

THE MILITANT

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Castro Analyzes Shift In U.S. Line on Cuba

By William Bundy

APRIL 24 — The Kennedy administration is persisting in its strategy of trying to destroy the Cuban Revolution but it is moving more cautiously than before and has apparently ruled out the idea of another invasion in the near future. This change in policy was analyzed by Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro in a speech delivered on the second anniversary of the victory over the Kennedy-organized invasion at Playa Giron.

The new policy was also summed up by U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in an April 22 speech in New York. "We can't just snap our fingers and make Castro go away," was Robert Kennedy's agonizing reappraisal. "But we can fight for this," he continued, "we can dedicate all our energy and best possible brains to that effort."

Two measures are currently being taken openly in "that effort." 1) The U.S. is asking the Organization of American States to impose a complete economic embargo on Cuba. 2) The U.S. and Latin American governments



Kennedy

under its influence have begun to enforce a series of thought-control measures, such as banning books and magazines and preventing the distribution of periodicals which carry texts of Cuban statements. The U.S. government, defender of the "free world," is mortally afraid of the free circulation in Latin America of ideas from revolutionary Cuba.

Castro's April 20 speech was a devastating critique of the entire Kennedy record on Cuba. He analyzed the Bay of Pigs invasion, declaring that it had not failed because of poor military planning or the alleged lack of air cover. The essential reason for its failure, said Castro, was the superiority of revolutionary morale to that of the mercenaries. He said, however, that the situation had been extremely dangerous for revolutionary Cuba and he credited the U.S. planners of the invasion with knowing their business militarily.

Sought Beachhead

Castro says the U.S. planners never labored under the illusion that the revolutionary militia would collapse. They expected only to secure a beachhead, land a counter-revolutionary "government," recognize it, and then conduct a bloody war of attrition. This, they hoped, would at least stop the progress of the revolution.

Their plans went awry, however, because they underestimated the revolutionary morale, which had caused the Cubans to be better trained than expected and to fight sooner, harder and better than the mercenaries, whose morale was "dismal." The U.S. planners, said Castro, had to ask themselves "what happened?"

The Cuban prime minister took up counter-revolutionary leader José Miró Cardona's revelation that President Kennedy, in a conference with him April 10, 1962, had promised another invasion including U.S. troops. Miró Cardona quoted Kennedy as saying the "problem is essentially military and requiring six divisions."

Castro said these plans were known to the Cuban government as well as to the Soviet Union. He declared: "Therefore, in the month of June — that is two months after the last interview mentioned by Miró Cardona — conversations were begun between the representatives of the Cuban and Soviet governments with respect to this. And the measures

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Black Muslims Discuss Political Action

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The Crackdown on Yevtushenko

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Kennedy 'Paper Tiger' When He Faces the Steel Barons

By Tom Kerry

It took the price-gouging steel tycoons exactly one year to demonstrate that, so far as American big business is concerned, President John F. Kennedy is a "paper tiger." His roar of disapproval last year when U.S. Steel announced an "across-the-board" price hike after the Steelworkers union had been bamboozled into signing a no-wage-increase contract, was muted to a kittenish purr following the recent announcement of "selective" price increases by one of the smaller steel corporations.

To Kennedy, the "giant-killer," it was all a matter of timing and terminology. The steel barons arranged the timing and Kennedy provided the terminology. As one case-hardened commentator, John M. Lee, writing in the financial page of the April 21 *New York Times* put it: *Steel Prices Sail Sea of Semantics*. "Many jokes," Lee recalled, "have been made about the words and phrases that have come into vogue with the Kennedy Administration, words like

'viable' and 'vigor' and 'make a judgment.'

"There was," he added, "a new word in fashion last week. By taking it seriously the steel industry was able to effect the first price increase on a group of products since 1958 . . .

"The word," he goes on, "is 'selected,' as in 'selected price changes.' There is no precise definition of the word as it was being used. But Webster says that 'selected' means 'chosen from a number,' and this concept of something less than the total seems to be the key.

"The word 'selected' was not used by Wheeling Steel Corporation when it kicked off the latest price rise with a surprise announcement on Tuesday night, April 9. Wheeling said simply that it was raising prices on a group of steel products now in strong demand."

It was Kennedy who prompted the actors in the play with his announcement two days later endorsing "selected price adjust-



McDonald

ments" as "not incompatible with a framework of general stability and steel price stability." Having received their cue from the chief promoter himself, the cast proceeded to give a memorable performance.

"An announcement Monday by the Republic Steel Corporation," reports Lee, "said it was making 'selective price increases.' The United States Steel Corporation took up the phrase on Tuesday." That settled the matter. With U.S. Steel taking the center of the stage all the others fell in line. The "selected" price increases were rearranged to fit the pattern set by U.S. Steel and thus became general for the entire industry.

A Hoax

Kennedy's cynical word-juggling is designed to perpetrate a hoax on the American public. "Selective" pricing in the steel industry is a crude joke. Steel is an oligopoly, that is, a monopoly carried on by a few companies working together, which operates under a system of administered prices — that is, fixed prices. Repeated government anti-trust suits, several of which are now in progress, have failed to alter the monopoly price pattern. Richard E. Mooney comments in the April 21, *N. Y. Times*:

"Steel is an identical price industry. All companies charge the same for comparable products. It has been customary for the industry to announce simultaneous price increases on all products — one company, often U.S. Steel, leading the way, and the others following fast. There were ten general increases from 1947 through 1958, then none until last year's celebrated increase and retreat.

"Between general announcements," Mooney adds, "there is frequent price change on individual products, sometimes in the price itself, sometimes in discounts or in who pays the freight. These are called selective changes."

Therein lies the nub of the question. Whether "across-the-board" or "selective," price changes in the steel industry follow a traditional pattern which will not be altered by the mere juggling of words. The profit-hogs of Washington and Wall Street are not taken in, but the gullible public

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May Day, 1963

An Editorial

Another May Day approaches. This holiday of the international working class, conceived in the struggle of American unions for the eight-hour workday, is now 77 years old. It will be celebrated all over the world — neither Christmas, Ramadan, or any other holiday, religious or secular, commands such universal observance.

In China and the Soviet-bloc nations, it will be marked by huge official parades. But many in those parades, while subscribing heartily to the official speeches about defending the economic conquests of the revolution, will see in the holiday a symbol of something unmentioned by the speechmakers.



Eugene V. Debs

For them, as the article on Yevtushenko in this issue shows, May Day will spur their efforts to recapture and extend the revolution's original promise of workers' democracy and justice.

Undoubtedly the most heartfelt celebrations will take place in Algeria and Cuba. In the former, the recent important measures of socialization give the masses hope that the Arab Revolution is at last on the high-road of socialism. In Cuba, that revolutionary beacon of progress for all Latin America, the workers and *campesinos* will celebrate their continuing victory against the colossus of the capitalist world.

May Day meetings here will be small but no less meaningful thereby. Socialist ideas and ideals, which inspired hundreds of thousands of American workers in the days of Eugene V. Debs, when capitalism's future was less obviously clouded, will stir American workers in even greater numbers in the course of the paroxysms to come.

For the workers' struggle, which May Day symbolizes, is mankind's struggle in our epoch to advance and become truly civilized — to end war, racism, poverty and injustice — and as such it is not only irrepressible but unconquerable.

Miss. Racists Can Count on Kennedy

By Fred Halstead

APRIL 23 — President John F. Kennedy's contemptuous dismissal of the federal Civil Rights Commission's recommendation for action on Mississippi places the Negro struggle for equal rights before an important decision.

The Commission's April 17 report said: "Citizens of the United States have been shot, set upon by vicious dogs, beaten and otherwise terrorized because they sought to vote." It even contained a note of personal urgency: "The home of the Vice Chairman of the State Advisory Committee to this Commission has been bombed. Another member and his wife were jailed on trumped-up charges after their home had been defiled."

The Commission urged the president to consider withholding federal funds from Mississippi until state officials stopped violating the federal constitution.

Kennedy's answer April 19 showed much more sympathy for the Mississippi racists than for the members of the commission. He flatly declared he didn't think the federal government should take such coercive measures. To top it off, he betrayed a bias toward the racists by saying: "I hope the people of Mississippi would recognize the assets that come with the union as well as what they may feel [are] the disadvantages of living up to the constitution."

For Kennedy, the racists are the people of Mississippi! What about the nearly half the population which is Negro? What about the thousands of whites opposed to the system but terrorized into silence? What about the Mississippi members of the federal commission itself?

The policy of trying to advance the movement within the context of supporting the administration and "the establishment" has reached an impasse. It will take

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The Cleveland Newspaper Strike

'Solid Gold Publishers' Get a Lesson

CLEVELAND — What were the net results and the chief lessons of the 126-day strike and lockout at Cleveland's two daily newspapers which ended April 4?

According to an April 6 article in the strike-born daily *Cleveland Record*, the shut-down "cost the two newspapers an estimated \$19 million in lost business alone and idled some 2,400 union newspaper employees who lost an estimated \$2.6 million in wages and salaries."

(These figures should be modified to some extent by the strike insurance collected by the publishers, about which there was a complete blackout of information, and by strike benefits paid to their members by some unions.)

The strike's most significant result, however, was not cited in the *Record* articles or in the abundant radio and television comment or in the two newspapers since they resumed publication April 8. That most important point is that the unions made gains — both economically and in preserving themselves from the employers' attempts to emasculate them — that they could not have made without a strike.

The economic package for which the unions settled ranged from \$10, which most accepted, to the \$13.95 of the printers. This was about twice the publishers'



Elmer Brown

initial offer, and more than half the union's original demands.

But despite the feeling that the strike "was worth it," there is considerable rank-and-file criticism of the settlement. The printers, largest and most solid union involved, ratified their contract by a vote of 339 to 286 following majority and minority reports of the scale committee and exhaustive debate.

Criticisms centered chiefly on the unequal effects of the fringe benefits, such as hospitalization, sickness and accident payments, retirement fund and retroactivity clause. Objections were also voiced to extension of the contract-termination date from Sept. 30 to Nov. 30 and failure to win any reduction in the number of hours, which remains 7½ for day work, 7¼ for nights and 7 hours for the lobster shift.

Major weakness of the settlement, however, and this was emphasized by the dissenting member of ITU Local 53's negotiating committee, Jacob M. Shahinian, was the failure to make a bigger dent in the wage gap between the Cleveland printers' scale and that in other major cities.

The *Cleveland Press* and *The Plain Dealer* are "solid gold publishers," he pointed out, "two of the fattest cats in the world." They are in a particularly advantageous profit position — with their relatively high-priced papers, high advertising rates, new buildings and equipment and complete monopoly of the daily newspaper field in an area of a million-and-a-half population — and can well afford to pay a scale as high as any.

The mood of the printers and their deep-seated resentment against any interference in their affairs by outsiders was sharply expressed by an incident that occurred as the April 4 overflow meeting began to consider the negotiated agreement.

Local 53 President Clifford C. Hilpert had announced that only union members were permitted to attend. He read the report of the scale committee and the secretary proceeded to read the agreement.

Suddenly, from the rear, some members began to shout that a stranger with a tape recorder was in their midst. A wave of indignation swept the room, the proceedings were stopped, and the intruder was hustled to the speakers' platform, where his tape was removed from the recorder. In response to demands that he be compelled to identify himself, he was placed before the microphone, where he gave his name and that of the local radio station which employs him.

He was then ousted.

A *Wall Street Journal* reporter fled from an upper balcony when he was discovered and there was a further delay while the hotel management was directed to remove a microphone discovered hanging from the ceiling.

The membership was deter-

mined to have a free and full discussion without the pressure of TV, radio and other outside interference.

Discussion on the printers' contract was as free and democratic as anyone could wish. Finally the ITU representative who had assisted in negotiations answered a number of questions raised in the discussion. He made it clear that in his opinion the contract before them was "what is attainable" with the given relationship of forces.

Even as the long, secret voting proceeded — the printers' traditional casting of black or white balls into the ballot box — intense discussion continued all over the room.

The *Cleveland Record*, which had published 55 issues, circulating 5,500,000 copies in its eleven-week existence, closed on April 6.

Some of the printers, however, first attended an ITU regional seminar where they met with ITU President Elmer Brown and other members of the executive council. Contrary to rumors that the top brass of the ITU had come to Cleveland to put pressure on Local 53 to end the strike, the seminar was an educational conference, the 30th held in the United States and Canada in the past few years, and had been scheduled by the Cleveland local long before the strike.

Chief conclusions about the strike differ along class lines. The publishers, Mayor Ralph S. Locher (who played a role similar to that of Wagner in New York), and local business and industry spokesmen are seeking means to prevent such strikes in the future.

Union leaders, on the other hand, are thinking of finding ways to make a strike more effective next time one is necessary. A common contract-expiration date for all newspaper unions, starting negotiations earlier and holding more frequent bargaining sessions are some of their proposals.

Militants in the rank and file have noted the need for stronger, more competent local leadership; the importance of strengthening the solidarity of the Printcraft Unity Council; the value of independent labor negotiations which reject intervention by so-called "citizens committees," would-be arbitrators and other fronts for the employers.

Militant union members also learned the important role of a publication of their own, like the *Cleveland Record*, as an alternative news and advertising medium to fill the vacuum left by the struck papers and as a source of income for strike funds.

The *Record* also provided an example for strikers and the rest of the community as well, of the factual reporting, rather than "managed news," which is possible when big business and government interests do not dominate policy.

Speakers at Los Angeles Rally Urge United Effort to Save Mae Mallory

LOS ANGELES — Representatives of this city's Negro community on March 21 addressed a meeting whose purpose was to appeal to Ohio Gov. Rhodes to stop the extradition of Mrs. Mae Mallory, on framed-up charges, to Monroe, North Carolina.

Speakers included John Shabazz of the Black Muslims; Earl Waters, chairman of Los Angeles CORE; Grace Simons, executive editor of the *California Eagle*; Frank Whitley of the Afro-American Heritage Association; Delfino Varela, speaking on behalf of Mexican-Americans; Harold Grant of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants; Gentry Wilson of the Monroe Defense Committee; John Weatherwax of the Bryant Foundation; Dr. Marcus McBroom,

... Kennedy and Steel Barons

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lic is fooled by Kennedy's boob-bait. That's what makes him so valuable a front man for the monopolists and their puppets on Capitol Hill.

Is it any wonder then that Senator Barry Goldwater, unrelenting critic of the Kennedy Administration and idol of the extreme right wing of capitalist reaction, rises on the floor of the Senate to praise "the President's present attitude toward the announced steel price increase." And, he continues, "it is to be hoped that he will continue on this enlightened trail."

What Goldwater finds so admirable in Kennedy's statement, is not only the green light it gives for a general price increase but the incredible admonition it contains for labor to exercise wage restraint — in the public interest, of course.

Kennedy's statement begins with the jabberwocky about opposing an "across-the-board price increase," not because of any question of principle but because: "We are interested in protecting the American public, and it is the American public which would suffer most from a general increase in steel prices." It then spells out concretely what such a general price increase would mean:

"Stability"?

"It would invite another inflationary spiral in place of the present wage-price stability. It would hamper our export expansion and increase import competition. It would adversely affect our balance-of-payments position on which our world-wide commitments depend. It would reduce the gains of our economic growth and reduce job opportunities in this country."

Kennedy then expatiates on what their country has done for the steel stockjobbers in the past year and what it intends to do for them in the current year: "This government in the past year has taken major steps to improve the economic position of the steel industry and assist in its modernization. Depreciation and investment tax benefits of some \$100 million were provided in 1962 to the steel industry alone; and its increased cash flow has made possible a planned increase in plant and equipment investment more than twice the national average. Additional tax gains will be realized in this year's tax reduction program."

Another of Kennedy's New Frontier aphorisms goes like this: Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country. What he really means is made clear when, after urging the "leaders of the steel industry" to exercise restraint, he goes on to say: "I urge similar restraint on the Steel Workers Union. With over 100,000 steelworkers still unemployed, their need is for more jobs with job security, not fewer jobs at higher wages.

Across-the-board price increases could precipitate labor demands and unrest that would cause great difficulties for the country." Now that is adding insult to injury!

Wage increases, on the average, have diminished over the past period until they now lag behind the rise in productivity. In the current *Progressive*, Leon Keyserling, former chairman of Truman's Council of Economic Advisers, declares: "New and different guidelines to wage policy should be drawn which would encourage wages and salary increases to catch up with productivity increases; they have lagged behind in recent years."

The March 9 *Business Week* publishes the result of a survey by the Bureau of National Affairs showing that the average wage increase has been declining since the late 1940s. "For the past four or five years," says *Business Week*, "it has been about 3% annually. Prior to that, in the mid-1950s, it was 4% to 5% before it began levelling, about 6% in 1952 and 1953, and as high as 8% to 9% in the late 1940s and early 1950s." Significantly, the report adds, in 1962 "the number of so-called 'zero settlements,' those without any increase in pay, has risen gradually to 10% of all new agreements checked by BNA, a private reporting service. Recently, a small number of pay cuts has shown up, scattered through many industries."

Kennedy's "hold-the-line-on-wages" policy is gradually but nonetheless, surely lowering the standard of living of the American workers. At the same time, his policy of pumping millions into industry to modernize plant and equipment is accelerating the process of automation and mechanization. Uncounted thousands of workers are displaced and thrown on the industrial scrap heap.

"Guidelines"

According to Kennedy's "guidelines," the object of his policy is to increase the productivity of labor, to expand production at "reduced" or "stable" prices in order to enhance the competitive position of American capitalism in the world market. The capstone of his policy is to hold the line on wage increases. For the past year steel has been operating on an average of 60 per cent capacity. American industry as a whole has been operating at 80 per cent capacity. The capitalists prefer higher profits on a more limited output.

Kennedy's theory is that the stimulation of increased productivity will expand production and lead to increased competition which would impel a reduction in prices which in turn would expand consumption and result in "maximum" employment. Only it doesn't work that way. Increased productivity has not led to a commensurate increase in total production nor to a price decline.

On the contrary, it has led to a greater mass of profits which in 1962 reached an astronomical peak. It has led to the production of greater and greater quantities of commodities with fewer and fewer workers. It has led to the extension of the system of "administered" prices. It has led to a worsening of the conditions of labor and a reduction in the standard of living.

It has led to chronic unemployment which condemns millions to a life of hardship, misery and despair. And the end is not yet.

The April 29 issue of *Newsweek* records that following his approval of "selected price increases" for the steel corporations, "Mr. Kennedy also had an official word of caution for David McDonald's United Steelworkers union which is expected to take advantage of the May re-opener clause in its contract. 'Wage stability is the best thing for the unions.' Isn't that compounding a felony?"

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

"COME TO CUBA" — We know you can't actually go, but you can vicariously travel there with V. T. Lee, nat'l director, Fair Play for Cuba Comm., and Dick Fidler, University of Toronto student, both of whom recently returned from Cuba. Fri., May 3, 8 p.m. promptly. Altgeld Hall, 430 South Michigan Ave.

CLEVELAND

The Offensive Against Labor. Speaker, Richard B. Tussey. Sun., May 5, 7:30 p.m. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave. A usp. Cleveland Militant Forum.

DETROIT

An eye-witness report on Cuba by a recent visitor. Sat., May 4, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

LOS ANGELES

May Day Dinner-Meeting. Wendell Phillips, chairman. Rose Karsner: "Women in May Day Struggles." Milton Alvin: "The Moscow-Peking Dispute and International Socialism." Sat., May 4, from 6 p.m. Dinner at 7. Meeting, 8:30. Forum Hall, 1702 East 4th St. Contrib. \$2.50 (students, \$1.50). Meeting only, \$1 (students, 50c). A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEWARK

Black Revolt in America. Speaker, Leroy McRae, national organizational secretary, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 3, 8 p.m. L & G Bldg., 110 Clinton Ave. Chairman, Murray Zuckoff, Socialist Workers candidate for state senator. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). A usp. Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance.

NEW YORK

Gus Sedares, chairman of the Federation of Union Representatives and a leader of Citizens Committee for a \$1.50 Minimum Wage, speaks on What Happened to the \$1.50 Minimum Wage? A report on the plight of New York's most exploited workers. Fri., May 3, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

MAY DAY DANCE presented by Labor Negro Vanguard Conference. Sat., May 4, 11 p.m.-3 a.m. Skyline Ballroom, Hotel Theresa, 125th St. & 7th Ave. Advance contrib. \$2, at door \$2.50. For table and ticket reservations, in New Jersey, 243-7082. In New York, EN 9-4333. Jersey City, HE 4-0003.

OAKLAND

LAND REFORM: Capitalist and Socialist. A comparison of 23 years of Mexico's land reform with four years of Cuba's. Speakers: Saul Landau, Editor, *Studies on the Left*. Larry Schumm, Chairman, Berkeley Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., May 3, 8 p.m. 563 16th St. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

Is Negro Ticket in Offing?

Muslim Leader Poses Political Action Issue

By George Breitman

Elijah Muhammad's recent call on the Negro people to "elect your own candidates" raises more questions than it answers. But they are crucial questions, and it is good for them to be raised and discussed widely.

The Muslim leader's statement on political action was reported in the March 18 issue of *Muhammad Speaks*, but with only a few direct quotations. It said that Muhammad urged American Negroes to "seek freedom through unity and through the judicious use of the ballot box in the coming elections." It also reported him as saying that "honest and adequate political representation for the black people in America was an essential step towards the winning of equal justice for the oppressed and persecuted."

The only direct quotations attributed to Muhammad were these:

"There will be no real freedom for the so-called Negro in America until he elects his own political leaders and his own candidates.

"Black people in America must elect their own candidates instead



Malcolm X

of merely existing under those chosen by the descendants of the slaveholders who are primarily interested in keeping the slave-master's children in a servant status.

"Our future lies in electing our own."

One question immediately raised is this: Does this mean that the Muslim movement, which advocates that Negroes separate and form their own nation, is now preparing to initiate political action or participate in the political life of the United States? It has not done so up to now. The question is important because of the influence of the Muslims in the Negro community, which is considerably larger than their direct membership.

The *Muhammad Speaks* article talks of "the movement of the Muslims towards the political front" and interprets Muhammad's statement to mean that "hereafter the large Muslim movement in North America would enter the political arena on the side of candidates with programs designed to alleviate the deplorable conditions under which Negroes are forced to live."

But what the paper actually quotes of Muhammad's statement does not indicate any definite decision to "enter the political arena." The April 1 *Militant* quoted New York Muslim leader Malcolm X as having said on March 23 that people were asking him if the Muslims were going into politics and that his answer was, "If we do, we'll do it right." In spite of the *Muhammad Speaks* interpretation, which stirred up a lot of momentary excitement and speculation, we must conclude that the Muslims have not yet decided to enter the political arena.

But Muhammad's statement shows that they are thinking about it. It also probably reflects a certain amount of pressure from sections of the Negro community that look hopefully to the Muslims for leadership in the Negro struggle. His statement may be in the nature of a feeler — to probe reactions and gauge possibilities. The Muslims have been showing greater flexibility and keener sensitivity toward moods of the Negro masses, especially during the last year. We must not forget that like other tendencies in the Negro movement, they not only influence the Negro community but also are influenced by it. It would be a mistake to think of the Muslims as a fixed and unchangeable tendency, and I, for one, think that under certain conditions they may decide to enter the political field.

If they do, the repercussions would be widespread in at least two directions:

1) It would strengthen movements to elect Negro representatives to public office. More Negro

candidates would run, more would be elected. We might see the appearance of local Negro parties, even a national one.

2) It would produce big changes inside the Muslim movement, and big changes in their relations with other organizations in the Negro community and, ultimately, with other major forces in American life.

How big would depend, of course, on what kind of political action they advocated and undertook.

Would it be political action to elect Negro Democrats or Republicans, that is, candidates running on the tickets of the parties that have been and are responsible for racial oppression? Or would it be to elect Negroes running independently of the capitalist parties, in opposition to the capitalist party candidates, and responsible to the Negro community rather than to the old and corrupt political machines?

Muhammad's statement is not even vague on this point — it does not deal with it at all. The remarks of *Muhammad Speaks* are even less helpful: "on the side of candidates with programs designed to alleviate" Negro conditions could mean almost anything.

Nobody knows the answer at this point. When Muhammad's statement first appeared, a black nationalist (non-Muslim) assured me that the Muslims would "never get mixed up in the old kind of politics." I repeat, however, nobody knows at this point.

Hitting Pipe?

I hope the readers of this article will not think I have been hitting the pipe because I talk about the possibility of an independent Negro party. No such party is going to be formed overnight, or by the 1964 election. But from what I hear and read, there is a good deal of talk and thought about this question in Negro nationalist circles, among Negro "integrationists" as well as Negro "separatists." The desire of the Negro masses to be represented by Negroes in public office and elsewhere has grown very strong in the last decade. Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, who keeps his ear to the ground, flirts with this sentiment now and then by talking about the need to establish a Negro or civil-rights party.

The idea itself is far from fantastic. The strategic basis for such a party already exists. It was created by the capitalist system of segregation, which has herded millions of Negroes together in the ghettos of the biggest cities in the North and South. As whites continue to flee from the big cities to the suburbs, the relative weight of the Negroes becomes ever greater. Right now, if the Negroes were united in a party of their own, they are so situated that they could sweep the elections in dozens of congressional districts. A Negro party could elect a bloc of candidates that could even hold the legislative balance of power in Washington and several big industrial states, and therefore be able to force some serious concessions from the capitalist parties.

Because Negroes are only ten or eleven per cent of the population, a Negro party could not expect to win national power by itself. But the creation of a Negro party would have a profound impact on the whole political structure of the nation, not just on the Negro community.

The withdrawal of Negroes into a party of their own would signal the doom of the Democratic Party as a major national party. Deprived of the Negro vote (it now gets around three-quarters of that), the Democrats would be unable to win elections in the key

Northern states, and the reactionary Southern Democrats would quickly take over undisputed control of what would be left of the party.

That's not all. A break of the Negroes from the capitalist parties, which today means mainly a break from the Democratic Party, would provoke an acute crisis in the labor movement, whose leaders now serve as junior partners of the Democrats. With Negroes abandoning the Democratic Party, with the relative weight of the Dixiecrats increasing inside the Democratic Party, and with Democrats unable to win national elections, the union movement's coalition with the Democrats would be plainly seen by everybody for what it actually is — bankrupt as well as stupid.

Dissatisfaction with being a tail to the Democratic donkey, which already exists in labor's ranks, would accelerate tremendously. Sentiment for an independent labor party, already being generated by other material and political factors, would come to a boil. The decline of the Democratic Party would hasten the formation of a labor party.

Right from the start a labor party would be compelled, in everything it said and did, to take the existence of a Negro party into account. It would most likely seek to arrange an alliance between the two parties, which could only be done by adopting the just demands of the Negro people. On their side, the Negroes, when assured that an alliance would not subordinate their interests or sidetrack their struggle for equality, would probably welcome co-operation with a labor party. The result would eventually be either a merger of the two parties or their close collaboration in a struggle for political power. What

began as the independent action of a minority could end as the reconstruction of society by a majority.

It is too early to predict these things will happen, or will happen just this way. My point, for the present, is merely that when Negroes begin talking about electing candidates of their own, they are talking about one of the potentially most explosive and revolutionary questions in the world, which could lead to changing the whole political climate and future of this country. Socialists must understand this if they are to help promote this process of radical change.



Powell

Mexican Magazine Off Stands in L.A.

The bi-monthly magazine *Política*, published in Mexico, is pro-Castro. Made up in a format that resembles *Times*, it has enjoyed considerable circulation in California, where there is a large Mexican-American population.

The Militant has received a letter from Leonardo Sanchez of Los Angeles who writes that for the last few months, *Política* has been unobtainable at newsstands there. He encloses a clipping from the Los Angeles *Herald Examiner* of April 12 in which the reason for the magazine's unavailability is explained.

Attorney General Stanley Mosk of California reported to Governor Brown that he had investigated two Mexican magazines, *Política* and *Siempre*, which he declares, express a "definite pro-Castro editorial policy and are extremely critical of the United States." He cited the current issue of *Siempre* which "pictures President Kennedy on the cover as a school teacher with the slogan 'Bases plus United Fruit minus Castro equals Alliance for Progress,' written on the blackboard."

Mosk admits that the journals are not violating any state laws. Nevertheless, he has notified Attorney General Robert Kennedy of their presence in the U.S.

A letter to the editor of *Política* (April 1) from Alberto Utrecho, Los Angeles, describes one way U.S. thought-controllers keep the magazine out of the U.S. All Mexican newspapers and magazines are distributed through one company in the Mexican border city of Tijuana. If a U.S. firm has included *Política* in its order, not only that publication but all the other periodicals it has ordered are stopped by the U.S. customs agents.

Utrecho explained how important *Política* has been to many people here who are interested in reading about Mexico and the unfolding Latin-American revolution. Especially important to them, he continued, was to have available the complete text of Fidel Castro's speeches — many of which were printed in *Política*. He goes on to tell of the growing socialist movement in the U.S., especially among youth and intellectuals, among whose publications he lists *The National Guardian*, *The People's World*, *The Young Socialist* and *The Militant*.

... Castro Analyzes U.S. Line

(Continued from Page 1)

were taken, the steps, which were concluded in the certainty of an aggression against our country, were those steps dealing with the strengthening of our armed forces and the consignment of the strategic missiles to our country."

Castro continued: "Now the world knows who was responsible for the Caribbean crisis . . . The whole world can see that Cuba acted in legitimate defense, that measures which the Cuban government — together with the Soviet government — adopted, were just measures, and necessary measures to put the brakes on the aggressors, the warmakers."

"Already," said Castro, "it was no longer a problem of six or seven divisions or of divisions at all, but of facing the risk of nuclear war." The Pentagon planners, the Cuban leader said, once again had to ask themselves "what happened?"

The Miró Cardona revelations, said Castro, have helped make clear to the world Cuba's reasons for accepting Russian arms, but they are an extreme embarrassment to the Kennedy administration. It is Washington's policy of aggression toward the Cuban revolution, "a policy of violation of international law, a policy without morals, without principles, which inevitably leads it into these absurd, discreditable, insoluble predicaments."

The revolution follows a principled policy, said Castro, and "in every case is shown to be right, has won, while they [the Kennedy administration] in every case have been beaten, and each time their policy is more nakedly exposed."

Castro said that a new situation has been created as a result

of the defeats suffered by imperialism and of Soviet military aid to Cuba. It is, he said, "a very delicate problem for the imperialists," and they can no longer afford the comedy of errors provided by the Cuban counter-revolutionaries.

He said the only sensible course for Kennedy would be to abandon the policy of trying to crush the Cuban revolution. "Deeds have proven the defeat and bankruptcy of this policy," said Castro. "We have defeated their policy," he said, "but will they renounce it? We are not able to say . . . Our attitude is this: If they make a peaceful policy, we'll make a peaceful policy. If they persist in aggressions, we will continue to defend ourselves by all means and with all arms and we will continue to fight with all our energy and we will continue to give them setbacks."

In the meantime, the easing of tension has permitted the completion of an exchange of prisoners. Twenty-one U.S. citizens being held in Cuba were released and four Cubans held here were returned to Cuba. Three of the latter had been arrested last November on trumped-up charges of planning to commit sabotage. The fourth was Francisco Molina, the young factory worker framed on a murder charge during Fidel Castro's visit to the UN in 1960.

Molina was in a New York City restaurant frequented by pro-Castro Cubans when it was raided by armed counter-revolutionaries shipped up from Miami by the CIA to cause trouble during Castro's visit. A nine-year-old girl was killed by a stray bullet during the fighting in the restaurant and police framed Molina while letting the attackers go free.

THE MILITANT

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Kennedy OKs Guatemala Junta

President Kennedy has extended the warm welcome of diplomatic recognition to the military junta in Guatemala, thus giving tacit endorsement to the outright dictatorship the coup of last month set up in place of the less-than-democratic Ydigoras regime.

The liberals who cover for the administration are busily explaining that the move was not "pleasant" but was based upon a recognition of the realities of Latin America. It is necessary, say the liberals, to support totalitarian regimes of the right in order to stave off the threat of communism in Latin America.

In other words, the Alliance for Progress has come to the point of declaring that Progress, in its dictionary, often means the military boot on the face of the Latin American masses. This sorry admission by U.S. imperialism strips the mask from its real motives and goals in South America.

The liberals have said that they do not oppose social change in Cuba and Latin America — in fact they are for it. What they oppose, so they say, is lack of freedom. And then they "grudgingly" accept totalitarian rightist regimes in the name of the higher cause of opposing — "totalitarianism" in Cuba!

This hypocritical doublethink clearly shows that the question which bothers the Kennedy brothers and the ruling circles of the United States has nothing to do with democracy or totalitarianism. The real issue is protection of the property of a few U.S. capitalists in Latin America.

Washington is determined to smash the most democratic regime in the Americas — the revolutionary government of Cuba — because Cuba dared touch the property of U.S. imperialists. Conversely Washington's support is given to the dictatorship in Guatemala because that dictatorship defends the property and promotes the interests of the wealthy few.

Passport Curb Revived

On April 19 the State Department resumed the practice begun during the McCarthy era of denying passports to persons who refuse to sign a non-communist oath. A Quaker was denied his passport when he declined to sign the oath, which he termed "an historic instrument of tyranny." He was accorded no hearing — on the grounds that he hadn't filled out all of his application.

The State Department action is a reversal of its policy since 1958, when the oath was dropped. In 1958 the U. S. Court of Appeals directed the State Department to grant hearings to persons denied passports. In the same year the Supreme Court ruled that "the freedom to travel is a part of the 'liberty' of which the citizen cannot be deprived without due process of law."

The Supreme Court in 1961, however, upheld the constitutionality of the McCarran Internal Security Act. The McCarran Act makes it a crime for a member of the Communist Party even to apply for a passport. Early last year the State Department revoked the passports of five leaders of the Communist Party.

Apologists for the non-communist oath and the McCarran Act restrictions upon the passport rights of members of the Communist Party say that their aim is to prevent "subversion." Such a flimsy argument, straight from the late, unlamented Senator from Wisconsin, is a pretext for political suppression.

The right to travel is a right of all citizens, not a favor or privilege to be meted out at the whim of the State Department. Restrictions of that right do not protect the American people, but are a form of thought control. As such they must be vigorously condemned and fought by all those who believe in civil liberties and political freedom.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Per cent
Chicago	\$ 1,400	\$ 700	50
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	430	43
Detroit	900	378	42
Allentown	150	60	40
Connecticut	200	80	40
San Francisco	750	277	37
Newark	225	82	36
Oakland-Berkeley	750	249	33
Boston	750	230	31
New York	5,800	1,530	26
St. Louis	100	26	26
Milwaukee	350	85	24
San Diego	400	92	23
Philadelphia	350	51	15
General	345	35	10
Los Angeles	6,300	500	8
Seattle	600	50	8
Denver	130	10	8
Cleveland	500	31	6
Totals to April 22	\$21,000	\$ 4,896	23%

A 'Precocious Autobiography'

Why Yevtushenko Drew Kremlin Ire

By George Saunders

For several weeks now the popular young Soviet poet, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, has been under attack by Soviet officialdom because of his "unpardonable" act of publishing his uncensored autobiography in the French weekly, *L'Express*. He apparently delivered the manuscript while in Paris on a mid-February poetry-reading tour. Now he is threatened with restrictions on further travel abroad and on publication at home.

Yevtushenko's *Precocious Autobiography* presents the facts of his personal life as commentaries on the Soviet past, present and future. He relates, for example, his last memory of his maternal grandfather, a key organizer of revolutionary peasants in the Urals and East Siberia, who had later become a Red Army general.

He came sadly into little Yevgeny's bedroom one night and sat watching his grandson a long time, softly singing to him songs of the revolution. The same night he was arrested in Stalin's purge of Tukhachevsky and other Red Army leaders. But the boy did not learn of his grandfather's fate for a long time; his parents hid it from him.

The Purges

Of the purges of the 1930's Yevtushenko writes that the majority of Soviet people labored on the Five Year Plans with "heroic stubbornness" to drown out "the cries and sighs that issued through the barbed wire of Siberian concentration camps."

"But it was impossible to ignore those sighs." Even the children sensed the contradiction between daily life and the traditions of the revolution and its nationalized, planned economy. Our elders tried to protect us, he writes, but all their efforts merely underlined "the incoherence of the world surrounding us." Describing life during World War II, he says it was not nationalistic love of country that won the war. Despite the "nightmare" of Stalin's prison camps, the Russian people suffered through the war to defend, "above all, the Revolution."

A better life was expected after victory, but, instead, even men



Khrushchev

with outstanding war records suffered police surveillance or arrest. The contrast between daily life and the "ideals of the workers and peasants of 1917" grew even sharper.

He tells how in the 1947 monetary reform that wiped out all savings not kept in state banks, a pompous functionary shot himself. A pile of money was found in his mattress. Yevtushenko recalls how earlier this official had quoted to him Lenin's words on how meaningless gold would be under communism. Such men, he says, were always using fine words to cover their shady personal interests.

In describing Soviet literature under Stalin, Yevtushenko tells how posts in the Writers' Union went to those hacks who best praised Stalin and deified "Labor" in the abstract. No one wrote about the real problems of the Soviet workers. Careerists competed greedily for the money and prestige rewards of the Stalin Prize.

One of the book's most striking sections is about anti-Semitism. The hacks and time-servers who dominated literary life introduced anti-Semitism into it, he says. In certain periods under Stalin, "this evil practice," which Tsarism had nurtured to divert popular unrest onto the Jews, was revived.

He tells of a young Soviet writer, identified only by the initial, "K," whom he got to know. K argued that all disrupters in the Russian revolutionary movement

— "from the Bund to Trotsky" — had been Jews.

On the eve of Stalin's death in 1953 the so-called Doctor's Plot was concocted. Its anti-Semitic overtones profoundly disturbed Yevtushenko, but K danced with joy. "They're all Jews," he cried.

The two young men went to see an old film of the revolution. In one scene Tsarist gangs on a pogrom shouted, "Kill the Yids! Save Russia!" Yevtushenko asked his friend, "You wouldn't want to see that again, would you?"

K replied, "Listen, we're dialecticians. We shouldn't reject the past completely." There was a glint in his eye worthy of a Hitler Youth, says Yevtushenko, but he wore the pin of the Young Communist League.

How Come?

Yevtushenko asks how a 24-year-old man, educated in a country which was founded on the basis of internationalism, could have become anti-Semitic. The answer: Stalinism. "To be sure, Stalin did not justify this in theory. But neither did he erect a theory of the necessity for careerism, informing, bureaucratic arbitrariness, lying, contempt for people and falsification of history. But his practice... favored all that."

Yevtushenko makes of K a symbol of everything he opposes. He considers such a man more dangerous to Communism than its worst enemies in the West. Yet K sets himself up as a guardian of "Communist purity."

Yevtushenko must have known that this passage would provoke particular ire among Soviet officials, who have been criticizing the use of his poem, *Babi Yar* — an attack on anti-Semitism — in Shostakovich's new symphony. They argue that the poem, by giving undue importance to the matter, aids anti-Communist propaganda.

As if in rebuttal of such arguments, Yevtushenko writes that men like K construe any criticism of themselves as attacks on Communism, considering Communism their personal monopoly, while, in fact, they do the most to discredit Communism.

Discussing the bureaucratic elite, he states that anti-Semitic chauvinism was not the only characteristic of men like K. "I watched with horror as they had new homes built in the center of Moscow, installing themselves in luxury next to overcrowded tenements where several families were crowded into each apartment." He noted, moreover, how this privileged bureaucracy gleefully gulped down articles with barely-concealed anti-Semitic overtones.

Public Property

They accumulated their privileges under the noses of the underpaid workers. It was from public property that these already-privileged functionaries received, over and above their salaries, 'blue packets' — under-the-table gifts of money, often larger than their salaries.

They saw soviet society as consisting of two categories: those 'on high' — that is to say, themselves and their ilk; and those 'below' — that is to say, everybody else. Yevtushenko dryly adds that he could not find in any Communist textbook the justification for such a division.

No speech of Khrushchev, whether "secret" or open, has so clearly exposed the essence of Stalinism as this autobiography by the courageous and talented Soviet poet. The official fulminations and reprisals it has called down on his head attest to this.

NEXT WEEK: Yevtushenko's rise to literary prominence with the growth of a new mood among soviet youth.

Militant Fund Drive

They Called Them Sunday Socialists

By Marvel Scholl

National Fund Drive Director

When I was a kid the Socialist Party was still a rather large political party — not so large in numbers, however, as its periphery of sympathizers. My Dad considered himself a socialist but was never a formal member. The only times he ever voted was when Eugene V. Debs was running for president and when Van Lear ran on the Socialist ticket for mayor of Minneapolis — he served two terms. But every year Dad dragged the whole family to the SP picnic usually held at Minnehaha Falls.

I remember one of those picnics vividly. I had just got over one of the childhood diseases and so — unlike the other kids — was restricted from wandering away from the "speaking." The speaker was a short, fat, bald-headed man whom I knew well — a North Minneapolis bill collector who had been hounding my folks. There he was, up on the platform, without his suit coat, without the huge diamond ring or garish tie pin which had always fascinated me. His tie was off, his starch white shirtsleeves rolled up. He spoke at great length and I heard enough of his fiery oratory before I fell asleep, my head pillowed on my mother's lap, to

know that he was against slums, poverty and hunger, all of which he blamed on "the system." I drifted off to sleep thinking that this man had changed indeed and that now he would quit making my mother cry because she didn't have the money he wanted to collect.

I was wrong. He was back at our door on Monday.

When I grew up and became interested in real socialist politics, I learned there was a name for my bill collector — a Sunday Socialist. I learned that a great many of the orators who spoke at those annual picnics were just like him — socialists for one Sunday a year. The rest of the time they were just as good businessmen as any of the capitalists they ranted against — once a year.

The Militant and its supporters are not Sunday Socialists. We don't roll up our shirtsleeves once a year to expound about the evils of capitalism. We keep those sleeves rolled up all year round. We don't orate. We speak the truth, and that is oratory enough. I guess you'd call us Full-Time Socialists.

If you too want to prove you're not a Sunday Socialist, do it by sending in your Truth Dollars to the Militant Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

The Canadian Labor Party Vote

By Ross Dowson
Secretary of the League for Socialist Action

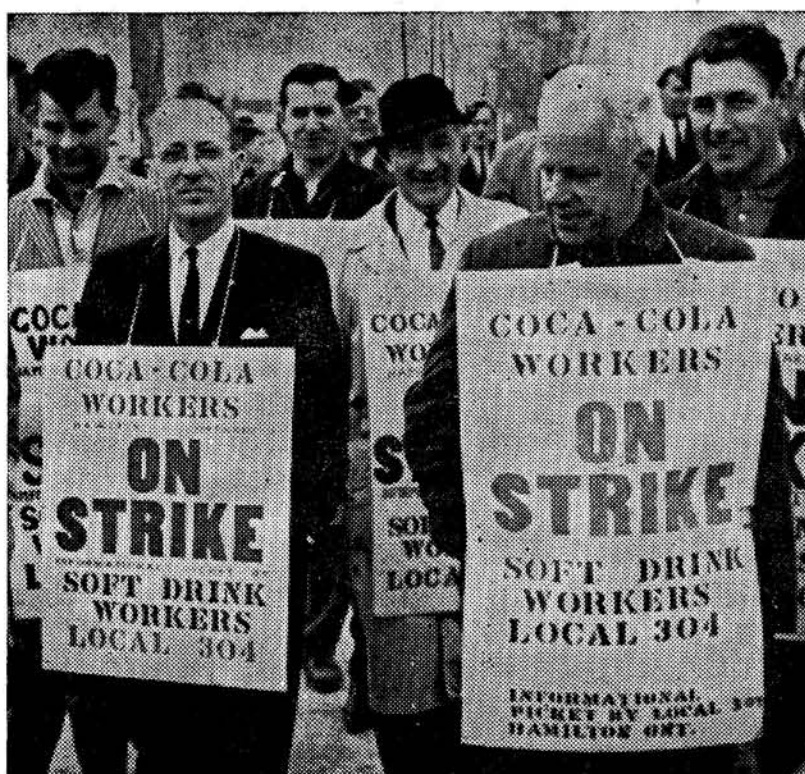
TORONTO — How did Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, founded two years ago with high hopes and great anticipation and with a solid base of support in the organized labor movement, make out in this election?

For those American trade-union militants and socialists, who look to the NDP as an example to emulate, it may be hard to take, but this election registered a defeat for the movement. Not that the struggle for a labor party has been dealt anything like a mortal blow or even that this effort through the NDP is washed out. Not by a long shot. But it is apparent that the job of building a mass labor party is a much bigger one than just getting it underway — that is only a beginning in the fullest sense of the word. There remain big questions of policy and leadership, and these are proving to be crucial matters indeed — even now, in the NDP's early and formative stages!

Political lines in Canada have been shattered and shattered again in the past seven years. After 22 years in office, the capitalist Liberal Party suffered a crushing defeat. A year later there were many predictions that it was through as a federal [national] party and that the remnants would fuse with the capitalist Progressive Conservatives or Tory party. Then the next election registered a setback for the Tories, a revival of the Liberals, and the entry onto the Quebec scene of Social Credit. The recent election campaign opened with the NDP deputy leader writing off the Tories. But the April 8 election witnessed a reconsolidation of the Tory machine, the Liberal machine, and Social Credit in Quebec as well.

In this great ebb and flow, the NDP, which started off as heir to the substantial support that the more socialist inclined Co-operative Commonwealth Federation had worked up over the years, has made no progress. In 1957 the CCF polled 11 per cent of the total vote; in 1958 the NDP polled 10 per cent; in 1962, 13.9 per cent; and in this election, 14 per cent.

Not only did this election see the NDP fail to increase its vote substantially over the old CCF — and that is just what the elimination of planks for public ownership and any hint of socialism from the program and the streamlining of the movement into a high-powered electoral machine was supposed to do, according to the reformists — but the party's strategic position has deteriorated. Far from being pushed into coalition, the Tories have firmly established themselves in the prairie provinces, rural Ontario, and they have held on in Quebec. The Liberals strengthened themselves in urban Ontario and re-established themselves in Quebec. Social Credit, far from proving to be a flash in the pan, has doubled and tripled its support in Quebec urban



LABOR CANDIDATE. Canadian New Democratic Party leader T. C. Douglas (left) on picket line at struck Hamilton Coca Cola plant last winter.

working-class areas.

In all this turmoil, this shattering of former political alliances, with such crucial questions being posed as whether Canada should join the nuclear arms race, interference of the U.S. State Department in Canada's internal affairs and the impact of U.S. capital on its economy, massive unemployment and economic planning, the NDP made no headway. It was blocked in the main industrial ridings [constituencies] in the East and pushed back slightly in its British Columbia stronghold. Two seats which were previously NDP and where it was able to carry on a saturation campaign were lost, so that the party now has 17 seats in parliament. In Toronto York South, the party's deputy leader lost to the Liberals and even dropped votes. In Nova Scotia's Glace Bay, a 3,800 plurality just disappeared and a Tory was elected — some 3,000 miners' votes stayed home.

The reformist NDP leadership attribute this defeat to the impact of the big-business appeal for a stable, a majority government. There is, no doubt, considerable truth in this. But NDP reformist leadership's whole strategy played right into the hands of the Liberals and Tories. And this opinion of ours is not one formed after the event.

The League for Socialist Action, which has been working to build a broad left wing in the NDP, to win the party to a class-struggle program and a socialist perspective, warned of this danger and attempted to correct this situation, not only before but all during the course of this election. It attempted to do so through the participation of its forces in the various riding campaigns and through its press, the *Workers Vanguard*. During the height of the campaign, the *Vanguard* published three separate issues devoted almost entirely to the election campaign. Some 70,000 copies were distributed in major points across the country.

The first special election issue hailed NDP leader Douglas' declaration that the key issue was nuclear arms and supplied extensive ammunition to combat illusions prevalent amongst pacifist circles, bolstered up by the Communist Party, that the Diefenbaker Tories were a party of opposition to nuclear arms.

In a lead editorial, the second issue warned against views, already being expressed by the leadership, that while the party was running sufficient candidates to form a government it had no perspective whatsoever of forming a government and would sup-

port whichever capitalist party that gained a majority. This defeatism was seized upon by Tory and particularly by Liberal spokesmen and used with devastating effect to dismiss the NDP as a futile protest movement and buttress their high-powered propaganda drive for election of a stable, a majority government.

This issue of *Vanguard* also warned against the down-grading by NDP policy makers of the nuclear arms issue at the very time that Diefenbaker was demagogically seizing it. At the same time, it warned against the ambiguity of official NDP policy statements opposing nuclear arms for Canada but supporting the military alliance with U.S. imperialism, the very force demanding that Canada nuclear arm, and urged the proclaiming of the party's official position of withdrawal from a NATO which is now being nuclear armed.

The third and final issue pointed up the full-scale retreat of party spokesmen from any policy of public ownership, which rendered all its propaganda about "jobs for all" and planning just so much demagoguery and gave the party an image in no obvious way distinguishable from that of the capitalist parties.

The criticisms developed by the *Vanguard* within the framework of solid support to the NDP unfortunately proved correct. The reformist leadership of the NDP ran this election campaign on their terms. It was not a test of the full possibilities that are latent in the NDP even at this stage, but a test of their program and their strategy. This gives added urgency to the work of the socialists organized in the League for Socialist Action.

The Communist Party, which has solidly aligned itself with Khrushchev in the Sino-Soviet dispute, ran 12 candidates — all in ridings contested by the NDP. The averaged 347 votes. In a situation where there is a genuine labor party formation they prettified the capitalist Tory party. The Tories approved of the construction of all the military hardware which becomes functional only when nuclear armed, committed themselves to support of nuclear armament of Canadian NATO forces should the NATO powers request it. But the CP characterized it as an anti-nuclear, anti-American-imperialism, and progressive alternative to the capitalist Liberal Party. Where the CP estimated the NDP didn't have a chance of electing its candidate, it supported the capitalist Tory party.

Will Castro's Trip to Moscow Be Followed by One to Peking?

By William F. Warde

The Cuban government has announced that Fidel Castro will visit the Soviet Union some time this year at Khrushchev's invitation. This will be the Cuban premier's first trip abroad since 1960 when he addressed the UN in New York.

There have been strains upon the relations between Havana and Moscow since Khrushchev carried on negotiations with Kennedy during the Caribbean crisis without consulting the Cuban government. Deputy Premier Mikoyan's three-and-a-half-week sojourn on the island last November failed to mollify Castro's justified anger at Moscow's disregard of Cuba's sovereign rights and the failure of the Latin-American Communist parties, except in Venezuela, to try to rally the masses in Cuba's defense at the height of the blockade.

It is quite likely that, among other matters, the two premiers will discuss some of the issues raised by the Sino-Soviet dispute. It will be interesting to see whether Castro's journey to Moscow is followed by one to Peking. He would be assured of a rousing reception in both countries. The achievements of the Cuban revolution and the heroic composure of the Cubans in the face of the aggressions and provocations of the Yankee colossus are tremendously admired throughout the workers' states.

There has been much inconclusive speculation in the world press on Cuba's attitude in the Sino-Soviet controversy. According to some commentators, Cuba is so dependent on Soviet economic and military aid that it would not dare offend Moscow by siding with Peking. Others point out, quite correctly, that Havana's line on the revolutionary struggles in the colonial countries, as presented in Castro's speeches, is very close to that of the Chinese leadership and runs counter to the policy of collaboration with the colonial bourgeoisie pursued by Khrushchev and his followers.

A reasonable explanation for the perplexity of the experts on where Cuba stands is that Castro is resolved to try and steer an independent course in the Sino-Soviet conflict as long as he can. The well-known correspondent K. S. Karol, who has access to excellent sources of information in Havana, made some interesting observations in the British publication *New Statesman* (March 22) on Castro's determination to avoid committing Cuba to either side in the schism.

"Latin-Americans, in the mean-

Berkeley-Oakland Election Returns

A Fair Housing Ordinance was defeated in a close referendum in Berkeley, Calif. The anti-discrimination measure lost, 22,720 to 20,323 in one of the highest turnouts of voters in Berkeley history.

A strong campaign against the ordinance was organized by the Citizens League for Individual Freedom. The controversy over the bill emphasized the discrimination against the city's Negroes, who make up 20 per cent of Berkeley's population.

Rose Jersawitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, received 532 votes. Geoffrey White, SWP candidate for City Council, tallied 2,986 votes.

In the apathetic Oakland campaign, no mention was made of real problems confronting the voters other than in campaign talks of Paul Montauk, SWP candidate for City Council. Just prior to election day, the *Oakland Tribune* characterized his campaign as "one where his main stress was against war, discrimination and . . . the harm of automation." Montauk received 2,938 votes.



Fidel Castro

time," he writes, "have not failed to notice that *Revolución*, Castro's paper, regularly publishes anti-Khrushchev diatribes from Peking. Those who know Castro believe he may at any moment throw a dialectical H-bomb into the Sino-Soviet argument by publishing the inside story of the missiles deal. Such revelations would not of themselves swing the dispute decisively in China's favour. But they might well be a death-blow to the pro-Soviet Old Guard in the Latin communist parties.

"As so often in the past, these men have given unconditional support to the Khrushchev line. The senior Cuban communists, such as Blas Roca, even tried to persuade Castro to accept international inspection. Needless to say, this merely produced a catastrophic decline in their influence with Castro, who now refers to them contemptuously as 'satellites.'

"This repudiation of the old leaders is taking place elsewhere. In Brazil, Luis Carlos Prestes has virtually lost all his authority. His ex-followers now look to Francisco Juliao, the leader of the Peasant Leagues, who, though not a communist, is a genuine revolutionary. There are many other examples. The Chinese offensive, in fact, has served to bring a process to a head."

On the other side of the situation, Karol goes on to say: "But if the Latin revolutionaries are turning away from Moscow, this does not necessarily mean they are turning towards Peking. Fidel Castro may have lost his illusions about Moscow, but he has not become a Maoist either. He does not accept Peking's crude analysis about the 'decline of imperialism,' he finds it difficult to follow the Stalinist scholasticism of Mao's language, and in any case he will not accept the ideological and intellectual dogmatism which lies behind it.

"When he claims that 'Cuba is the only free country in the world,' he is making fun of the Chinese as well as Russians and Americans."

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A New Factor in Algerian Politics

Burst of Popular Enthusiasm for Ben Bella

By Joseph Hansen

PARIS — The shooting of Mohammed Khemisti April 11 abruptly cut across one of the most interesting and significant developments in the Algerian Revolution since the winning of independence from France. This was the great outpouring of masses to greet Ben Bella when he went on a national tour after his government took a series of measures that turned the helm sharply away from neo-colonialism and in the direction of socialism.

When the news came of the attempt on the young foreign minister's life, Ben Bella at once ended his tour and rushed to Algiers for an emergency session of the Political Bureau. Preliminary investigations indicated that the assassin was mentally unbalanced. His deed, however, could not help but have political significance, for it at once raised the question of changes in posts and this coincided with mounting pressure for sweeping shifts in the government.

The popular response to Ben Bella, while cut short by a tragic event, remains a fact of the first order of importance. It was scarcely reported in the Paris newspapers although some of the political commentators show that they grasped its significance. The American press seems to have been completely unaware of what happened or decidedly loath to bring it to public attention. The Algerian papers, however, provide abundant and vivid material.

First as to the size of the crowds. At Souk-Ahras 150,000 turned out at the stadium. After Ben Bella spoke, an immense crowd followed his auto to the plaza. There a crowd of 80,000 jammed the square. Comparable figures can be cited everywhere Ben Bella appeared. In the smaller places the entire population

What the Algerians Told Their Leader

PARIS — The key slogans that appeared on banners among the crowds that greeted Ben Bella on his tour are listed in the April 13 El Moudjahid, central organ of the FLN (Party of the National Liberation Front), as follows:

In Algiers: "Everybody united for the triumph of socialism!" "Land to the peasants; factories to the workers!" "Support Brother Ben Bella!" "End the exploitation of man by man!"

In Oran: "Long live the Management Committees!" "Long live Ben Bella!" "Yes to Algerian socialism!" "The Revolution is our goal!"

In Mostaganem: "The UGTA [trade unions] united behind the government!" "Yes to the recent decision for socialism!"

In Souk-Ahras: "One sole party, the FLN!"

In Blaudau: "Nationalization and free medicine!" "Participation of the Algerian woman in the development of the country!"

In Guelma: "Readjustment of agricultural wages!" "For free medicine!" "Confidence and total support to Brother Ben Bella!"

poured out to surround the caravan. The smallest villages acted similarly. Let it be recalled that not so many months ago, Ben Bella lacked mass popularity.

Secondly as to the character of the response. The reports speak of

"delirious" roars of approval, of "wild enthusiasm." The word "in-describable" appears a number of times in descriptions of the sea of human beings.

What happened was a burst of popular enthusiasm such as has repeatedly characterized the Cuban Revolution.

The effect on the Algerian papers could be seen from day to day as the reporters became caught up in the mass mood and transmitted their exhilaration in turn to the staffs.

As for Ben Bella's speeches, they were simple and to the point and tended to center more and more on the significance of the new measures as steps toward socialism. That was what the people wanted to hear. Socialism is an extremely popular subject in Algeria today.

What the crowds were hailing, however, was not Ben Bella's capacity to make speeches, which does not compare with Castro's, but the measures he initiated before the tour. They took this direct way of approving the establishment of Workers' Management Committees, of Workers' Councils, of converting the "vacated properties" into a "socialist sector," and of nationalizing some big properties of both French and Algerian landholders. It will not be easy for anyone to reverse these steps.

The explosion of mass feeling that occurred on Ben Bella's tour has now become a new factor in Algerian politics for it clearly shows the popular backing for the impulsion given to the socialist tendency in the Algerian Revolution.

Can the revolutionary power of this popular enthusiasm now be mobilized as it was in Cuba? The further development of the Workers' Councils and Workers' Management Committees will provide an essential part of the answer to this important question.

Urge Planned Economy Step

PARIS — The April 16 issue of Le Peuple, the daily Algerian newspaper which tends to reflect the opinion of top government circles, devotes an entire page to posing the necessity of establishing a government monopoly of foreign trade in Algeria.

This is done in the form of three articles with illustrative photographs.

One article cites the section of the Tripoli Program dealing with the necessity of a "policy of planning with the democratic participation of the workers in the economic power." Algeria requires a planned economy which includes the "nationalization of foreign trade."

A second article reprints sections of a study of the nationalization of foreign trade in the under-developed countries. "After having demonstrated the importance of revenues drawn from foreign trade," says an editorial note, "we insist today on the necessity of nationalizing the latter so that the socialist orientation of a state shall not be counteracted by the private appetites of liberal economy."

A third article cites preliminary steps already taken in Algeria in this direction. A decree on December 13, 1962, for example, placed control of exports of fodder in the hands of the government. In conjunction with this decree and another one on December 22 a National Office of Commerce was set up (ONACO) to make a beginning in government control of foreign trade.

The article discusses the importance of "the nationalization of foreign trade for our country on the road to socialism and for raising the standard of living of the people." It is with this in mind and in accordance with the Tripoli Program that "our government created last December the National Office of Commerce."

Communists Query Ben Bella On Pace of Nationalizations

PARIS — While the Algerian Communist party has been banned in Algeria, its viewpoint nonetheless finds at least limited expression in the daily *Alger Républicain* published in Algiers. This paper has hailed the new measures taken by Ben Bella as opening the way for Algeria to become "non-capitalist." However, the approval of the CP appears to be not without its doubts and reservations.

At a press conference given by Ben Bella April 16, the chief editor of *Alger Républicain*, Abdelhamid Benzine, asked the following questions:

"Too Fast?"

"These first measures having been taken, isn't it necessary, before taking others, to consolidate these first conquests before going forward? Aren't you afraid that in going too fast difficulties could arise that would risk bringing defeat to the whole enterprise?"

"Don't you think that the national bourgeoisie, the patriotic faction, still has a positive role to play, in union with all the people to complete the national independence, to assure our full and entire sovereignty and to participate in the construction of the country? If yes, in what way?"

"What role can the press and organs of information in general play for the success of the measures which you have taken and the mobilization of the masses, in the country's tasks of construction?"

Response

Ben Bella's response to these questions, which might well have come from a capitalist newspaper solicitous over the fate of the Algerian bourgeoisie, was reported as follows by *Alger Républicain*:

"Before replying, the President smilingly asked if it was really *Alger Républicain* that posed these three questions. This observation had the effect of relaxing the audience and the representatives of our paper joined in the laughter of the President, the ministers and all those present.

"Ahmed Ben Bella, still smiling, then said: 'No, we are not at all moving too fast . . . We waited six months because it was not possible to do it before . . . But it is impossible for us to wait now, at risk of losing the confidence of our militants . . .'

"As for the patriotic faction of

the bourgeoisie, notably the wholesalers, etc. . . they will not be attacked on condition that they don't think they have the right to continue acting as they have in the past; and the President then cited the example of certain officials or responsible people in the FLN party from whom farms had been recovered, and added that the bourgeoisie had a role to play.

"However, in place of buying real estate or making unproductive investments they must contribute to the country's construction and the President recalled once again the example of such investments at Relizane where the petty bourgeoisie participated in the running of a cannery and a roasting plant.

"The press, for its part, must explain, say what it thinks," Ahmed Ben Bella stressed, adding: "It must be positive . . . I say this particularly to *Alger Républicain*."

...Miss. Racists

(Continued from Page 1) the development of independent economic and political power to force real concessions or meaningful federal intervention.

A step in this direction was made last week when Rev. Martin Luther King appealed to the major unions and civil-rights groups across the country to organize a nation-wide boycott against chain stores whose branches practice discrimination in Birmingham. Response was tentative and spotty, but it nevertheless resulted April 20 in one day of the most successful boycott picketing ever held in this country. Both AFL-CIO unions and the Teamsters participated in a number of cities.

There will be pressure from the government, from "liberals," and from within the leadership of labor and the Negro movements to let this kind of activity wither away or stop at the token stage — on the ground that it will embarrass Kennedy or alienate businessmen. But only such independent pressure can produce results. At present the key to deepening this development lies with the Southern freedom fighters themselves and their ability — by defiant direct actions — to keep the world's attention riveted on places like Birmingham and Greenwood.

To Enforce a Bad Bargain
French Apply Economic Squeeze

PARIS — On April 16 Ben Bella again raised the question of revising the Evian accords which France exacted from Algeria a year ago as the price of a ceasefire. Last month when France violated Algerian sovereignty by testing a nuclear bomb in the Sahara, the head of the Algerian government asked for revision of the military provisions of these accords. Since then he has gone further and raised the question of renegotiation of the entire document.

The answer of the French government, on April 17, was a brief one. After a cabinet meeting attended by de Gaulle, government spokesman Peyrefitte said, "The government does not envisage a revision of the military clauses of the Evian accords."

This was enough for headlines

in the capitalist press and a round of applause from the editorial writers. *Le Monde* reported that it was interpreted in the department of Algerian Affairs as meaning "that the refusal of any revision, partial or over-all, is a constant position of the government."

Le Figaro, expressing its joy over de Gaulle's refusal to bend to the pressure for revision of the accords, called attention to an ironic note. Among those now advising the strictest adherence to the accords are extreme rightists who denounced them a year ago as a "pact of treason" and accused de Gaulle of "betrayal" for signing them.

The rightist pressure goes much beyond the effort to block any revision of the Evian accords. A campaign is now underway to undertake economic reprisals against the Ben Bella government. A good example of the vicious propaganda appearing in the capitalist press is provided by an article signed by Francois Mennelet which was featured on the front page of *Le Figaro* April 16.

"The head of the Algerian government would commit an error if he were to continue thinking, as he has declared, that the French government has given him some kind of blank check to socialize throughout all of Algeria the properties belonging to the French."

The French ambassador to Algeria, Gorse, has indicated, continues the writer, "that the French decisions, although not spectacular, are nonetheless a refusal to accept unilateral actions contrary to the signed treaty which despoil French proprietors of tens of

thousands of hectares [of land]."

Mennelet then indicates that the French government will now most likely slow down the meetings of commissions and other bodies assigned in the "plan of co-operation" and initiate "modification" that will become more apparent each day in French financial participation.

"In face of the new situation and the uncertainty which reigns over the fate of the French holdings," we are informed, "the participation of Paris — two hundred million francs [\$40,000,000] — has been blocked."

Funds for new equipment in Algeria have been similarly blocked.

What especially angers the representatives of French capitalism is quite evident from the following paragraph:

"In order to prevent some organism or other of management from receiving French subsidies only to then turn them over in authoritarian fashion to a strange firm, the funds should be provided only to enterprises that, in return, could be considered as supplying an indirect aid to the French economy."

Mennelet considers such "reprisals" regrettable. "But a climate of perpetual menace to the situation of our compatriots and to our national interests provokes a legitimate reply."

This "legitimate reply" in the interests of capitalist property may well provoke a legitimate counter-blow in the interests of the Algerian people. Socialists everywhere will have no difficulty deciding which side they stand on.

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Letters From Our Readers

Prejudice Against Women

Baltimore, Md.

It was very unfortunate that *The Militant* failed to mention the anniversary of International Women's Day (March 8). On this day in 1917, Russian women demonstrated the revolutionary potential of women by going on strike and initiating the chain of events leading to the overthrow of Czarism.

However it is not simply for historical reasons that this date deserves mention, but also for very present ones. American women — supposedly the most "liberated" in the world — are second-class citizens. The average American woman is as much a victim of the capitalist system as her husband — the system which underpays her and severely restricts her work opportunities; forces her into virtual household slavery because she can't afford maids or baby-sitters, and the state doesn't provide them. Her husband works so hard just so the family can survive that he

is too tired to help her. Finally, society tells her that all this drudgery is as it should be, that if she doesn't accept her inferior position, love housework and "caring" for her children and husband she is a freak, inhuman, evil, un-Christian and, horrors of horrors, un-American!

The status of women is maintained by a constant barrage of propaganda showing women to be intellectually inferior. However, worst of all, is the sex symbolism in which women is so enshrined that she is strangled. Socialist men evaluate women by physical measurements as much as other men, and don't realize that their attitudes are very similar to those of the white racist who immediately takes skin color, as a sign that the individual is to be classed separately, treated differently and, significantly, with less seriousness than other individuals.

Just as white people must exert a conscious effort to overcome their environment to treat Negroes equally, men must and should exert themselves to overcome their prejudices about women. For it is these prejudices, shared equally by males and females, that make women so passive and unresisting to their plight, as well as neurotic if they dare break with convention.

Socialized Entombment

Berkeley, Calif.

Was glad to see in your April 8 issue that you reported on the mausoleum out here that has been selected as a civil defense fallout shelter.

The *Berkeley Daily Gazette* reports that the Sunset Mausoleum is dedicated to "everlasting life." The report adds that among the survival gear now stored there "is a plain cardboard box containing an item in which civil defense officials say they put much hope — Bibles."

It also says: "If worse comes to worst, civil defense officials say, a thousand or more people will troop into the gorgeous above-ground entombment, up the great marble stairway of solid Italian travertine and to an assembly point within view of a Christ figure."

It's comforting to know that the government has gone in for socialized entombment. Even the destitute may look forward to eternity within beautiful marble walls.

The Medical Riddle

Philadelphia, Pa.

As a victim of the medical racket I particularly appreciated the enclosed letter which appeared in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.

W.W.

"I am in my 65th year. I have tried to live forthrightly and productively. Now my health is spent and my funds very limited; but life continues.

"Each month I must spend from \$23 to \$43 for medical care and medicines just to keep alive.

"The public contributed millions of dollars to break down the barriers of polio, heart trouble, etc. The public, one way or another, paid fully for the research work. Down fell the ramparts; the solutions were found to these dread diseases. Medicines for cure, medical care for prevention.

"But drugs have exploded into a fantastic industry burdening

each man's life and shamelessly exacting outrageous prices for medicines which should be readily accessible to all at reasonable prices.

"I don't want socialized medicine but how else shall we control this situation? Why should the sick, already financially drained, be required to pay for those unable to pay? The obvious question is why financially solvent, well persons shouldn't also contribute to the care of the indigent?"

"Answer me this riddle for my name is

Legion"

Responsibility for Hitler

Fond du Lac, Wis.

I attended a lecture by a member of the American Civil Liberties Union, the only organization I belong to for the past number of years.

The lecture was good. The only fault was that in discussing the case of Hitler he put the blame for his rise to power on the German people. Like so many, he fried the minnow and let the whale go free.

Why lay the sins of the capitalists on labor? The monopolies in America, England, France and Germany set Hitler up and called it "national socialism" to fool the German workers.

Hitler said, "How can I lose? I have all the money of the world behind me." When the monopolists woke up to the fact that they stood to lose more loot than they had gained they set out to tear him down.

Charles Taplin

On Teaching 'Communism'

New York, N. Y.

Courses in Communism in Roman Catholic high schools, probably starting next year, have been announced by the National Catholic Educational Association (*N.Y. Times*, April 18). The Department of School Superintendents of the Association recommends that these courses be given by "teachers who have mastered and refuted (my emphasis) the central propositions of Marxism-Leninism."

It seems to me that such instruction, by such teachers, is not likely to give a sound, broad or objective understanding of the vast revolution that is bringing the world into a new epoch, and which small minds call "Communism."

The great philosopher John Stuart Mill had some very specific advice on learning about the "other side." He said, "He who knows only his own side of the case, knows little of that. Nor is it enough that he should hear the arguments of adversaries from his own teachers, presented as they state them and accompanied by what they offer as refutations. He must hear them from those who actually believe them; who defend them in earnest and who do their utmost for them."

Since no Catholic school board would permit a Communist or an advocate of Marxism-Leninism to teach its pupils, I very much fear that our Catholic youth will remain in its deep ignorance of the real nature of the new socio-po-

litical ideology that has already claimed one-third of the human race.

This way of "teaching" Communism reminds me of my own experience as a child in the primitive schools of the Southern state in which I lived around 1900. We were taught history, I remember, by an embittered, "unreconstructed" 65-year-old spinster daughter of a Confederate general. She had from her childhood been indoctrinated to hate and refute anything "Yankee" — a term which she used as the Catholics today use the epithet "Communism."

Her favorite theme was that Abraham Lincoln was a tyrannical dictator who sent mercenary troops into our beloved Southland to murder, pillage and destroy our beautiful way of life. I think I must have been 21 years old before I learned that the South lost the Battle of Gettysburg.

Taylor Adams

Unemployed Organizations?

Carmel, Calif.

I had not seen a copy of *The Militant* for many years when I sent in a dollar for the subscription offered in the *National Guardian*. I'm glad I did. The paper is excellent.

I think unemployment is reaching the point where organizations of the unemployed may be needed again. A general discussion, or article, in the paper on this might help. It seems to me that this work could be almost on a "do-it-yourself" basis if a little guidance were given.

R.R.

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"The hope for peace lies not in the discussions at Panmunjom, in secret negotiations behind locked doors of the chancelleries of the world's rulers, in the "peace" maneuvers of the pin-striped diplomats and statesmen. Peace can be assured only through the independent mass struggle of the organized workers and their allies.

"A first great step toward peace can be taken when the American people, led by the labor movement, wage an irresistible drive to compel Eisenhower to withdraw all U.S. troops immediately from Korea. So long as American armies are entrenched on Korean soil within striking distance of Manchuria and Siberia, Korea will remain a powder keg liable at any moment to explode into atomic world war.

"The whole problem of war and peace must be taken out of the hands of those who profit from war. The working people, through their own political representatives, must take control of America's foreign as well as domestic policies. Labor must establish its own political party, with a program to win political power in Washington, set up a Workers and Farmers Government, set into motion a socialist economy and extend the hand of fraternity and material aid to all mankind" — April 27, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"Frank Jacson, GPU murderer of Leon Trotsky, was sentenced today to a 20 year term for the crime. Mexican law does not have either a death sentence or life-term for murder. The maximum for premeditated murder is 20 years . . .

"The defense claims were rejected by the three judges, presided over by Manuel Riviera Vazquez, one of Mexico's foremost jurists, who handed down an 118-page verdict. Their verdict ruled that the murder had been premeditated and that 'Jacson' had come to Mexico — he had arrived October 1939, nearly a year before the murder — solely to kill Trotsky . . .

"In affirming 'Jacson's' premeditation and his coming to Mexico solely with the aim of killing Trotsky, the court left to any reasonable person the plain inference that it was a well-organized political assassination — and that Stalin was its instigator." — April 24, 1943.

It Was Reported in the Press

Those Cuba Reds — A headline in the April 21 *New York Times* sports section warned: *Cuban Team Biggest Threat to U.S. Hopes for Pan-American Baseball Title*. The warning was born out the next day at the Brazil meet when the Cuban trounced the U.S. 13-1. Gilbert Torres, Cuban manager and former Washington Senators infielder, told the *Times* that Cuba's sports program has 100,000 youngsters, from little leaguers to first-division amateurs, playing ball. Professional baseball has been abolished. Said Torres: "Now the money that people pay to watch baseball goes into our sports program and not into the pockets of a few businessmen."

Candid Comment Dep't — "The differences between them are trivial compared to their fundamental agreement." Columnist Walter Lippmann, commenting on the economic programs of John F. Kennedy and Nelson Rockefeller.

Headline of the Week — The Pascagoula and Moss Point, Miss., *Chronicle* on March 25 carried this headline: *Methodists Vow to Fight Socialism in Mississippi*. It seems they feel that the national Methodist church has fallen prey to "socialist, integration trends" and they don't intend to let it happen in 'Dear Ole Miss.'

Mass Alliance for Progress — The social welfare department in Lima, Peru, plans to hold free mass marriages every two months for couples unable to afford private weddings. Seventy couples have already been signed up for

the first performance. It was not reported whether the ceremony is U.S.-financed and whether it will include an anti-Communist oath.

Fall from Grace — Paul Hornung, of the Green Bay Packers, who was suspended by the National Football League for betting on league football games, had been earning in excess of \$25,000 a year for giving advertising testimonials. That's likely to drop off now. "We won't touch him," said one advertising agency man. "No one is forgotten faster than a fallen hero," he added.

Madison Avenue, USA — Madison Avenue's image is virtually pure white, according to facts released by the Urban League of Greater New York. It charged that the city's ten major agencies employ 23,600 persons and "less than eleven of them are Negroes."

Non-Philosophical — "From a social and philosophical standpoint, I might not favor a system under which candidates for public office must rely either on their personal wealth or resources con-

tributed by individuals and groups which may have some special interest to present or maintain. However, in the practice of my profession I am not permitted to dwell long on abstractions." — John A. O'Donnell, lawyer-lobbyist for Philippine sugar interests explaining to a Senate committee why he failed to report 1960 campaign contributions to 20 candidates of both major parties.

Havana Not for Him — Charles E. Meyer, a vice president of Sears Roebuck, is now happily heading up the company's Dallas, Texas, operation. Previously he was in charge of the international division and his last chore was to try to save the company's seven stores in Cuba. He told the *Dallas Times Herald* April 14 that in Havana he was startled to find the Sears employes carrying guns. After a while, he added, sound trucks began blaring, "Meyer go home." The stores were nationalized and are now called *Sears Revolucionario*. Meyer was pleased to note that the Dallas employes don't pack pistols.

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Thought for the Week

"Capitalist society in Europe today is afflicted by a growing malaise . . . The question which a great many are asking is: 'Where does capitalism go from here?' . . . The profit margins of the biggest and best industrial companies have been whittled down . . . The specter of a profitless capitalist society has begun to loom. Capitalism seems, in short, to be going nowhere." — British journalist Terrence Prittie in the April 21 *New York Times* magazine.

Wagner's Sales Tax Hike A New Bite on Poor People

NEW YORK — Returning from his vacation in the Bahamas, Democratic Mayor Wagner proposed a tax package that will take an additional \$236 million principally out of the hides of New York's working people. As part of his plan, this self-proclaimed "friend of labor" is asking for a hike in the city's sales tax from three per cent to four per cent.

He is assured of the measure's passage by the 23-to-2 Democratic majority on the City Council. The Republican-controlled State Legislature has already given him the green light on his proposed tax package.

Sales taxes hit lower income brackets the hardest, since they take a larger percentage of low incomes. They are like progressively graduated taxes graduated the wrong way.

Wide Protest

An aroused population has inundated City Hall with over 100,000 letters of protest, and a public hearing held on the proposal turned into a mass protest rally.

In a letter to Mayor Wagner, Teamsters Joint Council No. 16 declared: "Facts, Mr. Mayor, are stubborn things, and in this instance, those stubborn facts require, no, demand, that the revenues you request and the additional revenues we urgently require, be secured from the outrageously swollen profits of the slumlords."

The Teamster statement points out that "in 1950 property income in New York City devoured 15.2 per cent of the personal income pie and in 1960 this had increased to 17.0 per cent. Wage and salary income, on the other hand, went down from 66.3 per cent to 65.1 per cent in 1960."

If the slumlords were taxed only enough to lower profits on rents to the 1950 level, \$419.7 million would be available for use by the city. The Teamsters observe that "this is considerably more" than the increase Wagner is seeking.

"The Teamster conclusion, Mr. Mayor, one we hope you will share, is that ways and means must be developed of compelling those who have mulcted the people to part with their ill-gotten gains for the greatest good of the greatest number."

In addition to the unions, cer-

Boeing Workers Reject Proposed Pact Terms

Boeing aerospace workers voted last week to reject the contract recommended to them by leaders of the International Association of Machinists. The agreement was arrived at after six months of negotiations in which the company sought to deliver a blow to the union and the union leaders sought to avoid a struggle by relying on the government. The recommendation included a raise of 22 cents per hour over three years and inadequate job-security provisions.

The vote in the big plant at Seattle was for accepting the contract by a slight margin, but it was heavily against acceptance at Wichita, where the company has been instituting a "performance-analysis" system.

The international union notified all locals to continue working and "resume negotiations." Wildcat strikes broke out, however, at several missile and airplane testing and storage facilities operated by Boeing. This contract rejection is another indication of a growing trend among union members to disregard their officials' recommendations of poor contracts.



Wagner

tain businessmen who feel that their businesses may be hurt by the sales tax have also come out against it. While it is unlikely that the Democrats will pay much heed to labor, they do have a sensitive ear for protests from this quarter. Paul Screvane, City Council President, was reported by the April 16 *New York Post* as saying that a substitute for the sales tax "might be developed if it's going to work some grievous hardships on some of our business people."

"Union condemnation of Wagner's measures is almost as strong as their past support for his election," was a comment of Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party New York state chairman.

"Wagner's sales tax shows where the Democrats stand on issues that directly affect the people," Garza said. "It's time for the unions and the working people in general to wake up to the fact that the Democrats are no more their friends than the Republicans, and to form their own political party which could fight for the interests of the workers and poor of this city."

SNCC Maps Its Course

South's Youthful Rights Fighters Meet

By Barry Sheppard

Students from every Southern state and the District of Columbia were joined by supporters from the North at the Third Annual Conference of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee over the April 13th weekend in Atlanta, Ga. The 350 students present represented 34 Southern colleges and 17 Northern schools.

The heroes of the conference were the embattled delegates from Greenwood, Miss., where SNCC's voter-registration project has been met by shootings, arrests and other forms of intimidation. Robert Moses, field secretary leading the voter-registration drive in Greenwood, said that SNCC intends to go ahead with plans to register the Negroes in Leflore county where Greenwood is situated.

Four workshops were held: Nonviolence, Techniques in Community Mobilization, Problems in the Movement, and The Hidden Structure and Social Action. The last was especially interesting, since it probed the economic and political roots of racism.

The conference heard Dr. Howard Zinn, Professor of History at Spelman College, Atlanta, discuss the politics of the suppression of the Negro. Dr. Zinn said that it is a myth that Southern racism is a mere distortion upon a basically sound democratic America. Racism is a national problem integral to the whole social struc-

SWP Candidate Backs Teachers In Minneapolis

In an open letter to the *Minneapolis Tribune*, Joseph Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Minneapolis, declared that:

"The *Minneapolis Tribune* of April 13th, made an attack upon the working man. This paper attacked the United Federation of Teachers for wishing to better the teachers' working conditions. The *Tribune* attacked the right of men to strike for better wages and conditions.

"The right to strike was not given to us by the *Tribune* or any other boss. The right to strike was fought for and won by the blood and courage of generations of working men . . .

"The workers of Minneapolis can be proud of the part they played in winning the right to strike. Our city before the truck drivers' strikes was an open-shop, low-wage town. These strikes gave to the people of Minneapolis higher wages, union job protection and greater freedom. Union men died fighting for the right to strike in Minneapolis . . .

"Must Fight"

"But now we must fight again. The bosses are trying to destroy our rights that were won in the past. With high unemployment they feel they can take away our right to strike.

"The only answer to this attack is the independent militant spirit that organized the unions in Minneapolis in the 1930s. This spirit that formed the Farmer Labor Party must again take the road of labor political action . . ."

Johnson is campaigning on a program for: 1) a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay to relieve unemployment, 2) peace and disarmament, 3) an end to racial discrimination, 4) shifting the burden of taxation onto the wealthy corporations, 5) a Minneapolis medicare plan.

Negro Youth, 18, Faces Chair in Va. 'Rape' Case

By Constance Weissman

Thomas C. Wansley, an 18-year-old Negro youth of Lynchburg, Va., has been sentenced to the electric chair on two charges of rape. He is also under a sentence of 20 years imprisonment on a charge of robbing one of the alleged rape victims of \$1.36. The evidence was flimsy; there were no witnesses; nor could the white woman who had allegedly been raped positively identify Wansley as her attacker.

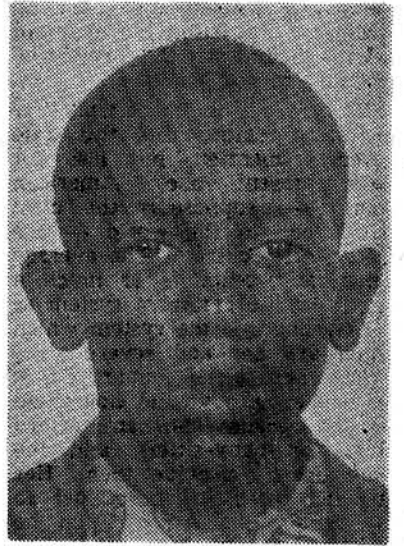
George W. Brooks, a 37-year-old white man from Lynchburg, has been sentenced to five years in prison for rape of an eleven-year-old Negro child. The act was witnessed by Patrolman C. W. Snow. Brooks will be eligible for parole after only 18 months in prison.

The prosecutor in both cases was Commonwealth Attorney Royston Jester III. Although he was the prosecutor, he asked the judge to allow Brooks to be sent to a mental hospital for observation. The judge in both cases was O. Raymond Cundiff. He granted the request and the white rapist was under observation for weeks in the Southwestern State Hospital at Marion, Va.

Prosecutor Objects

When Wansley's attorney requested that his client be sent for mental observation and examination, Prosecutor Jester objected that the Negro youth was not sick. Judge Cundiff refused the request.

Wansley was tried by an all-white, male jury. His attorney, Reuben Lawson, who filed notice of appeal to the state Supreme Court, died of a heart attack on March 23. Len Holt, civil-rights



Thomas Wansley

attorney from Norfolk, has been employed to take his place. Also, the Ghandi Society for Human Rights, which is underwriting the court costs, has retained William Kunstler, civil-rights attorney from New York. Funds are being raised by prayer meetings held in Lynchburg.

Liberator magazine for April contains an article by the Rev. Virgil A. Wood of Lynchburg, protesting the outrageous double standard under which a white man and a Negro youth are treated so differently in the same court. Rev. Wood is under sentence for contempt of court for distributing a leaflet calling Wansley's first trial "legal lynching."

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Southern Conference Educational Fund are asking individuals and groups throughout the U.S. to protest the conviction of Wansley.

Carl Braden, field representative of the SCEF, who has investigated the Wansley case, has issued a call to save this young man "from dying in a classic frame-up . . . A victory for our side here will cripple the segregationists in their use of the rape charge and the electric chair to crush dissent in the Negro community."

Witch Hunt

Lynchburg's chief of police and the local newspaper, *The News*, have launched a witch hunt in an attempt to stifle protests about the case. The March 30 *News* carried a long article entitled "Rape Case Takes on Commie Shade." It attacked Braden, attorney Len Holt and Rev. Virgil A. Wood. Utilized in this smear attempt was the discredited "information" put out by the House Un-American Activities Committee and the Florida Legislative Investigations Committee. In the interest of preserving the rights guaranteed under the First Amendment, Braden had defied both of these committees when they tried to probe desegregation activities in the South.

The Wansley death sentence emerges from a background of bitter struggle by Lynchburg Negroes against Jim Crow. Rev. Wood was one of 18 convicted in sit-in demonstrations and he retained Len Holt to file an omnibus lawsuit for integration of all the city's public facilities.

Letters protesting the Wansley death sentence should be sent to Gov. Albert S. Harrison, Executive Mansion, Richmond, Va., and to President Kennedy in Washington.

ture and characteristic of the entire history of the United States, he said.

While the Negro is most blatantly suppressed in the South, Dr. Zinn pointed out, anti-Negro discrimination exists everywhere in the country where there are Negroes. "You need only to look at Harlem to know this is true," he said.

The national political parties are committed to the racist system. Zinn said that the Kennedy administration — as well as all administrations since Reconstruction — has given support to Jim Crow. What Kennedy has been forced to do for civil rights is insignificant compared with what he could do.

SNCC is building a center of power, based upon the people, outside of the established political structure, Zinn said. This is the power of people determined to secure justice themselves.

Dr. August Meier of Morgan State College in Baltimore also addressed the conference. He aroused considerable controversy by characterizing the goals of the civil-rights movement as "middle-class" and "reformist" as opposed to "working-class" and "revolutionary." Speaking as a white liberal, Meier also defended the role of white liberals in the civil-rights struggle in a way which raised the question of white support versus white leadership.

The general impression an observer received of the outlook of

most SNCC workers is that their movement seeks a fundamental, revolutionary change in the social structure of the United States. The conference theme was "Emancipation Then: Freedom Now!"

On Easter Sunday morning, Negro comedian Dick Gregory described his six days in Greenwood with the SNCC voter-registration workers. With his famed wit, Gregory spoke of the Mississippi police, police dogs, and the situation of the Negro in general. He called SNCC the "best organization in the world" and pledged his continued support to the young freedom fighters.

Reports were heard from the local groups in the South which make up the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee. SNCC maintains voter-registration and direct-action projects in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina and Arkansas, and has affiliated groups in Tennessee and Maryland. Forty-eight SNCC field secretaries receive from \$10 to \$15 a week subsistence for their work.

The conference elected a new Executive Committee, and re-elected Charles McDew as SNCC Chairman. "The greatest success of this, our third annual conference, was the increased participation of young people from the South," McDew said. "More and more young people are willing to take time away from school to devote themselves to the Southern freedom movement."