see no reason for staying in school when school opens no avenues for them. Many drop out

in hope of finding some kind of work and immediate income.

But to find a meaningful life — even adequate employment — is a hopeless quest for millions of young people in the social jungle of America. Thousands seek escape from the slums, from poverty, from boredom, and from the big zero of their future, in dope or crime.

While the American youth are already in what amounts to a depression in terms of their employment opportunities, the onslaught of automation is cutting down available jobs. The unions are reacting by and large with defensive measures designed to keep those already working on the job. The youth therefore find themselves squeezed out of, or unable to get into, the unions.

From their executive council meeting in Miami Beach the top labor bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO timidly asked the government to better publicize the situation. President George Meany said that there have to be 1,350,000 new jobs each year to take care of youth who are entering the labor

force. These jobs are not being created.

Kennedy proposed to the House committee that a four-year youth conservation corps be set up to provide jobs for a maximum of 60,000 young men at wages of \$60-\$90 per month.

When a Republican congressman asked if an anti-segregation clause shouldn't be added to the proposed measure, Attorney General Kennedy responded with alarm and negatively. Helping 60,000 is fine, but what of the remaining 740,000 unemployed youth?

What young people need is not just to stay in school or to join a conservation corps. They need jobs with good pay which will enable them to become useful members of society. Training and schooling in the different branches and techniques of industry is necessary, but such training must have real concrete jobs as its goal.

If young people had a perspective of attaining satisfactory, stable employment, school drop-outs and juvenile crime would diminish.

'Natural Law' Under Attack?

Alliance for Progress spokesmen may tip their hats to the idea of land reform to help alleviate the misery of Latin America's landless. But a group of legal experts, gathered at a Columbia University parley on the problem, takes a dim view of such reform.

Columbia Law Professor Henry P. de Vries glumly assessed Latin American demands for agrarian reform as a movement away from "the natural laws of property."

Attorney Victor C. Folsom, a United Fruit executive, expressed his disturbance at the "indiscriminate" advocacy of agrarian reform by "naive theorists" whom, he suspects, are being led by subversive elements.

87% at a GM Plant: "Strike," Union Official: "Nothing Doing"

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, March 4 — Deep seated resentments against speed-up pressures at General Motors' nearby South Gate plant brought an 87 per cent vote for strike action last week. But the members of United Auto Workers Local 216 found themselves road-blocked by the refusal of UAW international representatives to authorize a strike.

A Feb. 27 membership meeting supported the grievance committee and the executive committee by calling for strike action but International Representative "Bud" Burrows, supported by Regional Director Paul Schrade, called the compromise offered by the company "the best agreement you can get" and refused strike authorization.

On the following day, both day and night-shift workers again called for strike action and again were refused. At this point a motion was passed to wire UAW President Walter Reuther directly for strike sanction.

One auto worker said, "I would like to see Reuther himself, who has so often called the UAW one of the most democratic unions in the world, take the responsibility for refusing us our right to strike."

Although only eight men in one department are involved in the current dispute over speed-up, the vote was overwhelmingly for strike sanction — 15-to-1 at the day meeting and 30-to-1 at the night meeting. This is because every man in the plant sees his own beefs mirrored in those of the eight men. Speed-up and disciplinary layoffs are a deep-seated problem at the plant and every man has been hurt in some way.

One resentment is that grievance settlements are not backed up. "My grievance has been settled, the company agreed to put more men on the line but they didn't," says one worker. "I'm right back where I started."

Others point out that hundreds of grievances have been filed but that not one has been permitted to go before the umpire who is



Reuther

paid by both the union and management. What happens is that an international representative confers with management — and compromises are made.

GM workers are also frustrated by finding that when a grievance is won and men are added to the line, the company then speeds up the line, making the victory useless. "We go around in circles," is a common complaint.

As the situation now stands at GM's South Gate plant all issues are unresolved. There is little sentiment for an unauthorized walk-out. Some union men see the possibility that Reuther might actually grant strike authorization.

The 87 per cent strike vote shows wide rank-and-file rebellion against the bureaucratic way the International has handled grievances.

"We know we've got to fight the company," says a member of Local 216, "and we come out swinging, but there stands the International between us and the company!"

Ga. Teen-Ager Granted a Stay Of Execution

Preston Cobb, 17-year-old Negro, who was scheduled to die in Georgia's electric chair on March 1, has won a stay of execution. His lawyer, Donald Hollowell, stated in his petition seeking Cobb's release that he was "denied due process of law" and charges that Cobb was forced under duress to admit "an act which he did not in fact commit."

Cobb was 15 years old when he was sentenced to die. In the last week of February the Georgia House of Representatives passed a bill banning the execution of persons under 16, but the bill was not made retroactive and so does not apply to Cobb. The previous permissible age for legal execution in Georgia was ten years old. Blood thirsty Georgia leads all other states in the number of executions, although it ranks 16th in population.

Preston Cobb was convicted of the slaying of a 72-year-old white farmer named Frank Dumas. Preston, his widowed mother, and eight brothers and sisters were sharecroppers on Dumas' farm at the time of his death.

Cobb was indicted in Jasper County, where Hollowell says that non-whites are systematically excluded from grand jury duty. The jury which convicted the 15-year-old boy failed to recommend mercy, which automatically doomed him. He was first sentenced to die on Sept. 22, 1961.

If Hollowell fails in the Tattnall County Superior Court, the State Pardons and Parole Board is expected to review the case. When Cobb was originally sentenced, the case aroused an international protest because of his age.

School Desegregation Grinds to Dead Halt

School desegregation, made the "law of the land" by the U. S. Supreme Court's decision back in May 1954, has come almost to a dead halt. This year there are only about 8,400 more Negro children attending school with white children in the whole South and border region than last year.

All told only 7.8 per cent of Negro schoolchildren in the South and border states are in desegregated schools. This is only two-tenths of one per cent more than last year. Conversely, 92.2 per cent of the Negro schoolchildren are in Jim Crow schools.

...Miss. Shooting

(Continued from Page 1)

Co-ordinating Committee, declared today, "There is still some justice in Montgomery." He was commenting on the fact that a 12-man, all-white jury could not agree to convict Robert Zellner, a white SNCC field secretary, on charges of "false pretenses." Circuit Judge Eugene Carter declared a mistrial after the jury said yesterday it could not come to a verdict.

A complaint against Montgomery officials who arrested Zellner and charged him with vagrancy and later, false pretenses, is still in Federal Court.

Zellner was arrested on Jan. 8 on the campus of his *alma mater*, Huntingdon College, and charged with conspiracy. Later the charge was changed to vagrancy, and additional charges of false pretenses were added. The City of Montgomery dropped the vagrancy charges on Feb. 19.

Zellner has been repeatedly harassed and arrested by Southern police because of his activities on behalf of integration. Seventeen white Methodist ministers from throughout the state of Alabama were in the courtroom yesterday.



The five railroad operating craft unions have lost their fight in the courts against the work-rules changes recommended by a presidential fact-finding board. The Supreme Court ruled March 4 by a vote of 8 to 0, with Justice Goldberg abstaining, that the railroad companies can go ahead with the changes in 25 days. Union leaders estimate the changes will cost 80,000 jobs over the next five years.

The 197 railroads involved have declared their intention to put the changes into effect. Union leaders have said if this is done unilaterally, they will authorize a strike. There is one remaining possibility of delay. If a strike is scheduled, Kennedy can put it off for 60 days under the Railway Labor Act.

The Pennsylvania Railroad has already announced it has scheduled 3,100 firemen for layoff as soon as the court order becomes effective.

Nassau County, N. Y. Welfare Department workers picketed the County Executive Building last week protesting the failure of the Board of Supervisors to act on recommendations for raises made by Welfare Commissioner John J. McManus. A spokesman for the pickets said the caseworkers' salaries run from \$5,100 annually. He also said that since the welfare client's allowance goes up with the size of his family, and the caseworker's wage does not, some caseworkers with large families actually received less than people they processed on relief.

McManus said: "We have considerable moonlighting — holding outside jobs — in the department and without it, it is conceivable caseworkers would be eligible for relief."

Twenty-nine of the 39 crewmen aboard the SS Marine Sulphur Queen which disappeared during rough weather in the Caribbean last month were members of the National Maritime Union. The remainder belong to unions of licensed personnel. The ship, a tanker built in 1944 to carry oil, was converted for molten sulphur in 1960. The tanks were equipped with steam-heated coils to keep the sulphur molten at 275 degrees. The ship disappeared without even an SOS but the NMU speculates that the rough weather parted a seam in the hull, allowing water to reach the molten sulphur and cause an explosion.

Leon J. Davis, president of New York hospital workers union Local 1199, who was jailed during the hospital strike last year, is recovering from a heart attack he suffered Feb. 6. In his absence the union is headed by Vice President William Taylor.

Workers in the four A&P grocery stores in Charleston, S. C., have voted in an NLRB election to be represented by Local 15A of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union. The RWDSU victory is a small one, involving only some 45 workers, but it is the first time a chain store in South Carolina has ever been organized. Also significant is the fact that the organizing campaign took place while the longshore strike was on and an anti-labor atmosphere was being whipped up by the newspapers. Even some union observers expected that would frighten the workers from voting for the union, but it didn't.

In New York City's newspaper strike and lockout, one station wagon from the National Maritime Union and another from the Team-

sters provide coffee and doughnuts for picketing members of the International Typographical Union. The Teamster-supplied coffee is of the Irish variety, much appreciated in the bitter cold of recent weeks.

Negotiations for a new contract covering 50,000 United Rubber Workers members at Firestone, Goodyear and Goodrich, begin this month. Contracts at the three firms expire April 20, and at U.S. Rubber on June 1. The three biggest auto corporations, Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler, are stockpiling tires as a "precaution" against a rubber strike.

An employer offensive against labor, government attempts to control wages, and the high unemployment rate which weakens the bargaining position of many unions — these factors show up in recent figures indicating that employed workers generally are not making the gains they were before 1957. They are actually losing ground in the more recent period.

Average wages in manufacturing increased only three cents an hour on an hourly basis during 1962. This was more than offset by rises in the cost of living, loss of overtime, and temporary layoffs. Even the recession year of 1961 showed an increase of nine cents an hour.

Between 1957 and the present, output per man-hour of manufacturing workers has increased 18 per cent while hourly wage rates increased only 16 per cent. In the decade between 1947 and 1957, wages rose 69 per cent while output per man-hour rose 30 per cent.

Supplemental unemployment benefits paid to laid-off steelworkers under United Steelworkers of America contracts amounted to \$286 million in the last five years. The payments are in addition to state unemployment compensation. Combined, these benefits are now averaging about \$70 per week for jobless steelworkers who are eligible. State benefits usually run out after 26 weeks and the supplemental benefits continue another six months at an average of \$62.50, according to union President David J. McDonald.

... New York Printers' Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

rected against the printers by the politicians and others trying to break their strike was that the lack of newspapers was hurting commerce — department stores had no place to advertise their wares, etc. This refusal by Macy's and Gimbel's to advertise in the paper that is now available shows how in certain situations anti-labor feelings can even outweigh greed for a quick profit. Unionists in New York should mark well this action of Macy's and Gimbel's for working people are the main customers of these giant stores.

A long strike is still possible. After all the pattern for the whole 500,000 workers in the printing trades is being fought out in New York's great printers' strike. The membership of the International Typographical Union knows this. That is why its 115,000 members voted so overwhelmingly to increase their dues weekly up to about \$15 to pay adequate benefits

to the striking and locked-out members in New York. The publishers also understand the importance of this struggle. But if they still cling to their idea of forcing a historic showdown with the union, they are in a weaker position now and the union is stronger.

The publishers are now very vulnerable to exposure of their brutal lock-out strategy. Since newspapers depend upon public acceptance, publishers endeavor to create the illusion that they are benevolent, responsible, humane.

Now, more than ever, the printers' union has issues to take to the public — something it has failed to do adequately so far in this strike. The cry should be: End the lock out! This would put the publishers on the defensive.

The striking and locked-out printers should be organized for mass distributions to the public of literature explaining the union's side of the struggle. Speakers should be sent to all other unions, clubs, PTAs, forums, churches, etc., to explain the facts of the case. The people of New York in their vast majority are working people and, given the facts, they can be made active supporters of the embattled printers.

Sometimes an event occurs during a struggle that cuts through all the fog of statements and counter-statements. It exposes the naked truth. Resumption of publication by the *Post* was such an event. The printers should use this as a springboard for a campaign of public education that will hasten complete victory.

Weekly Calendar

NEW YORK
SOVIET YOUTH IN FERMENT. Speaker, George Saunders, translator of Yevgeny Zamyatin's poems, editor of *Young Socialist*. Fri., March 15, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO
The Kentucky Miners, the Printers and Railroad Strikes. Speaker, Asher Harer. Fri., March 22, 8 p.m., 1488 Fulton St. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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Frame-Up Victim Addresses ACLU

Miss. Lawyer Blasts Robert Kennedy

William L. Higgs, a 28-year-old white attorney from Jackson, Mississippi, was honored by the New York Civil Liberties Union with an award at its banquet on Lincoln's Birthday. On Feb. 22 the same man was convicted *in absentia* by a Mississippi court of contributing to the delinquency of a minor boy. Should Higgs return to his native state he will face a six-month jail sentence.

The charge is a frame-up based on the testimony of a 16-year-old boy who had fallen into the hands of the police after he had stolen a car and wrecked it. Higgs was arrested on the charge last month, three-and-a-half hours after he had filed suit to compel the Univer-

sity of Mississippi to admit a second Negro applicant, Dewey Greene.

Moreover, Higgs had been one of James H. Meredith's lawyers in the suit that forced his admission to the university. Indeed, Higgs was the only white lawyer in all Mississippi who handled civil-rights cases. He was the attorney for William Smith, a Negro beaten into a "confession" of rape in a case now pending before the U.S. Supreme Court. Higgs also defended the Freedom Riders arrested in Mississippi and was legal adviser to the two Mississippi Negroes who ran for Congress last fall.

So there was never any question of whether Higgs would be framed up by the Mississippi authorities, it was simply a question of when and what charge. The same frame-up charge — with the social disgrace it is calculated to bring — was used against Aaron Henry, president of the Mississippi National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. However, in other cases such as that of Clyde Kennard, a Negro who had the audacity to press his application for admission to the University of Southern Mississippi, the frame-up was on a charge of complicity in the theft of \$25 worth of chicken feed — and the sentence was seven years.

At the banquet at which Higgs was presented the Florina Lasker Civil-Liberties Award, Mel Wulf, legal director of the ACLU, described his visit last September to Higgs in Jackson. The tension, he said, was unbearable and Higgs was constantly under a strain. Negroes they visited first peered out through drawn blinds before opening their doors.

Higgs has announced that he is not going back to Mississippi but will endeavor to keep on fighting for civil rights there from outside the state.

As notable as the story of Higgs' courage and the crookedness of Mississippi's frame-up artists was Higgs' outspokenness at the civil-liberties banquet. He said in part:

"The Attorney General, Mr. Robert Kennedy, in his recent Civil Rights Report to the President, has claimed much in the way of achievement in this field. But as one from Mississippi, I would like to ask him just how much he has done to secure rights for Negroes to vote in my state. The increase in Negro registration in Mississippi since this administration has taken office is almost nil. Negroes are constantly being harassed, intimidated, attacked, and shot at because of their efforts to try to vote. Almost all the effectiveness of the Civil Rights Acts in the voting field has been



Robert F. Kennedy

nullified as the result of the appointment by President Kennedy of Judge William Harold Cox, a close friend of Senator Eastland, as Chief United States District Judge for the Southern District of Mississippi.

"In short, I would say to the Attorney General: You are right when you say that the most significant civil-rights problem is voting, but you are dead wrong when you think you are truly justified in congratulating yourself on any achievement that you might have made in this area . . .

"It seems to require a Freedom Ride which results in violence to force you to move to desegregate public transportation facilities; a deadly riot at the University of Mississippi to make this administration finally enforce federal law; a direct order from the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals to force you to prosecute the Governor of Mississippi for flagrant contempt; and even constant violence against prospective Negro voters has not yet moved you to protect their rights and their persons by federal forces at your ready command.

"Today in Mississippi, when a federal marshal is notified that Negroes, who are going to try to register, will probably be beaten and perhaps even shot at, this marshal does not make any move to prevent it . . ."

Higgs urged the formation of a Lawyers' Committee to protect the interests of Southern Negro groups in all government-filed litigation and to initiate broad and precedent-setting suits that the government fails or refuses to file. Another proposal of the militant Mississippi attorney was for a movement to enforce the second section of the 14th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which provides for proportional cutting down of the representation in Congress of any state which denies any of its citizens their right to vote.

Old Soldiers Just Salt It Away

By Milton Alvin

It is no longer true that a soldier has a hard time finding a job and adjusting himself to civilian life after a long stint in the army. After the First World War the veterans did have a hard time and during the depression they had to organize a mass march on Washington to get the government to pay them the money they had coming in the form of Bonus Bonds. After the Second World War the returning veterans were greeted with "Welcome Home" signs on one side of the factory and "No Help Wanted" on the other side.

But all this has changed. I cite the example of Lucius D. Clay, General of the U.S. Army, retired, who has just been appointed a senior partner in the giant banking firm of Lehman Brothers of New York, subject to the approval of the New York Stock Exchange which, I predict, will be given.

Title-Winner

Gen. Clay comes to his new post with a spectacular array of titles won in the world of big business as well as in the armed forces and in other government service. The Jan. 30 *New York Times* (Western edition) reports that he "was commander-in-chief of the United States forces in Europe and military governor of the U.S. zone in Germany from 1947 to 1949. His tenure covered the period of the Berlin Airlift." He was also President Kennedy's personal representative in Berlin with the rank of ambassador during the Berlin Wall crisis.

But these were just fill-in jobs; he did better elsewhere. After leaving active duty in the armed forces, Gen. Clay became chairman and chief executive officer of the Continental Can Co., of America's industrial giants. Apparently this job did not take all his time because he was occupied at the same time as a director of Lehman Brothers, Chase Manhattan Bank, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., General Motors Corporation, United States Lines, American Express Company, Allied Chemical Corporation and the Aerospace Corporation. He also holds down a post as trustee of the Central Savings Bank.

If you add up the financial positions of the institutions with which Gen. Clay is associated in one capacity or another you will find that he has picked some of the lushest spots in the United States and the total capital of all these enterprises comes to a sizable chunk of all the wealth of this country.

At any rate, the general probably has his hands full trying to help run the affairs of so many huge corporations and banking institutions. But he still has time for one more activity. He is chairman of the Committee to Strengthen the Security of the Free World. That figures!

New Spanish Socialist Front Takes Revolutionary Stand

[The following is a condensation of a long document issued by the Frente de Liberación Popular (Popular Liberation Front) of Spain. In presenting a summary of this document for the information of our readers we are not, however, endorsing either the FLP or the estimate given of its relative importance in the revolutionary opposition to Franco. This is a matter of controversy and we simply do not have enough information to venture an evaluation. Moreover, it should be mentioned that within Spain today there are other revolutionary groups, such as the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification) and the Fide-lista group, which should also be accorded the sympathetic attention of revolutionary socialists abroad. —Editor]



Franco

The Popular Liberation Front (FLP), founded in 1958 by a group of intellectuals, students and working-class leaders who were dissatisfied with the ineffectualness of the traditional parties, began to develop its activities in Madrid, Barcelona, in the Cantabrian Mountains [North and Northwest Spain], in the Basque country, and in various places in Andalusia.

Among the most important activities since its founding was the decisive role played by the FLP in the national strike of June 18, 1959, and the heavy hand of repression fell on its most militant people: 17 of them were condemned by a military court to prison sentences of from three to eight years, many were arrested (in Bilbao, Madrid, Barcelona...).

Catalonia Organization

In the spring of 1960, the "Democratic Association of Catalonia" (ADC) was founded. It is an autonomous organization of the FLP in Catalonia, reserving to itself independence of orientation — in accordance with the declaration of the FLP on respect for the rights of the Iberian peoples.

In 1961, in the Basque country, the "Euskadiko Sozialisten Basatuna" (ESBA) was founded — a federated organization of the FLP with an autonomous orientation adapted to Basque realities. This organization participated in the workers' struggles which took place at the end of 1961 in the village of Beasain (Giupuzcoa).

In the beginning of 1962, the ADC united with some other workers' groups to form the "Workers Front of Catalonia" (FOC) which, federated with the FLP and the ESBA, complete the confederation of the Front. The FOC publishes the monthly paper, *Revolución* in Barcelona.

During the great strikes in the spring of 1962, the FLP played an important role in the Asturias, Catalonia, Madrid, the Basque country, Valencia, Santander, Andalusia, Estramadura. And despite the severe repression of May, the FLP participated in new strikes in the Asturias in August.

The Front (FLP-ESBA-FOC) is an organization that is revolutionary, socialist, democratic, federalist, non-clerical, and internationalist.

Revolutionary because it seeks to destroy the class dictatorship of the bourgeois political regime by means of the violent seizure of power by the working classes, abolishing the capitalist system of production, ending private ownership of the means of production and laying the groundwork for the construction of a classless society.

Socialist because it seeks to construct the foundations of the future society through socialization of the means of production, socialist economic planning, carrying through of radical agrarian reform adapted to the individual needs of each region and distributing land to those who work it, nationalization of the banks, replacing the Army, instrument of

reaction, by Popular Militias, instrument of the people.

Democratic because it seeks to establish a real workers' democracy, the workers themselves deciding the solution to their problems according to the principle that economic and political decisions be made by workers through their natural organizations — organizations of workers based on neighborhood and place of employment.

Federalist because it takes into account the different socio-geographic groups in Spain and permits the workers (as in the Basque country and in Catalonia, where nationalist aspirations exist) to organize into autonomous Fronts of Struggle.

The Front has no connection with the Church and it proclaims its anti-dogmatism, but admits to its ranks all workers regardless of their philosophical or religious beliefs.

Internationalist because it feels itself in full solidarity with all efforts, throughout the world, towards the socialist goal. It refuses to make the cause of the Spanish Revolution and the urgent necessity of its realization subservient to any tactical consideration which would prevent, modify the direction of, or retard its final victory.

The immediate objective of the FLP is to become the vanguard of the workers' struggle in Spain with the aim of building towards another stage, a Front of the exploited class (workers and peasants), united and organized for its revolution.

From the tactical point of view, the FLP rejects the so-called "democratic stage," convinced that the Spanish dilemma is between the Franco dictatorship and the revolutionary democracy of the workers. With this premise, it rejects any pact whatsoever with the bourgeoisie. At a time when all the traditional parties affirm their willingness to limit their objectives to the bourgeois revolution, the Front rejects any solution which does not lead to the conquest of all power by the workers and will struggle with all means, excluding none, against any other politico-social form which would install itself in Spain. The FLP is characterized by its willingness to unite all workers, leaving aside their ideological differences, in a unified class action, to deepen the class struggle in Spain and to form new working-class cadres to replace those decimated by the Civil War — the survivors of which are, today, far behind the reality of the political situation in Spain.

Franco Jails Strike Leaders

The scheduled trial of 38 members of the Frente de Liberación Popular was postponed Feb. 20 without any explanation by Spanish fascist authorities. No new date has yet been announced. The next day, however, another trial before a military court railroaded a fresh batch of victims to Franco's prisons. Several alleged members of the Communist Party and Pestaña, a leader of the FLP, all accused of participation in a strike in Valencia, were given sentences ranging from one to ten years.

Among the FLP members whose trial has been postponed, though they have now been held in prison for over nine months, are the well-known left-Catholic writer Recalde; Revilla, a Catholic trade unionist and father of seven, from the Asturias; the Valencia writer Francisco Gordenor; two left-wing intellectuals from Madrid; the lawyer Zayas, well-known for his aid to the Algerian Liberation Front during that country's recent war for independence; and Elena Salas, the courageous woman who organized the women's solidarity demonstration with the striking Asturian miners right in front of Madrid's police headquarters.

According to a recent article in *El Socialista*, newspaper printed in exile by the reformist Spanish Socialist Party, the members of the FLP are noticeable above all else for their ardent sympathy for the Cuban Revolution and their efforts to adapt "activism" of the Fidel Castro type to Spanish conditions.

The FLP underground was instrumental in spreading last year's miners' strike in the Asturias to the Basque country, Catalonia, Valencia and Madrid.

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Monday, March 11, 1963

'Command Decision' on Vietnam

The reactionary nature of Kennedy's efforts to save Ngo Dinh Diem's hated dictatorship in South Vietnam is becoming so scandalous that some of his best friends feel moved to tell him. Thus, a group of senators headed by Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield made public a report Feb. 25 which declared that after seven years of U.S. aid South Vietnam still lacks a stable government. In fact, the report said, Diem's regime "appears more removed, rather than closer to, the achievement of popularly responsible and responsive government."

The senators report that despite \$2 billion poured into the former French colony since 1955 no end is in sight. "In the best of circumstances," they complain, "outside aid in very substantial size will be necessary for many more years."

This is confirmed in a Saigon report to the Paris paper, *Le Monde*, which said: "In the towns American aid benefits the very few people who are close to the ruling clan . . . the country's economic structure has improved very little . . . the gap between poverty and wealth steadily widens."

Another recent blunt appraisal was contained in a Saigon report to the March 4 *Christian Science Monitor*. Correspondent Saville R. Davis explains that to get a realistic picture of what is happening it is necessary to talk to newsmen there. "To read their dispatches is not enough."

"The United States," he reports, "has imposed a policy line on the situation in South Vietnam. President Kennedy made a judgement that the program of the war is 'favorable but slow' under President Ngo Dinh Diem, and a command decision that the United States will therefore fight the war through President Diem."

"There is not an American newspaperman in South Vietnam," Davis declares, "who accepts that line. Nor does any one of them think the command decision will work."

Isn't it high time the U.S. got out of South Vietnam?

He Could Afford To Be Honest

Not being ritualists, we felt no temptation on Washington's Birthday to editorialize about the father of this country. But since then, newspapers from all over the country have been coming across our desk — almost all with the inevitable birthday editorial, till we were almost buried in chopped-down cherry trees.

The only point these traditionalist editors seem able to dredge up is wonderment at how honest George was. Now honesty isn't to be valued lightly and in comparison with the presidents and other politicians of our day, Washington displayed a startling veracity. What has happened? Has some climatic change affected the truth-telling ability of latter day politicians, so that the very word, *politician*, has now become practically synonymous with liar?

Let it be noted that while George was very truthful, so were his colleagues and political rivals. The key is simple. Political office in those days did not depend upon election by universal suffrage. The right to vote in the young United States — as in England — was restricted to a thin stratum of property owners.

Politicians, consequently, didn't have to lie to the masses, didn't have to pretend that they represented the interests of everybody or of the great majority. They frankly represented the propertied classes. They still do today — but now they must dishonestly conceal that fact.

Washington could establish about him all the trappings and customs of royalty and consider creating an order of nobility. Alexander Hamilton could denounce the people as "a great beast." Today the representatives of America's 60 Families in Congress, the White House and the 50 governor's mansions may well think the same — but they dare not say publicly what they really believe.

... Assault on Dominican Students

(Continued from Page 1)

the reviewing stand and into a nearby building.

Juan Bosch's "democratic" police charged into the demonstrators swinging rifle butts. One of the security guards later reported to the American Embassy that he had heard gunfire about 50 feet from Johnson. U.S. Ambassador John Bartlow Martin said that two students were wounded.

At least ten demonstrators were arrested and held by the police. Several were led away with their faces bloodied by police rifle butts. The Dominican authorities later admitted three casualties among the students, but claimed

that there were no bullet wounds.

This demonstration, which broke up the inauguration parade, is an indication of the unrest of the Dominican people. Bosch has promised the people a great number of reforms, including a house and land for every Dominican, a job for everyone willing to work, a farm for everyone willing to work it, and the transfer of many private enterprises to worker ownership. He also has promised a better distribution of the nation's wealth.

Workers in the sugar refineries have staged a series of strikes to impress on the new government their demands for a swift solution to long pent-up grievances.

LETTER FROM LONDON

A Yawning Import-Export Gap

LONDON — Since the disruption of the effort to get Britain into the Common Market, British industry and trade is running into even greater difficulties. Production remains stagnant and even continues to decline. The trade figures for January show a yawning gap between imports, which remain heavy, and exports, which hardly increased, a balance-of-payments deficit for the month of some \$200 million. The Tory government, reporting this to parliament, blames these troubles on the East Coast longshoremen's strike across the Atlantic and the heavy winter, making a ludicrous mountain of what undoubtedly is a substantial molehill.

The need to increase exports continues to spur the drive in industry to cut costs in order to make British goods "more competitive." This takes on many forms, beside the main effort to get more production out of the working force for a smaller wage bill. One of these is, of course, vertical streamlining so-called, or the merging of different firms manufacturing various components of the finished product.

Steel Bid

In this connection, one particular case has caught the public eye. A great privately owned steel concern, Stewart and Lloyds, made a "take-over" bid recently in the shares market for Whiteheads, a concern that supplies parts to Richard, Thomas and Baldwins, the big steel combine nationalized under the Labor government. This latter company constitutes nearly the whole of the ten per cent of the steel industry which the Tory government has not yet denationalized despite its election promises.

In order to forestall a crisis in the still nationalized Richard, Thomas and Baldwins, the Macmillan government had to fight Stewarts and take over the smaller firm itself, paying some five million pounds more for it than the price for which it was sold when denationalized.

It was a real spectacle for the gods — a Tory government, pledged to free enterprise, fighting tooth and nail to increase the nationalized sector! The Tory ministers give many specious excuses for their action. The truth of the matter, however, is that the disarray in the economy calls for greater planning and they themselves have been giving lip service to it; and planning in itself means as a next step, objectively, more state control, that is, nationalization.

Key Lesson

As the economic troubles continue, this lesson is bound to impress itself more and more on the public mind, making the ground fertile in the coming election for an aggressive line by the Labour Party on its traditional program of nationalization.

The catastrophic drop in Tory fortunes raise bright prospects of a Labour victory in the elections due in the course of the next year. The Gallup polls give the Labour Party a 15 per cent lead. Furthermore there is a steady shift in process within all elements of the social fabric that seems to take this prospect into account.

There is, for instance, the sharp drop in property shares on the stock exchange. The real-estate sharks, who for ten years have been having a field day, are obviously preparing to draw in their fangs, in view of renewed housing controls under government planning. But they only foreshadow crafty shifts on the part of capital as a whole.

Most striking, is the line of an as yet unpublished report of the National Economic Development Council (popularly known as NEDDY) named by Macmillan as a crisis measure — a report

Wants Jolly, Not Beastly, Unions

Allen Barke, managing director of the Ford plant in Dagenham, England, facing a strike because of the wholesale firing of shop stewards, is quoted in an "Associated Press" dispatch as follows: "We are not hostile to the unions. In fact, what we would like to see are stronger unions — closer to the men on the floor, better able to work with us and to control their members. There could be so much more happiness and prosperity for us all if we could get honest, friendly law and order back into our affairs."

scooped by the *Manchester Guardian* the other day.

This calls for practically a whole program of measures sponsored by the Labour leadership for years, most prominently of which is a Redundancy (lay-off) Fund, paid for by the employers, to provide separation pay for "disemployed workers," generally shifting the tax burden from lower incomes to wealth, tying all social-security benefits to wage scales and outlining housing and re-distribution of industry projects, etc. Since all this requires long-term arrangements, it appears to be a straw in the wind — that the establishment behind the government is expecting a turn to the left and adjusting accordingly.

An increase in the official unemployment figures last month by 100,000 to nearly 900,000 (way over the million mark unofficially) emphasizes the basis for the trend. Headlines in bold type proclaiming "The End of Full Employment" sent reminiscent shivers down the spines of a middle class already deeply disillusioned with the "affluent society."

On television, in the theatre, as well as in the press, criticism and vitriolic satires of established society and its personages (from royalty to upstart millionaires) and right-wing labour leaders abound. They accurately reflect the growing mood of bitterness and longing for a brusque radical change.

While crumbling and retreat are visible characteristics of the upper stratum in the country's social structure, there is a corresponding tightening up of resistance, combativity and solidarity in the working class.

The Minister of Labor recently reported to parliament that in recent years Britain averaged some 2,000 unofficial (wild cat) strikes annually. The blame is laid on militant shop stewards, the union representatives elected at plant level. Although demands for all kinds of legislative action against the shop stewards pour forth from the Tory propagandists the government is reluctant to make any move against them in fear of even greater explosions.

Shake Finger

The right-wing labor leaders, who in the past were wont to join the howling pack against the shop stewards, now just shake a finger at "the few communists" among them and even have a good word to say. Ray Gunther, Labour's "shadow minister" dealing with this fields, for example, rose the other day to draw an eloquent picture of the hectic, monotonous and nerve-wearing life "on the belt" that workers have to put up with and which lies behind the strikes led by the stewards.

Attention in the struggle led by the shop stewards against speed-up, the more refined forms of wage-robbing and unemployment

and for more human conditions of work, is centered on the great Ford auto works at Dagenham, now "wholly American owned."

The British bosses, wily and astute in handling class warfare (compromise — on their terms as far as possible — is a strongly-felt article in their realistic, if cynical, creed), are quite satisfied to let the Dearborn horror be the pacemaker. For years the Dagenham management, under orders from Detroit to "streamline" labor relations, has been laying for the shop-steward system with its frequent meetings, quaint "tea-time" customs, etc. This year it took the offensive with an eye to possible entry into the Common Market, no doubt. It fired some 70 stewards. Strike action was called for.

The 22 union leaderships involved took a hand in negotiations for the reinstatement of the 70 who had originally been promised that in a no-victimization agreement after a wild-cat had been called off. The company reduced its list to 17, but the unions had already agreed on official strike action to forestall spontaneous walkouts. So an official strike was set for last week.

At this point the government stepped in with a Royal (official) Commission of Inquiry, but could get the unions to postpone strike action only after persuading Ford to pay each of the 17 some 11 pounds per week while the inquiry is on. In other words, for the time being, there is stalemate in Dagenham. Dissatisfaction is naturally rife among stewards and men. They are in no mood to take "gaff" from the Detroit-manipulated management and are well aware of the Ford record.

Obscure Corners

The pattern of labor militancy which is at its sharpest at Ford's fans out all over the working class, now involves an impending struggle of the teachers and reaches into the most obscure corners.

One such, dating from the Dark or Middle Ages, is the famous Tower of London — a favorite with tourists. Many a GI has wandered through its history-laden and rather blood-stained ramparts, led on by the glib and sometimes amusing patter of the official guides, dressed in their colorful black-and-red Tudor hats and known as "Beefeaters" since Henry VIII's time. They used to confide to us in war-time, with an understandable grimace, that they really fed on Yankee "Spam" then.

Now these yeoman warders, to give them their formal title, are locked in a struggle with the War Office which employs them. The Civil Service Union, to which these very conservative ex-Tommy non-coms or such belong, has announced that the Beefeaters regard the latest wage offer as insulting, "a bit of a dog's breakfast," in their own words.

They are very angry, the union says, and have all 38 of them "unanimously" threatened strike action on, appropriately, George Washington's Birthday.

—T. J. Peters

FIDEL CASTRO

on

Marxism-Leninism

(Speech of Dec. 2, 1961)

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A VISIT TO ALGERIA

Misery, Ruins and Revolutionary Hopes

By Pierre Frank

PARIS — A short stay in Algiers, a city scarcely typical of the rest of Algeria, and a brief visit in the Mitidja, a fertile area of vineyards, citrus orchards and grain fields some fifty kilometers from the capital of the newly independent country, are not sufficient to form definitive conclusions. What you see and hear is filled with the contradictions of a situation where everything is in flux and everything is evolving.

Before the revolution, the center of Algiers was not Algerian. It resembled the business district of a big French city. The "Algerianization" of this European sector is striking, and surely irreversible. In these streets which the Algerians could once use only as common laborers, in these stores and cafes where they were hardly permitted to enter, they now feel at home.

This is seen most vividly at the university. Once dominated by the worst of the *pieds noirs* (French colonials), the campus is now alive with 3,500 Algerian students. The notorious cafe which the fascist lawyer Lagailarde used for his headquarters has been taken over by them.

In the former European town, more and more signs appear in Arabic characters. From the ghetto where they were once confined, the Algerians are moving into areas where less than a year ago the OAS (Secret Army Organization), facing imminent defeat, filled the gutters with blood.

Little by little the crowded Casbah is thinning out. There is plenty of room for Algerians in the Bab el Oued district, deserted by the *pieds noirs*. More than 50 per cent of the stores there have been posted as "*biens vacants*." (The expression "*biens vacants*" — "vacated property" — was invented more than a century ago by General Bugeaud to justify the theft of Algerian land and its conversion into the private holdings of the French conquerors. A case of poetic justice!) Many restaurants and hotels, formerly the property of Europeans, are now in the hands of Algerians.

Curious Sight

One of the curious sights in this period of transition is the strolling soldiers. Men in French uniform (including German-speaking Foreign Legionnaires) mingle with members of the ANP (National Popular Army) whom a short time ago they would shoot on sight. I saw no signs of awkwardness, of stiffness, of hostility between the two sides.

A further word on the surface aspect of the city. During the first years of the Algerian people's struggle for independence, French imperialism sought to impress certain layers by granting them concessions. During the final years of the war, however, when the Europeans recognized that defeat was inevitable, they let everything go to rack and ruin. Aside from the destruction carried out by the OAS, dilapidation became quite general. Nothing was kept up. Repairs are now under way. Bricklayers and painters are busy. Everybody believes that the stagnation of past months is over. A little movement is felt.

There is no doubt that independent Algeria is removing the colonial make-up and that this development is absolutely irreversible. Algeria's social evolution, however, is another matter. Here it is wiser to observe prudence in making forecasts. To a certain degree one can perceive the forces at work, but to measure them is not easy.

A number of *pieds noirs* remain — and it is not difficult to see that they have learned nothing.

But if as individuals they can still commit crimes against the Algerians, they no longer constitute a social force. French imperialism does not seriously count on them to assure its positions in Algeria. The real danger for the Algerian masses today is neo-colonialism; that is, the development and strengthening of an Algerian bourgeoisie which would have the support of world capitalism. And this danger is by no means insignificant.

During the years of war, "native" capital grew considerably. According to one reliable source, Algerian capital expanded from 200 to 600 billion old francs (from \$400 million to \$1,200 million). For many reasons, this consists mainly of commercial capital engaged in foreign trade, in commerce, the services, etc. In Algiers this is seen in the transfer



Ahmed Ben Bella

of exclusive stores, restaurants, hotels and cafes from European to Algerian hands. As in every period of social overturn, some people have profited personally. Cases of corruption have come to public notice.

In the future this Algerian bourgeoisie can find sources of profits in two main areas, given the present economic structure of Algeria. One is the surplus product of agriculture and livestock (through profits in either foreign or domestic trade); the other, government orders of all kinds. This Algerian bourgeoisie, no matter how strict and vigilant the attitude of the government may be, cannot fail to take on flesh in the coming period.

The new Algeria begins with a heavy heritage of misery and ruins. Grave destruction occurred in the countryside — even orchards and woods were destroyed. At the moment people are moving toward the towns and cities. The fate of the children is one of the most painful problems.

Perhaps the heaviest handicap in this opening period is the lack, if not complete absence, of competent personnel in all spheres. Everywhere evident is extraordinary energy and extraordinary determination to bring the country out of the situation in which it was left by colonialism. But it is quite apparent that this determination and energy lack the fulcrum of cadres, of know-how.

I interviewed doctors who told me that in the hospitals medical departments have had to be entrusted to men who have not yet gained their degrees. Medicine was one of the fields in which there was a relatively high proportion of Algerians.

Europeans are now returning to Algeria after fleeing last summer at the time of the OAS terror. Unfortunately they are not the most qualified technically (probably because those with skills can easily find employment in France).

The Algerian government will

most certainly find itself faced with the necessity of promoting "accelerated formation of skills" in all fields from trades to college instruction, including elementary schooling where the difficulties are multiplied by the absence of teachers and textbooks, both French and Arabic. Even with the greatest effort, the bottleneck here will exist a few years until Algeria can train the men and women needed for a genuine take-off.

Another handicap is credits. It is true that French, and American imperialism as well, appear adroit. No doubt they have drawn lessons from the Cuban experience and will avoid threatening the Algerian government too flagrantly — at least for a time. What they will do is favor the bourgeois forces in the country while tolerating developments for the moment that do not exactly please them.

For example, the French government has accepted — in general — the take-overs that have occurred under the "*biens vacants*" measures in agriculture and industry, while grumbling over specific instances which it would like to reverse. But not to strangle someone may not mean that you permit him to breathe normally. On the other hand, the credits allocated by the French government are derisory in comparison with the advantages which it draws in the financial field from certain clauses in the Evian agreement. Thus while Algerian oil brought to the French and other foreign oil companies something like 300 billion old francs (\$600 million) in 1962, the Algerian government received only about 22 billion (\$44 million). The lack of banking controls, the absence of a customs wall between France and Algeria, open the possibility of a dangerous drain of capital.

We should mention that aid from the workers' states up to now has been trifling and is not likely to increase much.

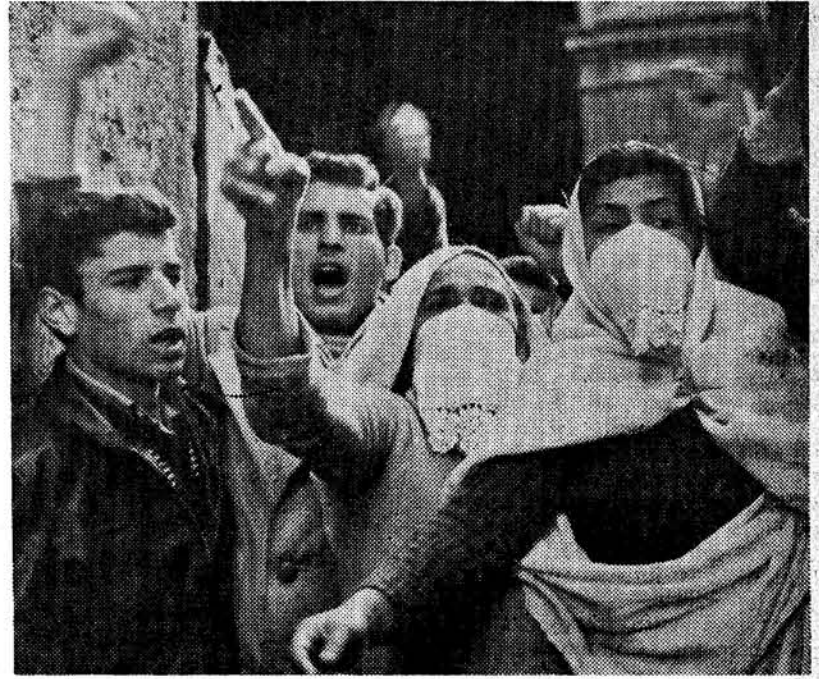
Complex Situation

Altogether, the Algerian revolution on the morrow of gaining independence, after eight years of bitter fighting, faces a complex situation. In the absence of unforeseeable events such as occurred in Cuba, this signifies that for some years to come, politics will be equally complex.

If the government is composed of variegated social and political elements, one must say nevertheless that the central nucleus, the decisive nucleus found at present in the Political Bureau of the FLN (National Liberation Front) is based on the poorest masses of the cities and above all the countryside. This is its main strength. But it cannot automatically head toward extensive nationalization of the economic structure without running the risk of catastrophic consequences. For some years, it will have to permit a development of bourgeois forces, to compromise in certain spheres with foreign capital and to create bastions in the countryside and the towns in order to pass later, to the construction of a socialist society. This will not be done without crises or without international and domestic developments that will run counter to this difficult orientation.

I talked with many militants in various fields. The most devoted and far-seeing agreed pretty much that the following is the probable perspective: several years of great difficulties before Algeria can come out of it with more numerous and more qualified forces. This is a tremendous battle in which revolutionists throughout the world must participate to the best of their ability.

The Political Bureau, we said, is based on the poorest levels of the



THEY FOUGHT AND WON. Algerians pour out of Casbah in demonstration during war for liberation from French imperialism. Now they are coping with problem of building new society on basis of war-ruined, chaotic economy.

Algerian masses. What is its present policy? It is difficult to determine precisely. The government undertakes things in various fields without setting the priorities which are indispensable in view of the limited resources which must be allocated. Why is this so? Perhaps because it is difficult to decide where to start from in face of the low level to which everything has fallen and in face of the almost complete lack of statistical and accounting data. This is understandable because the government has been in existence only since last October. But obviously this situation is not without grave risk should it last too long.

The danger indicated by René Dumont, the well-known French agricultural expert, for black Africa; i.e., the danger of seeking to ape the economically developed countries, does not seem great in Algeria. I noted among most militants a tendency towards austerity, indispensable under present conditions. Simplicity is the rule on the highest levels. Of course there are cases of local abuse of authority; but the central power has not hesitated to handle these sharply.

The problem of religion in Algeria is a difficult one for some European revolutionists. It is best to be cautious about this. A very legitimate need exists among the Algerian people to assert their own personality after so many years of colonial rule. As a matter of fact, Arabism and Islamism are entangled in the consciousness of the masses; and, in the field of customs and habits, time is indispensable to reach clarification and an ultimate balance.

Solidarity

On one especially important question, the government is very firm. This is aid to the African revolution and to the revolutionary movements in other colonial countries. It understands that its own existence, the overcoming of neo-colonialism, cannot be guaranteed unless the colonial revolution is carried through to the end. Algeria will certainly tend to become the center of the revolutionary currents of Africa as Cuba has for Latin America.

I attended the meeting which celebrated the opening of an official office of the MPLA (Popular Movement of Angolan Liberation) in Algiers at which Ben Bella presided. His speech which was widely reported, left no possible doubt as to his political views concerning the Angolan freedom movement. The meeting was quite impressive. No protocol. A very simple, very sober affair. The

platform was on the same level as the audience. Those who sat on the platform, including the head of the government, had the same hard chairs as the listeners. One hopes that this atmosphere will be maintained.

What seems to be the weakest link is the party. The FLN has no lack of militants. One must add that there is no spirit of "*Bent-oui-oui*" (The Algerian equivalent of "yes-men"). They are overloaded with tasks. But the party as such, as an organization, appeared to me not to be in the center of things. In other words, while the government is the product of the Algerian people, one does not see the transmission belt in operation between it and the people.

To conclude: Everything is in movement. It is an experiment, a struggle that must be supported throughout the world, but which demands constant determination of bearings so that the development of the various forces operating on the terrain can be gauged. In this way we can contribute to this new revolutionary experience with its altogether specific traits, its difficulties and its potentialities, and help it move toward the socialist outcome.

Algerian Urban Reform

The Algerian government has established rent ceilings as of March 1 which make rents there among the cheapest in the world. Rents per room range from \$3 to \$15.30 per month. The new rate is calculated to cost house and apartment renters about 10 to 15 per cent of their incomes.

Still lower ceilings are being established for certain categories such as deductions of 10 to 20 per cent for homes distant from the center of town; and up to 40 and 50 per cent for homes rented by families of victims of the war and veterans. It is calculated that rents will thus be 10 to 20 per cent less than before. The action of the Ben Bella government follows the precedent set by the Castro regime in Cuba which lowered rents 50 per cent soon after the revolution.

The rents on apartments and houses abandoned by the French colons who have fled the country will be paid to the government and will be used to maintain the buildings and to construct new housing.

PAMPHLET REVIEW

Communist Party Leader Attacks Muslims, Williams

TURNING POINT IN FREEDOM ROAD. The Fight to End Jim Crow Now. By Claude Lightfoot. New Century Publishers: New York, 32 pp., 25 cents.

The author, a leading spokesman for the Communist Party, presents that party's position on the present stage of the struggle for Negro equality. His central thesis is that a struggle should be waged to "break the back of the Jim Crow system within the framework of capitalism." This can be accomplished, says Lightfoot, by a "realignment" of political forces within the two capitalist parties so that the liberals would then be able to outvote the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition. Anything which interferes with uniting all possible forces in this "anti-monopoly coalition" behind liberal capitalists is divisive and dangerous, he asserts.

In line with this, Lightfoot presents the Communist Party estimate of the Black Muslims, of Robert Williams, and of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. No estimate is given of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee.

Of the Muslims, Lightfoot says: "The danger of this movement lies in its divisive nature. It divides Negroes, as well as Negroes from whites. Its chief whipping boy among Negroes is Dr. Martin Luther King. One could well suspect that it is financed by the reactionary Texas oil billionaires. These financial angels, who finance all that is reactionary in America, are stupid if they are not financing the Muslims because they preach the same doctrine — the separation of the races . . ."

This statement is a prime example of the kind of divisiveness the movement for social progress in this country could do without. For reasons of space, we take up only one of the above falsifications—the allegation that the Black Muslims and the white racists preach the same doctrine. Actually, the white racists preach *segregation* to maintain Negroes in oppression. The Black Muslims preach *separation*



Robert F. Williams

which they consider necessary for building an independent Negro power base so that Negroes can free themselves from oppression.

Lightfoot continues: "It is possible for a people's movement, a movement such as the Muslims, to play a progressive role. At present its role is reactionary, mainly because of its divisive character. Alliances for progress, not to be confused with the 'OAS,' have been the cornerstone upon which people have achieved freedom throughout human history. This has been done by all races, all classes and all nations. A coalition policy is the essence of world politics."

The Muslims announced at their recent convention their willingness to work with any other Negro group to further the Negro struggle, but they are not accepting any advice to subordinate themselves in a coalition with liberals. Nor do they want to wait for white workers to give massive aid to the Negro struggle. They don't want to wait for anybody. They believe in building an independent power base for Negroes now.

In discussing this course, it can be pointed out that Negroes will

need allies since they are outnumbered ten to one in the U.S. But this is no reason why Negroes should subordinate themselves to capitalist politicians, or why they should not organize now as an independent power.

The essence of Lightfoot's line is that even in an alliance with the labor movement the Negroes cannot liberate themselves; that, indeed, they must rely on the capitalist government to protect them.

This is clear in Lightfoot's remarks about Robert F. Williams, who advocates armed self-defense by Negroes. Says Lightfoot:

"Williams claims he is mainly interested that the Negro masses be in a position to protect themselves when attacked, and that he is not an advocate of violence *per se*. Notwithstanding his protestation, the Williams approach, carried to its logical conclusion, is suicidal and will not lead the Negro masses to freedom."

Lightfoot says he is not opposed to armed self-defense under certain circumstances, but he continues: "it should be pointed out that armed struggles will not lead to Negro freedom. On the contrary, it would retard the fight for freedom because it would leave the struggle up to Negroes alone. It is this tendency of 'I'll walk alone' that underlies much of the confused direction the Williams' forces advocate."

"The main protection for Negroes in the South," says Lightfoot, "is to force the Federal Government to shoulder its responsibilities, as President Eisenhower was forced to do at Little Rock."

Lightfoot says armed struggles will not lead to Negro freedom, then he points up the fact that armed forces have already been employed by the federal government to enforce school desegregation.

The University of Mississippi battle is another case in point. At present, there is the attempt to enroll Negro voters in Mississippi, which is being met by violent attacks from racists. The "nonviolent" students involved in this work are correctly appealing to the federal government for the necessary armed intervention. Whether or not Washington can be forced into sending marshals or troops, the Mississippi voters-registration drive has already involved, and will involve, armed struggle.

Lightfoot's real point is that only the armed forces of the capitalist state are appropriate for the job. This is also the position of Rev. King. For all his pacifist philosophy King called for federal marshals to protect a church meeting he was addressing in Montgomery when it was attacked by a racist mob during the Freedom Rides.

The essence of Rev. King's "pacifist" position is not that he is opposed to armed defense — he proved he had more sense than that when he called on the federal marshals — but that he is opposed to Negroes organizing their own independent means of self-defense. This aversion to Negroes developing a base of power independent of the capitalist state also characterizes Rev. King's politics and his practical leadership in actions. It is his weakest point, and has led to retreat from mass action which could have brought the entire movement to a higher stage on at least three occasions — once during the Jackson Freedom Ride and twice in Albany, Ga.

Another way of stating this weakness is that Rev. King has not broken with "the establishment," with the two-party system, with the cold-war liberals. Yet

that is exactly why Lightfoot declares:

"The Muslims and some of the forces around Williams have attacked Rev. King unmercifully. We Communists, while disagreeing with some of his philosophical outlook, and his concessions to Red-bating, nonetheless regard the movements he leads or influences as the healthiest sign in the whole Negro struggle."

For the CP, the whole movement must be subordinated to the Communist Party's vain hope that the Democratic Party can somehow be transformed into a force for peace. But the militant Negroes want Freedom Now. They are not subordinating themselves to anybody else's pipe dream.

—Fred Halstead



Martin L. King

... The U.S.-Cuban Situation

(Continued from Page 1)

at the extent to which the Cuban counter-revolutionary activity has inflated the CIA. He said: "In effect the CIA exercises police-state powers . . . I cannot reconcile some of the activities of the CIA with the maintenance of precious rights of freedom to the American people."

Morse, himself, however, supports Washington's campaign to crush the Cuban Revolution. It is this campaign, carried out in violation of international law, U.S. law, and the rules of simple human decency, that is strengthening the police-state apparatus and creating an atmosphere of frustration, hysteria, and cynicism within government circles.

Another example of this is the affair of the four American flyers, whom Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield admitted last week had been killed flying combat missions in the April, 1961, Cuban invasion.

The papers around Birmingham, Ala., then carried stories of four Birmingham women whose husbands had disappeared shortly before April, 1961 and who have each been receiving checks of \$225 every two weeks since then. The husbands had all worked for the Hayes Aircraft company of Birmingham, and had been recruited for "secret" duty by an agency in Florida called Double Check.

Interviewed by newsmen, the women revealed that their husbands had left around Jan., 1961, on what the women were told was some kind of secret government work. In late April, 1961, a lawyer

representing Double Check informed them that their husbands had been killed on April 19 — a date coinciding with the Cuban invasion.

The women are angry because people say their husbands were soldiers of fortune, who went for the money. One of the widows, Mrs. Wade Carroll Gray, said her husband received a \$1,900 per month salary on the secret job.

The mother of one of the flyers, Mrs. Riley W. Shamburger Sr. is not sure her son, Riley Jr., is dead and insists on an honest statement of what happened to him. She said she has written the CIA and President Kennedy. In her letter to Kennedy, she quoted him as saying after the invasion that no Americans were involved. "If no Americans were involved," she asked, "where is my son?" "But he evaded my question," Mrs. Shamburger said. So did the CIA.

Vowing she won't give up until she gets the truth she declared: "They take your boy away and never let you know what happened. Some people have even said he sold out to the Cubans. This thing is not fair. It makes me so mad."

The U.S. government is reduced to subterfuge, hiring private agencies to recruit mercenary soldiers, cruelly keeping the relatives in the dark, because it is involved in a business so dirty and illegal that it cannot be formally admitted. There is no glory for the Americans it has sent into battle. The attempt by Washington to crush the Cuban Revolution drags the U.S. ever deeper into moral decay.

CP Youth Reprint Trotsky

Nuova Generazione, the official national magazine of the Italian Young Communist League has offered its readers a sample of Leon Trotsky's actual writings. It selected for reprint last month an extract from Trotsky's book, *1905* (Known in English also under the title *Our Revolution*) which deals with the Russian Revolution of that year. The extract analyzes the importance of the general strike as a step in the process of an uprising.

During the widespread discussion in the Italian Communist movement following the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, *Nuova Generazione* published several articles on Trotsky's true role in the Russian Revolution of 1917 as well as a photograph of him.

Theoretical Decline

Mao Tse-tung's decline as a theoretician is characterized in successive editions of the *Abridged Soviet Encyclopedia* as follows: 1955—"a great Marxist theoretician." 1957—"a very important Marxist theoretician." 1960—"a Marxist theoretician." 1962—"a theoretician."

Hits U.S. on A-Tests

The *London Times*, most authoritative voice of conservative thought in Great Britain, on March 4 ran an editorial charging that the U.S. was flaunting "military and scientific logic" by its refusal to accept the Soviet offer of three on-site inspections a year as a basis for a treaty banning nuclear tests.

Pakistan-China Border Treaty

In a move highly displeasing to Washington and New Delhi, Pa-

kistan on March 2 signed a border treaty with China. It defines a 300-mile border which involves part of Kashmir. Pakistani Foreign Minister Bhutto, who signed for his country, was quoted by Radio Peking as telling the Chinese dignitaries present, including Premier Chou En-lai and Foreign Minister Chen Yi: "The signing of the border agreement demonstrates beyond all doubt that different ideologies can live in the same world and that a hundred flowers can blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend."

Partial, Belated Justice

Dr. Eduard Goldstueker, former Czech Ambassador to Israel, who was given a 24-year sentence in the infamous Slansky trial ten years ago, is to be fully rehabilitated by the Czech government and is expected to receive a large sum in compensation. In the frame-up case Rudolph Slansky, secretary general of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and other CP leaders were hanged as traitors and "Zionist" agents. The *Pacific Jewish Press* explains Prague's apparent unwillingness to rehabilitate Slansky and the other leading victims by the embarrassment that would cause Premier Novotny, who was then in charge of party organization, and Dr. Urvalek, now president of the Czech Supreme Court, who was the prosecutor at the trial.

Portuguese Colonial Repression

In Portugal's East Africa colony of Mozambique 14 men and women were kept in jail for 15 months on charges of "activities against the security of the state," although defense lawyers claimed there was no evidence other than extorted "confessions." The alleged

leader, poet Virgilio de Lemos, was sentenced to 14 months and two women to a month each. The other eleven were freed. De Lemos was charged with having tried to send a cable to the UN. *The Torch*, an anti-apartheid paper still published in the Union of South Africa, quotes a leader in exile of the Mozambique Liberation Front as warning that the people of that colony will be forced to take violent measures, as in Angola, unless the repression ends.

U.S. Domination of Canada

The *National Observer* comments that in spite of Canadian Primer Minister Diefenbaker's efforts "almost 70% of Canada's big business enterprises were in foreign hands in 1960." The category "foreign" in this case means mainly U.S.

Thoughts on the Emancipation Proclamation: 1863-1963

By William F. Warde

The unfinished tasks of the Civil War — America's second revolution — analyzed in the light of the dynamics of the historical struggle for Negro emancipation.

This timely study, and other important related material, will be featured in the spring issue of INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

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World Events

Letters From Our Readers

Peruvian Reform

New York, N. Y.
The Feb. 25 *Militant* quoted *Bohemia* of Havana as reporting that every illiterate Peruvian Indian "who wants to learn to read is a 'communist' and has to be eliminated." That's all changed now and the Peruvian government has initiated a literacy campaign in true free-world style.

A recent report on Radio Havana gives information on the inspiring social reform instituted lately in Peru. Every Peruvian Indian who can be taught must learn to read and write (Spanish, not his Indian mother tongue), whether he wants to or not. Any Indian who shows reluctance to co-operate in this phase of the Alliance for Progress will face fines and a stiff jail sentence with the usual amenities of the Peruvian penal system.

This reform should certainly stand comparison with the novel method introduced by the right-winger Carlos Lacerda, governor

of Rio de Janeiro, wherein the cops physically eliminate beggars in Rio, making the city more attractive for tourists.

R.D.

Anti-Bomb Plan

Oakland, Calif.
Last evening while watching the Big Brother of America — television — I saw one of the usual types of programs on Cuba bemoaning the "slavery," "hunger" and militarization of the Cuban people. My first reaction was, "Oh well, par for the course." But as I continued watching, first a chill and then anger replaced the first reaction. The final point of the program was that Cuba has increased her strength so much in the past year that Castro cannot be dislodged with conventional weapons and while no American wants to be "forced" to use nuclear weapons, we may have to in order to "protect" ourselves.

I laid awake until three in the morning thinking how this madness could be stopped—some way the working people of the world could fight back at the atomaniacs.

I thought of the trade boycotts, embargoes and blockades that American imperialism has used against countries which failed to wholeheartedly endorse being robbed. It occurred to me that an available and realizable action — one which would properly turn the tables — is for the working people of all countries who want to stay alive to refuse to unload, transport, produce or buy any American product until such time as all atomic weapons are dismantled. Let the working people of the world demand "on site inspection" of U.S. missile bases.

The banner in the closing scene of *On the Beach* reads: "There Is Still Time, Brother." I would reiterate this, adding, "But Not Much."

Virginia Kaye

Criticizes Stand on Strikes

Orange, N. J.
There is so much that is superb in *The Militant* one hesitates to make any critical comments. However, may I venture to say that I thing your backing of any and all strikes, even if the strikers are getting wages far in excess of most of us, is not entirely in the best interests of the working man.

By all means, support honest strikes. But the very workers needing amelioration of conditions the most cannot strike due to weak leadership. The strikers are those whose leadership is most powerful.

F.A.

Bouquet Dep't

Detroit, Mich.
If the people of the United States of North America were able to read *The Militant* then they would know what is happening in the world. This weekly is the champion of truth in this country.

P.M.

Fidel Unrefuted

Winston, Montana
Delayed renewing my subscription because of my wish to enclose another one with it. So here it is. No, verily, I would not be without *The Militant*; every issue has an outstanding article; it is factual, truthful and way out in front of all other leftist publications. The kept press, the gutter press, the prostitute press, the reptile press or just plain capitalist press is not even worthy of mention.

The coverage on Cuba, plus all the rest of Latin America, is par

excellent, splendid and all the other adjectives I can think of.

Has it occurred to anybody that the aforementioned gutter press has never yet been able to refute, discuss or challenge one single accusation levelled at the imperialist brigands in the many speeches by Fidel?

Has it likewise occurred to anybody that there is not one single nation state on this tortured old ball of mud sometimes called the Earth where the imperialist brigands can't exploit and rob which they are not subjecting to all the crimes in the book; namely, arson, subversion, murder, espionage, sabotage, and all the foul dirty work their CIA can dream up?

Conversely, is there one single state where these brigands do exploit which they are attacking in any way? It naturally follows then that their policy toward any state is based upon one premise and one premise only; viz: as long as we can exploit and rob you we will leave you in peace; but if we can't rob and exploit we will commit all the aforementioned crimes against you — and some more too. So, herein, is contained the dead giveaway of their game.

J.H.

News and Views from Dallas

Dallas, Texas
In my opinion *The Militant* is the most informative radical publication in America. Your coverage and analysis of the labor movement is unsurpassed anywhere. In terms of political action, however, although in general I certainly agree with your attack

on the Democratic Party, the need for a liberal-labor party independent of the Establishment, etc., I feel you are committing a gross error by neglecting any serious discussion of the "Reform" movements inside the Democratic Party, their history, where they are going, etc. Especially I refer to the fact that you seem to totally ignore the California Democratic Councils, the New York Reform Democratic Clubs, etc.

It would also be exceedingly helpful if in addition you would give more coverage on political movements independent of the major parties, such as the Hughes campaign in Massachusetts. Lastly, some attention to movements inside the labor movement for union democracy. I feel that some attention to these subjects would immensely improve the already high educational and informative quality of your paper.

Here is an interesting item you might wish to print: Last month a newscast mentioned the plight of Mrs. Marie Ortiz and her six children here whose house had burned down with all their belongings. It seems that out of a welfare check of \$107 a month, \$74 had been going to pay the rent on the house. Although her rent had been paid for the month, the landlord decided to cut off the water and gas anyway. (Reason not given). This necessitated the family burning wood in a rigged-up stove to keep warm (it was during a five-degree cold spell). This was what caused the fire.

It was also disclosed that Mrs. Ortiz's husband deserted her four years ago; moreover cancer and

an eye ulcer made it impossible for her to work. Some kind person suggested she turn over her children to an orphanage. She replied she did not wish to live without her children.

The conclusion of this particular tale is not quite so sad — a number of people sent substantial charity contributions. But this only causes one to wonder about the number of Mrs. Ortizes who live under the same or worse conditions and suffer similar catastrophes, and go unnoticed by the press and charity-givers. It also leads one to seriously question a system which permits such a situation to ever exist in the first place. Would it not be far better to fundamentally transform the social conditions which are presently the cause of unemployment, poverty, relief rolls and so forth, than to rely on the sympathy of a few of the rich at Christmas and in "sensational" cases such as this one?

L.H.

Anti-Tuition Protest

New York, N. Y.
The Committee for Free Education plans to protest Gov. Rockefeller's proposal to institute tuition fees in State and City Colleges. Buses will take students to the Capitol Building in Albany on March 11.

The students plan to picket the capitol during the afternoon and lobby state senators and assemblymen. You are also urged to write to the governor and to your senator and assemblyman urging continued free higher education.

Student

It Was Reported in the Press

Officials and Children First? — The International Ladies Garment Workers Union office building in Newark, N.J., has been given a "fallout shelter license." It will be stocked with emergency rations, chemical toilets, etc. The ILGWU paper, *Justice*, carefully notes: "The area designated is available for public use and occupancy, although the persons normally using the building are recognized to have first choice in the shelter quarters."

The Drug Alliance (I) — The U.S. drug industry has demanded that Washington straighten out the government of Colombia which has ruled that drugs must be sold there under generic rather than trade names in order to curb astronomical prices. The UPI reports: "Industry sources said U.S. Alliance for Progress aid to Colombia could be jeopardized by any extension of the dispute."

Drug Alliance (II) — Olin Mathieson, a major drug manufacturer, was indicted by a federal grand jury Feb. 28 along with two individuals and two import-export firms. The government charged a conspiracy involving kickbacks on the sale of drugs abroad financed by federal foreign aid funds. The charges stemmed mainly from the sale of antibiotics in Vietnam and Cambodia. It was charged that a former Olin Mathieson executive had established a dummy corporation and that transactions of \$1.5 million, involved kickbacks of some \$150,000.

Economic Theory Dep't — The March 1 issue of the *Washington Report* of the Chamber of Commerce says "there is a tendency for prices to equal or exceed costs."

Hospital Care — St. Louis officials plan an investigation of the death of a woman who was left unattended on a stretcher in a City Hospital for 12 hours. An official said "the hospital is so overtaxed that at times members of the staff are unable to give the attention they should to each patient."

We Do — A Feb. 25 *Wall Street Journal* editorial posed this question: "Do some Congressmen actually believe that bankers and other lenders lie awake nights trying to think of new ways to cheat the public?"

It Pays to Pay — King Gustav of Sweden was given a \$50,000 wage hike, bringing his yearly wages and allowance to \$550,000. The increase was granted because his palace employees were threaten-

ing to strike if they didn't get a raise. It is not reported if Gustav made similar threats.

March of Science — a gathering of scientists in Los Angeles was told that a computer at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology has written dozens of TV westerns in a single afternoon — complete with sub-plots and happy endings.

Segregation Strategist — Birmingham's public golf course, which was closed last year to avoid integration, may reopen May 1. Mayor Art Hanes has proposed that the city sell season tickets to golfers at \$100 or \$125 a season. He figures this will discourage most Negro golfers. No estimate has been offered on how it will affect white ones.

Fast Squeeze — "Communications have done wonders for the food industry. Now grocers can raise the price of orange juice on their shelves two days after a Florida freeze instead of waiting until the new crop comes to market." — The *Memphis Commercial Appeal*.

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"No one who really knew Stalin will mourn his passing — neither the millions in the slave-labor camps and dungeons of the Soviet Union nor the favored few who owed their special privileges to his cruel and calculating hand and who are even now eyeing each other with murder in their hearts. Those who grieve, grieve over a lying myth deliberately created by Stalin himself . . .

"Stalin's passing from the scene will not change the character of the bureaucratic caste which he headed, no matter how sharp the internal crisis that is precipitated in the struggle among top circles for his mantle. This reactionary caste whether now or with some delay will push forward a new figure in its image that will not differ in fundamentals with Stalin.

"The caste will not return to the program of Lenin and Trotsky, for that would mean giving up its special privileges and its power. Only the Soviet working masses can do that and only against the ferocious opposition of the ruling oligarchy.

"But neither will the caste welcome imperialism into the Soviet Union as a result of Stalin's death, for that would mean destroying its own economic base in the planned economy. The caste can be expected to continue the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist assault — a defense, it must be added, of the type symbolized by Stalin that undermines the remaining conquests of the October 1917 revolution." — March 9, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"By the murder of the two Polish-Jewish Socialist leaders, Henryk Erlich and Victor Alter, admitted for the first time by the Stalinists last week, Stalin struck another blow against the defense of the Soviet Union. While the Red Army and Soviet masses win the admiration of the workers everywhere for their valiant defense of the workers' state, the Stalinist bureaucracy has given the reactionaries new weapons for alienating the sympathy of the masses from the Soviet Union . . .

"The only possible result of the murders will be to play into the hands of the Polish and Allied reactionaries who are worried by the Red Army victories and are trying to arouse sentiment for surrounding the Soviet Union with an anti-Soviet coalition." — March 6, 1943.

Thought for the Week

"It's not as if Bobby was against civil liberties," said an associate in the government, "it's just that he doesn't know what they are." — Quoted by Gore Vidal in a March *Esquire* article on Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

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We Hadn't Thought of It This Way

N.Y. Paper Strike Pinches Vital Area



I was afraid he'd lose interest when the New York Post resumed publication. But he's wonderfully stubborn.

In our last issue we condemned President Kennedy as a strike-breaker because of his virulent attack on the New York printers.

But we may not have fully appreciated why he called the strike "intolerable." In fact, even through we're right in the stricken area, we didn't really grasp the gravity of the situation until we picked up the Feb. 27 issue of the *Christian Science Monitor*, an out-of-town paper now making valiant efforts to cover the New York scene. The article spelling out the dire consequence of the strike was headlined:

"Debutante Balls Weather Blackout: News Strike Pinches N.Y. Society."

The reporter, Marilyn Hoffman, begins with an almost light-hearted tone, which may be fitting for a paper which, policy-wise, views this life and its problems as transitory.

"The doings of the smart

crowd," she reports, "the flittings about of the international set and the comings and goings of café society, usually transmitted by social and gossip columns, are not now being recorded for posterity."

This may be a small matter for the *Christian Science Monitor*. But, as the paper recognizes, not so for us ordinary New Yorkers. "To a status-conscious city," the report continues, "acutely conscious about who others are marrying, where they are going, what they are wearing, and who is ascending the social ladder most spectacularly, this is indeed a blow."

We hadn't realized how hard we had been hit until we read this and were kept from being completely shattered only by having the positive side of the disaster pointed out to us: "Still, the social season whirls on, with or without comment, and the town has grown socially closer-knit in many ways. People have shown themselves more eager to participate, and private entertainment has boomed as friends get together to exchange the bits of news and gossip that they haven't been able to read anywhere at all."

But all this bright-side business was designed, we discovered, to condition us to take the real jolt, to wit:

Lethal Punch

"Probably no group felt the punch worse than the 495 debutante who 'came out' this season in New York, according to Edward M. Seay, publicist of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel."

Even though no one in our family was among the 495 debs whose coming out was blacked out we can certainly agree when Marilyn Hoffman writes:

"After years of planning it was a bitter frustration for proud parents not to be able to announce to the world the social debut of their daughters. They felt deprived indeed by the news blackout."

Yet that quality which makes New York and America great triumphed:

"However, in the show-must-go-on tradition, all of the beautifully gowned young women eventually paraded up the middle of ballrooms all over town — 29 debutante balls were scheduled — curtsied low when their names

were announced, and were welcomed to the ranks of society with polite applause from the invited guests."

Be that as it may, it's certainly easy to understand why the president blasted the printers for their lack of social consciousness and why a senator, who modestly remained anonymous, was quoted in the Feb. 23 *Monitor* as remarking:

"President Kennedy couldn't shut down the New York newspapers. Congress couldn't stop them printing. But a little group of men can do it. Why, even in Moscow there are newspapers. How much anarchy can we allow?"

Clearly, we've allowed too much already when 29 debutante balls can be blacked out in a single strike. Our only comfort is that while Moscow may still have papers, they don't have any debutante balls to report. Some papers!

—Herman Chauka

55 Notables Urge U.S. End Intervention in South Vietnam

WASHINGTON, March 6 — An open letter to President Kennedy, calling attention to "the mounting opposition of American public opinion" to U.S. military intervention in South Vietnam, was made public (Wed. March 6) today. It was signed by more than 55 prominent American citizens.

Signers included Dr. John A. Mackay, president emeritus, Princeton Theological Seminary, Prof. Pitirim A. Sorokin, Harvard University, Rev. John Haynes Holmes, minister emeritus, Community Church of New York, Gen. Hugh B. Hester, U.S. Army (ret.), Prof. Linus Pauling, Mrs. Anne (Cyrus S.) Eaton, and Dr. Corliss Lamont.

The letter urged the President "to make far-reaching changes in our policy in that troubled area before the situation deteriorates further" and added:

"Ever since 1954 the United States has been working for an 'American' solution for Vietnam — that is, to keep the country divided, so that at least one segment of it remains under Western control and becomes a bastion of anti-Communist strength.

"To achieve these ends, America

Indiana Prosecutor Rebutted On Smear of Young Socialists

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. — Prosecutor Thomas A. Hoadley, continuing his attack on the Indiana University chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance, stated to the *Bloomington Herald-Telephone* Feb. 22 that "the central issue remains that this organization, like its parent group, the Socialist Workers Party, states that it is a revolutionary socialist organization." Hoadley has said that he will seek a Grand Jury indictment of the YSA under the Indiana Communism Act.

A statement issued by the Bloomington Defense Committee says that Mr. Hoadley's declaration abounds with confusion and error. "It is imperative that the Defense Committee attempt to correct these inaccuracies publicly for, as the *Daily Student* [IU's campus paper] editorialized on Feb. 23, Mr. Hoadley is conducting a 'trial by newspaper' and his false charges may prejudice potential jurors."

The BDC statement continues, "After no little investigation the Defense Committee can state that the YSA is not the youth movement of the SWP . . . Organizationally the YSA always has been and is today independent of the Socialist Workers Party and any other political grouping. It formulates its political positions independently through its own decision-making bodies.

Only Basis

"The only basis for Mr. Hoadley's charge is that the YSA in general shares a Trotskyist political orientation. This is the meaning of 'political solidarity' [with the SWP] as stated in the May 1960 issue of the *Young Socialist*, paper of the YSA."

Mr. Hoadley particularly objects to the fact that YSA describes itself as revolutionary, although he has not been clear in his definition of the term. In the Feb. 18 issue of the *Herald-Telephone* Hoadley suggests that "revolutionary" means the advocacy of the violent overthrow of the United States government.

The YSA has publically and unequivocally denied that it advocates the violent overthrow of the government. On the other hand, it does advocate a revolutionary, i.e., fundamental, change in the existing social and economic institutions of society. The term "rev-

olutionary" is used to distinguish the YSA program of fundamental, comprehensive change from programs of gradual reform.

"Mr. Hoadley has expressed a desire that his actions not be interpreted as a new variety of 'McCarthyism,'" the BDC statement notes. "If Mr. Hoadley is indeed sincere in his desire that his motives not be misconstrued, he has every opportunity to demonstrate this by withdrawing the request he has made upon the University to remove YSA's recognition, and by abandoning his proposed Grand Jury investigation.

"We are convinced that the University and Bloomington community would support the prosecutor if he would terminate his proceedings without delay."

Meeting Hits Denial Of Parole to Sobell

NEW YORK — Thirteen years ago Morton Sobell was sentenced to 30 years in prison on the charge of conspiracy to commit espionage. He was convicted during a time of witch-hunt hysteria on the testimony of one unreliable witness. His latest appeal for a parole has just been denied.

On Feb. 27, the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell held a meeting at Community Church. Among those on the platform were Helen and Rose Sobell, the prisoner's wife and mother.

A film, *Morton Sobell—A Plea For Justice*, was shown. It traces the case, shows some of the world-wide protest generated by it, and includes statements by some prominent people who support the plea for clemency.

In calling the meeting, Helen Sobell said: "Professor Wormuth of the University of Utah . . . is saying that the entire Rosenberg-Sobell trial is so sordid that nobody in Washington wants to chance its reopening. They would rather let an innocent man remain in prison torn from his family than open a door that could permit light on one of the most shameful episodes in our history."

At the meeting, she said, "We turned from the graves of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and vowed that we had to fight to remove the stone from the tomb of Morton." The Sobell Committee will continue to press for Sobell's freedom, a new trial, or parole. The address of the committee is: 940 Broadway, New York 10, N. Y.

Ohio D.A. Tries to Balk Bail for Mae Mallory

The release on bail of Mrs. Mae Mallory, one of the victims of the Monroe, N.C., "kidnap" frame-up, ordered by Chief Justice Kingsley A. Taft of the Ohio Supreme Court, has been stymied by a Cleveland prosecutor.

The prosecutor, John T. Corrigan, filed a motion requiring that the setting of bail for the Negro mother, who is fighting extradition to North Carolina, be passed on by all seven members of the state supreme court.

In setting bail, the Ohio chief justice, pointed out that the state constitution prescribes the setting of bond for all prisoners before trial save those charged with capital crimes. Mrs. Mallory on March 1 completed a year's imprisonment in Ohio though she is accused of no crime save the framed-up "kidnap" charge in Ku Klux Klan-dominated Union County, North Carolina.

You-Know-Who Got It

The average price paid by U.S. consumers for a one-pound loaf of bread rose from an average of 13.5¢ in the period 1947-49 to 20.9¢ in 1961, according to the Department of Agriculture. But don't blame the farmers! Their share of the price paid by housewives for that loaf fell from 2.7 cents to 2.4 cents.