

THE MILITANT

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Kennedy Skips Vital Facts In Talk on U.S. Economy

By Art Preis

AUG. 21 — President Kennedy was obviously nervous when he addressed the country on the state of the U.S. economy. I admit I'd be quivering like a bowl of jello if I were skating on as thin ice as Kennedy ventured upon in his Aug. 13 radio and TV talk.

His speech was ostensibly intended to inform the country whether or not he would advocate an immediate tax cut. His decision, he had said, would be based upon the available economic statistics for July. But it was widely known in advance that Kennedy did not intend to press for general tax cuts, at least not this year. The decision had been politically and not statistically motivated.

Since Kennedy took office, the U.S. has dragged along with between four and five million unemployed. In the late spring, stock-market prices suffered the most severe tumble since 1929. Even Ewan Clague, chief of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, had indicated publicly several weeks ago that a recession next year was a distinct possibility. This is scarcely a healthful atmosphere for the Democrats in the forthcoming Congressional elections.

Kennedy's speech was designed to persuade the American people that the U.S. private-profit economy is "fundamentally sound," as Herbert Hoover used to say back in 1930; that any visibly ugly sights in the otherwise pleasant vista, such as continued high unemployment, are merely relics of the previous Republican administration; that the Kennedy administration has just the program to send the economy zooming upward, if it isn't zooming already; but to realize this program, which is still in rather vague form, it will be necessary to augment the already huge Democratic majority in the House and Senate.

Kennedy rested his entire case on a handful of shiny, newly-minted statistics provided specially for the occasion. After listening most attentively to his presentation, then studying his data in print afterwards and, finally, noting the far more significant material he chose to skip over, I feel that I would not want to play cards, or even touch football, with

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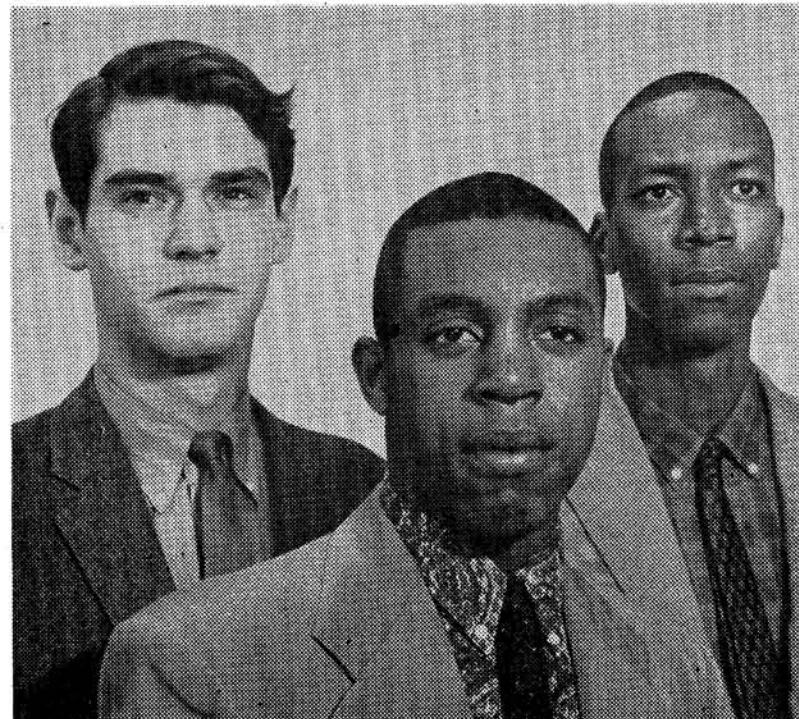
"Loyalty" Program Dropped in Detroit

DETROIT — By a small margin Detroiters voted in a referendum Aug. 7 to abolish the city's "loyalty" program for municipal employees which had been in effect since 1949. The vote was 53,442 to 42,442.

Radical groups, including the Socialist Workers Party, favored abolition because the program had been used to intimidate city employees and in general to discourage free speech and association. The two conservative daily papers favored it because it was "unnecessary" and because the same job could be done by the police "subversive" squad and the civil service.

In addition, as was recently pointed out by James B. Garvie, secretary of the "loyalty investigation committee," who now is out of a job: "Don't forget that there are 40 FBI agents in Detroit who do little else but check on subversive activities."

Albany Mass Movement Keeps Pressure on Racists



SWORD OF DAMOCLES, in form of framed-up kidnap charge, has been kept dangling by North Carolina's racist officials over heads of Monroe defendants, John Lowry (l.), Harold Reape (c.) and Richard Crowder, for a year. Now the prosecutor has again postponed their trial over protests of defense attorneys.

Monroe 'Kidnap' Trial Postponed 4th Time

The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants is vigorously protesting yet another refusal by the State of North Carolina to go to trial in the framed-up Monroe kidnap case.

The long-deferred trial of defendants Richard Crowder, 19, president of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee, John Lowry, 21, Freedom Rider from New York, and Harold Reape, 17, active member of the MNVAC, had been scheduled for the current session of the Superior Court in Union County, N.C., which opened Aug. 20. First week of the session is for civil cases, the second week, beginning Aug. 27, is for criminal cases. But when the court docket was made public the "kidnap" case was not on it.

This makes the fourth time the Union County prosecutor has postponed the trial. Defense attorneys Conrad Lynn of New York, counsel for the CAMD, and William C. Kunstler, attorney for John Lowry, have repeatedly protested and argued against the unconscionable postponements in this case.

The defendants were indicted in Monroe after police-encouraged rioting by thousands of white supremacists on Aug. 27, 1961 against Freedom Riders and Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee members who were picketing against segregation.

Aug. 27 of this year — the date their trial was supposed to have begun — was, ironically, the first anniversary of the rioting, from which the frame-up stems. The courthouse — where the trial was to have been held — is, moreover, the very scene of last year's picketline and rioting.

In addition to the months spent in jail till their heavy bail could be raised by the CAMD, the three young defendants have suffered the mental torture of a year under indictment on a charge carrying the penalty of life imprisonment. And there is still no end in sight. Union County Prosecutor M. G. Boyette told the local papers not that the trial was being postponed to the next session of court in November but "until the extradition pleas of Mrs. Mae Mallory,

one of the defendants, have been resolved in Ohio." Extradition fights have been known to go on for years.

Since the Sixth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution guarantees that "in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial," CAMD counsel Conrad Lynn has addressed a letter of protest to U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. Calling the repeated postponements of the trial an "egregious frustration of justice," the New York civil-rights attorney said, "Since this violation of the Sixth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution is the action of state officials, it would appear *prima facie* a matter for federal intervention."

Worthy Appeals Conviction In Freedom-to-Travel Case

William Worthy, noted Negro journalist, was convicted of the crime of re-entering the United States, his native land, without a passport after a two-hour trial in Miami on Aug. 8.

Defense attorneys William C. Kunstler of the Workers Defense League in New York and Howard W. Dixon of Miami had waived a jury trial in view of Miami's notorious anti-Castro and anti-Negro prejudice. Observers could see, however, that there was only one Negro in the panel from which a jury would have been chosen.

The trial's shortness was because Worthy does not deny the fact on which the precedent-setting charge is based, namely, that he re-entered the U.S. from Cuba without a passport.

Immediately after Judge Emmett C. Choate pronounced the verdict of guilty, Worthy's attorneys announced an appeal. Sentencing was deferred, probably until mid-September, and the defendant was continued in the \$5,000 bail set earlier.

"If at any time in the past five years I had been willing to go

ALBANY, Ga., Aug. 18 — The sustained movement against segregation by Negroes here continues to build up pressure on the racist city officials. The threat of continued mass demonstrations finally forced the U.S. Department of Justice into token intervention on behalf of civil rights. And a revival of sit-in tactics by the integrationists has put the Albany police in the position of having shut down the city's two public libraries and three public parks to prevent their desegregation.

The spirit of the civil-rights fighters is kept up by almost nightly mass meetings sponsored by the Albany Movement, the coalition of integration groups which has led the protests here since they began last December. From 1,500 to 2,000 persons attend these meetings. Not all can fit into the two churches — one across the street from the other — where the meetings are often held. Simultaneous meetings take place while hundreds of people — mostly youth — stand around outside in the warm night air, listening, singing, watching through the open windows or talking among themselves.

Inside the churches, it is so crowded the temperature reaches around 100 and hand fans wave back and forth as people try to cool themselves. There are frequent speeches by Albany Movement president, Dr. G. W. Anderson, and other leaders. Sometimes James Forman, executive director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which is spearheading the voters-registration drive in nearby counties, speaks.

The most inspiring part of the meetings is the singing of Freedom songs and spirituals, accompanied by clapping and foot-stamping. The swelling and flowing of the mass singing is an unsurpassed experience in sound. The tunes are old but the words are often new — right out of the present movement. One such verse is sung to the tune of the old hymn and coal miners' union song, "Which Side Are You On?" It goes:

*Don't Tom for Uncle Charlie,
Don't listen to his lies,
Us Black folks haven't got a
chance
Unless we organize.*

The spirit of a real mass move-
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John F. Kennedy

Auto Plants Tense Over New Models

By George Breitman

DETROIT — This year August is the time most of the auto plants are making their annual model changeover. Production of the 1962 models has ended, the plants are closed for a couple of weeks, and then production of the 1963 model begins.

It is a time of tension, hope and despair in the auto industry.

Most of the technical changes in the cars are functionally useless and many of them are absurd. But big money is invested in them — one of the reasons why the prices of cars keep going up when thanks to increased productivity, they could be lowered — that is if there were a different kind of management.

The auto barons justify the heavy investment in new models with the argument that this leads to increased demand for cars. There doesn't seem to be any real evidence to support this contention. Annual models do not result in added sales for the industry as a whole; instead, they are a way for the different corporations to compete over the share of the auto market that they can grab.

In addition, the annual changeover is a made-to-order device to aid the bosses in speeding up the workers, especially on the assembly lines.

Management invariably contends that every technological change, no matter how tiny, must be accompanied by big increases in the work standards — in the number of operations required by the workers per hour or per day.

This is the time of year when the foremen and straw bosses put on the strongest possible heat, applying pressure in every available way, in accordance with the union contract and in violation of the union contract, to squeeze the maximum amount of production out of the workers. Their aim,

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... Albany, Georgia

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 ment pervades the Negro community here. Youth meetings take place and pre-teen-age children talk about FREEDOM and march off to demonstrate, facing jail. People give up their jobs, face harassment, intimidation and violence, mothers leave their families to demonstrate, children ask their parents for permission to join in, and often if it is not given, they join in anyway.

Two mass marches — to almost certain arrest — were “temporarily suspended” by leaders of the movement following the Aug. 10 release of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., on a suspended sentence for leading a demonstration. The calling off of the scheduled marches also followed the filing of the friend-of-the-court brief by the U.S. Justice Department August 8. The brief argued that the city officials should be ordered to comply with federal desegregation orders before their federal suit against further demonstrations is considered. In itself, the Justice Department action is a mere gesture, but is considered an important moral victory for the Albany Movement.

Leaders of the movement announced Aug. 10 that they would test the integration of public

facilities. When integrated groups appeared at the libraries and recreation parks next day, police closed them down for an “indefinite” period. Five persons, including two SNCC field secretaries, were arrested for “trespassing” when they sought service in a segregated restaurant.

Albany Movement leaders have signed property bonds for about 25 remaining prisoners, virtually clearing the jails of civil-rights prisoners after 418 arrests since the current wave of protests began July 11. City officials faced a severe financial crisis from the expense of the mass jailings. The suspension of the big demonstrations, together with the bailing out of the prisoners, takes some of the pressure off. But Negro leaders have declared that the mass demonstrations will be resumed if the city continues to enforce local segregation ordinances.



Martin Luther King

... Worthy Appeals Conviction

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 for the principles of human liberty have been won for all men at a considerable price to a few . . .

“In 1956, I entered the Union of South Africa without a visa to get an important news story. Via shortwave facilities in Pretoria I managed to broadcast that story to the American people over the CBS Radio Network. I consciously risked a jail sentence in an unspeakable police state. In 1955, when I remained five months in the Soviet Union on a two-month visa, U.S. Ambassador Charles Bohlen remarked jokingly but half seriously to me: ‘I’ll write a good stiff note of protest, Bill, when they lock you up in Lubianka Prison.’

“I am proud of my Freedom of Information Awards from the Boston Press Club, the Capital Press Club and the Lincoln University School of Journalism. The three awards honor successful efforts to surmount man-made barriers to the flow of news from China and elsewhere. I am also proud that, despite improper pressures from an Assistant Secretary of State and others, the *Baltimore*

Afro-American has consistently supported me in this pursuit of news. The right of people to know is paramount . . . What men know, the extent to which they are perceptively informed eventually determines their behavior, their speech and their demand for selective reading.

“Travel control is thought control and intellectual control. Free men, thinking men, concerned men want none of it. Except possibly for Spain, Portugal and the Latin American dictatorships, I know of no western government that bars its citizens from countries officially deemed hostile at any given moment. To this low point of intellectual isolation we have come in the past cold-war decade — we, once an inspiring revolutionary people, now trembling in our garrison state, with hysteria and misinformation, over a dot on the map 90 miles off our shores.

“In a cabled dispatch from Havana, published in the October 15, 1960 issue of the *Baltimore Afro-American*, I scooped the entire U.S. press on CIA preparations for the invasion of Cuba.

... Auto Plants Tense

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 during these first few weeks of the new model, is to show how much can be produced and thus have “precedents” for the rest of the year.

A kind of undercover guerrilla warfare takes place. The workers know that if they don’t resist now they will pay for it heavily the rest of the year. But how much they can resist depends on the support they will get from the International, from the local union leaders and from their stewards or committeemen.

They get little or no help or encouragement from the International. Support available from the local union and from stewards or committeemen varies from plant to plant. In some places the corporations get away with murder; in others they get only part of what they seek.

Nerves are frayed and tempers

short now in the plants; explosions threaten daily and sometime take place. Foremen are more than usually jittery. Union leaders are tenser, torn by pressures from both sides.

The workers are subjected to a steady stream of propaganda, whose major theme is: “You must get out a better car this year, or we will lose out in the competition for sales, and your job may be lost.” This propaganda used to come exclusively from the corporations, but in recent years it is being joined in more and more by the union leaders.

Such propaganda is most effective among workers with the lowest seniority. They may be laid off at any time; they remain insecure all year round. Some of them tend to accept the speedup, and even to look on it as a necessity if they are to keep their jobs — unless they get leadership and support from the union.

Even worse is the plight of the tens of thousands who have been laid off from the auto plants in recent years, have been unable to find steady work elsewhere, and have exhausted their meager unemployment benefits.

As the new model approaches, their hopes are raised — maybe they will be called back for a few months. Very few have been called back this year. The corporations find it more profitable to work the employed overtime than to recall the unemployed. It didn’t take long for the hopes to be dashed. Nobody expects the auto industry to produce as many 1963 models as it did 1962.

This is the time of year when the auto corporations driven by the smell of added profit, bear down most brutally. It is also the time when the auto workers most urgently need the strength and protection of militant unionism.

U.S. Population Increases

The U.S. Census Bureau estimated on July 19 that the U.S. population was 186,367,000 including members of the armed forces stationed abroad. This is a 2,870,000 increase over the population on June 1, 1961.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

The Algerian Revolution, a Marxist evaluation, by Isadore Warwak. Fri., Sept. 7, 7:30 p.m. Hall 210, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp.: Chicago Militant Labor Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

The Road to Socialism. Last of a series of three lectures on the foundations of a socialist political program. Fri. Aug. 24, 8:15 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Room 240. Donation 50c. Ausp.: Twin Cities Branch, Socialist Workers Party.

NEW YORK

U.S. Role in South Vietnam, a discussion. Speakers: Dave Dellinger of editorial board of Liberation magazine and George Lavan, managing editor of The Militant. Mon., Aug. 27, 8:30 p.m. 63 W. 14th St. Discussion from floor. Ausp.: N.Y. Committee for a General Strike for Peace.

WEST COAST

Socialist Educational Encampment, Big Bear Lake, Calif. Sept. 1 to 9. Lectures, classes, sports, recreation. Co-operative, interracial. Labor Day Weekend Youth Encampment. Hear William F. Ward on: The Thirties and the Sixties. What can the two generations learn from each other? Student rates for weekend. For brochure, further information write: West Coast Vacation School, 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles 33, Calif. or call AN 9-4953.

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John F. Kennedy, especially if he were keeping score.

Kennedy discoursed on the extent of the “recovery” made in the U.S. economy since “I came into office in January 1961.” He illustrated his talk with impressive-looking charts.

First he cited the current rate of the gross national product “which is the story of all the things we produce.” The GNP, he said, has gone up ten per cent, “over \$50 billion in additional goods and services.” Industrial production, “which is the output of our factories,” has gone up 16 per cent since January 1961. The unemployment rate, on the other hand, “has gone down 23 per cent in the last year and a half” and “about a million people, who were unemployed, now have jobs.” In addition, disposable personal income has gone up eight per cent; wages and salaries, ten per cent; and corporations’ net profits, 26 per cent.

Beautiful Thought

These six “economic indicators which have been reported to me for July” and others, not cited, “do not warrant the conclusion that we are entering a new recession,” opined Kennedy.

As the preacher said after reciting his text: “That is a beautiful thought — let us dwell on it just a moment.”

Consider the question of the gross national product. I do not

now refer to its general unreliability, as I have pointed out in previous articles. I refer specifically to the figure Kennedy referred to, \$552 billion. Although he did not indicate it, this was just for the second quarter of 1962 projected on an annual basis. But the first quarter GNP was estimated at an annual rate of only \$545 billion. Last January, in his economic report to Congress, Kennedy had predicted a strong and widespread rise in business activity because last year’s “recovery” had “set the stage” for growth. He said that in the first half of this year the nation could “expect vigorous expansion in production and incomes, with gross national product increasing to a range of \$565-\$570 billion in the second quarter . . .”

A Key Figure

Let us now look at another key figure cited by Kennedy. At 118.7 in July, the industrial-production index was indeed 16 per cent higher than in the single month of January 1961. But the July rate was only 18.7 per cent higher than the average monthly rate of 100 for the entire year of 1957. It was slightly less than eight per cent higher than the average monthly rate of 110 for the entire year of 1960. The July industrial-production index figure cited by Kennedy was the highest for any month this year. It was 113.7 last January. So the figure for the whole of 1962 will not be much above the 1960 index of 110.

Auto production has virtually ceased this month. How will the August industrial production figure compare with July’s?

Unemployment Rate

Kennedy’s claims about the decline in the unemployment rate also will not bear close examination. In July, there were still 4,018,000 unemployed. Kennedy made no mention of the additional 2,700,000 workers who last month were cut to part time at reduced weekly take-home pay. And he was so careless as to falsely claim that 400,000 unemployed men and women are now receiving federal job re-training to equip them for new jobs (if there are such jobs). A tiny item in the Aug. 14 *New York Times* explains that “he probably meant ‘will receive training’” sometime in the future as there are now only 12,000 workers receiving such training. But the big puzzle is the continuing decline in the total labor force — those working or seeking work — although the population grows by leaps and bounds. The total civilian labor force in July was 73,582,000 or less than the 73,639,000 in July 1961. No satisfactory explanation has been made for this phenomenon, unless it is what Democratic Senator Paul Douglas admitted in the Aug. 13 *New Republic*, that “there is a large amount of concealed unemployment . . .”

But it is not the figures Kennedy gives that are most revealing. It is what he fails to give. The

few figures he cites tell us, at best, where we are or where we have been. He did not cite a single one of the twelve basic economic indicators listed by the National Bureau of Economic Research. And for good reason. Not one of them supports his sanguine claims for the U.S. economy. Here are some of them reported just within the past two weeks:

Capital appropriations by manufacturers were cut 12 per cent in the second quarter, the National Industrial Conference Board reported last week.

Investment Trends

Housing starts in July declined one half of one percent over June, the Census Bureau reported Aug. 19. The annual rate this year is far below the 1959 peak.

The factory work week, reported the Labor Department on Aug. 10, fell for the third straight month, from 40.8 hours in April to 40.4 hours in July.

The Commerce Department on Aug. 19 said that investment trends in the first half “indicate a slowing down of the rate of private foreign investment” by U.S. interests.

I do not claim that the above information in itself proves that the U.S. economy is headed for an immediate big nosedive. But it does indicate that if all Kennedy can show to prove the economy is healthy and flourishing is what he revealed in his Aug. 13 talk, then U.S. capitalism is sick, sick, sick.

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Monday, August 27, 1962

AFL-CIO on the 35-Hour Week

The same day President Kennedy spoke on the economic situation the AFL-CIO Executive Council passed a resolution to campaign for a federal law establishing a 35-hour work week with doubletime for overtime and it urged all affiliated unions to seek the same goal in collective bargaining. This was done, said the council, because for "57 consecutive months the unemployment rate has exceeded five per cent" with no relief in sight.

For the conservative chair-warmers on the AFL-CIO Council to speak out loudly for this sorely needed measure — in direct opposition to Kennedy's fulminations against it — indicates that unemployment conditions are far worse than government figures reveal and that the labor leaders are feeling considerable pressure from below to develop a program for jobs for the unemployed.

But the labor movement has been on record for the shorter work week for many years and it will take more than pious resolutions to achieve it. What is needed now is mobilization of labor's entire rank and file for a real struggle and a vigorous campaign in local unions for serious action on this program.

Conclusion

Answer to 'Hoy's' Slander

By Joseph Hansen

The April 16 *National Guardian* reported an exclusive interview with Blas Roca just before Anibal Escalante was dismissed from his post. The final question asked Cuba's "top communist," as the *National Guardian* characterizes him, was: "Do you welcome to the ranks of Cuba's friends and partisans in the U.S. people of any orientation, for example Trotskyists? How can Cuba's U.S. friends best help Cuba?"

This was Blas Roca's written reply:

"I am not well acquainted with those who call themselves Trotskyists in the U.S. We are separated from Trotskyists in general by fundamental points of view, and from some in particular by their actions as enemies. But I think that all in the U.S. who sincerely defend and support the Cuban revolution, and the right of self-determination of the Cuban and other Latin American peoples, do a worthy revolutionary job and we value them whatever their ideological concepts may be. North Americans who defend Cuba defend their own liberty and democracy. They make the most important contribution to the cause of peace, since any adventure by Kennedy and the Pentagon against Cuba creates a grave peril for world peace. And they take a step forward toward liberating themselves from their own imperialists, exploiters and oppressors.

"Thus the defense of Cuba in the U.S. should be carried forward without any kind of sectarianism, with the greatest open-mindedness, with an objective spirit of judgment on the basis not of what people say but of what they do."

Blas Roca's disclaimer of knowledge about the role of the North American Trotskyists in defending the Cuban Revolution is somewhat puzzling. But let us accept it at face value.

Now will someone please give Blas Roca the facts?

The only presidential candidate to defend the Cuban Revolution in the 1960 campaign was the Trotskyist Farrell Dobbs. In the homeland of Yankee imperialism, the Socialist Workers Party made defense of the Cuban Revolution its major plank in that election and defended Cuba against both the Democrats and Republicans on countless local platforms and over radio and TV, including national hookups.

In the very insides of the imperialist monster, as they graphically put it in Cuba, members of the Socialist Workers Party have stood in the forefront of Cuban defense activities since the beginning — and without any sectarianism. At the time of the Playa Giron attack, the Socialist Workers Party mobilized its forces in conjunction with much wider layers from coast to coast for an all-out protest movement against the imperialist intervention.

It has circulated speeches of Fidel Castro and similar material on a nationwide scale and explained and defended the Cuban Revolution against the strongest spokesmen of the State Department and before the most hostile audiences in one of the most sustained and consistent campaigns in the history of the American Trotskyist movement. The effectiveness of this work was testified to by such an important independent figure as C. Wright Mills, author of *Listen, Yankee*.

These efforts were paralleled by the rest of the main stream of world Trotskyism in Latin America, in Europe, and wherever Trotskyists have any influence.

When he has digested this information, we invite further comment from Blas Roca. We prefer that he say it to *Hoy*. It can be quite simple — a letter to the editor something like this: "I really meant what I said in that interview printed in the *National Guardian*. In basic approach I meant it not only for the United States but for Cuba. And what I said is especially applicable to Communists who are duty bound to set an example. In accordance with those sentiments, *Hoy* ought to admit its slander and make up for it by printing the straight facts about the real position of world Trotskyism."

Escalante and his former friends, it is true, might not like a declaration of that kind; but, by countering *Hoy's* divisive attack on partisans of the Cuban Revolution, it would certainly help strengthen unity in the defense of the Cuban Revolution.

And in the United States it would make it easier to call for fair play for Cuba if it could be reported far and wide that in Havana critics who have the interests of the Cuban Revolution at heart get fair play even in the pages of *Hoy*.

Report from Abroad

Algerian Revolution Moves Left

By Joseph Hansen

PARIS, Aug. 19 — In the opinion of socialists here who have worked closely with the Algerian freedom movement, the shift of power in Algeria Aug. 5-7 from the Provisional Government to the Political Bureau headed by Ben Bella closed a critical phase in the great crisis through which the Algerian revolution is now passing. To the most elemental question — in which direction has the revolution moved since the Evian ceasefire agreement, to the right or to the left? — we now have the answer. The direction is to the left. The effort to establish a form of government that would prove most amenable to French neo-colonialism ended in failure. The revolution is pushing on in search of a form of power that will fit its own needs and not those of the imperialist power across the Mediterranean.

The situation is strikingly similar to that in Cuba immediately following the collapse of the Batista regime. The old government has gone but an effective new one has not yet been established. Anarchy seems to prevail. Some observers have likened the picture to the one in the Congo on the withdrawal of the Belgian colonial administration. But this is a superficial view which leaves out of account the fighting force constructed during a struggle of unparalleled difficulty. In these seven and a half years a cadre was formed in Algeria that is still lacking in the Congo.

The principal real power in Algeria today consists of the armed peasantry organized in the National Liberation Army (ALN) and headed largely by former students; that is, petty-bourgeois intellectuals who have emerged from the difficult years of underground struggle as national heroes.

As in Cuba in the analogous

period, this force is divided into variegated groupings and factions, some of which arose under circumstances giving them a local coloration and some of which contain opposing class forces that were united in struggle against French imperialism until the moment of victory. Besides the problem of sorting out class interests, which cut across the factional formations, the liberating army faces another difficult problem — its ranks have been swollen by the adherence of late-comers, some of them of unhealthy political character who joined out of opportunist reasons when victory was in sight.

The immediate problem appears to be the obvious one of constituting an effective government capable of pulling the nation together and of administering public affairs. But the solution to this problem is bound up with the much more fundamental question of what kind of state should be set up — a capitalist state or a workers' state.

Property Relations

This issue can now be expected to come more and more to the fore. On the one hand, the forces most responsive to imperialist pressures — both French and American — will seek to set up a state committed to the preservation of capitalist property relations. However radical may be the terminology of the proponents of such a state, their regime would be bound to observe the onerous terms of the Evian agreement which was forced on the Algerian revolutionists. They would safeguard French capitalist and landlord interests with perhaps a token agrarian reform. This was the kind of government which U.S. imperialism sought to flatter Castro into providing in Cuba in the tumultuous and uncertain first phase after the downfall of Batista.

A course in the opposite direction, toward a workers' state, would begin, as in Cuba, by carrying out a thoroughgoing agrarian reform and an accompanying "urban reform" (lowering of rents, of electric rates, etc.). On the basis of such reforms, a workers' and peasants' government could solidly unite the two basic classes of Algerian society.

This course would have as further logical consequences the establishment of a monopoly of foreign trade, the nationalization of key industries, the establishment of a planned economy, the development of friendly relations with the USSR and other workers' states.

Intimately associated with this perspective is formation of a revolutionary-socialist party on a mass scale in Algeria. The backbone of such a party will obviously be the revolutionary fighters principally organized at present in the ALN.

Ben Bella is pressing for organization of a single party to guide the revolution but his views on program remain vague if not contradictory. For the moment he seems to be following the path taken by Fidel Castro immediately after Batista fled. Ben Bella's first appeal is to the Algerian peasantry.

He won swift popularity and the momentum that enabled him to set up the Political Bureau by opposing the move of the Provisional Government under Premier Benyousséf Ben Khedda to depose the heads of the ALN. The main army

figure involved, Col. Howard Boumediene, is a strong proponent of converting the ALN, as the politicalized cadre of the Algerian revolution, into the main framework of a revolutionary government as was done in Cuba.

It is not only that the key problems of the Algerian revolution are closely analogous to the Cuban. Ben Bella, for one, appears to have the Cuban example very much in mind. In an interview published Aug. 12 in the Italian Communist daily *L'Unita*, for instance, he declared that Algerian socialism will be based on a deep-going agrarian reform like the one in Cuba. In line with this, he said that he stood for collectivization of the land and the establishment of farm co-operatives.

The actual road of reform he said, should be undertaken by the one million peasant families themselves and be worked out by peasant assemblies and congresses. "We want agrarian reform to come from below because we wish the peasant masses to be protagonists of it and participate personally in its elaboration."

Like Castro, Ben Bella recognizes the peasantry as the basic motor force of the revolution:

"The poor peasants were the principal victims of land speculation and of colonialist exploitation. They are the force that stands at the bottom of revolutionary transformation of society."

"The revolutionary masses are fundamentally peasant. The Cuban revolution arose from a similar situation; peasant masses in arms for independence and agrarian reform. Czarist Russia also was a peasant country."

Neo-colonialism

In the interview, Ben Bella attacked neo-colonialism as "a plague" among Algerian patriots. It was this, he said, which was basically at issue in the split among the ranks of the Moslem fighters after seven and a half years of war.

To these remarks, Belkacem Krim, who was in Paris, responded with a statement published in the Aug. 15 *Le Monde*. Krim, together with Mohammed Boudiaf, reputedly "the most Marxist" of the Algerian leaders, has opposed Ben Bella's ascendancy but agreed to support the newly formed Political Bureau until a meeting of the National Council of the Algerian revolution following the hastily organized elections scheduled for Sept. 2. Ben Bella's interview, said Krim, "dealt with many important problems concerning the present and future of the Algerian revolution — some of them in an excellent way, others, in my opinion, debatably."

On neo-colonialism, Krim declared that Ben Bella's remarks were factional. He aimed at presenting himself in a more favorable light than the other revolutionary leaders. This, said Krim, violated the recent agreement which established the Political Bureau.

"Let me add," continued Krim, "that so far as I am concerned, my position is rigorously hostile to neo-colonialism. Algeria has gained its political independence. But this political independence is not an end. In my view it is a means for progressively realizing a genuinely independent Algeria in a republic democratically and socially inscribed in the socialist perspective."

Yevtushenko's Message to Cuba

The following 26th of July message was sent to the Cuban newspaper *Revolución* by Yevgeny Yevtushenko, the young poet whose talent and courage have made him the hero of the younger generation in the USSR. Yevtushenko has visited Cuba twice and is an admirer of the Cuban Revolution.

"On this day, a symbol of struggle and courage, pompous words of greeting are unnecessary. On this day one wants to take a look backwards and to think upon Cuba's not-far-distant past, when in the midst of blood its present and future were born.

"The attack on the Moncada fortress, as some of you remember, seemed like a foolish sacrifice to some. But in the fight for a just cause, there are never any foolish sacrifices. The history of the revolution is not written in ink. The history of the revolution is written in blood.

"There is an ancient legend which says that the stars are the eyes of the fallen.

"Dear Cuban friends, remember that, as you look — during the hours of nocturnal meditations — at the star-filled sky of Cuba. The eyes of the fallen heroes of the 26 of July are watching you. They are watching every one of your steps, every one of your words and actions. In difficult moments you should always act as they would have acted if they were in your place, and then your lives will be a justification of their sacrifice."

(Translated from July 24 issue of *Revolución*)

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Three Women in the News

By Evelyn Reed

On August 8 the separate fates of three American women hit the headlines.

That day the body of Marilyn Monroe, famous actress-suicide, was buried at Westwood Memorial Park, Los Angeles. Alongside this news story the press announced that Dr. Frances Kelsey, mother of two daughters, who worked in the Food and Drug Administration in Washington, had been awarded the nation's highest civilian-service medal.

That same day Mrs. Sherri Finkbine, mother of four, and star of an award-winning children's TV program in Arizona, was undergoing "mental tests" in Sweden to determine whether she should be delivered by abortion of bearing a baby without arms or legs.

These three women — living in different parts of our country, of different ages, occupations and outlooks on life — did not know one another personally. But they were linked together by their own special involvements in the physiological and psychological mutilations of our times brought about by the profit system.

Dr. Frances Kelsey

The world shuddered at the news that thalidomide, a new drug first marketed in West Germany and taken by pregnant women in many other countries, had resulted in an "epidemic" of deformed babies.

It was then disclosed that for 14 months Dr. Frances Kelsey had waged a one-woman resistance against the powerful Wm. S. Merrell drug company here, blocking its mass sale of thalidomide on the American market. The *Drew Pearson* column on Aug. 8 hinted: "the full story hasn't been told of the

pressures that the Merrell Co. brought to bear upon her."

The most shocking fact, according to another *Pearson* column, was that the Merrell Company "neglected to withdraw the thalidomide samples until four months after their use had been stopped in Germany . . . [It] left the thalidomide pills on the Canadian market until March 2 [nearly 4 million ten-cent pills were sold in Canada] and didn't call upon American physicians to stop their experimental use until March 20. As late as June 11, the Merrell Co. described the birth abnormalities as 'alleged effects . . . mere speculation.'"

Mrs. Sherri Finkbine

Because of delays in sounding the alarm about the drug, the news came too late for Mrs. Sherri Finkbine, over three months pregnant with a thalidomide-threatened embryo. Learning about the danger in a newspaper article in July, she immediately applied to a Phoenix hospital for a legal abortion. She might have been granted the operation — if she had only kept her mouth shut and concealed the cause of her plight.

But this public-spirited woman, realizing she had only accidentally come upon the truth about the drug, spoke out to warn other American women about the deadly peril involved in it. That outspokenness proved her undoing. The Arizona abortion was cancelled. The hound-dogs of reaction drove her to Sweden where abortions are legal.

In answer to sanctimonious adults who question the "moral ethics" of such abortions, Paul Coates in the Aug. 10 *Los Angeles Times* printed a letter from a woman of 50 who indignantly wrote: "Has anyone considered

the child's point of view? It is the one who must suffer with operations and all the pain that accompanies them . . . the jibes of other children, the sly glances . . . 'Isn't he a freak!' . . . I am deformed and I know what I'm talking about. If I had anything to say about my birth, I certainly would have decided upon an abortion of myself without any scruples . . . So let these mothers who talk of the joy this darling bundle from heaven is bringing them, even though it has no hands or legs, put themselves in the child's place and see how they feel."

Marilyn Monroe

Physical deformities can be seen and felt, scorned or pitied. But they are not the only injuries inflicted upon people living under capitalism. No less cruel are the unseen mutilations, the emotional agonies that don't show on the surface. When tens of millions of Marilyn Monroe's fans throughout the world grieved about her suicide, many were identifying her hidden inner wounds with their own.

Hollywood publicity agents create false images of their box-office commodities which conceal the real characters of the individuals. Nevertheless many sensed that behind the glamor-girl was a warm-hearted, generous, sensitive person. The Aug. 3 issue of *Life*, presenting a last interview with Marilyn, confirmed this opinion.

This child of the poor, who once worked for five cents a month washing dishes, embodied a social conscience rarely retained in those who "come up from way down" as she did, and who often prefer to forget their past.

"We human beings are strange creatures and still reserve the right to think for ourselves," Marilyn told the *Life* reporter. "Once I was supposed to be finished — that was the end of me. When Mr. Miller was on trial for contempt of Congress, a certain corporation executive said either he named names and I got him to name names or I was finished. I said, 'I'm proud of my husband's position and I stand behind him all the way, and the court did too.' 'Finished,' they said, 'You'll never be heard of.'"

This corporation brought the same evil pressures to bear upon Marilyn that the drug profiteers directed against Dr. Kelsey. But both women stood firm.

In her last interview Marilyn protested against those who kept trying to reduce her to a saleable commodity. ". . . This sex symbol," she said, "I always thought symbols were those things you clash together! That's the trouble, a sex symbol becomes a thing. I just hate to be a thing." She resisted as long as she could. But at 36, unable to reconcile her own needs and aspirations with the crushing demands of commerce in flesh, she succumbed.

The life-and-death struggles of the movie star, the medical official, the pregnant mother — each in its own way — reveals the enormous damage inflicted upon human beings by this money-mad society. It also reveals the heroic capacity of women to resist — and protest against the mutilators.

Letters From Our Readers

Likes and Dislikes

Mahanoy City, Pa.

I like *The Militant's* views on unions and the 32-hour week. About Castro's Cuba I am uncommitted. I have read books and articles which said, "The Cuban people are better off under Castro." Also just the opposite. I do not know what to believe.

One thing I dislike about *The Militant* is its lack of criticizing the Berlin Wall and loss of freedom behind the Iron Curtain.

F.S.

Ounce of Prevention

New York, N.Y.

Recently the *New England Journal of Medicine* published a unique symposium on the Medical Consequences of Thermonuclear War.

It was based on the findings of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy (the Hollifield Committee). In 1959 this Congressional committee outlined a hypothetical attack in which a ten megaton fission bomb was dropped on Boston and nearby Cambridge.

The symposium, after pointing out how outmoded such bombs are today, estimated from the Hollifield outline that there would be 1,700 acutely injured survivors to each functioning physician. Of the latter, many would be unfamiliar with the treatment of burns, trauma or radiation injury, even if they were willing to further risk their lives to treat survivors.

Some of the public-health hazards it anticipated are scarcity not only of medical facilities, but even such common necessities as water. It likened the threat of epidemics to eras of harsh famine, slavery, and plague since bacteria and viruses are capable of surviving radiation, and the problem of burying the dead, which is essential to the prevention of epidemics, would be such a formidable one by itself, and would be, in a post-nuclear attack, complicated by the radioactivity of these dead.

An important psychological problem these authors raised is the fact that the survivors won't know how much radiation they or other people and things have been exposed to, which adds another dimension, of unknown dangers, to the fear and the potential to panic in their reactions to the known disasters and scarcities.

Contributions to this symposium were made by physicians from the Harvard University faculty, who recently organized in the Boston area the Special Study Section of the Physicians for Social Responsibility.

In their introduction they state that "It is not the intent of the authors to provide a comprehensive plan for survival . . . it should be clear from the articles that there is no rational basis for such plans. It is their intent, rather, to demonstrate . . . prevention is the only effective therapy."

P.R.

Reminder re Rockefeller

Elmhurst, N.Y.

That rabid anti-Sovieteer and war profiteer, Governor Rockefeller has been ranting and raving against any and all disarmament proposals. These days, he especially hates the USSR, because the USSR has been helping underdeveloped nations needing oil by supplying them with oil at prices far lower than Rocky's Standard Oil can offer. Not only are these lower prices the result of socialist efficiency, they are also the result of the fact that the Soviets are not interested in oil profits, but they are interested in aiding the countries in need.

Thought for the Week

"The first anniversary of the Alliance for Progress was passed over without fanfare in Washington — intentionally. The reason is that there has been so very little to celebrate." — Aug. 20 *Christian Science Monitor*.

Mrs. Kennedy's Vacation

We have all in the last three weeks been informed of the vacation in Italy taken by our First Lady with her sister, the princess. I certainly can't blame Mrs. Kennedy for wanting to get away from it all. But I would like to suggest another type of vacation for her.

She should take a trip to that old Southern city of Albany, Georgia. It is a very quaint and, if not charming, certainly exciting city. Her luggage could be a bit lighter than for her trip to Italy. For instance, she needn't take along a swimming suit, all the pools are closed. No golf clubs, because all the city parks are closed. And she needn't think about the theater because all the city's theaters are closed.

It may sound like a rather quiet place for one's vacation but she would really be surprised by all the activity within the city itself. A walk to the mayor's office is very fashionable these days, if not dangerous. The mayor isn't seeing anybody, but Police Chief Prichett is receiving all visitors who look in the least as if they are bowing their heads in prayer.

It would also be wise to avoid going into any Negro churches.

One in neighboring Terrell County has just been destroyed, apparently by explosives, and no one knows which may go up next. It is much safer to go to the all-white churches and pray to the all-white God.

If an Albany, Ga., vacation does not appeal to Mrs. Kennedy, she could visit some other charming Southern cities like Monroe, N.C., and Jackson, Miss. If, however, her time is too limited to fit all these cities into her itinerary, she might just call a few people to the White House to give her a description of these places.

For instance, there are a lot of Freedom Riders who could give her a most interesting picture of the picturesque jails of Jackson. Then, Robert F. Williams, who is now a refugee in Cuba, with adequate assurances for his safety, would undoubtedly be willing to travel to Washington to furnish a vivid description of Monroe. And certainly any Negro from Albany, Ga., would be more than glad to talk to both Mrs. Kennedy and her husband about their city.

For her next vacation, I recommend that Mrs. Kennedy see America first — as it really is.

Sylvia Weinstein

It Was Reported in the Press.

It's All in the Family — More than 500 secret documents relating to guided missiles and jet planes were stolen on or around Aug. 19 from the Almcro Super-sheen factory in Hertfordshire, England. A police spokesman said the theft was not likely to threaten national security. A spokesman for the company said the papers would be of value to rival concerns.

Ohio Ballot — The Ohio Civil Liberties Union decided at its summer board meeting to press for changes in state election laws which "make it unduly difficult

to get on the ballot." At present, 500,000 signatures of qualified electors must be submitted by a minor party for it to appear on the ballot in Ohio.

Peruvian Guerrillas — "For the first time, a genuine guerrilla movement complete with 'Fidelist'-style uniforms, is being organized by a 28-year-old Trotskyite named Hugo Blanco. And the fame of this fanatical, thin-faced man is growing as his battle cry — 'Land or Death' — echoes through rocky valleys and across soaring purple peaks." — Dispatch from Cuzco, Peru, by correspon-

dent Dan Kurzman in Aug. 12 *Los Angeles Times*.

House Headshrinker — "The [Chicago] motel will provide a psychiatrist as part of its facilities, along with room service, a swimming pool and TV in the rooms. General Manager Edward Toole said, 'It's a special service to the harried executive. Away from the home base, these men-under-pressure are more likely than ever to be beset by the traumas and tensions of the fast-paced modern business world.'" — July 23 AP dispatch.

H.H.