

THE MILITANT

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Why Doesn't Kennedy Agree To a Ban on Nuclear Tests?

By Barry Sheppard

The peace movement in this country can make a big advance by mounting a hard-hitting campaign for an immediate ban on nuclear tests.

An end to the poisonous blasts is an urgent and realizable goal. The fight to achieve it would bring a maximum of unity to the anti-war forces and win significant new support.

In addition to the strong international pressure for a test-ban accord, there is widespread grassroots sentiment for it in this country that remains to be tapped, organized and articulated.

But a vigorous mass campaign for a test ban requires uncompromising opposition to the nuclear policies of the Kennedy administration. For its own cold-war reasons the administration has been deliberately frustrating international agreement to such a ban. It does so by continually raising new obstacles in the form of inspection demands which have already passed the bounds of the ridiculous.

Pressure Needed

To take as good coin the administration's lip service to the objective of a ban on nuclear explosions can serve only to distort the peace movement. The administration adapts to domestic and international pressure for a test-ban accord by pretending to favor it. But it will actually sign such an agreement only if it is subjected to sufficient pressure.

The negotiations in Geneva provoked strong reactions in Washington. Any gestures by the U.S. negotiators which remotely appeared headed toward an agreement brought sharp and frenzied outcries from Pentagon and Congressional circles.

The Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy hearings last month were centered on the "problem" of detecting secret nuclear tests and designed to prove any test ban would be incapable of enforcement.

I.F. Stone's *Bi-Weekly* of March 18 has well documented these hearings. For example, the airforce subsidized Rand Corporation, whose stable of experts produce scientific data upon command to back up whatever their paymasters want "proved," told how the Soviets could cheat on any test-ban. Here is the rationalization of these "experts:" The Russians would explode nuclear bombs in space, which could be unknown to the rest of the world if the Russians had somehow succeeded in putting up in space huge lead screens to prevent detection. One Los Alamos scientist, Dr. Herman Hoerlin, had enough courage to point out that this would be quite expensive for the Soviets, ex-

tremely difficult and a "waste of scientific manpower."

Another fantasy was suggested by Edward Teller and his assistant Richard Latter. Teller is a fanatic advocate of testing. He resembles Lysenko, Stalin's famous scientific strong-arm man, in that his position and fame rest not upon scientific achievements but upon his willingness to serve as a tool in scientific circles for political reaction.

The Teller-Latter thesis is that if deep underground chambers were constructed in rock or salt, explosions in them might escape detection. Thus explosion of a small, one-tenth of a kiloton bomb, in an underground cavity as deep and as wide as a nine-story building with two 2,000-foot shafts leading to it, might be successfully muffled. This would require the excavation of some 40,000 tons of rock or salt. "If eight-ton trucks are used, this means 5,000 truckloads," I.F. Stone points out. "Nobody on the committee asked how so extensive an excavation and removal job could be done without attracting the attention of intelligence."

"On March 6, Dr. Charles C. Bates, chief of the Vela Uniform branch, an official project having to do with underground testing, burst out with the statement: 'Dr. Latter is not a mining engineer, and he also postulates a cavity size that will not stand up if he tries it.'" In other words, you can't make holes big enough for the Teller-Latter theory to work.

One fear congressmen voiced was that the Russians might carry

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BEFORE THE TUMULT. A contingent of British unionists form ranks to join march to House of Commons in protest against government failure to do something about unemployment. The situation got tense when they reached House and cops sought to bar their way.

Angry British Unionists Mass in London To Protest Gov't Failure to Aid Jobless

By Joseph Hansen

LONDON, March 27 — Unemployed workers, backed by trade-union contingents, assembled from all parts of Britain in a mass lobby of some 7,000 people yesterday at St. Stephen's entrance to the House of Commons. They shouted for jobs, for a 40-hour week, for an end to Tory rule and for a Labor government.

Right-wing Labor Party and trade-union bureaucrats who sponsored the lobby had planned a mild kind of petition as a publicity stunt. The rank and file thought that the idea of demanding redress of grievances was a good one and decided to put some steam in it.

They massed directly in front of Parliament — a violation of an ordinance — and even sought to push their way inside the building. Police blocked the entrance. When the crowd, singing the well-known workers' song *The Red Flag*, pushed forward anyway, the police sent for reinforcements.

Recalled 1930s

Demonstrators sought to avoid a serious clash since their aim was a peaceful but vigorous protest action. Nevertheless, the big press said that nothing resembling such scenes had been seen in Britain since the bitter depression days of the 1930s.

After the lobbying came to an end, a mass meeting was held under the auspices of the Lambeth Trade Council. Attendance, according to the daily press, was as high as 2,000. *The Newsletter*, weekly journal of the Socialist Labour League, which reports the meeting in some detail, puts the figure at 1,300.

Speakers stressed the need for unity between the employed and unemployed. Another prominent theme was the urgency of nationalization as a solution to the problem of unemployment.

The right of youth to jobs was stressed by Alex McLanty, a

steward at Albion Motors in Glasgow.

Tom Grady, one of the 17 workers at the Ford plant victimized for union activities, called on his fellow stewards to stand up. About a dozen present received a tremendous ovation.

Gerry Healy of the Socialist Labour League particularly scored the right-wing bureaucrats for trying to separate the youth — who were among the most militant — from the main body of demonstrations. Speaking about the possibility of a Labor victory at the next election, he warned that labor will not tolerate another betrayal such as occurred under Ramsay MacDonald.

A resolution, passed unanimously, is summarized by *The Newsletter* as follows: "That all Members of Parliament interviewed during the lobby should be contacted within four weeks to see if they had taken any action; That joint committees be set up between trades councils and jobless workers to investigate complaints at Labour Exchanges; firms which declare workers redundant should be forced to open their books to scrutiny by trade unions; that the next Labour government nationalize all the basic industries."

For more on jobless demonstration see *London Letter* on page 4.

Use Cops and Dogs

Miss. Racists Try to Block Voting Drive

APRIL 2 — Police in Greenwood, Miss., today stopped a group of Negroes led by comedian Dick Gregory from walking together toward the Leflore County courthouse to register to vote. Gregory spoke to a voter-registration rally in Greenwood last night. Today, Gregory was manhandled by police but released. Landy McNair, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who is from Jackson, Miss., was arrested for attempting to continue the march after police hustled Gregory away.

SNCC Chairman Charles McDew, who is in Greenwood, declared: "We've taken the position that as citizens of this country we have the right to walk the public streets of Greenwood. The very act of breaking up the people is an act of intimidation to keep people from registering and voting because many of these people have expressed a fear of going down alone."

SNCC executive secretary James

Forman and seven other voter-registration workers are in jail in Greenwood on four-month "disorderly conduct" sentences.

GREENWOOD, Miss., March 28 — James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, reported today from the Greenwood City Jail on the disposition of trials of the SNCC workers arrested yesterday accompanying Negro citizens to the county courthouse. Forman said those SNCC workers convicted would remain in jail for the immediate future. Those in jail include Lawrence Guyot, Robert Moses, James Jones, Charles McLaurin, Lafayette Surney and Willie Peacock. Bobby Talbert and Curtis Hayes were found "not guilty" in trials held today and charges against Frank Smith were dismissed.

More than 50 Negroes went to the courthouse today to register. They filled out forms, left in a group, and were dispersed by po-

lice using a large police dog on "free rein." The dog bit Rev. Tucker of Turner Chapel AME Church on the ankle, and tore the trouser leg of Landy McNair, SNCC workers reported.

Three of those arrested yesterday — Moses, McLaurin, and Surney — had instituted court action Jan. 2 in an attempt to force Attorney General Robert Kennedy and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to take action against local authorities. The SNCC workers had asked for protection by federal marshals.

SNCC chairman Charles McDew wired a similar demand to Attorney General Kennedy after a midnight shotgun attack March 26 on the home of Dewey Green Sr. Dewey Green Jr. is the second Negro to try to enter the University of Mississippi. Another son, George, a Greenwood high school student, has been active in the voter-registration drive.

On March 25, the SNCC office

(Continued on Page 3)

Williams Urges Aid For Mae Mallory

CLEVELAND, April 1 — Ohioans last Friday night heard Robert F. Williams, native of Monroe, N. C., and former president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People branch there, appeal to them not to send Mae Mallory back to North Carolina for trial.

In an exclusive long-distance telephone-interview, a reporter for WERE, a local radio station, questioned Williams in Havana about the Mallory case as well as about his own activities and opinions.

Asked whether it is his contention that a Negro cannot get justice anywhere in the U.S., Williams replied: "No, I wouldn't say a Negro cannot get justice any place in the U.S. In fact, I am hoping that a Negro can get justice in the State of Ohio."

Cuba is not sending him back,

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Mae Mallory

114-Day Newspaper Shutdown Ends

It Took Jockeying to Get Printers Back

By Jack Katz

NEW YORK — The great printer's strike is now history.

The printers ratified their contract on March 24, but continued to man the picket lines in support of the photoengravers who had struck on March 18. The engravers rejected Wagner's proposed contract the first time around but accepted it four days later, on March 31, and the historic 114-day struggle was over. Papers appeared on the streets April 1.

Printers returned to work in a body led by their chapel chairmen from their strike and lock-out headquarters near each newspaper.

All the other craft unions accepted contracts in line with Mayor Wagner's \$12.63 formula for the printers with a reduction in the work week. The photoengravers had sought a 35-hour week.

The newsstand price of the Times and Tribune was raised from five to ten cents. The Times estimates the cost of the new contract hike for itself at about \$3 million annually. Increased circulation revenue from the nickel hike will be more than \$7 million a year.

New Yorkers were greeted by the Times with one of the longest news articles in the newspaper's history. Running more than two full pages, the strike story by labor writer, A. H. Raskin, could well be sub-titled: "The secret history of the inside maneuvers by various officialdoms."

Remarkable Story

It is a remarkable story that delineates in great detail all the activities of the various figures in the strike (with the exception of the striking and locked-out workers). President Kennedy's central and decisive role against the strikers emerges clearly. His blast at the printer's union and Local 6 President Bertram Powers on the 75th day of the strike is credited with producing the "subtle change" that led to the mayor's contract.

A basic principle of the International Typographical Union is complete and unrelenting opposition to arbitration. In the early days of the strike, every attempt at arbitration was struck down. Powers castigated Federal Mediator William Simkin because the latter dared to tell the union to "come down a little."

The union refused to appear before Judge Medina's panel, even though this group was only "studying" the strike's origins, because of the ITU's traditional opposition to any form of third-party intervention in its strikes.

But as Raskin notes, Kennedy's blast at the striking printers, and at Powers personally, produced a "subtle change" in the latter's attitude toward what Kennedy called "independent determination" but which the union had traditionally termed arbitration.

When Mayor Wagner appointed himself Kennedy's "independent determinator," Powers agreed to



LABOR SOLIDARITY. New York unionists turned out in mass to demonstrate in support of striking printers. Strikers achieved unprecedented degree of unity with other crafts during 114-day shutdown.

"listen." How listening to the mayor's recommendations resulted in the mayor's writing the contract is well known. The decisive role of ITU President Elmer Brown in getting the local officials and the members ultimately to approve a contract they did not want is well known.

After the men voted the contract down, President Brown threatened to use the power of the ITU Executive Council to force them to accept it. He was quoted by reporters as saying he wouldn't "make book" on the chances of obtaining a better contract. This killed any chance of Powers and the union's scale committee of entering into new negotiations for a better contract. The publishers knew that Brown's position could and would end the strike.

The essential weakness of the strike was the bypassing by Big-Six President Powers of the public, the striking printers and, ultimately, even the scale committee itself. Powers tried too much to run a one-man show and in the end, he was out-manuevered by experts.

Needed Public Support

When Powers said early in the strike that the public would not be a factor in the strike, that the public's support would not help the printers gain a dime out of the publishers and that the public's hostility would not hurt the strikers' cause, he was insuring in advance that in any subsequent crisis of the strike the union would be unable to call on the public for support.

Powers, instead, depended for support on Central Labor Council President Harry Van Arsdale. Powers thought he had "labor" when he had this alliance with Van Arsdale. But on the fateful night of March 8, when Powers and the scale committee remained unyielding while Brown "took" the contract, it was left to Van Arsdale to do the real job of breaking down the union's resistance.

Because Powers had not utilized the striking printers to win the ranks of the city's labor movement as well as the general public to active support of the strike, he was alone when Van Arsdale told him he was "alone."

The end of the 114-day strike signaled the beginning of an intense debate within the union. In every shop, the men are discussing and will long continue to discuss the strike and its lessons.

The three principal gains were: shorter hours; one contract-ex-

piration date for all ten unions; sharing in the benefits of automation — this could not have been won anywhere but on the picket line. The men know this. In this sense, the workers know they won the strike. They know it too from their own new mood of militancy which they took back into the shops from the picket lines. The lessons learned can pave the way for a great new era of advance for this oldest of America's unions.

Report Terms Set In Cleveland Strike

CLEVELAND, April 1 — Disappointment was the first reaction of striking printers to settlement terms reported unofficially here today, but many are reserving judgment until they hear the scale committee's report at a special meeting later this week.

Agreement arrived at in negotiations concluded yesterday morning, the 122nd day of the Cleveland newspaper strike, reportedly includes a \$13.95 economic package for a 26-month contract. While this is unquestionably more than ITU Local 53 could have secured without a strike, and more than most of the other crafts settled for, it still leaves Cleveland printers with a wage scale far below that in other major cities.

The economic package reportedly includes the following weekly gains: \$2.50 cash retroactive to Oct. 1, 1962; \$2.50 cash effective April 1, 1963; \$5 cash beginning Oct. 1, 1963; \$2.70 to hospitalization costs; 75¢ to pension fund effective April 1, 1963; 25¢ to provide fourth week vacation for those employed on the newspaper 20 years (old contract provides fourth week for 25-year men only); and 25¢ to sickness and accident insurance beginning Oct. 1, 1963.

The contract, if ratified, will extend its term by two months to Dec. 1, 1964. While the Typographical Union traditionally prefers shorter term contracts, the new termination date is still before the Christmas advertising season, when newspaper workers are in a relatively favorable bargaining position.

"The laboring people found the prisons always open to receive them, but the courts of justice were practically closed to them." — John Peter Altgeld (1847-1902), Gov. of Illinois.



United Steelworkers of America, which had 1.2 million dues-paying members in 1956 now has only 850,000. The decline is mainly due to automation and cutbacks in the production of basic steel since 1957. Real wages of basic steelworkers have fallen five cents an hour since 1961, according to union officials, due to increases in the cost of living. The steelworkers used to have automatic cost-of-living increases, but that benefit was not included in the last contract.

In case you wonder who George Meany really speaks for, there are 60,000 full-time salaried officials in the U.S. trade-union movement. That is, one of every 300 union members. This compares with one to every 1,700 in Sweden, one to 2,000 in Great Britain, and one to 2,200 in Norway. There are some 390,000 additional trade-union office holders in the U.S. who are not on the full-time pie. These figures do not include thousands of additional job-holders hired by — and therefore beholden to — top trade-union bureaucrats, such as office help, journalists, legal staffs, personnel administering fringe benefits, etc.

A report to the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers convention in Denver says that in 1962 5,000 fewer workers produce 10 per cent more copper than in 1956. In the same period of time, the country's brass mills cut employment 2,800 without cutting production. More of the same is expected. As an example, the report cites the Kennecott Copper Corporation's Utah division which expects to increase production by 50 per cent with no increase in employment. At the same time, hard-rock miners in lead and zinc are being hit even more heavily than those in copper because production is declining due to foreign competition.

Delegates representing 16,000 Wyoming union members met March 10 to discuss the political situation following passage by the state legislature of a "right-to-work" law outlawing the union shop. After the meeting, R. J. Rickey, Rocky Mountain area director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, sent Governor Clifford Hansard a telegram containing the following: "I should like to take this opportunity to express not only my own personal appreciation but also that of the officers and members of the 12 local unions of my own union here in Wyoming, to you and to your associates in the anti-labor forces for your considered good judgment, in not calling out the Wyoming national guard with rifles loaded with live ammunition and fixed bayonets to police our meetings as you recently did in Cheyenne during the course of the 37th legislature.

"We sincerely appreciate your forbearance in this matter, and... we will not forget these actions of yours in the months ahead, and surely not before the fall of 1964."

At the end of last year, the unemployment rate among non-white workers was 10 per cent, just double what it was among white workers, according to the U.S. Bureau of labor statistics. There are eight million non-white workers in the U.S. labor force, 1.5 of whom are union members.

Automation is even cutting out the young men who park cars. A New York City garage has opened with a completely automatic parking system. The driver stops the

car at a designated spot. A cashier sitting at a control panel takes his money and parks the car in a stall by turning a switch which activates a series of lifts, tracks and an elevator. Twenty-seven cars can be parked or unparked in ten minutes by the single cashier.

A mine superintendent, a foreman and an assistant foreman have been charged with negligence in the Robena No. 3 mine disaster in which 37 men were killed last Dec. 6. The charges were made by a Pennsylvania state investigatory commission, appointed by Governor Scranton, and headed by Lewis E. Evans. The commission recommended legal action be taken against the three negligent officials. Robena No. 3 is owned by the U.S. Steel Corporation, which has announced it will appeal the decision of the commission.

U.S. Steel claims there was no negligence. It claims the mine was inspected by the state only three days before the explosion and found in satisfactory condition. Governor Scranton, who held the report for two weeks before announcing it March 14, hedged on its findings. The governor said the violations charged were general in nature, not directly a cause of the December disaster. Evans, however, disagreed with the governor. He said the report "blames those who are directly responsible under the laws..."

It listed the cause of the explosion, which started the disaster, as poor ventilation at the mine face. Coal dust and methane gas accumulated there was ignited by a spark from electrical equipment, according to the report. Since the disaster, Robena miners have twice struck to prevent the company from leaving ventilating machinery unattended.

The unsafe conditions and negligence reported by the commission were not a secret to the miners on the job. Traditionally, miners have the right to strike over safety conditions regardless of the contract, but this tradition — like a great many other union traditions — has been shunted aside in recent years as unemployment and union bureaucracy made every man fear for his job. If the miners had felt free to strike over safety on their own immediate judgment before the disaster — as they have done after it — the 37 men would probably be alive today.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

John T. Gojack, facing retrial for contempt of Congress, speaks on The First Amendment: Second Time Around. Fri., April 12, 8 p.m., Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

William F. Warde, literary collaborator with C. Wright Mills and Isaac Deutscher, speaks on The 30s and the 60s: What Can the Two Generations Learn from Each Other? Fri., April 12, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1. (Students, 50c.) A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

New York

A Debate

Truman Nelson

Author of "People With Strength" and novels about Abolitionist movement

David Dellinger

Editor of pacifist magazine, "Liberation"

discuss

Self-Defense or Non-Violence: Which Way for Civil Rights Movement?

Wed., April 10, 8:30 p.m.

Hotel Albert 23 East 10th St. (at University Pl.)

Contrib. 99 cents

A usp. Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants

Aid Against Economic Reprisals

Story of 'Operation Freedom'

The recent events in Greenwood, Mississippi, have focused attention on the Delta region and on the fact that a war of reprisal is being waged there against Negroes attempting to register to vote. This pattern had appeared earlier in nearby areas of Tennessee. In the spring of 1961 a group of concerned citizens came together in Cincinnati, Ohio, and formed an organization called Operation Freedom. Its purpose was to enable the Negroes of West Tennessee to survive economically while they organized to become voters.

During the past two years Operation Freedom has lent about \$80,000 to Negroes (and some money to a few white supporters also suffering reprisals) in Haywood and Fayette counties of Tennessee. Since the voter-registration project spread to the Mississippi Delta last year, Operation Freedom has extended its help to that area.

The Rev. Maurice McCrackin, treasurer of Operation Freedom, now reports a backlog of \$32,000 in loan applications with no funds to fill them. "The planters seem determined to break the back of the movement through an economic squeeze before we can get enough help into the area," McCrackin declared recently.

Heartland

The Delta area of Mississippi is the rich, cotton-growing alluvial plain between the Yazoo and the Mississippi rivers. It extends from Memphis to Vicksburg and covers 18 counties. It is considered to be the heart of the Jim Crow system in the U.S. About 300,000 Negroes live there, constituting two thirds of the population, but until recently virtually no Negroes in the area were registered to vote. The number is still very small because officials in the area use every possible device to prevent it. In a number of cases there has been violence.

"But when people make up their minds to be free," points out an Operation Freedom spokesman, "terror of this kind won't stop them. The most effective weapon the segregationists have — and they know it — is economic pressure." People who try to register are being put off the land, fired from jobs, and cut off from credit. Operation Freedom is setting up a fund to: 1) enable those who own their land to put in crops in spite of the fact that banks have cut off their credit, 2) stop foreclosures on homes and farm equipment, and 3) help landless Negroes, who lose their jobs, survive until an employment solution is found.

Three well-known Delta leaders — Dr. Aaron Henry and Amzie

Moore of the local NAACP and Bob Moses of the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee — are working with Operation Freedom, setting up the necessary machinery. Local committees process applications and the loan fund is revolving so that as loans are repaid, the money is lent out again. There is a larger economic problem in the area posed by the lack of jobs and the tendency to push small farmers and sharecroppers off the land as more machinery is introduced. Operation Freedom cannot solve this problem permanently but is an emergency operation to help victimized Negroes to stay in the area while they fight for the right to vote.

Further information may be obtained from, and contributions should be sent to: Operation Freedom, c/o Rev. Maurice McCrackin, 932 Dayton Street, Cincinnati 14, Ohio.

Report on Delta

The situation in the Delta is described in a report written in February by Operation Freedom co-ordinator Jack McKart. Excerpts from the report follow:

Many Negro families in the Delta are reporting no income for the past year. Reasons for this are that the cotton-picking season ended earlier than usual due to a long dry spell and a greater use of mechanical cotton pickers . . . [these machines] still leave a small amount of usable cotton lying on the ground in the fields. To prevent the sharecroppers on his land from gathering up this cotton, a plantation owner will plow this remaining cotton under. With all these things working against him, many sharecroppers found themselves without work and without an income . . .

In Leflore County, Mississippi, the county officials administering the federal government surplus-food (commodities) program recently cut off 22,000 people from this program. A few welfare cases still receive commodities. County officials said they had to drop these 22,000 because the county could not afford the personnel, the equipment and the facilities to run this program . . .

Some Delta counties this year required persons wanting commodities to fill out forms which had to be signed by their white employers. In many instances the employer would refuse to sign and the people would not get the food. One woman who tried to obtain commodities for her family was told that since she had money to register (this refers to the county poll tax which is two or three dollars per year depending on the county) she should have money to eat.

Mayor C. M. Dorrough of Rule-

ville, Sunflower County, reportedly said that all Negroes who went down to register would not get commodities this year. In referring to the voter-registration drive, the mayor also reportedly said: "We gonna see how tight we can make it — gonna make it just as tight as we can — gonna be rougher, rougher than you think it is."

Sharecroppers have been evicted for attempting to register and for attending meetings where registration is discussed. Workers other than sharecroppers have lost their jobs for attempting to register and a man who does not register may still lose his job if his wife or some other relative registers. Some store owners will refuse credit to Negroes . . . People attempting to register have their names listed in the banks by the bankers and are then unable to borrow money.

Many Negroes have failed the literacy test [Mississippi requires voters to pass a test which includes writing an essay on a section of the state constitution] because their interpretation of the constitution was not satisfactory to the registrar or circuit clerk as he is called . . .

In 1962 the legislature passed a law requiring another type of test in addition to the literacy test. This new test is known as the "morality test" and says in part: "within ten days after the receipt (the registrar) shall deliver for publication in a newspaper . . . the name and address of such applicant . . . and shall cause same to be published once each week for two consecutive weeks..."

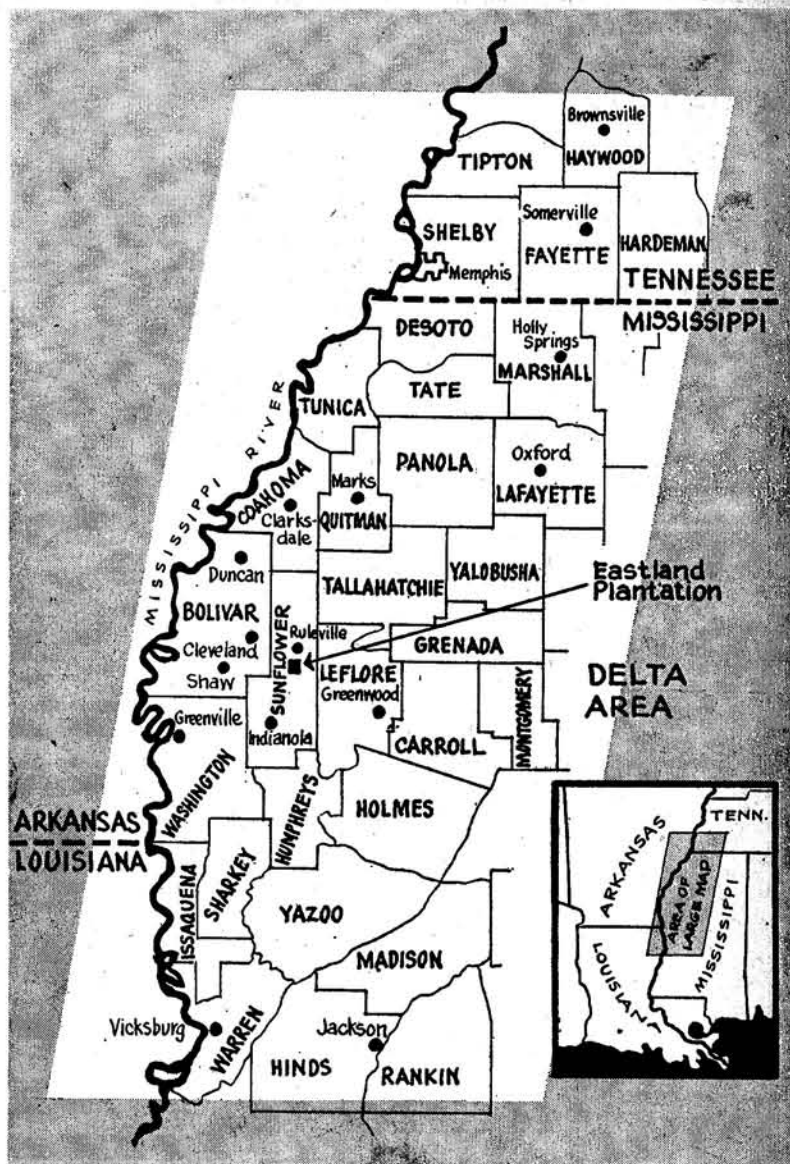
Prove Innocent

If, after seeing your name in the paper, any person questions your moral character, he can so inform the circuit clerk. The circuit clerk will tell you that unless you can defend your character against the charge made, you will not be permitted to register . . .

Another depressing aspect of Mississippi is the Negro grade and high schools. A white school board controls all schools, resulting in Negro schools having less adequate facilities, less money, less books and many frightened teachers. The teachers are warned to be careful of what they say . . . Most teachers give in to this system, and in keeping their jobs, they avoid such topics as civil rights, voting, and anything else the white people feel is subversive to the "culture" of Mississippi.

One of the more disturbing aspects of the Mississippi Delta area is the situation centering around white doctors and hospitals. One night in September, 1962, two girls were shot while sitting in the home of friends. [They were active in a voter-registration project.] The shots were fired by white men from a passing car. The two girls were taken to the local [white] hospital, which is two blocks from where the shooting occurred. For two hours the girls lay unattended and the hospital staff refused to give them anything for the pain. While there they were given no treatment. They finally received treatment when one of the girls was taken to another hospital ten miles away, and the other girl was taken 120 miles to a hospital in Jackson.

One hospital which was built recently has one wing for Negro patients. This is in a county where Negroes make up 67 per cent of the population. In Coahoma



SOURCE OF THE INFECTION. The Mississippi Delta. At center of this alluvial region is plantation of Senator James O. Eastland. A few miles to east is Greenwood, scene of current struggles.

County, a modern three-story hospital was built in the mid-1950s. The first floor is for Negroes and the other two floors are for whites . . . Meals are different for Negroes and whites . . . If you telephone this hospital for information on a Negro patient and you use a title of respect (such as Mr. or Mrs. or Rev.) the hospital switchboard operator will not put your call through.

Negroes throughout the Delta tell of the mistreatment or lack of treatment they receive in the hospitals. Welfare cases are given an especially hard time.

No human being has the right to have peace of mind while others suffer. No one has a right to sit back and say that it is not his responsibility. Every man must share the guilt for permitting such a system to continue.

... Miss. Right-to-Vote Fight

(Continued from Page 1) in Greenwood was set afire. Two white men were seen running from the scene as the fire started.

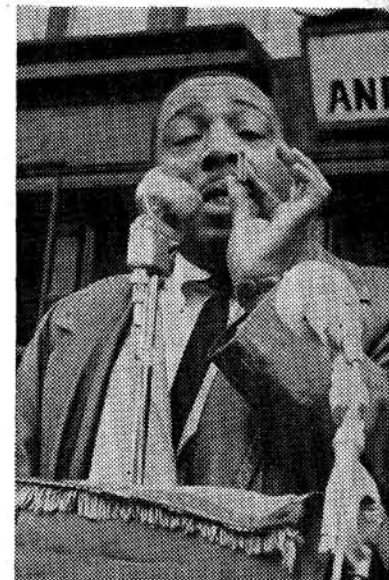
The voter-registration drive, which SNCC began in Mississippi a year and a half ago, developed momentum in Greenwood in the week ending Feb. 25. Over 150 Negroes tried to register then. Three days later, gunfire ripped into a car in which three voter-registration workers were riding. Robert Moses and Randolph Blackwell escaped injury, but James Travis, a 20-year-old SNCC field secretary, was shot in the shoulder and spine and required an operation.

One week later, white assailants again attempted murder. This time SNCC field secretaries Samuel Block and Willie Peacock and two Greenwood citizens, Essie Broome and Peggie Mayre, were shot at while their car stopped in front of the SNCC office here.

The attacks on SNCC workers go back to August, 1962, when the drive to register Negro voters in Leflore County began. When Leflore County officials cut an estimated 22,000 Negroes from welfare and government surplus — food rolls, SNCC workers began nation-wide appeals for aid to feed the victimized families. Thousands of tons of food and clothing were sent by Friends of SNCC organizations in various Northern cities. Under pressure of national publicity, the Leflore County Board of Supervisors voted March 20 to resume, for one month, the surplus-food distribution program.

All but two of SNCC's Mississippi workers are now concentrat-

ed in Leflore County. SNCC's national office is at 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, Ga. The organization conducts direct action and voter-registration projects in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina and Florida. Fifty young people, Negro and White, most in their early twenties, have interrupted their studies for a year or more to work as SNCC field secretaries on pay of \$15 to \$20 per week. SNCC will hold its third annual conference in Atlanta Easter weekend, according to Ruby Doris Smith, conference coordinator. Miss Smith, 20, has been arrested 11 times for protests against segregation.



Dick Gregory

Spring Issue

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- Book Reviews

International Socialist Review

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Monday, April 8, 1963

Cementing the 'Wall of Freedom'

Two weeks ago President Ydigoras of Guatemala declared a stage of siege to counter still another "communist" plot to overthrow the government. A few days later Ydigoras actually was overthrown — by a rightist military coup, justified in its turn as a necessity to stop the communists.

Ydigoras was a rightist authoritarian who worked within the framework of rigged elections and emergency decrees. The new government, headed by Ydigoras' Minister of Defense, Colonel Peralta, is an unadorned military dictatorship.

The state of siege and the coup appear to be reactions to political activity anticipating elections scheduled for next November. Former President Juan José Arevalo had re-entered Guatemala from his Mexican exile, announcing that he would run in the elections on a mildly leftist but anti-communist program.

The reactionary ruling oligarchy in Guatemala fears any kind of political activity of the Guatemalan people, and feels secure only when the people are held down by a repressive government. The latest coup is the logical result of the support the oligarchy has consistently obtained from the United States as a bulwark against "communism" and Castroism.

While Washington, to show token disapproval, is delaying recognition of the new military dictatorship for a few days, Col. Peralta's representatives are being allowed to participate in the anti-Fidelista conferences now being held under U.S. auspices in — appropriately enough — Managua, capital of dictator Somoza's Nicaragua. Thus progresses the building of Kennedy's "wall of freedom" around Cuba.

A Slim Legal Victory

On March 25 the Supreme Court, by a five-to-four vote, reversed the Florida conviction of Rev. Theodore R. Gibson. Rev. Gibson is the former president of the Miami branch of the NAACP, who was convicted of contempt when he refused to turn the NAACP membership list over to a state legislative "investigating" committee.

An earlier Supreme Court decision in the Barenblatt case held that legislative committees can compel witnesses to testify about possible communist associations. The racists have utilized this breach of civil liberties to harass Negro organizations. The Florida state committee tried to obtain the NAACP membership list from Rev. Gibson under the pretense of an investigation of "communism."

The majority ruling in the Gibson case, written by Justice Goldberg, said that groups not "engaged in subversive or other illegal or improper activities, nor demonstrated to have any substantial connection with such activities" cannot be freely put into the "investigation" pillory.

While the ruling stopped the persecution of the NAACP in this particular case, Goldberg's equivocating decision leaves the door wide open for the racists and reactionaries. Just imagine how a Birchite or a Mississippi senator would define "improper activities," "subversive," or a "substantial connection."

The only way to prevent legislative witchhunts against Negro, labor, or other organizations is to affirm without equivocation what the Constitution states in the First Amendment. It guarantees to everyone the right of free association. This means, as Justices Black and Douglas said in upholding the reversal of Gibson's conviction, the right to "associate with Communists or anti-Communists, Socialists or anti-Socialists, or, for that matter, with people of all kinds of beliefs, popular or unpopular."

Help Defend Mae Mallory

The extradition of Mae Mallory to Monroe, North Carolina, to stand trial in a racist court on trumped-up "kidnap" charges is an imminent danger. Mrs. Mallory has been fighting extradition from Ohio since 1961, and all state court remedies have been exhausted. It is possible that she could be extradited at the end of this month. Even if the defense lawyers are able to get another stay of execution of the extradition, pending a re-appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, the decision of that court is expected to be unfavorable.

It appears that the only hope is for Ohio Governor Rhodes to revoke the extradition order signed by his predecessor, Michael V. Di Salle. The handing over of Mrs. Mallory to the North Carolina authorities who have perpetrated the frame-up would be an outrage. A conviction on the charge carries a mandatory 20-year prison sentence.

Mrs. Mallory and her co-defendants, who are guilty of nothing but fighting for the civil rights of Negroes, have virtually no chance for a fair trial in Monroe, N.C., which is a headquarters for the Ku Klux Klan.

The time to act is now. Rally behind the protest efforts of the Monroe Defense Committee and the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants in Ohio and nationally. In addition, write or wire immediately to Gov. James Rhodes, Columbus, Ohio, urging him to revoke the extradition order and free Mae Mallory from jail.

LONDON LETTER

"Siege of the Angry Ones"

LONDON — An orderly, good-natured mood prevailed as the 7,000 delegates of unemployed union men throughout the British Isles began their March 26 procession under the twin slogans: "We Want Work" and "Tories Out."

But the mood turned to angry frustration when police tried to stop them from entering the area around Parliament where demonstrations are forbidden while the House of Commons is in session. This regulation, however, went by the board as quickly as had de Gaulle's requisition order to the French miners.

Thousands of the invaders quickly reassembled with their banners within Parliament Square itself, and for hours laid siege to the Commons in the face of police reinforcements — only stopping short of taking over the hallowed halls themselves.

A huge banner, which appeared to read: "Throw the Tories Out — Rootes Group [auto plants] Shop Stewards Committee" was firmly held aloft over the unicorn gargoyles, which grace one side of Parliament's main entrance. It was held by a demonstrator perched atop St. Stephen's gate, while the lion on the other side was similarly decorated. Delegates had been entering the lobby through the doors 40 at a time to see their MPs [Members of Parliament], and there was a push through the heavy police cordon by the crowd.

For a while it looked as if the building itself would be invaded. Then mounted police arrived in force and after a hectic tussle the crowd retreated. Hundreds staged a sit-down demonstration in the middle of the square, tying up traffic for hours amid incidents



Gerry Healy

both good-natured and ugly. The Mounties were booed and greeted with mock salutes and shouts of "Gestapo" and "Sieg Heil." Constables were chasing their helmets all over the place. One Mountie, whose horse was roughed up a bit, pleaded with the demonstrators: "What's my horse done, chums?" — appealing to the well-known British love for animals, to get a respite.

Inside the parliamentary lobby delegates continued to press their demands on their legislators. On the floor of the House itself former Labor minister Emanuel Shinwell, himself an ex-shop steward and a veteran of industrial struggles dating back to World War I, taunted the Prime Minister to go out and meet "some of these thou-

... Nuclear Test Ban Issue

(Continued from Page 1)

on secret tests on the far side of the moon.

A test ban is opposed on still another "scientific" ground. Supposedly the U.S. discovered in a recent series of tests that alluvium, a soft soil, muffles explosions. But one witness at the hearing pointed out that a seismograph station 2,000 miles away in Northern Canada detected the "muffled" shot of a small, two-kiloton atom bomb in alluvium. The bomb dropped on Hiroshima was of ten-kiloton size, and a medium hydrogen bomb is about 15,000 kilotons, or equivalent to 7,500 two-kiloton bombs exploded at once.

The only place in the Soviet Union where there is enough alluvium to test weapons is so close to the Iranian border that the U.S. stations could detect explosions of a fraction of a kiloton.

The fact is that any nuclear test in space or in the atmosphere can be detected. And the global network of seismographic stations (where earthquakes, explosions, etc., are recorded) under U.S. control can detect any surface or underground explosions anywhere in the world.

Senator Humphrey told the Senate on March 7, "I have said to the President and to those responsible for our position on nuclear tests that the American people need to know the facts. Tell the American people of our detection system. Tell them what we have. We are always telling them what a big bomb we have. Tell them what a good detection system we have. I do not say it is foolproof or perfect. I merely say the results in three years of research are phenomenal, and I challenge anyone to prove the contrary."

But the committee's prime interest was in concocting fantastic arguments to cast doubts upon a test ban. As I.F. Stone put it, "The committee wasn't interested in

figures to prove it improbable that old women could fly on broomsticks. It prefers Rand Corporation studies showing that if miniaturized jet engines were put in the rear end of the broom and operated by transistor, then —"

Against the nonsense of his fellow legislators, Humphrey sounds like the voice of reason. He is for a test ban, for the simple, imperialist reason that the Soviets continue to gain on the United States in military technology as long as nuclear testing continues. "Had we been able to obtain a test ban treaty six years ago, the Soviet Union today would be, for all practical purposes, a second-rate power," he said.

Time Factor

Defense Secretary McNamara admitted recently that time is not on the side of the U.S. in the arms race. So it would seem logical that the U.S. should press for a test ban treaty for strictly military reasons. And sooner or later it may do that.

But the necessities of the cold war, of dominating the "free world" and keeping up the pressure against the Soviet bloc, prevent the U.S. Government from making any real moves toward disarmament. Any test ban to which Kennedy agrees will be only a tactical move in the struggle of imperialism against the Soviet bloc.

Even on this basis, U.S. negotiators seek to press the Soviet Union to the wall. While Moscow refuses to accept "inspection" so broad that it becomes a form of spying, it has made significant concession on the inspection issue. More decisive, though, is the Soviet proposal for general disarmament to be carried out under any inspection and control system the West cares to suggest.

If Washington is compelled to accept a test-ban the door will be opened for further efforts to press for scrapping of the bomb piles.

sands of people — even if their language is a bit crude." He was referring to many banners that said simply "Sack Mac" (Fire Macmillan). Prime Minister Macmillan somewhat humorlessly replied: "I have met a large number of people in my life. I have never been afraid to meet any who wish to see me." But he kept to his seat on the Ministerial Front Bench.

The demonstrators' day began with a rally. They were addressed by Douglas Jay, one of the late Hugh Gaitskell's lieutenants, as follows: "Throughout this winter the Government has been paying out £3,000,000 a week to fit and willing workers to do nothing. On every side there are houses, roads, schools and hospitals urgently needing to be built. The economics of Toryism have become the economics of madmen."

Another speaker was Fred Hayday, Chairman of the Trades Union Congress, who told the crowd: "This country owes you something — you have helped to build it."

As the procession formed for the march, it was headed by three prominent left-wing members of parliament, Anthony Greenwood, Barbara Castle and Dai Jones. "Dignity, Not the Dole," read one prominent banner, summing up the mood of these jobless men of 1963. In their ranks were men who had walked to London in the great cross-country march from Jarrow in 1936, there were killed Scotsmen, steel workers from the north and aircraft workers from the south of England, as well as Welsh miners. Also among them were the 17 suspended shop stewards from the Ford works at Dagenham.

After the halting of the march and the regrouping of the demonstration in Parliament Square the crowd's mood began to turn into determination to make itself felt inside the legislative chamber. The easy overpowering of the 500-odd foot policemen made for some confusion and banter. The entry of the mounted police and the ensuing scuffles turned the mood to resentment and, with the break-up of the big push, to anger.

First BBC broadcasts reported some right-wing trade-union officials attributing the militancy of the crowd at the gates of Parliament to the Trotskyists. Early editions of the evening papers blamed "the Communists." But the mass media soon dropped these charges and nothing further was heard of them.

The day was perhaps best summed up in the *Daily Herald's* front page headline: "Jobless Army Hammer on the Door of Parliament — Siege of the Angry Ones . . ."

It was a warning that the patient British working class is beginning to lose patience with Tory misrule.

— T. J. Peters

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THE MOSCOW-PEKING DEBATE

Dispute Poses Basic Problems of Epoch

By William F. Warde

What is the essential meaning of the Sino-Soviet dispute?

It is not a mere personal quarrel between two ambitious heads of state. It is more than a conflict between the two Communist governments and parties of China and the USSR. It goes beyond a division between East and West, prosperous and poor peoples, colonial rebels and metropolitan conservatives. It concerns nothing less than the fundamental problems of our epoch.

This dispute extends and deepens the historic controversies which have shaken and reshaped the world socialist movement at previous turning points in its development. Most notable have been those between revolutionary Marxism and revisionism-reformism at the beginning of this century, between Bolshevism and Social-Democratic chauvinism and centrism during the First World War and the Russian Revolution, and between the Communist Left Opposition and Stalinism after Lenin's death. The current debate has grander dimensions since it directly involves 40 per cent of the world's inhabitants. And it will have even more portentous consequences for the fate of mankind.

The political and ideological crisis convulsing the Soviet bloc is — next to the Polish and Hungarian revolutions of 1956 — the most striking manifestation of the death agony of Stalinism. For 25 years political life and thought in the world Communist movement was deceptively simple. Under Stalin the line transmitted from the Kremlin to all Communist parties was accepted as infallible and incontrovertible even if the ukase completely contravened yesterday's policies or cut across the interests of the workers' movement elsewhere. Dissenters were branded as "Trotskyite disrupters," counter-revolutionary agents of the class enemy, and were summarily expelled, even assassinated.

Shattered

This ultra-centralized command and uniformity of line has been shattered by the colossal changes since the end of World War II. The Russian Communists may still retain the honorary title of leading party. But, like other monarchs who have seen their absolutism wane, their writ does not compel instant and total compliance. Worker-peasant revolutions have established independent Communist regimes in Yugoslavia, China and North Vietnam. East European countries like Poland have wrested a measure of autonomy from Moscow. In Western Europe, Togliatti's Italian CP preaches "polycentrism."

Still more important has been the emergence of strong revolutionary mass movements and states free of Stalinist tutelage in Cuba, Algeria and elsewhere in Africa and Latin America.

De-Stalinization is proceeding, not only in the relations between the rulers and the people inside the Soviet Union but also in Moscow's relations with other workers' states and Communist parties. It is no longer enough for Khrushchev to acknowledge the legitimacy of "different roads to socialism" or even "the possibility that Communists in different countries may hold different opinions on specific questions, including some very important ones," as he did before the East German CP Congress in January. Moscow's hegemony is challenged by rival centers of authority in Peking, Havana and Belgrade. The dispersion of power among the workers' states is expressed in their doctrinal differences and growing diversity.

The spectrum of tendencies

which have already issued from the decomposition of Stalinist monolithism and the Kremlin's incapacity to cope with the revolutionary developments of our time can be seen in the three movements now contending in Brazil. The Brazilian CP headed by Prestes follows Khrushchev in calling for "an alliance with the bourgeoisie and other progressive elements." A pro-China split-off, which goes by the name of the CP of Brazil, assails this treacherous policy of trailing behind opportunist politicians like

reasons for the breach with Peking as he does on the causes of the personality cult. Thus, in a speech published March 9 he warned the restive Soviet intellectuals: "This is a very dangerous theme."

To be sure, an unrestricted investigation into Stalinism does imperil the prestige and monopoly of decision held by the Khrushchev faction. But the Soviet people demand to know how and why Stalin's crimes could happen and what must be done to prevent their recurrence. They want to go to the root of the evil. The fearful Kremlin vacillators are trying to hold them back.

The lack of clarity and candor around the Sino-Soviet debate likewise flows from the refusal of the official participants to throw off the Stalinist ideology which nurtured them and, to one degree or another, keeps them captive.

This comes out, among other things, in their failure to recognize that the two main issues at the bottom of their dispute are the same as those which pitted Trotsky against Stalin in the 1920s. These are the questions of socialist internationalism and workers' democracy. Are the interests of the world struggle for socialist emancipation to be paramount in the conduct of the workers' states and the policies of the Communist parties — or are these to be subordinated to the nationalistic outlook of conservatized bureaucrats and the opportunism of servile followers? Are democratic or bureaucratic methods to prevail in the government and economy of the workers' states, within the workers' parties and in their international relations?

Accuses Moscow

The Feb. 27 Peking People's Daily accuses the Soviet leadership of abandoning proletarian internationalism and violating "the normal relationships of independence and equality that should exist among fraternal parties." The editors refer to the Soviet treatment of Albania, the withdrawal of economic aid to China, the supplying of war materials to Nehru, the unilateral rejection of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and the master-servant relations with the French CP, under Thorez, as evidences of these "abnormal feudal, patriarchal relationships."

But they do not explain why the Russian leaders have departed from Marxist-Leninist principles. They talk as though all this degeneration began with Khrushchev's rise to the top in 1956-1959. In reality, the men in the Kremlin are continuing what they learned in Stalin's school. The Soviet premier has repudiated the idolatry of Stalin and remedied many of the most loathsome abuses of his era. But his regime has not abandoned the fundamental Stalinist policy of giving priority to the upper crust of Soviet society regardless of the effects upon other sectors of labor's struggles and the cause of socialism.

Those critical-minded socialists who want to understand the root-causes of Khrushchev's deviations from Marxist-Leninist principles will therefore have to uncover their material foundations in the stratifications of an inadequately productive Soviet society and the inequalities between the privileged governing minority and the worker-peasant majority. They will have to see the precedents of his revisionism in the ideological and political division within international communism after Lenin's death. They will have to review the whole nature and history of Stalinism from its birth to its present death agony.

This should logically go with a reassessment of the Trotskyist movement not only in the past but

Pioneer to Publish Series by Warde

NEW YORK — The series of four articles by William F. Warde which concludes in this issue will be published in pamphlet form under the title "Moscow vs. Peking — The Meaning of the Great Debate." The pamphlet, published by Pioneer Publishers, will also include the complete text of the March 8 Chinese Communist Party editorial analyzing the pro-Kennedy line of the American Communist Party.

Copies of the pamphlet may be ordered from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y., at 50 cents each. Quantities may be ordered at regular trade discounts.

President Goulart. Then the leadership of the peasant leagues, organized by left Socialist Francisco Juliao, which also sympathizes with Peking, proposes to emulate the Fidelistas in promoting the Brazilian revolution. Similar divisions are emerging elsewhere in Latin America from Mexico to Chile.

Every Communist leadership and membership now has to decide: which is right and which should be supported?

Sincere seekers are not given much help by the voluminous, overheated polemical exchanges between Moscow and Peking, or Belgrade and Tirana. Tiresome, tendentious quotations from Marx and Lenin, appeals to the identical resolutions, distortion of each other's positions, and sallies against unnamed opponents do more to obscure than clarify the basic issues. In any event, the literary arguments are less important in determining the directions of the different tendencies than the test of crucial events like the Caribbean crisis and the India-China border clash. Marxism is a guide to revolutionary action — and the real content and worth of any general proposition set forth in its name is validated, not by the pretensions but by the practice of its proponents.

2 Contradictions

Why haven't either the Russian or the Chinese Communist leaderships given consistent and correct answers to the problems of world politics involved in their dispute? There are two main reasons. One is the contradiction between the narrow national interests of the ruling groups they represent and the requirements of the international struggle for socialism. The other is the contradiction between the Stalinist ideology and methods they cling to and the program needed to fulfill the revolutionary tasks of our time.

These same factors likewise prevent them from offering a Marxist explanation of their differences. Khrushchev stutters as badly when he touches on the

Chinese Issue a Challenge

[From editorial in Chinese newspaper Red Flag, March 4, 1963]

"Something very interesting is happening today on a wide scale in the international Communist movement. What is this interesting phenomenon? The doughty warriors who claim to possess the totality of Marxist-Leninist truth are mortally afraid of the articles written in reply to their attacks by the so-called dogmatists, sectarians, splitters, nationalists and Trotskyites whom they have so vigorously condemned. They dare not publish these articles in their own newspapers and journals.

"As cowardly as mice, they are frightened to death. They dare not let the peoples of their own countries read our articles, and they have tried to impose a watertight embargo. They are even using powerful stations to jam our broadcasts and prevent their people from listening to them. Dear friends and comrades, who claim to possess the whole truth! Since you are quite definite that our articles are wrong, why don't you publish all these erroneous articles and then refute them point by point, so as to inculcate hatred among your people against the heresies you call dogmatism, sectarianism, and anti-Marxism-Leninism? Why do you lack the courage to do this? Why such a stringent embargo? You fear the truth. The huge specter you call "dogmatism," i.e., genuine Marxism-Leninism, is haunting the world, and it threatens you. You have no faith in the people and the people have no faith in you. You are divorced from the masses. That is why you fear the truth, and carry your fear to such absurd lengths.

"Friends, comrades! If you are men enough, step forward! Let each side in the debate publish all the articles in which it is criticized by the other side, and let the people in our own countries and the whole world think and judge who is right and who is wrong. That is what we are doing and we hope you will follow our example.

in the present. The youth organization of the Italian CP has already ventured the first significant steps in this direction.

Others who may be opposed to the Khrushchev line are still held back by prejudice from undertaking this re-evaluation. They persist in viewing the Trotskyist program and positions through Stalinist glasses. Nevertheless, light does break through. The Chinese Communists have just assailed the attitude of the U.S. Communist Party toward the Kennedy administration along lines which have hitherto been dismissed as "Trotskyist sectarianism." Shouldn't this coincidence of criticism lead to some reconsideration of the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party among those who value Peking's opinions for other reasons?

How should Marxists orient themselves in the crossfires and complexities of the Great Debate at its present stage?

In determining which of the contending parties take the most progressive stands, the Fidelista Cubans can usefully serve as a standard of measurement. They not only have a record of persistent advance toward revolutionary Marxist positions but have the most correct attitudes on the two most important aspects of the dispute: workers' democracy and international class-struggle policy. Peking and Albania default on the first; Moscow and Belgrade on the second.

Close to Cubans

The Chinese Communists have views close to the Cubans on a series of key issues connected with the major problems of anti-imperialist action, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America. But, apart from their inconsistencies in these areas, their resistance to the processes and proponents of de-Stalinization arrays them against the forces striving for democratization in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and harms the Chinese People's Republic itself.

The Khrushchev tendency is the official banner-bearer of liberalized reform in the Soviet bloc. But its opportunistic and even treacherous course in foreign affairs has a pernicious influence upon the progress of the mass revolutionary movements against U.S. imperialism and Western capitalism.

The Tito leadership, allied with

the Kremlin, has introduced significant innovations in workers' control of industries and other fields. But it stands at the far right of the Communist states in its positions on the nature of imperialism and its policies toward the revolutionary movements against capitalism.

The best service Marxists can render in the Great Debate is to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth about the views and conduct of the various participants. The Cuban leaders have not treated any of them as immune from objective criticism when this was warranted. In remarks to Claude Julien recently published in *Le Monde*, Castro, for example, not only repeated his censure of Khrushchev for withdrawing Soviet missiles without consulting the Cubans but also chided Communist China for minimizing the power of U.S. imperialism. "The Chinese are right in saying one should not yield to imperialism," he is reported to have said. "But we here are well located to know that imperialism is not a paper tiger," as Mao has contended.

The truth is that the leaders in Moscow, Belgrade and Peking have not been able to provide a comprehensively correct program and model of action for the world working class. Fortunately, the future of international socialism is not concentrated entirely in their hands.

The crisis of Stalinism is being deepened by the growing differences among the officialdoms headquartered in the Communist capitals. The break-up of the old monolithism is encouraging anti-bureaucratic sentiments down below and stimulating bolder currents of dissent which tend to go beyond the limits set by Moscow or Peking.

A world-wide realignment of revolutionary forces is being set into motion by the same vast changes of recent years which have brought about the Sino-Soviet conflict. In Latin America such groupings have already begun to draw together under the impetus of the Cuban example. The task is to see that this process of reorientation and regroupment is consummated by a return to the genuine Leninism formulated in the program and envisaged by the movement of the Fourth International.

Last of four articles.

What Muslims Stand For

Detroit Leader Outlines Beliefs

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT, Mar. 29 — Over 100 persons attended the Friday Night Socialist Forum to hear Detroit Muslim leader Wilfred X speak on "What The Muslims Stand For."

"We have been classed as anti-white, anti-Christian and anti-American — everything the public has been taught to love. This is not true . . . We are trying to unite the Negro people so that they can help themselves . . . This is a do-it-yourself program. A program for Negroes to get together and do for themselves what they have been begging white people to do for them . . . The Negro has been put into the position of a beggar and kept there. No one respects a beggar, but people respect those who try to help themselves . . . There are always whites around telling us what to do; always telling us how to get what we want . . . We have to lift ourselves up."

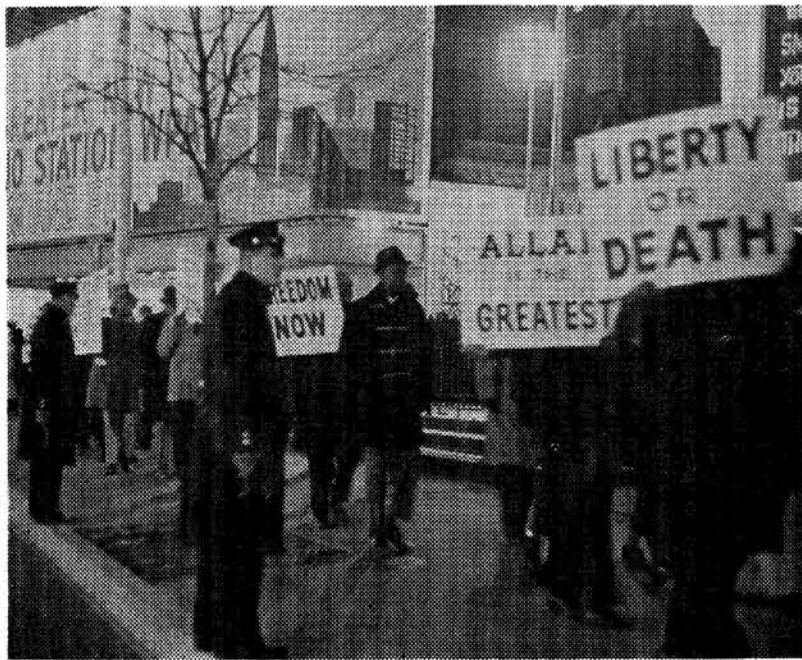
Describes Program

Always speaking calmly, never raising his voice, Wilfred X went on to describe the Muslim program: "There are many ways of working on the Negro problem . . . The Honorable Elijah Muhammad approaches the problem from the religious viewpoint. He teaches us that religion is good — but not the religion of our former slave-masters. Christianity is the religion of white supremacy. The only time a black man gets anything out of Christianity is when he dies."

"Everything after we die — nothing while we live. Negroes don't want heaven when they die; they want a little bit of heaven while they are here. The Negro has been taught by Christianity that there is something invisible that will move mountains for him — when he should have been moving those mountains himself . . . The changes that have occurred in this world have not been caused by some 'invisible something.' All the changes that are made on this earth are made by people."

The Muslims try to unite the Negro people to change their position in this society. They are often asked, "What do you want?" Their answer to that is the same as to "What do whites want?" Wilfred X explained, "Negroes want the same things for themselves as whites want: equality, freedom, opportunity."

He read the ten points drawn up by the leader of his movement, Elijah Muhammad. "We want freedom. We want full and complete freedom. We want justice. Equal justice under the law. We want justice applied equally to all, regardless of creed or class or color. We want equality of opportunity . . . We want freedom for all Believers of Islam now held in federal prisons. We want freedom for all black men and women now under death sentence in innumerable prisons in the North as well as the South . . . We want an immediate end to the police



DEMAND RIGHTS. Black Muslims in New York answer police brutality by staging demonstration in heart of Times Square.

brutality and mob attacks against the so-called Negro throughout the United States . . .

"We want the government to exempt us from all taxation of any kind as long as we are deprived of equal justice under the law of the land . . . we want equal education — but separate schools up to 16 for boys and 18 for girls on the condition that the girls be sent to women's colleges and universities. We want all black children educated, taught and trained by their own teachers . . . The United States government should provide, free, all necessary text books and equipment, schools and college buildings . . . We believe that inter-marriage or race-mixing should be prohibited. We want the religion of Islam taught without hindrance or suppression."

10 Points

Wilfred X read from the ten-point program: "We want our people in America whose parents or grandparents were descendants of slaves to be allowed to establish a separate state or territory of their own — either on this continent or elsewhere. We believe that our former slave-masters are obliged to provide such land and that the area must be fertile and mineral rich. We believe that our former slave-masters are obliged to maintain and supply our needs in this separate territory for the next 20 to 25 years — until we are able to produce and supply our own needs . . . As long as we are not allowed to establish a state or territory of our own, we demand not only equal justice under the laws of the United States, but equal employment opportunities — NOW!"

The Muslim spokesman presented the view that "as long as we stay together there will always be arguing, friction, problems. The best thing is to separate and then we can work with each other within the total world picture . . . Separation benefits whites, too. There are not enough jobs. The opportunities are running out for whites as well as Negroes. You'd think you'd want us to seek opportunity elsewhere."

During the question period someone asked, "Why don't you go back to Africa where they need technicians and educated people?" Wilfred X replied, "We don't mind going back, but we want to take something with us when we go." The Negro deserves some compensation for the hundreds of years of free labor he has contributed to America.

The chairman of the meeting, George Breitman, pointed out that Muslims and socialists, while differing in many respects, have certain things in common. Both are lied about viciously. Both groups are victims of persecution, prosecution and police brutality. Both

groups want to make deep-going changes in our society. Breitman informed the audience of socialist support for the Muslims' rights to freedom of religion, assembly and free speech. He hoped that since Muslims and socialists faced a common enemy, they could work together upon occasion to advance common aims in the struggle for equality and human dignity.

Wilfred X agreed that Muslims and socialists shared certain things in common. "You have a very unpopular cause. By us coming here tonight we have probably made your cause even more unpopular. About the most unpopular cause in America is the Negro." He said joint actions might come about but "there's a limit to what other people can do for the Negro. We must lift ourselves up."

Shot At

In Leflore County, Miss., SNCC field secretaries were recently shot at. Jim Travis, Robert Moses, and Randolph Blackwell were driving near Greenwood when they noticed they were being followed by a car without license plates. After following for several miles, the car sped up to pass. The pursuers fired a volley of shots, hitting Travis in the shoulder and in the back of the head. Neither Moses nor Blackwell were hurt. Forman pointed out that the attackers, who were caught and arrested, were identified as respectable businessmen — not poor whites. One is a distributor for Standard Oil; another is a business agent for Stripling Caterpillar Company. The third attacker is allegedly a youth.

One of SNCC's major problems, according to Forman, is getting out the news of its activities. Politically articulate groups must be

found, he said, that can mobilize public opinion in the North, that can give SNCC publicity in the North. Cases like the Travis shooting, which he pointed out were nothing new, should be widely publicized.

Turning to the Chicago scene, Forman said: "We must rid Chicago of the Uncle Toms and politicians who don't represent the people who elected them. Let's not let Senator Douglas fool us by saying, 'We're the Democrats; they're the Dixiecrats.' They're in the same party."

Another problem that Forman took up is the great need for scholarship money to put young Southern Negroes into schools to get an education. His opinion is that the federal government should play a role here. "We don't understand how the U.S. government can afford to educate the Cubans in Miami and not the Negroes in Mississippi," he said.

In the past many Negroes have migrated from Mississippi to Chicago to find jobs and to escape the perpetual fear of being shot. But the awakened struggle in the Deep South is increasingly encouraging young Negroes to remain in Mississippi to fight for freedom and equality. Forman said that some of Chicago's Negroes from Mississippi should return to their former home state to join in that fight.

"Witchcraft and Priestcraft, were introduced into this world together, in its nonage; and has gone on, hand in hand together, until about half a century past, when witchcraft began to be discredited . . . This discovery has depreciated Priestcraft, on the scale of at least fifty per cent per annum . . ." Ethan Allen (1737-1789) American officer in Revolutionary War.

... Williams Urges Aid for Mae Mallory

(Continued from Page 1)

he said, but is granting him asylum from the Ku Klux Klan of North Carolina. "I believe that the people of Ohio are just as humane as the people of Cuba . . . I do believe that in some places in the U.S. it is possible for Negroes to get justice and I hope that Ohio is one of those places."

Williams said that he was sending information to all parts of the world — "to Africa, to Asia, to Latin America, to make an appeal for Mrs. Mallory" — because she is a frame-up victim and cannot expect justice in "the social jungle in the State of North Carolina."

"Would you say that the thesis of your articles and speeches is antagonistic towards the U.S.?" Williams was then asked.

Tells Truth

"Well, I don't know about that," he replied. "I know that they're truthful. I tell the truth and set out to document everything I say. If they're detrimental to the U.S. then it's not because they're anti-American but because there is injustice . . . The U.S. should not be concerned with whether or not I criticize it for its injustices but it should be more concerned with whether or not there is injustice against the Negro."

Asked if he were happy living in Cuba and if he would like to return to the U.S., Williams replied that he is happy in Cuba but that he was born in the U.S., has family and friends here and would like to return to his native land. But there is no racial discrimination in Cuba and he is a Negro, while in the U.S. he knew Jim Crow and racial discrimination all his life.

"I hope," he added, "Ohio will prove to the world and to other Negroes like myself that Ohio is

not a racist state."

Asked, "Are you a Communist?" Williams said, "No."

Asked if he would voluntarily return if assured that he could get a just trial, Williams said: "If I would be given a trial out of the South. But I certainly wouldn't return to the South for a trial and expect a fair trial — not unless I had about a half million tanks. I mean military tanks. And three or four hydrogen bombs."

Following the interview with the exiled Negro leader, station WERE asked Harold Williams, executive secretary of the Cleveland NAACP, to comment. He hastily disassociated himself and the NAACP from Robert F. Williams and made every effort to discredit him and Mrs. Mallory.

The next day, however, over a hundred people marched from

Cleveland's Public Square to the county jail, where Mrs. Mallory is once again being held without bail, to protest against her imprisonment and against sending her to North Carolina. Among those participating were members of the Freedom Fighters of Ohio, the Eastside Federation of Ordinary People, CORE, the Afro-American Institute, the Black Brotherhood and the Monroe Defense Committee.

The marchers called for Mrs. Mallory, whose cell is in the front of the jail, to appear and speak to them. However, the sheriff chose just that time to summon her to his office. But according to Clarence H. Seniors, chairman of the Monroe Defense Committee, Mrs. Mallory has been informed about the growing support for her fight against extradition.

Deluge Gov. With Petitions!

The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants has issued an emergency call to all friends of civil rights to deluge Governor James Rhodes of Ohio with appeals and petitions against the impending extradition to North Carolina of Mrs. Mae Mallory, one of the defendants in the Monroe "kidnap" frame-up.

Text of the CAMD petition to Gov. Rhodes reads as follows: "We, the undersigned, are shocked to learn that Mrs. Mae Mallory of New York, after being held in a Cleveland jail for one year without bail, is in imminent danger of being sent south to Monroe, N.C., on trumped-up and framed-up charges of kidnapping. Mrs. Mallory, a young mother, is not guilty of anything but being a valiant fighter for the rights of the Negro people. We know, and you know, that she will never get justice in Monroe, which is dominated by the Ku Klux Klan. We therefore strongly urge you to save the name of Ohio from national disgrace by using your power to not extradite her and to let her go free."

Petition sheets may be obtained from: CAMD, 168 W. 23 St., New York 11, N. Y. Filled out petitions should be sent immediately to CAMD for forwarding to Gov. Rhodes.

What's Behind The Events in Cuba?

For a basic explanation of the social forces behind the headlines, be sure to read this illuminating pamphlet.

The Theory Of the Cuban Revolution

By Joseph Hansen
25c

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

Letters From Our Readers

Life in Havana

Havana, Cuba

Don't believe the stories about us starving here. We get meat and fish every week and one chicken a month for each person. Every essential item is by *libreta*, that is by book which each family has and in which is marked your quota. Rice, for example, is three pounds per person a month. The meat quota varies with the production. Sometimes for four people we get five pounds a week, sometimes four. Usually four. Vegetables are distributed by quota also and are plentiful. Right now tomatoes are in season and you can buy as much as you want.

Only pregnant mothers, children, older people, and people with special diets receive fresh or evaporated milk. The rest get condensed milk. Toothpaste, soap, etc., are also by quota. They arrive fairly regularly and we've never run out before the end of

the month. Meals have to be planned but as far as I'm concerned, they're fine. There's enough variety and plenty of protein. Because many people are working and eat outside of their houses the restaurants have even more varied menus for very reasonable prices. The food situation in the countryside is even better.

We're getting to the point now where everything of importance will be distributed by *libreta*, because, as in the case of cloth, most of it is in the downtown stores and is sold as it arrives. There is a maximum of yards that you can buy but what the *gusanos* [counter-revolutionaries] have been doing is that a whole family of them will go downtown and each buy the maximum and then try to resell it at twice the price. When it's distributed by family (or *libreta*) in accordance with the number of people listed in your *libreta* you will receive so many yards. The majority of the people want this system for everything but the problem now is to organize and that's no easy thing.

For those who say we have no democracy here, let me say we have democracy very much like in the early years of the Russian Revolution, with the exception that the very top leadership is not yet subject to direct recall. However, this year that is supposed to be changed. All plans that are made, decisions on distribution, hours of work, etc., are directly decided on by the workers in each factory who instruct their national representatives who can be recalled by a general assembly of the workers in their factory, and this has occurred in a number of instances.

There is a tremendous anti-bureaucratic move here and everything is done to make the workers the "privileged class." An electrician or a lathe worker receives higher wages than a technician in a ministry. They are the first ones to receive houses. For the superior worker in the factory there is recognition. In ministries there is none. There is actually a law prohibiting it. The people who work in the ministries are expected to be more sacrificing than others. In a ministry the first to receive a card to buy shoes are the maintenance men. The directors of factories, usually on their vacation, spend some time working in the factories to get closer to the workers, win their respect and learn the different processes and problems. So that's the life of a "petty bureaucrat" in Cuba.

Pardon my English. I don't use it much nowadays.

E.T.

Wyoming Scab Law

Casper, Wyo.

During passage of "right-to-scab" legislation here last month Gov. Hansen called out fully-armed members of the National Guard and reinforced his police guard inside and outside the capitol in Cheyenne — they even had police dogs — to protect the legislators from the people. He said he feared a demonstration, hence the troops.

After passage, Gov. Hansen beamed that this oppressive "right-to-work" measure represented the will of the people of Wyoming! And he was elected by luring labor into believing he was opposed to the legislation.

Isn't justice and democracy grand? Especially when this legislation was promoted by the Farm Bureau, General Contractors, Re-

tail Merchants Association, and the imported "Committee for Right to Work" — and promulgated in the interest of "the working man!"

A.S.

Feels We're Biased

East Aurora, N.Y.

This may not be the kind of letter that you care to print but I felt I need to write it nevertheless. In your March 11 issue a letter from J.H. in Winston, Montana, appeared. It stated that your paper printed the complete truth, spendidly, excellently, etc. I am not in accord with any of the letter.

As I read your paper I cannot help but smile at the anti-"capitalist" references. To me it is amusing. However, I also realize that the type of people that do write these biased articles are those who comprise the majority of the "working people." Therefore, every statement in your paper affects one person or another reading them. In no way is any defamation against you intended in this letter. I merely intended to let you know how a high school student may formulate an opinion. A sound one, at that!

F.H.

Job Bias Against Women

Baltimore, Md.

According to a radio broadcast by Carleton R. Sickles, Democratic Congressman from Maryland, women are discriminated against in employment for the crass motive of profit. They are paid less than men doing identical work, denied promotion opportunities and relegated to certain narrow types of labor. Representative Sickles pointed out that that deprives the nation of valuable manpower resources.

It is said that 40 per cent of the Maryland work force are women and that Maryland is in fifteenth place in the nation in this category. Sickles is supporting a bill introduced in Congress by Rep. Edith Green to equalize wages for women, and outlaw discrimination in work opportunities.

R.S.

Need to Clean Up Mess

Corbin, Ky.

The workers can begin to clean up the mess we have here by voting into office men and women who are not lackeys or political creatures of the wealthy class. We need an end to the conditions that exist in our nation — millions of Americans unemployed and other millions working for slave wages. Many millions of Americans are being forced to live in rat-infested slums and many are doomed to an early death because they can't afford the things they need so badly, like medical care and decent housing.

We have a mess and it won't be cleaned up except by voting into office those who will meet the just needs of the American people.

R.M.

Us Too

Riviera Beach, Fla.

The Militant is one of the grandest little papers I have ever read. Wish it came out more often than once a week.

G.L.

Sino-Soviet Debate

New York, N.Y.

I would like to comment on the article in your March 19 issue on the Chinese-Russian dispute.

I refer to the sentence which

says, "It would be most beneficial if this discussion could be conducted freely, openly, and democratically without disrupting the unity of the workers' states against the imperialist coalition and without reprisals on either a state or party level against any of the participants."

To ask a Russian bureaucrat to act in a Marxist-Leninist fashion is like asking President Kennedy to hail the Cuban Revolution as a democratic milestone. It is next to impossible. Take as an example the American Communist Party and its treatment of the Socialist Workers Party, about any criticism from the SWP of CP policies and you get what I mean.

It is too bad the Chinese have called the Russians "Trotskyists" in this dispute. I feel the Russians are more "Stalinist" than "Trotskyist." Whether one agrees with Trotsky or not, I do not feel that he has been fairly represented in that portion of the Left that calls itself the American Communist Party.

Thank goodness, however, for the Cuban Revolution which reconstituted forces in this country which will bring about a Left that is principled rather than expedient and which will give real meaning to the words, "democratic socialism." Cuba has gone back to Lenin (and Trotsky in my opinion) and is a beacon for the rest of the Americas (including the U.S.) of the way to peace, democracy and socialism.

A.H.

Likes Radical Approach

Parker, South Dakota

I am glad to read your radical approach to life. I don't always agree but I like your courage.

F.S.

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"Sensational new disclosures of the Kremlin's betrayal of the Spanish Civil War have been made in Mexico by Jesus Hernandez, a leader in the Spanish Communist Party and Stalinist cabinet minister in the Popular Front Government during the Civil War. Among Hernandez's revelations are the first inside facts on the GPU kidnapping and murder of Andres Nin, leader of the anti-Stalinist Workers Party of Marxist Unification (POUM) . . .

"Hernandez declares that Orlov, head of the GPU in Spain, ordered the imprisonment and murder of Andres Nin. Nin, who was a former secretary of Leon Trotsky, was tortured 14 days in the house of Alcala de Henares, near Madrid, where the GPU had secret headquarters. The GPU tried to make Nin 'confess' to being an agent of Franco — in the style of the Moscow 'confession' trials where the victims were forced to declare they were agents of Hitler. Since Nin, a man of great courage, could not be forced to 'confess' and since his person bore the marks of the torture, the GPU assassins murdered him and hid his body . . .

"The most devastating charge leveled by the former top Spanish Stalinist is that the Kremlin, after Munich, cold-bloodedly decided to inflict military defeat on the Spanish Republic. This was decided upon because Moscow had already begun secret overtures to Hitler for a pact, and it was decided that the sacrifice of Spain would demonstrate the Kremlin's good will toward Hitler . . ." — April 6, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"Four hundred defenders of civil liberties gathered at Manhattan Center here last night to protest Postmaster General Walker's revocation of *The Militant's* second-class mailing privileges and to pledge support to this paper's fight in the courts to reverse Walker's order.

"The meeting was held under the auspices of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, and was addressed by representatives of labor and liberal organizations . . .

"Layle Lane, member of the National Committee of the Negro March-On-Washington Movement and former vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers, drew applause from the meeting when she charged that "the reason *The Militant* is under attack is because it indicates a better way of life for the masses." — April 3, 1943.

It Was Reported in the Press

Business Manners — A new book of etiquette by Amy Vanderbilt includes a section on the business world and, reports *Forbes* magazine, stakes out these rules: ". . . a man still rises to his feet when any woman (other than his secretary) enters his office — unless the caller is a job applicant for a non-executive position." And while an executive does have the privilege of leaving, say, a meeting room before a lower-ranking woman employe, Miss Vanderbilt notes that "most gentlemen step aside to permit the women present to go first, even women in non-executive capacities."

Pot and Kettle Story — Commenting on Rockefeller's criticism of Kennedy for failing to secure effective anti-housing-bias legislation, a March 28 *New York Post* editorial observed: "The sad fact is that President Kennedy and Gov. Rockefeller could both accuse each other of failure to fight hard enough for equal rights with their legislatures. And both would be right."

Unprincipled Combination? — According to *New Yorker* magazine intelligence sources, the paper racks at New York University School of Medicine were filled with *Christian Science Monitor* during the printers' strike.

Grass-Roots Support — Paul W. Caraway, U.S. High Commissioner of occupied Okinawa, drew the ire of local citizens when he blasted the idea of autonomy as a "myth" until local leaders showed more "responsibility." But he was

given a unanimous vote of confidence in a resolution of support for his views adopted by the local chapter of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Curbing Subversion — Businessmen and others were visibly disturbed in 1960 on learning that 61.5 per cent of a group of students answered in the affirmative when asked: "Do you agree that the fairest economic system takes from each according to his ability, and gives to each according to his need?" Now, the Chamber of Commerce happily reports, a group of students in Myrtle, S.C., had the same insidious question put to them after being subjected to an "economic education" course and only 42.7 per cent answered, "Yes."

It Figures — The March 27 *Christian Science Monitor* carries a glowing report from El Salvador about a professed ex-Communist

who is carrying on a "democratic crusade" against communism by way of weekly TV talks. The report concludes: "The Communist Party in El Salvador is outlawed."

The Pill Pushers — U.S. firms spent \$60 million last year to advertise aspirins, virtually as much as the total amount spent on medical research.

Lose More Time That Way — A *Popular Photography* article on restrictions on photography in foreign countries includes this on Jamaica: "No photographs inside museums, except by special permission. Poorly dressed working people resent being photographed unless asked in advance. No photography of women loading bananas onto boats at Port Antonio, Montego Bay and Oracabessa. Such pictures are made on private property and the fruit companies forbid photographs because the women stop work."

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Thought for the Week

"Don't put no constrictions on da people. Leave 'em ta hell alone."
— Jimmy Durante as quoted in *A Quarter-Century of Un-Americanism*, Marzani & Munsell's compilation of anti-HUAC cartoons and prose.

United Picket Line in Denver Greets 'Night Riding' Walker

By Tom Leonard

DENVER, Mar. 27 — Over 250 pickets demonstrated in front of the East High School auditorium last night protesting the appearance of Gen. Edwin L. Walker and Evangelist Billy Joe Hargis. The two witch-hunters are on a national speaking tour called "operation midnight ride" to strengthen racist and undemocratic organizations.

Hargis made this clear in his speech commending to the audience such organizations as the Daughters of the American Revolution, the American Legion's Americanism Committee, the Dean Manion Forum and the John Birch Society. He also advised that where there were no "anti-communist" groups in the neighborhood, "people can start their own and get in there and fight."

General Walker, who helped lead the racist riots at the University of Mississippi last fall, pro-

posed that the U.S. "take the 82nd Airborne Division, now stationed at Fort Bragg, N.C., and liquidate the scourge that has descended on Cuba."

Outside the meeting, a handful of Walker-Hargis supporters attempted to harass the pickets with a barrage of vulgar racist remarks. However, this only strengthened the conviction of the demonstrators that they were indeed participating in a worthy action.

A large contingent of students from the Universities of Colorado and Denver sparked the picketline by leading the chanting of anti-racist slogans. The most popular was "Meredith Yes! Walker No!" Most of the signs carried by the pickets opposed racism, but there were many opposing war and the threat to democracy and the Bill of Rights.

Ten organizations participated in the picketing. Included were: NAACP, CORE, Committee for Non-Violent Action, Socialist Workers Party, Fair Play for Cuba Committee, University of Colorado Ad-Hoc Committee to Picket Hargis and Walker, Democratic Action Committee of Boulder, Denver Young Peoples Socialist League, Student Peace Union of Denver University, and the Committee against Undemocratic Action.

A heartening feature of the demonstration was the ability of the above organizations to lay aside political and organizational differences in order to jointly expose the undemocratic, racist, and pro-war views of Walker and Hargis.

Chicago Forum Hears Young Rights Fighters

CHICAGO, March 23 — "We are on our own down there and have got to depend on the Negro community — you call the FBI for help and they go to the police," this is the situation of those engaged in the voter-registration drive in Mississippi as described last night by Luvagh Brown, a field organizer of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee. Brown appeared with Leroy McRae, national organizational secretary of the Young Socialist alliance, at a symposium entitled "Civil Rights — North and South," sponsored by the Friday Night Socialist Forum.

The SNCC field organizer told how the voter-registration drive in Mississippi is opposed by the police, courts, politicians and Klan. He said that "the community must organize and demand — not ask for — their civil rights. To do this it must overcome the 'fear of economic reprisals, fear of going to jail and the fear of getting killed.'" SNCC field workers live in the communities they are working with. "If they don't eat, we don't eat," Brown declared.

In discussing the latest developments in the civil-rights struggle in the North, YSA leader Leroy McRae criticized the press for its distortions and outright lies about the views and activities of the Black Muslims. He also noted increased attempts to discredit all Negro militants by putting the label "Black Muslim" on them.

The symposium was chaired by James Nash, a veteran civil-rights fighter and trade unionist. In his closing remarks, he commented on the differences between the struggle today and that of the 1930s. The civil-rights movement then, he said, had been part of a general labor upsurge; today, however, Negroes are taking the lead in action and consciousness.

Prof. Squeezed Out At Brandeis U for Pro-Cuba Position

By Robert Shann

Kathleen Gough Aberle, assistant professor of anthropology and her husband, David Aberle, professor of anthropology, have resigned from Brandeis University in Waltham, Mass., under pressure from the institution's president, Dr. Abram L. Sachar.

Sachar reprimanded Mrs. Aberle for a speech she made during the blockade of Cuba last October. At that time she openly opposed the actions of Kennedy and supported the besieged island.

She told a meeting of Brandeis students on Oct. 24 that she is "one of those who support Fidel Castro and his revolutionary government. If I had been in London yesterday I would have joined those two thousand who stormed through police lines to the American Embassy shouting 'Viva Fidel! Kennedy to Hell! I don't like the poetry, but that is how I feel . . . If there is to be war, I hope first that it is not a nuclear war in which all of us . . . are ruined . . . But I also hope, second, that if it is a limited war, Cuba will win and the United States will be shamed before all the world and its imperialistic hegemony ended forever in Latin America.'"

Just Shut Up

On the same day, Oct. 24, President Sachar said, "All partisanship in foreign affairs has been subordinated so that the President may act as the unchallenged symbol of the American people. This example is a good one for our own little community . . . The greatest danger . . . is irresponsible talk . . . Fears, misgivings, anxieties should be kept to oneself."

Sachar took Mrs. Aberle to task for speaking her mind and not leaving Kennedy "unchallenged." After conferences and correspondence with Sachar in the ensuing months, during which time he held firm to his position and reprimand, Mrs. Aberle became aware that she would not receive tenure and would be dropped from the faculty in 1964.

Two days after her resignation, the Brandeis Student Council voted to censure Sachar for "infringement of academic freedom." The faculty, in a weaker statement, said that Sachar's reprimand of Mrs. Aberle "was an error of judgment and could be interpreted as an infringement of academic freedom."

In a statement answering Mrs. Aberle, Sachar said that Brandeis had a long and honorable record on academic freedom which had been "sustained through the most difficult years of the Korean War and the McCarthy crisis." He then added, unconsciously paraphrasing the late senator, "We are determined that such academic freedom will not be jeopardized by those who abuse it and then seek refuge under the umbrella of freedom of speech."

Ultimate In Capitalist Planning

The March 28 Berkeley, Calif., Daily Gazette reported: "Sunset Mausoleum . . . has been selected as site of Contra Costa County's first fallout shelter, complete with survival supplies. Oakland Naval Supply Center, which stocks shelter materials, will supply the mausoleum, Will Perry, disaster office director said . . . It is part of the federal fallout program to establish shelter units."



"CAPTIVE PEOPLE?" You probably wouldn't guess it from the horror stories in the U.S. daily press but this photo was taken at a nursery for children of working mothers in city of Santiago de Cuba. Nurseries are being built throughout Cuba to care for children from age of 15 months.

Public Health Program Brings Polio-Free Season to Cuba

By Fred Halstead

In the four years since the Cuban Revolution came to power, the Cuban people have become not only the first in Latin America to conquer illiteracy, but the first to set up a public-health system making medical attention available to the entire population. One very tangible result has been the elimination of new cases of polio from the country.

During the month of March a campaign was conducted to administer polio vaccine to every child in Cuba up to the age of 14, who had not been previously immunized against the disease. The required second dose of Sabin-Shumakov vaccine — a Soviet manufactured product taken orally — will be given in another campaign six weeks later. This immunization series is a follow-up to the even bigger campaign which was carried out in the winter and spring of 1962. It made last summer the first polio-free summer in Cuban history — at least since records have been kept. Not a single case of polio has appeared since May 1962.

In 1960 there were 310 cases of polio in Cuba, and in 1961 there were 152. There were 31 cases in 1962 before the immunization campaign was completed, but none afterward. Many of the iron lungs in Cuban hospitals have now been stored away for lack of need.

Unique in Latin America

No other Latin American country makes medical treatment available to the entire population, regardless of how humble or isolated people may be. The job of immunization and health inspection is accomplished through the mass organizations of the revolution, but particularly by mobil-

ization of the youth, who go into the country's remotest areas to make sure everyone is immunized. Between 1954 and 1959, 200,000 people were vaccinated in Cuba. A single year since the revolution saw three million vaccinated.

The revolution has also set the training of doctors and dentists as a top priority. Thousands of scholarships for medical and dental training have been provided. The scholarship winners receive food, clothing, living accommodations and a salary.

Cuba had a larger percentage of doctors in relation to the population than other Latin American countries, even before the revolution. But these were concentrated in the cities and did not generally administer to field workers or to the poor. The crash program to eliminate unhygienic conditions, immunize, and provide basic medical attention to the millions of people who never had it before, has put a great strain on the medical profession in Cuba.

At the Tenth National Medical Congress Feb. 24 Fidel Castro discussed an "anti-doctor" attitude which he said had occurred among some revolutionists and in sections of the working class in Cuba. This he said was partly a result of resentment at the fact that doctors were a privileged group and often had middle-class ideas.

Castro described this attitude as an error, declared that any doctor who honestly served the sick was entitled to respect regardless of his "conception of society," and pointed out that before the revolution, it took great sacrifice to become a well-trained doctor in Cuba. Castro also said that now 50 per cent of the new medical students in Cuba are women.



Joseph Johnson