

Dictator Ydigoras Demands U.S. Start 'Korea-type' Action in Cuba

Negroes Firm In New Orleans

Press School Fight Despite Victimization and Mob Threat

By Arthur Jordan

Four little girls packed away their crayons and primers Nov. 18 and went on "holiday," their "desegregated" school careers one grim, heroic week old.

Exile of Mackie Is Victory for McCarthyism

Nov. 18 — As relatives wept, immigration Service officials in Portland, Ore., today put William A. Mackie on an airliner bound for Finland.

Now 51, Mackie was born while his parents, both immigrants to this country, were on a trip back to Finland. Brought to the U.S. when he was eight months old, he has lived here ever since.

The Supreme Court, which upheld the deportation orders last April, turned down a plea to intervene last week.

Mackie was told last night he would be deported today. He packed his clothes in a borrowed suitcase and turned the keys to his house and car over to a friend.

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Seaman Fights Return to Spain

NEW YORK — When two sailors on the Soviet liner that brought Khrushchev here jumped ship, authorities welcomed them with open arms.

On Nov. 17, three U.S. Court of Appeals judges heard arguments on the case of Juan Perez Varela, 22, who jumped one of dictator Franco's naval training ships while in port here.

Perez was arrested July 8 without a warrant after two Immigration officials forced their way into his apartment and ransacked it without a search warrant.

At the deportation hearing, a government attorney argued that Perez must be deported under the terms of a 1903 treaty with Spain.

Acting on a request by the Confederated Spanish Societies, the Mexican government has offered Perez political asylum.

week for their first-grade classmates too, and for thousands of other New Orleans children.

The children are supposed to return to classes Nov. 28, but whether the four girls, who are Negroes, go back to two formerly "white" elementary schools depends on a federal court's rulings on two motions.

Although the four children had escaped at least physical harm from the hate-choked mobs, this year's Thanksgiving had more than a touch of irony for the parents.

One father was fired from his filling-station job. When he refused to take his child out of the "white" school, he was told he might as well "go on back to Mississippi."

Later his boss told reporters: "I wouldn't have a nigger working for me with a child in a white school. Would you?"

But the working-class parents were holding fast. At a conference in their lawyers' office Nov. 17, one father admitted fear for his child, but added firmly: "Somebody's got to make a start."

A mother was even more explicit: "All of us live within four-five blocks of these two schools. The old Jim Crow schools are far away. Transportation is better... here, and they can get to school easier... And those two schools are not only closer, they're better."

Almost all the four girls' white classmates were kept away from school last week by their parents.

But six-year-old humanity showed through in those who did go. One of the Negro children told her mother a white girl "offered me a piece of candy."

The mother added, "She didn't say 'little white girl,' she just said 'little girl.'"

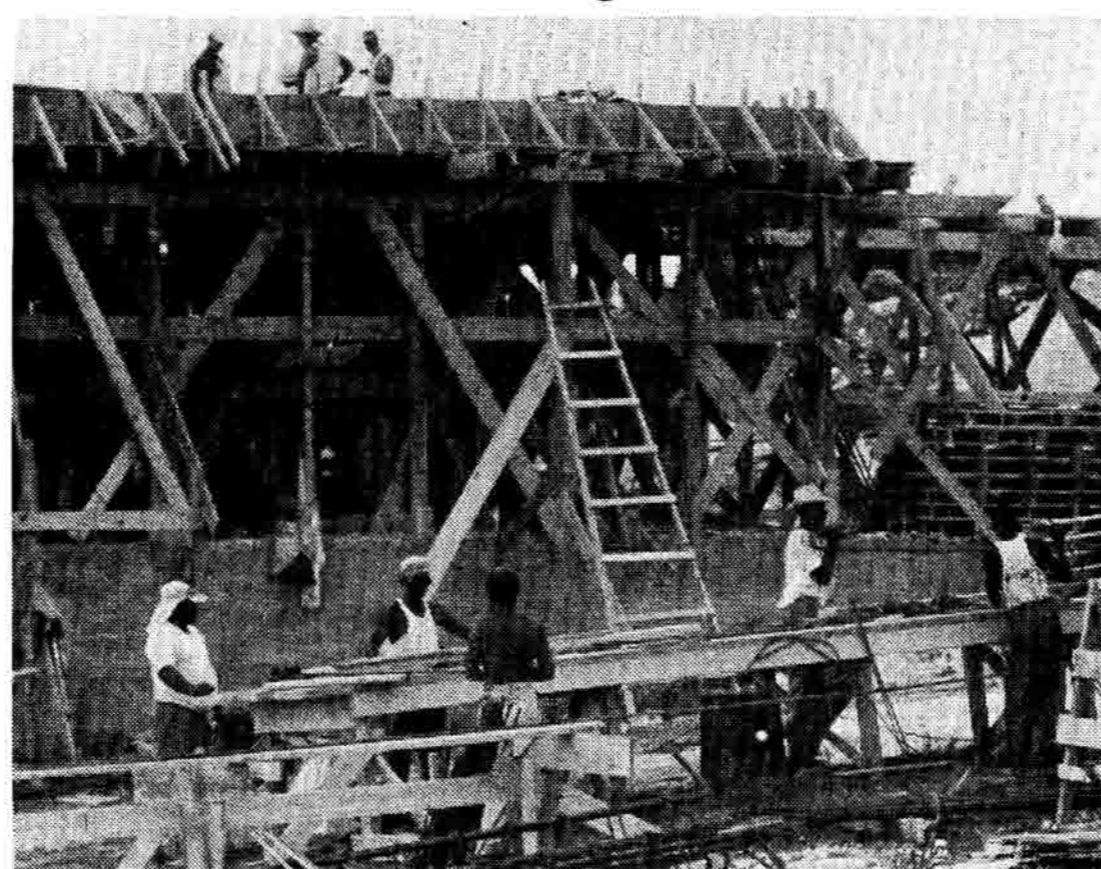
Election Boards Delay Minority Vote Count

NOV. 22 — With the hairline difference in the popular vote between Nixon and Kennedy, state election boards have displayed an even lower than usual interest in counting and reporting minority party votes.

As a result the Socialist Workers party has received, as of this writing, reasonably authoritative reports on the vote cast for its ticket from only three areas — the city of New York and the states of Minnesota and New Jersey.

The New York City Police Department, on the basis of its unofficial count, credited Farrell Dobbs and Myra Tanner Weiss, the Socialist Workers presidential ticket, with 10,908 votes.

Launching Pad



Militant photo by J. H.

One of the lies widely circulated by the "hate Cuba" propagandists is that launching pads are being built on the island for Soviet rocket missiles aimed at the United States.

Here is a photograph of a typical construction job to be found almost anywhere in Cuba. These workers are building additional facilities at one of the former private beaches now converted into public property.

Another Great Debate Opens — Just Who Won the Election?

By Tom Kerry

Who won the election? The answer to that one is more complicated and has given rise to more heated controversy than to the question: Who was elected?

As of now it is generally conceded that Senator John F. Kennedy and his running mate, Lyndon B. Johnson, were the candidates elected on the Democratic party ticket.

The entire top union leadership, with rare exceptions, supported the Kennedy-Johnson ticket enthusiastically and unconditionally.

The Nov. 15 issue of the Advance, organ of the AFL-CIO Amalgamated Clothing Workers, sums it up thus:

"For the first time in six years both the Executive and Legislative branches will be in the hands of the same party — the Democrats.

CP Arguments

The challenge of the Republicans evoked in the Communist party all the maternal instincts of a mother zealously guarding her offspring against a potential baby-snatcher.

Complete unofficial returns in New Jersey gave Dobbs and Weiss 11,408 votes.

In Minnesota, the unofficial count was 2,338 for Dobbs and Weiss, and 3,197 for Carl Feingold, candidate for U.S. Senator.

The total of these returns for Dobbs and Weiss is 24,654 votes. The SWP was on the ballot in nine other states, several of them for the first time.

Worthy Tells Harlem Meet About Cuba

Worthy, a correspondent for the Afro-American, who gained international attention when he defied the State Department ban on travel to China, recently returned from a 10-week stay in Cuba.

He said that "overt racial discrimination has been eliminated in Cuba by the revolutionary government partly because they really enforce the antidiscrimination law and partly because of the economic and social reforms which have been carried out."

As an example he cited the fact that employees — including dishwashers and so on — of formerly exclusive country clubs are now automatically members of the clubs they work in.

Worthy declared that "If Fidel Castro had betrayed his promises to the poor and humble of Cuba he would today be hailed here as a friend of the U.S. and as a 'moderate' and a 'prudent statesman.'"

Worthy recalled his travels in "most of the police states in the world, all too many of which exist only because of U.S. military support. I have also been in the Communist countries. I am well equipped to compare the press, the general atmosphere and the attitude of the common people. Cuba is simply not like any of these places."

In none of these places does the government admit its mis-

Debate on the very same day that Ydigoras struggled at the end of his State Department leash to be turned loose on Cuba — together with a lot of American troops — Max Frankel, a special correspondent of the New York Times in Havana, was utilized by "most reliable diplomatic sources" for another play in the accompanying war of nerves.

"The Soviet Union," said Frankel, "has been urging a course of 'prudence' and 'moderation' on the Government of Fidel Castro in recent weeks."

"With some apparent effect, it has told the Cubans to quit rattling Soviet rockets against the United States and has warned them that Moscow's relations with Washington, especially with the new Administration of President-elect John F. Kennedy, counted for more in the Kremlin than the Cuban problem as such."

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Long Step Down Fatal Road Taken by Navy in Caribbean

By Joseph Hansen

On Nov. 18 Miguel Ydigoras Fuentebaja said his government was ready to join a "Korea-type police action against the Communist government in Cuba" any time the Organization of American States wants one.

You never heard of Miguel Ydigoras Fuentebaja? That doesn't make him less important. Did you ever hear of Syngman Rhee before June 27, 1950? Paste the name of Ydigoras in your hat. He is the Syngman Rhee of Guatemala.

The demand of the 70-year-old dictator to convert Cuba into another Korea might be dismissed as part of the ravings of a senile Latin-American caudillo like butcher Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. Unfortunately the timing of the demand seems to have been decided on in Washington.

It came exactly one day after what the press described as Eisenhower's "bombshell announcement" that U.S. Navy surface and air units had been ordered to the coasts of Guatemala and Nicaragua to "assist these governments, should it become necessary, to seek out and prevent intervention" in their internal affairs by "Communist-directed elements."

Dictator Ydigoras and dictator Somoza of Nicaragua had already charged Cuba with such "intervention."

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If a Nuclear Pigboat Lurked on Our Shores —

By Harry Ring

"The great achievements of the Polaris submarines should not be allowed to obscure their risks. When one goes to sea, nuclear weapons pass out of the direct physical control of the United States Government.

For a month, or two months, the commander of the George Washington and his first-lieutenants are as effectively a nuclear power as, say, Britain or France."

With such British understatement, the Nov. 17 Manchester Guardian Weekly sought to give some indication of the terrifying significance of the Pentagon's latest nuclear lunacy — the launching of the first submarine loaded with H-bombs.

An awed correspondent of the Christian Science Monitor, who watched the submarine being loaded, said "It was difficult to comprehend that these 16 missiles could cause more devastation than all the bombs dropped in World War II."

As the George Washington glided with its deadly cargo toward its recently acquired base at Holy Loch, the Pentagon tried to reassure the aroused people of Scotland. The publicity handouts spoke soothingly of the risk-free character of the nuclear pigboat and its function as a mere "deterrent" to Soviet "aggression."

The safety factor was well illustrated — two days after the launching — when the Associated Press reported from Cape Canaveral:

"The last test rocket on the Polaris 1,300 mile series faltered in flight today when the second stage failed seconds after ignition. . . . The second stage ignited on schedule but suddenly failed and tumbled into the Atlantic."

And not much peace of mind could be derived from the message that Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, sent to the crew of the George Washington, saying that the submarine's worth would be proved only "if the need to fire your missiles never arises."

[Admiral Burke is the strategist who started a campaign not so long ago to spell "communism" with a "k" to establish that it's a "foreign ideology."]

While the Pentagon publicists cooked up sugary phrases about a "deterrent," Richard Starnes, a Scripps-Howard columnist, spoke more frankly. . . . it is probably safe to assume that the George Washington . . . will be within range of Soviet population and industrial centers by the time you read these words. . . .

"I would guess that until they become more numerous, the Navy will not risk one of our missile subs in the Baltic. But should this be done, one finds that all of Russia, east of the Urals, lies exposed and, one must conclude, substantially defenseless at this time."

"If we move our arm-chair strategy into the Mediterranean, the same grim pattern is evident. Here, with much more sea room, and hence more security, the George Washington

can bring the whole Dnepr valley hydro-electric complex under fire. . . .

"The Polaris range will soon be increased to 1,500 miles, ultimately to 2,500. . . . With the range more than doubled, there will be no place to hide on the Asian land mass of Soviet Russia and Red China. . . .

"The grim but reassuring facts adduced above will be worth bearing in mind when Chairman Khrushchev begins to sweet-talk the new President 60 days hence. Behind his blandishments will be Mr. K's sure knowledge that much of

what we photographed with the U-2 we can destroy with the Polaris."

While such damning admissions of provocative intent in carrying H-Bomb missiles to Soviet shores appeared in the American press, opposition to basing them in Scotland was spreading.

"The tide of discontent over the proposed basing of the Polaris-carrying United States submarines in Scotland's Holy Loch continues to rise," reported a Christian Science Monitor correspondent Nov. 14.

"The Rev. Henry Charles Whitley spoke out on Sunday from the pulpit of St. Giles Cathedral, Edinburgh, against the proposal.

"This powerful voice of the Protestant Church of Scotland was thus added to the anti-Polaris campaign of Scottish trade unionists, of the Scottish youth campaign, of the Glasgow Council for Nuclear Disarmament and of many other sections of Scottish opinion from Socialist unilateralists to intellectuals and natural scientists."

A New York Times correspondent added that while the nuclear submarine may be physically snug and secure at Holy Loch, "politically it could hardly be more exposed to distrust and opposition."

The people of Scotland have good reasons for their "distrust and opposition." Does all of humanity — including the American people — have any less?



Autolite Electric Finds New Way To Skin Union

By Fred Halstead

The runaway shop — where a company moves operations from a unionized plant to an area of lower wages, usually in the antiunion atmosphere of the Dixiecrat-

controlled South — is one of the major problems facing the labor movement today.

The real solution is a serious organizing drive in the South, no matter how many Southern Democrats' toes have to be stepped on to do the job. But the top international leaders of the United Auto Workers Union recently developed a new "solution" to this problem.

The Electric Autolite Company threatened to move some of its operations from its headquarters in Toledo, Ohio, to Alabama unless Toledo UAW Local 12 agreed to a proposal for revising work rules which affect wage rates.

"High UAW officials," reports the Nov. 12 Business Week magazine, "including Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer and Richard Gosser, vice-president in Toledo, urged the local to consider the proposals."

Local 12 members have had experience with such proposals before. They also have a fighting tradition. They conducted the first successful major strike in the auto industry back in 1934, starting the wave of militancy among industrial workers which gave birth to the CIO.

Here is what Local 12's delegate Nyers had to say at the 1957 UAW convention about similar proposals:

"We have people down there that we call slide-rule slickers that really did a job on the people down there. We have been taken by some of the people in the top offices of the International. We have taken a cut as much as \$25 to \$35 a week — we, the strongest unit at one time in the whole United States. We even had to bring the International in and go down to their level instead of them bringing themselves up to ours; we had to come down. We were the most top-rated paying outfit in the whole United States."

"I say this and I am sorry to say it, that at one time the pattern was set by the amount of money that we earned. We had what we called a Utopia at Autolite in Toledo, but not today. We have taken an awful kick in the face down there and I say I am sorry to state this, but there is no way around it, and I say the top — I reiterate, the top international officers give us very little help."

So this time Local 12 ignored the urgings of the top International UAW officials and turned down the company plan. The company then approached a different UAW Local, 526 in Bay City, Michigan, where unemployment is severe, with a similar proposal. It offered to transfer the Toledo work to Bay City if its terms were accepted.

There is no report that the UAW tops stirred themselves.

Calendar Of Events

DETROIT
Friday, Dec. 2, 8 p.m. — A talk on "Mark Twain and American Radicalism." Speaker: David Herzerhoff. At Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK
"The Dollar vs. the Ruble." A discussion of the current gold crisis. Friday, Dec. 2, 8 p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 118 University Place (Off Union Sq.) Contrib. 50 cents.

Local Directory

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

New Group Wins Attention in UAW

By George Breitman

DETROIT, Nov. 21 — One good thing about the election being over is that now union members may get a chance to discuss plant and union problems again.

There are plenty of them in the United Auto Workers.

First of all, layoffs and short weeks, especially in the Chrysler plants.

Five thousand Chrysler workers were laid off at the start of October, before the 1961 models had even gone on sale.

As a Thanksgiving gift, another 1,900 were told they'd be laid off next week. That means almost 10% of Chrysler's production workers have been thrown out since the model changeover. And 16,000 more, here and in St. Louis, were laid off all of Thanksgiving week.

Dictator Ydigoras

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to the unrest in those two countries is revolutionary ideas. These cannot be stopped by a certain of battleships.

Moreover, all of Latin America is involved. Consequently, ordering battleships to cruise along the three-mile limits of Nicaragua and Guatemala is an effective move, Eisenhower—if he is to be logical — should order the entire navy to start cruising along the three-mile limit all around the continent of South America; and, of course, along both coasts of Mexico.

But that's not the real logic of this brazen move. Suppose the Pentagon now says, "In view of the criticisms of our stupidity, we have ordered the fleet to cruise only around Cuba — not to stop ideas from getting out, but to stop all goods, including military supplies, from getting in."

Does that sound too fantastic? Too diabolical? Here is how Tanson W. Baldwin, military expert of the New York Times ends his Nov. 20 column: "But the presence of United States naval forces in the Caribbean offers some insurance for tomorrow and may serve as a precedent for future actions. A pacific blockade could, for instance, be invoked against Cuba, if necessary, to prevent the import into that island of vast quantities of Communist arms."

What comes after a "pacific" military blockade? Operation Shuttle. The mercenaries now training in Guatemala and Florida will be landed along with vast quantities of American arms.

And after that? Operation Meat Grinder, as the imaginative generals called Truman's police action in Korea.

All this helps explain some odd aspects of the appeals of dictators Ydigoras and Somoza for help from the U.S. Navy.

Worthy Tells About Cuba

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takes as does the Castro government, openly and for public discussion.

"In Cuba, I found no fear on people's faces. I found no fear of being seen speaking to foreigners, no hesitation in criticizing the government leaders, or in discussing real issues. I found many people who say openly that they will support the Castro government only so long as it continues to serve the people.

Worthy criticized the Cuban government for what he called a "basic lack of a sense of public relations, of how to deal with newspapermen."

"I can understand their hostility to U.S. newsmen," he said, "but the Castro government could probably get a somewhat better break in the news, even in the U.S., if it held more press conferences, set up efficient press relations and so on, rather than just letting the correspondents sit in their hotels dreaming up stories out of the thin air."

"The truth about Cuba," he said, "is not getting through to the U.S., but it is getting out to the rest of the world. We are going to see America lose ground until we force our government to stop identifying the national interest with the interests of big-business investments overseas, and force it to make peace with the kind of socialist, humanist society that Fidel Castro's government is successfully building on the small island of Cuba."

Robert F. Williams, president of the Union County, N.C., NAACP and a founding member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee received a standing ovation from the audience of 400. "After my trips there," he said, "I am convinced that Cuba is one of the greatest democracies in the world today."

"The same people," said Williams, "who are our oppressors in the South, the Eastlands and so on, are the first to say 'overthrow Castro.' They try to make us believe that when Castro takes over the big corporations, he has taken something from us."

"Can you imagine a woman working in a white folks kitchen for \$10 a week talking about Fidel Castro taking property away from us?"

An equally pressing problem is the speedup. While the UAW leaders were running around rounding up votes for Kennedy, the corporations proceeded relentlessly, as they do with every model changeover, to speed up the lines.

Many old-timers say the speedup is worse and more grueling than it's ever been since the UAW was organized.

But resistance to speedup is weaker, because it lacks leadership and support from the international.

Auto inventories this fall reached an all-time high. Workers aren't asking, "When will a recession begin?" They want to know: "How much longer will it last and how deep will it go?"

The Obvious Demand

UAW contracts with the Big Three expire in less than a year. A special UAW convention will be held in the spring to discuss contract demands. It will be attended by the same delegates elected to last year's regular convention.

The obvious No. 1 contract demand is the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. The 1957 UAW convention voted unanimously to make the shorter week the first demand in the 1958 contract negotiations. It is still the most popular demand in the UAW plants.

But not in Solidarity House. Walter Reuther got it sidetracked in 1958 in favor of his empty "profitsharing" scheme.

All the signs so far point to his trying to do the same thing next spring. It will take a real fight to win the shorter week, and "labor statesman" Reuther just isn't thinking in terms of mobilizing the union for a fight.

It's too early to tell how the delegates will vote at the convention next spring. But it's safe to say that they won't be able to beat down the Reuther machine on the shorter week issue unless there is a mighty uproar and powerful pressure from the members and locals. And unless the delegates who favor 30-for-40 ORGANIZE themselves, instead of acting individually and without coordination.

Reuther was able to get the shorter week junked at the 1958 convention because there was only one organized force there — his own.

He may not find it so easy in 1961.

Because now there is an opposition group in the UAW, the first in several years. It is the National Committee for Democratic Action in UAW, and it is sure of some support at the convention.

Initial Activity

The NCFDA began to organize about a year ago, and to function publicly last February. It solicits individual memberships, tries to organize affiliated committees in the various UAW locals, and has set up some regional bodies.

No figures on membership have been made public so far, but its leaders say the response has been encouraging. Its main strength appears to be in Michigan, but it has affiliates functioning in other states and Canada.

Along with recruiting members its chief function has been the circulation of literature publicizing the program of action it proposes for the UAW. By Labor Day it had mimeographed, printed and distributed over 300,000 pieces of literature.

On the economic side, the central feature of its program is the demand for 30-for-40. In addition, it has been hammering away all year at the need for the UAW to reopen the contracts now to deal with speedup, layoff, overtime, decentralization and automation problems.

Want Democracy

On the organizational side, the NCFDA wants to change the UAW constitution in order to restore control of the union to its members.

Specifically, it advocates having a referendum vote of the membership for top international officers and regional directors, instead of their election by convention delegates.

This would make UAW elections more like those of the United Steelworkers, where it has been possible for critics of the leadership to run for office and rally a fairly big opposition vote.

In the UAW such a change would probably mean an end to the days when Walter Reuther could run for president unopposed.

As socialists pointed out at the time, this sidestepped the question of whether it favored continued support of the Democratic party or a break with the Reutherite policy in favor of action to help build an independent labor party.

On Labor Day, while the Reuther leadership was whooping it up for Kennedy and Johnson, the NCFDA distributed leaflets at the rallies in Michigan urging labor "not to endorse candidates unless they pledge to work immediately for federal legislation to include the 30-hour week, retirement at 60, Forand bill, federal FEPC, repeal of the anti-labor laws, tax cuts for workers, peace with disarmament, etc."

The labor movement would never be able to support a Kennedy or a Nixon if it adopted this NCFDA criterion for evaluating candidates.

Its political policy is therefore a relatively independent one for a union group, and considerably better than the one taken by so-called "radicals" who went along with Reuther and Meany in uncritical support of the Kennedy-Johnson ticket.

Time will tell if the NCFDA will develop a pro-labor-party policy — time and the membership it attracts. For although the group seems somewhat top-heavy and rigid in some of its organizational concepts (perhaps through inexperience), it also seems to be democratic and to allow discussion of its policies.

No "Big Names"

The NCFDA's main drawing card is its program, not "big names." Previous UAW caucuses were led from the start by nationally known figures. An example in the early 1950's was the Committee for a Democratic UAW-CIO, whose most prominent spokesman was Carl Stellato, president of Ford Local 600.

Unlike most UAW caucuses, the NCFDA's organizers are people who have held secondary union posts, usually at the local level, or rank-and-files.

This probably has made it harder to get the NCFDA going. But there are also advantages in organizing a group that does not get weighed down from the beginning by a mob of opportunists and job-seekers.

Stellato's attitude to the NCFDA is revealing. It's also valuable in showing that new leaders are needed in the labor movement because most of the old ones have softened up and given up.

Stellato's Stand

From 1950 on, the hopes of many UAW militants were centered on Stellato as a progressive alternative to Reuther.

In those years Stellato was known widely as the chief advocate of 30-for-40, for which the Reutherites even rebuked him. He also kept talking about a labor party as an "eventual" aim after most union leaders stopped talking about it altogether.

But Stellato didn't have what it takes to organize a national progressive opposition. Fastening his eyes on a Democratic seat in Congress, he became eager to reach a live-and-let-live arrangement with Reuther. Such an arrangement has been in effect informally for the last two or three years.

When the NCFDA got organized last winter, Stellato went out of his way to explain at great length why he didn't want to have anything to do with it. (Ford Facts, March 5).

Whitewash Attempt

In his zeal to dissociate himself from the NCFDA, Stellato

rushed in to defend Reuther against the mild NCFDA statement that Reuther does not favor the fight for a shorter week. As "proof" he cited Reuther's occasional pronouncements in favor of a shorter week sometime in the unspecified future.

Everyone in the labor movement knows that these pronouncements are nothing but lip service, and that in practice Reuther does everything possible to prevent the UAW from FIGHTING for the shorter week.

The main thing Stellato accomplished by his attempted whitewash of Reuther was to show that his own position on the shorter week is far from a serious one.

Another effect may have been to discourage NCFDA affiliations in those places where Stellato still has influence, like Local 600.

But not permanently. Because an NCFDA group was recently formed in the Ford Rouge plant too. It is the Ford 600 Rank and File Caucus, affiliated with NCFDA.

Its first leaflet reviews the correct criticisms that Stellato used to make of Reuther's "petrified program," condemns Stellato for jumping onto Reuther's band wagon, and expounds the

NCFDA program of action for uniting the Rouge workers in a struggle for jobs and union security.

Opportunity Great

With the elections out of the way, unemployment growing and the special UAW convention approaching, the opportunities and challenges facing the NCFDA are many.

If it can meet them, it may be able to mobilize large numbers of UAW members around a fight for 30-for-40 that could help to transform the whole labor movement.

The next three or four months will tell the story. Militant union men and women will be doing their part to make it a story with a happy ending.

Speed-up Toll

Production of manufactured goods in this country increased by around 60% from 1947 to 1959. But as a result of new equipment and speed-up the number of production workers declined by 4% during the same period.

Why not pass this copy of the Militant on to a friend?

Kmas Book List

Advertisement

THE POWER ELITE, by C. Wright Mills. A study of the structure of our society. Paper, special \$1.

THE BENDING CROSS, by Roy Ginger. A biography of Eugene V. Debs. Cloth, \$1.75.

AMERICAN FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER, by Paul Blanshard. Completely revised and rewritten, with new material. Paper, \$2.25.

REASON AND REVOLUTION, by Herbert Marcuse. Hegel and the rise of social theory. Paper, \$2.45.

BLACK MOSES, by Cronon. Biography of Marcus Garvey. Paper, \$1.95.

NEW LIGHT ON THE MOST ANCIENT EAST, by V. Gordon Childe. Paper, \$1.95.

THE GOLDEN BOUGH, by Sir James Frazer. The classic work about the myths, religions, magical and ritual practices of our ancestors. Paper, \$2.50. Cloth, \$3.95.

THE LETTERS OF SACCO AND VANZETTI, edited by Marion D. Frankfurter and Gardner Jackson. Paper, \$1.85.

THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, by Charles A. Beard. Special, cloth \$1.19.

THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW, by C. Vann Woodward. Special, \$1.19.

AMERICA'S SIXTY FAMILIES, by Ferdinand Lundberg. The standard work about our billionaire rulers and how they run the country. Paper, \$1.95.

ENGELS AS MILITARY CRITIC. Articles of the 1860's, including material on the history of the rifle, the French army, and civil war in the United States. Cloth, \$4.50.

THE WALL BETWEEN, by Anne Braden. Paper, special \$1.25.

MAXIM GORKY ON LITERATURE. Gorky writes about his literary experiences. Includes portraits of Anton Chekhov and others. Cloth, \$1.70.

Books by Leon Trotsky:

WHERE IS BRITAIN GOING? Long out of print. Paper, \$1.50.

LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION. Cloth. Special \$2.49; paper, \$1.50.

MY LIFE. Trotsky's autobiography, besides being fascinating reading, is a major aid to understanding the Soviet Union today. Paper, \$2.45.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN. Some key documents in Soviet history. Special for the holidays: cloth, \$3. Paper, \$1.50.

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED. Still the best analysis of Soviet society. Cloth, \$3. Paper, \$2.

NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR. Socialist journalism at its best. Over a hundred articles from the pen of an active participant in the events of thirty years of labor history. The campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti from the electric chair, the history of the movement of the mid-thirties, the Korean War, prize-fighting, intellectualism, movies, Stalinist ideology, and many others in this collection. Special for the holidays: cloth, \$3.25. Paper, \$1.95.

Classics everyone should own:

CAPITAL, by Karl Marx. All three volumes. Moscow edition. Cloth, \$6.50.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONIST VIEW OF HISTORY. In Defense of Materialism. G. V. Plekhanov. Cloth, \$2.

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By Joseph Hansen

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Monday, November 28, 1960

Does China Exist?

Of the many delusions governing American foreign policy today, one of the most insane is that 650,000,000 people can be ruled out of existence by refusing to recognize their government. Ten years after the Chinese Revolution, the State Department still refuses to deal with one-fourth of humanity because they toppled a hated dictatorship. Great Britain saw no gain in such self-deception and recognized the People's Republic of China at the time. But the State Department is still clinging to butcher Chiang Kai-shek and his mad rantings about invading the mainland. In the United Nations, the American policy of barring the People's Republic of China from membership has become so unpopular that the State Department finds it increasingly difficult to whip up a majority. In the United States, too, the complete lack of sanity in refusing to admit reality is becoming more and more apparent—even to some who go along with the hate-China propaganda in other respects. Last week two prominent defenders of the capitalist system spoke against continuing the policy. On Nov. 13 Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas called China "obstreperous, aggressive" and an

"outlaw" nation, but he demanded that the U.S. drop the policy of barring it from the UN. Three days later the wealthy James P. Warburg declared, "The United Nations cannot enforce universal disarmament unless its authority extends over all the nations in the world. This means that the People's Republic of China must become a member. . . My guess is that the United States has for the last time succeeded in blocking Red China's admission." Approving Justice Douglas' speech, the New York Post declared editorially Nov. 20: "What Mr. Douglas proposes is an awakening from our doctrinaire dream world. He pleads that we confront the harsh reality of Communist China and recognize that our policy of quarantine has been a drab failure. . . he is urging that we finally abandon the delusion that Chiang Kai-shek can be returned to the mainland without an unthinkable, unimaginable atomic war." It's high time such voices were heeded—despite their paranoiac insistence on calling the Chinese people "obstreperous" and "aggressive" in face of Washington's clinging to dictator Chiang for a decade since his ouster. Let's recognize China!

Memo to Reuther from Ford

Walter Reuther's latest attempt to preach and practice the gospel of class peace and the compatibility of interests between capital and labor—that is, between exploiter and exploited—has been rudely rebuffed by the auto barons. The president of the United Automobile Workers union, which faces major negotiations next year, called last month for a labor-management conference representing the entire auto industry. Reuther made his appeal after a speech by Pres. Eisenhower in Detroit Oct. 17. Reuther said he agreed with the following remark of Eisenhower. "Labor and business leaders must sit down in a calm atmosphere and regularly discuss, far removed from the bargaining table, their philosophy, their needs and, above all, their common responsibility to this free nation." When Eisenhower talks about the "common responsibility to this free nation" of labor and capital, it's not difficult to figure out what he means. He's talking about keeping production, especially production of armaments, going without stoppages or strikes by labor. That's a point of view Eisenhower holds in common with

president-elect Kennedy and with the owners of industry in general and the automobile industry in particular. But the auto moguls are having no part of Reuther's move to work out some cozy little deal whereby he can demonstrate his "statesmanship" to the auto workers by wangling one or two minor concessions for them without a struggle. Maybe Reuther doesn't believe America has real class divisions but the employers still do and they're the ones who run this society. Thus, the Ford Motor Company in rejecting Reuther's proposal said: "We do not believe that a general objective of acting in concert with the U.A.W., or with our competitors and the U.A.W., as you propose, is either sound or consistent with the position and function that each of us has in the American scheme of things." The "American scheme of things"—that's capitalism, private ownership of the means of production and private profit. The "position and function that each of us has"—that's the workers who sell their labor power and the owners who buy it and profit from it. And that, says Ford and the other auto magnates, is the way it's going to stay—see?

The Dollar Crisis

The American people have been milked for more than a half a trillion dollars in 15 years to build up a world-wide military structure for war against "communism." Scores of billions of dollars have been poured into the "enemy" countries of 15 years ago—Germany, Japan and Italy—to restore and build up their shattered capitalist economies and strengthen them as military allies against the new "enemy," the noncapitalist countries and the colonial world in revolt. But now, we have suddenly found ourselves confronted with an even newer, more insidious, invisible yet all-pervasive, "enemy"—the drain abroad of American gold reserves. And the chief source of the drainage is the very countries our billions have restored and are maintaining in relative affluence. So great has been the outflow of American dollars abroad—in government loans, military spending, private capital investments, withdrawals of foreign savings from American banks, tourist outlays—that the so-called "balance of payments" deficit has resulted in a "gold rush" by foreign banks and speculators on the vaults at Fort Knox. Foreign interests now have claims on \$20 billion—more than this country's entire gold stock of \$18.2 billion on Nov. 9. If only \$10 billion should be claimed, it will cut the government's gold supply to less than the \$11.6 billion required by law as the minimum gold backing of the U.S. currency. In the third quarter of this year alone, the gold outflow had risen \$637 million. Since the end of 1957, the gold loss has totaled more than \$4.5 billion. Truly, American capitalism has nurtured a serpent in its bosom. The government is suddenly forced to wage a "war of gold" with its own allies. A New York Times editorial of Nov. 17, fittingly titled "The Battle of the Dollar," reveals that Eisenhower has called a meeting of the National Security Council—the top war-planning agency—"to discuss the defense of the dollar as a key factor in our own economic defense and that of the free world." Eisenhower has also issued orders to drastically reduce U.S. military spend-

ing abroad and to bring home the families of half the American military personnel overseas. He has instructed all U.S. agencies abroad, including the military, to "Buy American." He has sent top administration officials, including Secretary of the Treasury Robert B. Anderson, to Germany to insist that the Bonn government assume a share of the military costs and the program of foreign aid. Other missions will undoubtedly follow to England, Japan and other beneficiaries of U.S. largesse over the past decade and a half. And if present measures don't suffice to restore the balance of payments and keep the gold supply in Fort Knox intact, still other steps are being suggested, such as limiting tourist travel abroad by Americans, restricting U.S. tourist spending and reducing the gold backing of the dollar. Suddenly, the American colossus that bestrides the world appears no mightier than its own "mighty dollar." Its currency foundation is sagging badly. The capitalist system is confronted with a "fiscal crisis," as the Wall Street Journal calls it. This organ of finance capital, in its Nov. 18 editorial on Eisenhower's order to curb U.S. spending abroad, observes bitterly: "For what it says—painfully, reluctantly, and shamefully—is that a generation's reckless fiscal policies have at last presented their harsh bill. The United States is now reduced to the little stratagems of an improvident householder trying to stave off the bill collector. The American dollar, once our pride and our strength, must now be propped up, even at the cost of begging from the very nations we made rich." Well, we didn't make any nations rich; but our money did, for a time, save some capitalist bankrupts and keep them in power. But by so doing, American capitalism absorbed new world-wide problems and contradictions that are only now beginning to manifest themselves. The "dollar crisis" is indeed a "turning point," as the Wall Street Journal has said. But it is not one simply of "fiscal policy." It is one more symptom of a fatal malignancy of the profit system.

The Politics of "Goldwater Students"

By Myra Tanner Weiss

A survey of right-wing student movements was presented by John Chamberlain in the Wall Street Journal, Nov. 3. His thesis is that a mushrooming new "radicalism" on the American campus is conservatism, centering around the views of the Arizona Republican Senator Barry Goldwater. Chamberlain bases his "mushrooming" thesis on the report that Goldwater's book, "Conservatism: A Conservative," rapidly sold 500,000 copies, mostly to students. As additional evidence, he lists a number of right-wing student publications and organizations. At the University of Wisconsin some undergraduates publish Insight and Outlook which describes the faculty as a "smug collection of liberals." Students at a number of colleges in Mississippi back the Campus Conservative. According to Chamberlain, Harvard's Student Council president is a crusading conservative. Yale's Calliopean Society, Princeton's Whig-Clio club and the University of Pennsylvania's New Conservatism Society are all growing in membership. And the national student organization, the Intercollegiate Society of Individualists, headquarters in Philadelphia and an active branch in Indianapolis, is trying to stimulate and coordinate right-wing student activities. This outfit publishes a newsletter called the Individualist with a circulation of 12,000, edited by David Franke of Del Mar College in Corpus Christi, Texas. Chamberlain's survey of student political activities of course makes no mention of the growth of socialist movements on the campus. This would spoil his thesis that the new "radicalism" among the students is conservatism. Nor does he mention the first big student movement of action since the 1930's—the sit-ins in the South and the supporting picket lines in the rest of the country. This kind of radicalism also has nothing to do with conservatism. Instead of proving his thesis, it would only prove the need for the Wall Street Journal to give the right-wing youth a boost with a tortuously constructed theory. Election Experience In the spring and fall of this year, as a candidate in the election campaign, this writer visited students on 23 campuses throughout the country. A number of times I encountered Goldwater supporters and other right-wingers, especially at Brown University. However, even on this campus, where right-wing hostility was strongest, the disruption of the socialist meeting was vigorously protested. Following the noisy meeting, the Brown Daily Herald reported it had received an "unusually large number" of letters and had to content itself with publishing only excerpts of some. These ran nine to one, in addition to the paper's editorial stand, in defense of the civil liberties of the socialists. Nevertheless, Chamberlain's story isn't entirely puffed out of his pipe. There is a growth of right-wing groups, to some extent looking to the leadership of Senator Goldwater. They exist throughout the country and could play an increasingly dangerous role. It is therefore necessary to evaluate correctly Senator Goldwater's views and to understand what makes them attractive to some youth if we are to effectively combat them. Some students have come to the conclusion that the Goldwater movement is fascist. They have encountered fascist types

in the Goldwater crowd and in the National Review's circle of conservative elite. Others have the mistaken view that it is not important to distinguish between fascist and other types of defenders of capitalism. They oversimplify history and miss the necessity of distinguishing between different groupings within classes and between different stages of the class struggle. In our epoch, any reactionary, procapitalist movement will have elements of fascism in it. For fascism historically is the last defense of capitalist rule. But a potential factor in history is not an actual one. And it is a fatal mistake to treat a potential or eventual danger as an immediate one. A wrong analysis does not favor correct tactics. Opposite Directions Both right and left developments among American students basically stem from different class reactions to the burden of the war economy. Opposition is inevitable to a government policy which has obviously failed to come up with a solution to the international crisis. But that opposition comes from two directions. The socialists, the conscious expression of working-class interests, would stop the arms race and solve the consequent economic crisis by eliminating capitalism and instituting a planned economy. Goldwater, representative of monopoly capitalism, would stop the arms race by winning the war. As he put it, "A tolerable peace . . . must follow victory over Communism." Even more bluntly, he said, "If possible, overt hostilities should always be avoided; especially is this so when a shooting war may cause the death of many millions of people, including our own. But we cannot, for that reason, make the avoidance of a shooting war our chief objective." In actuality this view is contained in official U.S. policy. The State Department has provided ready many times to risk war, but it is somewhat restrained because it has not yet broken through the technological balance of terror. It vacillates wildly between trying to appear to desire peace—as before the downing of the U-2 plane—and waving nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons "in threat of war." Goldwater differs with the State Department by opposing gestures toward peace. He appeals to isolationists with his criticism of U.S. alliances abroad. He would reduce the costs of the war program by ending all economic aid abroad. But Goldwater's primary bid to popular support is made in relation to domestic policy. He appeals to the middle class in his opposition to "big" government. He is an advocate of State's rights, decentralization, individual freedom against top-heavy government bureaucracy. He's against "big" unionism as well as "big" government. He favors State "Right to Work" laws. Goldwater's program is reactionary. He would take us back to the period before the thirties when unions were still small and weak, before social security, and even before the graduated income tax. "Good Old Days" Like many American businessmen, Goldwater has a short memory. He has forgotten what happened under capitalism in the thirties. While millions starved, warehouses were choking with goods that could not be sold. The American people are not idiots. Before they let their children starve, they would simply help themselves to what they needed, as they began to do. This meant a violation of the holy of all capitalist holies, private property. Big medicine alone could save the capitalist system then. And it takes even bigger medicine now to keep it going. An attempt to go back to the "good old days" when everyone was completely at the mercy of the capitalist would provoke intense civil strife. A victory of the capitalists under these circumstances could only be through fascism, the complete smashing of the labor movement. Fascism would be a consequence of Goldwater's program. But this does not make it a fascist movement at this time. Goldwater presents a pseudo-intellectual defense of capitalism. His attack on the Democrats and Republicans aims at rallying middle-class youth, made restive by the prolonged crisis, to a defense of capitalism as he thinks it can be made to function. He has nothing, as yet, of the late Senator McCarthy's crude appeal to hoodlum elements. Nor does he limit himself to the fringe of hysterical superpatriots. Eisenhower and even Taft at-

tracted youth who became interested in politics out of alarm over the Korean War. Similar emotions are evident among Goldwater supporters. A patient attitude is necessary to educate these youth. It will not be easy because their prejudice against and ignorance of Marxism is boundless. Public debate should be sought. Their pseudo-intellectual stance offers a good opening for attempts to clarify fundamental social problems. In many cases this will mean a fight to defend the freedom of debate. But in this fight we may be confident that we shall have the support of the overwhelming majority of the American student youth.

The movement around Senator Goldwater, at this stage of its development, is reactionary, procapitalist, prowar. That is dangerous enough. But it is not fascist. It attracts some fascist elements among students. It may become a fascist movement; but it is not one now. Socialists should press for debates with these followers of Goldwater, some of whom are looking sincerely for a solution to the apparent blind alley our society is in. Some are opposed to the burden of high taxes, the imposition of a top-heavy bureaucracy on the people. Eisenhower and even Taft at-

Still Waiting for Verdict



A delegation from Tuskegee, Ala., is shown here as it testified before a Senate committee July 30, 1957, on how Negroes were deprived of the right to vote in their city. This Nov. 14, the Supreme Court ordered a new trial in the suit of Tuskegee Negroes to end the gerrymandering that put all but four or five of the college town's 500 Negro voters outside city limits. A few days later Justice Department agents visited the registration office in Tuskegee to see for themselves if there really was discrimination against Negroes. Election officials posted a sign in front: "No registration today! This office invaded by agents of the 'Injustice Dept.'"

In Other Lands

Workers Stage March in Chile

Police Open Fire, Kill 3, Wound 36 SANTIAGO, Chile, Nov. 12—A sharp intensification of the class struggle occurred here during the past week with political ramifications affecting particularly the Communist party, the Socialist party and the Revolutionary Workers party (Trotskyists). It began with a mass meeting Nov. 3 organized by various unions, including the powerful Central Unica de Trabajadores, to demand a wage adjustment. Clotario Blest, president of the CUT ended his speech with the following words: "We have been cowards. But from now on we will organize the Sierra Maestra of our country. . . Let's cross the bridges of the Mapocho [a river running through the city] and go to the Alameda, whatever the cost." The workers set out, crossing Las Floristas bridge, and went up the 21st of May street toward the Alameda. They carried placards and banners and kept chanting, "Revolucion . . . Revolucion . . . Revolucion." At the corner of Rosas a dozen police sought to stop the thousands of workers. The dozen were dispersed with fists and blows from the sticks used to carry the placards. Some of them were knocked to the ground and trampled on. The police pulled out their .38 caliber pistols and began shooting. However, those in the rear, unable to see what was going on, pushed the front ranks forward, and the crowd rolled on, finally reaching the Alameda. Fire hoses and police trucks were brought out and more shots fired. When casualties were counted up, three workers had been killed and 36 wounded. Nine police were wounded. Clotario Blest was among those wounded but he was able to speak at a meeting of CUT leaders. A general nationwide strike was proposed to protest the police brutality. Meanwhile Santiago students, who were also involved in the demonstration and who were roughly handled by the police, took action. The leaders of the Federation of Night School Students decided on a national school strike and then got together with the leaders of the Student Federation of Chile to close down every school in the country. As part of the protest action, the workers decided to march behind the bodies of those who had been killed. As the funeral cortege prepared to leave for the cemetery, differences among the workers' leaders suddenly flared into the open before the thousands of mourners.

Waldo Grez, a Socialist party leader, proposed that the funeral march should disregard the line of march specified by the city authorities and go right through the center of the city. He was supported by Clotario Blest. Grez told a police colonel who was present: "We number 40,000. You would have to kill all of us before you could stop us from going down Compania street to the center." At this point Luis Figueroa, a leader of the Communist party and general secretary of the CUT, intervened. He announced, "We have reached a compromise with the authorities. You, don Clotario, were in agreement with this." Grez and Figueroa began arguing violently. Figueroa swung his fist, hitting Grez in the face. Grez responded by spitting at Figueroa and then kicking him in the stomach. Figueroa fell to the ground. As the dispute spread, others intervened. Finally the march got started and went along the "compromise" route. At the cemetery there were further differences when it was discovered that Blest, instead of reading a written speech, as demanded by the Communist party leaders, spoke extemporaneously, using only brief notes he had jotted down on paper. The differences are explained as due to a rise in the influence of the "Trotskyists" and other left-wing currents who advocate greater militancy among the workers. The daily La Nacion carried this explanation: "The episode was due to differences between the Socialists and Communists in which the latter—strange as it may seem—were opposed to the former making any attempts to change things. 'The new 'legalist position' of native Communism is explained among political circles as a consequence of the fear the CP has of losing its expectations in the parliamentary elections next March. . . The Socialists on the other hand, are partisans of 'direct action' as a new ele-

ment of struggle' and in this they had the collaboration yesterday of Clotario Blest. . . The Chilean Trotskyists received considerable publicity for their participation in the leadership of the demonstrations in collaboration with left-wing members of the Socialist party, anarchists, syndicalists, and independent worker leaders. Intellectuals Break From Japanese CP Many Japanese intellectuals are breaking with the Communist party because of its reformist policies and bureaucratic practices, the United Press International reported Nov. 6. Many of these intellectuals are said to be switching their allegiance to Zengakuren, the powerful student federation which spearheaded the anti-treaty demonstrations. The report states that 100 intellectuals, including critic Shozo Fujita, have taken steps to withdraw from the party on the ground that it has "degenerated into a corrupted and bureaucratic organization and lost significance as a vanguard of a Marxist revolution." Canadian Jobless At Postwar Peak Unemployment hit a postwar peak of 369,000 in Canada Oct. 15, according to government figures. There was an abnormally high seasonal increase of 41,000 from mid-September. The latest jobless figure is 46 per cent more than the same period a year ago. The previous postwar unemployment record was during the 1958 recession when the mid-October total was 329,000. Strike in Mexico Hits Sugar Mills A strike by 45,000 workers shut 84 sugar mills in Mexico Nov. 16. More than 85,000 field workers joined in a sympathy walkout. The mill hands demanded a 40 per cent wage increase to keep up with rising prices.

... Mackie

(Continued from Page 1) At the San Francisco airport, he was given the overcoat of a man whose deportation had shocked the world. It was presented to him by Mrs. William Heikkila, widow of the man who was grabbed on the streets of San Francisco by Immigration officers in 1958 and put on a plane to Finland while court action was still pending on his case. International protest forced the government to bring him back. He later died of a heart attack at the age of 54. The Portland Oregonian, which reported that "floods of letters, petitions and telegrams" had gone to the White House demanding clemency for Mackie and MacKay, declared editorially Oct. 25: "It's long past time for Congress to change the laws that lead to such blind, senseless refutation of the basic principles of this land that was founded in liberty by the refugees from tyranny and bureaucratic stupidity abroad." As Mackie boarded the plane, he said: "This is going to be an interesting trip, but I hope the American people will bring me home pretty soon."

Dr. Shapiro to Speak On Cuba in Cleveland

CLEVELAND — Dr. Samuel Shapiro, assistant professor of history at Michigan University, will discuss "American Relations With Cuba" at a public meeting Tuesday, Nov. 29, 8 p.m. at the Unitarian Society, East 82nd St. and Euclid Ave. Dr. Shapiro, a former Fulbright professor in Argentina, is author of the recent New Republic article, "Cuba — A Disappointing Report," which he wrote after an on-the-spot study. The meeting is sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, Cleveland Chapter.

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Prelude to Frame Up



After a "back-to-work" movement fizzled at struck cotton mills in Henderson, N.C., Gov. Hodges sent state troopers to herd scabs through the picket lines. When union ranks held solid, eight strike leaders were railroaded to prison on a trumped-up "conspiracy" charge.

Prisons Still Built for Strikers

NEW YORK, Nov. 17 — The Executive Council of the Textile Workers Union of America, AFL-CIO, today appealed to North Carolina citizens and to all members of organized labor throughout the country to support its efforts to win the release of eight union members now serving two-to-ten-year prison sentences on charges of conspiracy to dynamite the struck Harriet and Henderson Cotton Mills in Henderson, N.C. The unionists were framed up last year as part of a company-state campaign to smash a strike that began in 1958 when the companies refused to renew their contracts. Injunctions were slapped on the union, pickets were shot at and state troopers herded scabs through their lines. The strike was called off at one point on the basis of an "agreement" negotiated by Gov. Luther Hodges under which the strikers would be rehired. The agreement was not lived up to, the strike was resumed and the "conspiracy" indictment followed.

The American Way of Life

What's in a Name?

Shakespeare said that a rose by any other name would smell as sweet. But American businessmen have discovered that a job by another name can smell so much sweeter that you can give an employe a new title instead of a raise. In a study by Charles A. Hill, publishing director of "Modern Office Procedures," we find that titles are used "to bribe and placate employes." Salesmen become "sales engineers" and "territory managers," secretaries are called "administrative assistants," key-punch operators acquire new dignity as "data processing technicians" and typists in the pool (not a swimming pool, but that big center room where girls get all the monotonous and disagreeable work) are "transcription experts."

It Was Reported in the Press

Suicidal System — A Nov. 11 NEA feature article on the swiftly rising rate of suicide in the U.S. observes that the pattern provides "a gauge for measuring the sanity of our society. What got suicides to the brink, many sociologists reason, is an anger against an industrial, urban, acquisitive, materialist, unloving society where a man is kept aloof from his own feelings and forced to live by alien standards."

Peace on Earth — "Looking at the front pages of our newspapers these days it is astonishing how many headlines deal with violence — violence in Algeria, violence in the Congo, violence in South Vietnam. The fact that Armistice Day came and went without any violence is commented on as though this were a real achievement." — Eleanor Roosevelt.
Loyal to Principles — Dr. H. Bentley Glass, professor of Biology at Johns Hopkins University and president of the Maryland Civil Liberties Union has declined an appointment to the Maryland Radiation Control Advisory Board which requires members to sign a "loyalty" oath under the state's Subversive Activities Act. Dr. Glass said the oath requirement was personally repugnant to him and a violation of the spirit of both the state and federal constitutions.
Madison Ave. Blues — Albert Brown, a Corn Products Co. executive, told the National Association of Advertisers that one of its problems is "an erosion of strong purpose and pride in craftsmanship." For example, take the creative people in the industry. "They are frustrated novelists and fine artists who have found that by serving Mammon from nine to five they can live in Connecticut and drive Thunderbirds. Inwardly they feel they are prostituting their creative genius when they write a soap commercial or plan a color shot of a plate of beans."
And Rightly So — The Nov. 14 New York Times reported: "Latin America has pinned such high hopes on the election of President-elect John F. Kennedy that diplomats are worried about what will happen if the United States does not meet the expectations."
Rare Occasion — New York City transit officials broke a bottle of champagne over the nose of a new eight-car train on the BMT subway line. The unusual celebration was deemed appropriate since it is the line's first replacement of rolling stock in 46 years. Some of the cars now in use have travelled 2,000,000 miles.
Appeals Jim Crow Decision — Sara Slack, a reporter for the New York Amsterdam News, is appealing a federal court ruling upholding a Baltimore-area restaurant that refused her service because she is a Negro. The appeal is based on the fact that the restaurant, situated on a public highway, is part of public transportation facilities where discrimination is supposed to be unconstitutional.
Simple — The pastor of San Juan Cathedral in Puerto Rico has told Roman Catholics in his parish they must go to confession and admit their "sin" if they voted for Gov. Munoz Marin Nov. 8 despite orders to the contrary by the Puerto Rican church. "If you sin, you have to confess — it's as simple as that," Rev. Thomas Maisonet said.
Tender, Loving Care — From a recent advertisement suggesting that every corporation provide its president with a Rolls-Royce: "Send the Rolls-Royce to fetch your president from his home every morning; he will reach the office in better shape."

How Much Should They Be Killed?

By Roy Gale

A debate is raging in the Pentagon. The Nov. 18 Wall Street Journal presents the issue this way: "How much of Red Russia and Red China must the U.S. be able to demolish in order to keep the Communists from touching off war, large or small, anywhere on the globe?" It boils down to a difference of opinion on the best way to make "good" people out of the present citizens of the Soviet-bloc countries. It is similar to the sentiment of the old frontiersmen that "the only good Indian is a dead one."

The Air Force contends that the best way to make "good" citizens behind the "iron curtain" is to have enough missiles and bombs to blast every military installation in these countries. In military jargon, this is "counterforce."
The Navy and most of the top Army brass take a different approach. They call it the "unacceptable damage" or "finite deterrent" theory. Just blast and destroy all centers of government, industry and population and there won't be anyone left to shoot back at you.
The Wall Street Journal reports a Navy spokesman as retorting: "If you kill a nation, it's dead. There's no reason to continue pumping bullets into it."
So, if you read an account in your local paper on the urgent need for "counterforce," you'll know that some Air Force press agent probably has the editor's ear at the moment.
On the other hand, if it's "unacceptable damage" or "finite deterrent," you can assume it's the Navy speaking. In any event, it all boils down to "making good Reds out of bad ones."

Stands Firm



Dr. Willard Uphaus celebrated his seventieth birthday Nov. 27 in New Hampshire's Merrimack county jail. After refusing to turn over the guest list of the World Fellowship Center to State Attorney General Wyman, he was sentenced to be held in prison until he purged himself of "contempt" by yielding the names. Dr. Uphaus made clear he would never do so even if it meant spending the rest of his life in jail. As a concession to public protest, his sentence was reduced to a maximum of one year and he is slated to be released Dec. 13, 48 hours before Bill of Rights Day.

We Need Low-Rent Housing

[The following discussion is excerpted from the testimony of Frederick W. Richmond, president of the Urban League of Greater New York, at the Nov. 14 hearing in New York City of the Sub-committee Investigation of Welfare of the Temporary State Commission on Co-ordination of State Activities. —Editor.]

I would venture to say that if the Negro community enjoyed equality of opportunity—in fact as well as in law—the problems facing this Committee would not be as great or as complex.
We are all aware of the close correlation between overcrowded slums and health; unemployment and family stability; inferior education and lack of incentive. We also know that in New York City Negroes and Puerto Ricans are the principal victims of these social crimes, and as a consequence, contribute a disproportionate number of families to the relief rolls.
Here in Harlem, about half of the apartments are operated as furnished rooming houses, with three or more families per apartment. Throughout the city there are about 180,000 families, primarily Negro and Puerto Rican, who live in overcrowded or otherwise sub-standard dwelling units. And every year more thousands come to New York from the South or Puerto Rico to swell the bulging ghettos.

Ever Tighter

Racial discrimination restricts these families to overcrowded neighborhoods, and the steadily diminishing supply of low-rent housing forces more people into ever tighter quarters. The problem is compounded by the fact that some well-meaning people correctly ascribe social problems to the existence of overcrowded slums, and then proceed to further reduce the low-income housing supply by leveling slum buildings and replacing them with high-rent apartments or low-rent housing projects with accommodations for half the number of families that formerly lived on the site. The end result, in many cases, is not slum clearance but minority clearance.

The increasing popularity of this approach to the problems of slum living signals a greater construction of ghetto walls and an increase of overcrowding to disastrous proportions.
Racial discrimination in employment factor to the appalling income and employment statistics in the Negro community.
Business is now experiencing... a "levelling off process" or a "mild recession." There is nothing mild about the fact that 4.6% of America's workers are unemployed. It is even more significant, in the light of today's hearings, that unemployment among Negro workers is in excess of 11%.
If this was a figure for the country as a whole our business situation would be described, not as a "mild recession," but as a depression. And that is what the Negro community is experiencing—a depression.
Education is also related to unemployment and low income. A large proportion of Negro and Puerto Rican youngsters attend segregated schools that are often two and three years below the standard achievement levels. These children are ill-prepared, in many cases, for high school, vocational training

college. In addition, many are forced to leave school at an early age to help support their families.

What a waste of human potential!
I would now like to discuss some phases of the treatment of the effects which we call "welfare clients" or "case loads."
The first comes under the heading of "residence requirements for home relief."
Want Jobs
Let me dispose of this by pointing out that every pertinent statistic indicates that families move to places where they expect to find jobs — not relief. The incoming and outgoing figures closely parallel increases and decreases in employment figures. In New York City never more than 2.7% of the recipients of home relief were residents of less than a year.
This kind of legislation seems to emanate from the same fertile minds that produce proposals to sterilize unwed mothers or withdraw assistance from those who have illegitimate children.
A year ago, North Carolina legislators introduced a bill to sterilize unwed mothers who have had two or more children out of wedlock. Harry Golden's biting satire blasted the bill into oblivion, pointing out that Alexander Hamilton, Leonardo da Vinci, and Nancy Hanks, who was Lincoln's mother, were all illegitimate.
Louisiana apparently had no Harry Golden to keep it from going berserk. The state legislature adopted a measure barring public assistance to dependent children born out of wedlock as part of a package of 30 segregation bills designed to punish Negroes who had been seeking the right to vote.
As a result, thousands of children are subsisting on contributions mailed to the New Orleans Urban League from all parts of the country and abroad. The normal daily ration given to these children is black coffee and hominy grits. One child has already died.

I don't wish to give the impression that I favor the promotion of illegitimacy. I do suggest that the starving of babies or the stoning of their mothers are ancient rites that more properly belong in a museum of historic horrors.

Considerable publicity has been given to the fact that many families on relief are paying exorbitant rents for substandard accommodations. The department's housing division has little choice in the matter. The rapidly decreasing supply of low-rent housing is becoming pre-empted by housing developers who pay hundreds of dollars for each apartment in order to relocate tenants from slum clearance and housing rehabilitation sites. As a result, other low income families must accept whatever is left.
This has come to mean furnished rooms without private toilets, cellar apartments, or simply doubling or tripling up with other families.
The answer does not lie in providing the Department of Welfare with funds to make similar payments for standard apartments, for in a diminishing market this can only set off competitive bidding with the landlord as the primary beneficiary. The answer here, as I indicated previously, is to increase the low-rent housing supply.
Another protection against excessive rental costs would be to strengthen rent control and extend it to the many rooming houses now operating under the guise of "hotels." Maximum rents for rooming houses should also be re-examined.
In conclusion, I would like to urge the members of this committee to focus their attention on the basic causes and efforts of our social welfare programs.
I hope these hearings will be meaningful. And let me close with this simple question: Will the 1961 legislature enact laws to eliminate the inequities that contribute to our enormous social welfare problem?

Puerto-Rican migration to New York has provided a lucrative new source of exploitation for landlords who pack the newcomers into slum apartments like these at exorbitant rents while city officials look the other way. Discrimination in housing forces the Puerto Ricans into segregated areas where they are at the mercy of the rent gougers.

Letters from Our Readers

Equal Rights for All

Editor:
I want to congratulate the Socialist Workers party on its fine election platform. I especially like your stand on civil rights. I have always prided myself on having no race prejudice. I have always felt friendly to all races of people. I have always believed in equal rights for everyone regardless of race.
I am a Caucasian, but the way the Caucasian race treats the Negro makes me ashamed to be a member of the white race.
I admire your party because it doesn't hesitate to have colored people in the party on equal standing. Your nominating candidates such as Mrs. Gladys Barker Grauer and Mr. Erroll Banks is proof of your fairness and sincerity for civil rights.
The Democrats and Republicans should follow your fine example and nominate colored people for public office. All they do is give lip service to civil rights, but no constructive action.
R. A. L. Indianapolis, Ind.
Back to the Club?
Editor:
I am enclosing \$2 as a contribution to any activity you may engage in. Anything coming from the rich man's camp needs rebuttal and I know you haven't the full means because if you did our society would have been changed a long time ago and nuclear testing would only be used for industry and agriculture.
So if you received \$2 from one party and it's rapidly taken up by others we may get somewhere else than nuclear underground shelters, and not have to worry about contamination of our water supply, the grass eat and the grain chickens eat, spreading cancerous particles to human beings.
Used to be a time when one had a club for a weapon, a sword, a bow and arrow, a rifle, a Big Bertha. Now I get the feeling with our great progress to the atom bomb that those who survive will go back to the club.
And if we do start all over again, future scientists may discover a 1960 copy of the Militant and prove that if your advice was followed in the first scientific age we would never have gone back to the club.
H. G. Sherman Oaks, Calif.
Insists on Fairness
Editor:
As a new subscriber I've been perusing my copies of the Militant extra carefully. I was disappointed in your Nov. 7 article on the Catholic Church's anti-Munoz campaign.
By resorting to unfounded in-
pettiness and bind ourselves into a United Socialist Party.
If we are seriously trying to unite the oppressed and underprivileged in our nation, we must first unite our efforts and ourselves.
David M. Tosner Fresno, Calif.
From Japan
Editor:
I am very glad to be able to read each issue of the Militant and I'm truly proud of its role in our international movement.
I'm proud that in the face of imperialist oppression, the Militant has spoken out courageously on national and international issues and has bravely protected the Cuban Revolution against the imperialists.
Through the Militant I am learning about the international struggles, the struggles in the U.S. and the work of the Socialist Workers party. I think it is an urgent necessity for my political development to have a sound knowledge of the world movement.
After many years of isolation, the Japanese Trotskyist movement is moving steadily ahead and can no longer be struck down by any reactionary force. Japanese Trotskyism is no longer only an ideological current but is establishing its influence in the working class.
I am now a student but I will graduate from the university next March. Along with our many comrades I am striving to advance the socialist revolution.
Miss N. Y. Japan
Unaffiliated Political
Editor:
Many thanks for sending me socialist material for my political exhibit at the school where I teach.
I certainly find myself in heartfelt agreement with the Socialist platform and ideals. It is sad that you do not have a greater following. Oh yes, I know the radicals and liberals will stand up and be counted when the chips are down. But when the chips are down, it will be too late. We lack courage and daring; we are not using our right to criticize and negate. As C. Wright Mills has said, the radical fought for free speech during McCarthy's wild ride, but then found nothing to say.
I am an unaffiliated political. In wanting to maintain my independence from bourgeois civilization, I suppose I have shied away from a political party. Ironically, I am a member of a Christian community which works for social legislation for the worker and a new social order.
In Christ the radical.
D. K. Washington, D. C.