

# U.S. Uses UN as Front for Power Grab

By Tom Kerry

The veil of hypocrisy, with which the champions of the "Free World" seek to cover their scramble for the riches of the Congo, is being torn asunder as the imperialist thieves engage in mutual recrimination.

Belgium and Great Britain, with prior claims to the privilege of exploiting the Congolese workers and plundering their tortured country, are at odds with Big Brother in Washington. Spokesmen of these junior partners of American Imperialism Unlimited charge the United Nations is doing the dirty work for Uncle Sam who

is conspiring to muscle in on their territory.

The Brussels correspondent of *The Economist*, Great Britain's leading business organ, comments in the Dec. 22 issue, on the return to Belgium of President Kennedy's special envoy, McGhee, the same day that Washington announced it was sending a military mission to the Congo:

"The American action, Mr. McGhee appeared to say, was in response to U Thant's appeal for more material support of the troops in the Congo. M. Spaak [Belgium premier] was well aware of American concern at Mr.

Adoula's [Congo premier] increasingly precarious hold over his left-wing extremists, and of American fears that increasing communist influence might some day make the Congo another Cuba. None the less," he adds, "the news of the proposed American mission has been greeted with some public misgiving; it is helping to feed long-standing Belgian suspicions of America's true intentions in the Congo."

The correspondent continues: "Business circles here suspect that one of the Americans' unspoken aims is to dislodge established Belgian firms, even the mighty

Union Minière, from the potentially rich Congo, and to develop the country themselves as a *quid pro quo* for the money it has so far cost the American taxpayer.

"They acknowledge bitterly that in these days trade follows aid, and that aid supplies to the Congo have come predominantly from the United States, with the result that Belgian firms find it increasingly hard to get import licenses or any other encouragement for their non-dollar goods. What is more, they say, since the United Nations depends for its funds more on America than on any other contributor, UN policy

itself has been moulded along lines that suit American interests." Belgian "business circles" are apparently being taught the truth of the old adage: "Whose bread I eat, his song I sing."

An even more discordant note of protest was sounded by the *Daily Telegraph*, the Colonel Blimp of the British press. Paraphrasing the biblical legend of Jacob and Esau, that paper opines: "There are sinister reports that the voice is the voice of U Thant, but the hand is the hand of President Kennedy."

The *Daily Telegraph* then de-

(Continued on Page 6)

## THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 27 - No. 2

Monday, January 14, 1963

Price 10c

## Threat of Scab Paper Fails To Shake Striking Printers

By Jack Katz

NEW YORK — The great printers' strike passed its fifth week with the following important developments:

1) The publishers threatened to resume publication without union printers.

2) A mass demonstration by New York's labor movement in support of the striking and locked-out printers was scheduled for noon Tuesday, Jan. 15, in front of the *New York Times* at 229 W. 43rd St.

3) Secretary of Labor Wirtz, Governor Rockefeller and Mayor Wagner got together and set up a "Board of Public Accountability" to hear both sides, commencing Jan. 7, and to render a decision by Jan. 11. Named to the "Public Accountability Board" by its creators were Harold Medina, a retired federal judge; Joe O'Grady, a criminal courts judge and former New York City Commissioner of Labor; and David W. Peck, a former New York State Appellate Division judge.

4) President Bertram A. Powers of Typographical Union No. 6, announced that the union would not participate in the three-man board's hearings on the dates prescribed. Instead, Powers called a special meeting of the union for Sunday, Jan. 13 at 1 p.m. at Manhattan Center. There and then the membership will decide whether the union will participate in the three-man board's proceedings.

The publishers' threat to print scab newspapers implies the use of printing processes that would bypass the composing room and the linotype process. They apparently are considering the use of VariType, a process employing special typewriters and photography, which was used in the *Chicago Tribune* strike of 1948. That bitter struggle lasted 18 months until the printers' union emerged victorious.

President Powers answered the threat of a scab newspaper with a promise to "trump" the newspaper owners' card. What are the union's trump cards?

1) The determination of the pickets who have been marching 24 hours a day, seven days a week, before the entrances of all the struck and locked-out papers in this city in the foulest weather in many years.



Sec'y of Labor Wirtz

2) The "Unity of the Ten." This is the solidarity of all the printing crafts plus the Newspaper Guild in respecting the printers' picket line.

3) The support of the whole labor movement which will be evidenced by the mass picket line and demonstration before the *New York Times* building on Jan. 15. In a call sent to all affiliates of

(Continued on Page 2)

## Guerrillas Inflict Defeats on U.S. In Vietnam War

JAN. 9 — Heavy fighting took place last week in South Vietnam with additional U.S. casualties. Even more alarming to those in charge of President Kennedy's personal war in the Southeast Asian country is the realization that the guerrillas have now assembled a considerable arsenal of captured U.S. weapons.

Another casualty of the past week's fighting was the official fiction that U.S. troops were not in Vietnam as belligerents but merely as military "advisers" to the army of dictator Ngo Dinh Diem.

One engagement, in which 14 out of 15 American helicopters were hit, resulted in 13 U.S. killed and wounded within 24 hours. While the Defense Department claims that U.S. helicopter pilots are only flying training missions with Vietnamese student pilots at their sides, the casualty figures are revealing the true story. Of the other combat missions — bombing and strafing — in the Vietnamese civil war, U.S. pilots are estimated to be flying 30 to 50 per cent.

In the ground fighting the press now reports groups composed exclusively of U.S. troops carrying out patrols and other actions and boasting of the number of guerrillas they captured.

But U.S. officers and men have now been given a much dirtier job than just participating in the fighting against poorly armed peasants and unarmed villagers. They have become overseers, driving dictator Diem's reluctant troops into battle.

On Jan. 2 a fleet of U.S. helicopters with U.S. pilots carrying Vietnamese troops into battle was riddled by waiting guerrillas. This was the first time since the beginning of the war that Viet Cong forces did not melt into the woods

(Continued on Page 3)

## U.S. Refusal to Enforce Law Is Responsible for Meredith's Difficulties

By Fred Halstead

JAN. 9 — Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy and the federal government have failed to uphold the court order desegregating the University of Mississippi. They have allowed racist harassment to continue against Negro student James Meredith. They have allowed attacks by racist night-riders to take place — and go unpunished — against Meredith's family. They have allowed racist persecution and intimidation of those white students and faculty members of the university who were friendly to Meredith or who extended ordinary courtesies to him.

This brought about the situation in which Meredith announced on Jan. 7 that he would skip the next semester at the University of Mississippi unless "positive changes are made to make my situation more conducive to learning."

It is in the power — indeed, it is the duty — of the Attorney General and the federal government to make these changes. The federal government has the right and the power to remove from the campus all persons who threaten and harass Meredith or interfere in any way with his rights as a student. The Kennedy administration has chosen not to exercise that power. When it comes to Cuba or Hoffa, the Attorney General interprets his powers very broadly indeed. But in reply to Meredith's desperate request for aid, Kennedy passed the buck.

"It is true that a number of officials charged with the administration of the University have not met their responsibilities," he said. "It is incumbent upon them and state law-enforcement officials to make it possible for Mr. Meredith to continue his education without interruption. I would hope



James H. Meredith

they will take appropriate steps now to do so."

Kennedy knows full well that the administration of the university and the state law-enforcement officials have no intention of stopping the campaign of harassment against Meredith. On the contrary, the state law-enforcement officials are responsible for much of it. Kennedy and the federal officials have defaulted in their duty to stop the racist harassment. But Kennedy, in an oily statement, attempted to shift responsibility onto the victim.

Said Kennedy: "Mr. Meredith is as free to leave the school as he was to enter it. I would hope that in making the final decision on this, Mr. Meredith will consider that he chose to go to the University of Mississippi, and that energies and hopes of his fellow citizens have been involved in his admission and continued attendance."

In making his call for help, Meredith said: "We are engaged in a war, a bitter war for the equality of opportunity for our citizens. The enemy is determined, resourceful and unprincipled. There are no rules of war for which he has respect."

## How State Dep't Tailors News

The U.S. State Department has been censoring news from Germany and giving the American people a false impression of conditions in West Germany, according to Piers Anderton, a foreign correspondent for the National Broadcasting Company.

Anderton told a National Press Club luncheon in Washington, D.C., Jan. 2 that the censored news gives the impression that West Berlin is a "gay and prosperous city," but that this is not true. Anderton also disclosed that U.S. military vehicles traveling on the autobahn from West Germany to West Berlin through East German territory have been fired upon occasionally for about two years. He said no news about this had been released until last March, when a

report was made public to coincide with the opening of disarmament talks at Geneva. The timing of the report, Anderton pointed out, made it appear that the Russians or East Germans had made a sudden warlike move.

'Raised Hell'

Anderton himself had reported the gunfire before March, when he was on a trip home in the U.S. "When I returned to Berlin," he said, "an Army representative raised hell with me. He asked why I had reported the shootings and I answered, 'Because it's true.' He said it was true, but contrary to U.S. policy to report it."

By thus withholding unpleasant news until the disarmament conference began, the U.S. State De-

partment was able to release it at an opportune moment. That moment was when it needed propaganda to prepare public opinion for its own refusal to negotiate disarmament.

Anderton also said he had made a speech last April to a group of American army wives in Germany, in which he criticized U.S. policies in Germany. He said he had learned that the speech had been reported in a State Department cable. "Word spread in West Berlin that I was pro-Communist," said Anderton. "It was spread, as far as I can make out, by a State Department report on me."

State Department Press Officer Lincoln White denied Anderton's charges in a statement given to reporters.

## Castro's Reply To Kennedy

Our next issue will feature extensive excerpts from Fidel Castro's Jan. 2 speech marking the fourth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. The speech is a slashing rebuttal of President Kennedy's jingoist welcome-home address in Miami to the released Bay of Pigs invasion prisoners.



# ...Striking New York Printers Stand Solid

(Continued from Page 1)

New York's Central Trades and Labor Council, President Harry Van Arsdale said: "The fight being waged by Typographical Union No. 6 is the fight of all labor against employers unwilling to negotiate across the table with their employees."

4) Strong support by the International Typographical Union's national membership who will shortly vote in a special referendum for an additional assessment to continue strike benefits to New York's striking and locked-out printers.

The issues of the struggle bear repeating in this, the sixth week of printing labor's greatest strike.

The striking and locked-out printers want to negotiate with the publishers for a contract. It is that simple. The publishers began with a take-it-or-leave-it offer of an \$8 package and have refused to budge or negotiate on any of the issues that the union raised. The "bargaining" sessions saw no bargaining. The publishers were using the classic tough-boss tactic known as *Boulevardism*.

The union asks an \$18 pay hike over a two-year span and another \$18 in fringe benefits. President Powers has repeatedly said that the union's position is negotiable. The bosses have countered not only by not budging an inch but in fact by taking a step backwards. The publishers said last week that if the union didn't retreat from its proposals, they would offer even less than they are now offering.

Further, the publishers want the expiration date of the new contract to be two years after the contract is signed. The union seeks a contract expiration date of Oct. 31, 1964, the same date as the Newspaper Guild's contract expiration.

This difference in contract-expiration dates goes to the heart of the strike. Because the Guild's contract expired earlier, the publishers were able to settle with



Rockefeller

a small package which they then proclaimed as the pattern for all the crafts. When the contracts of other unions in the industry expire they find themselves confronted by the employers with this package offered on a take-it-or-leave-it basis.

The publishers' \$8-package is worth 55 cents a week the first year and \$3.75 the second. The balance of the first year's money would go not for new fringe benefits but to meet the rising cost of present health and pension benefits.

President Powers highlighted the central importance of a common expiration date in a statement last week:

"We feel the most important item leading to an agreement is a common expiration date for all union contracts in the newspaper industry. One union no longer can be the pace-setter in contract negotiations. With a common expiration date all the unions — big

and small alike — would have an equal voice in negotiating a new contract.

"Contract talks would be conducted by a joint union board and to my way of thinking this will eventually happen anyhow."

Taking the offensive, Powers charged the Publishers' Association with having violated the anti-trust laws by locking-out the employees on all the daily newspapers which were not struck. He sent telegrams to Attorney General Robert Kennedy and to Rep. Celler and Senator Kefauver, chairmen respectively of the House and Senate Anti-trust and Monopoly subcommittees, calling on them to institute "all appropriate legal proceedings against the newspapers involved under the anti-trust laws."

Meanwhile, the mood of the men and women on the picket line has slowly but inexorably changed. They began the strike with great determination and a spirited picket line that amazed New York labor veterans. Now there is a new ingredient in their spirit — a new mood, a tone.

These are men and women averaging in age in the forties and fifties. They are not flamboyant, slogan-shouters or the type who sing strike songs on the line. This is their very first strike in the 65 years of contractual relations with New York's newspaper publishers.

The pickets now realize better than ever before the crass, brutal nature of the publishers — that they are not reasonable men of good will but arrogant, would-be union-busters.

The printers will make labor history in this strike. The long and great tradition of the International Typographical Union, which is a way of life to these craftsmen, gives them a discipline, understanding and devotion that is a great reservoir of strength in their hour of trial and struggle.

## Students in 23 Cities Hear Young Socialist Defend Cuba

By Peter Valdez

Nat'l Sec'y, Young Socialist Alliance

Although the overwhelming majority of the students in the U.S. today are either apolitical or accept the State Department's position on Cuba, I discovered in the course of a recent national tour that a significant minority is seriously questioning U.S. foreign policy. Unlike a few years ago, most campuses now have small but active socialist groups. Many of these students became socialists in response to the achievements of the Cuban Revolution.

A Young Socialist Alliance social gathering held after my talk at the University of California at Berkeley drew over 50 students for further discussion. At Tufts University in Boston over 150 students attended the meeting. This was one of the largest political meetings held there in a long time. The audience was more conservative than at other places but even so a serious attitude prevailed.

After a meeting of about 125 at the University of Colorado, a member of the Young Peoples Socialist League told me of his disagreement with YPSL's position for the overthrow of Castro's government. He took a trial subscription to *The Militant* to learn more about Cuba. At the University of Chicago, Bob Brown, a national official of YPSL, took the floor after my talk to ask a question but instead gave a ten-minute speech attacking the Castro regime. The Chairman asked if Brown or anyone from YPSL at the University would agree to a public debate on Cuba with me or some other YSA spokesman. We are still waiting for the answer.

At the University of Minnesota I did not give my regular speech in defense of the Cuban Revolution. My meeting had been sched-

uled by the campus socialist club. But the administration objected to the number of meetings the club was sponsoring — several others, including one for Daniel Rubin, editor of *Communist Voice*, on the McCarran Act. So all were combined into a panel discussion on the cold war. I had my talk on Cuba re-scheduled for an off-campus meeting at the Socialist Workers Party hall and was pleased to participate in the panel with Rubin, Bob Brown of YPSL, and a local leader of the Student Peace Union.

I was staying over with V.R. Dunne, the grand old man of Minnesota's SWP and labor movement. He himself was one of the first victims of the Smith Act. I passed onto Rubin Dunne's offer of the SWP hall for his meeting on the McCarran Act. However, the invitation was not taken up.

Students, impressed by the YSA's militant position on Cuba and Latin America, requested membership in the YSA after meetings at San Francisco State College, University of Indiana, Michigan State University, University of Wisconsin, Northwestern University and Antioch College.

Some of the other campuses at which I spoke were Harvard, University of California at Los Angeles, Brown, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Haverford, Bridgeport, University of Michigan, Carleton College and the University of Minnesota. The tour covered a total of 23 cities, I was able to get about ten hours of radio time, some of it during the blockade crisis. There were also some excellent breaks on newspaper publicity and good coverage in the college papers.



The Teamsters union lost the vote among Western Electric telephone installers. The count of the mail ballot showed 11,388 for the Communications Workers of America, 4,000 for the Teamsters and 696 for "no union."

The failure of Joseph A. Beirne to have a hated "merit" clause removed from the installers' last contract precipitated the attempt by CWA installer unit leaders to bolt to the Teamsters. The revolt forced Beirne to campaign against the merit clause and as a result, the CWA bargaining position is expected to be stronger in negotiations beginning this month.

\*\*\*

A strike against the major Cleveland newspapers has entered its seventh week. Editorial workers in the Guild and deliverers in the Teamsters are striking the *Plain Dealer* and the *Press and News*. Seven craft unions at the papers are respecting the picket lines. The union shop is a central Guild demand.

\*\*\*

A drive is underway by meat packing corporations to lower wages, particularly in the South, on the excuse that certain plants are not efficient enough and will be shut down without wage cuts. The Amalgamated Meat Cutters, AFL-CIO, and the independent National Brotherhood of Packinghouse Workers have recently negotiated such cuts. The United Packinghouse Workers has resisted such deals though in some cases officials have unsuccessfully attempted to sell them to the membership.

In the last few months some 3,000 packinghouse workers have taken pay cuts.

\*\*\*

Negotiations for new contracts in the aerospace industry by the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists have turned into a fiasco for the unions as a result of the labor leaders' reliance on President Kennedy.

Early last year IAM and UAW leaders declared their intention of fighting for new contracts which would bring aerospace wages up to those prevailing in other metal-trades industries.

On the excuse that the industry was vital to national interest and that a strike was "unthinkable" the issues were submitted to a board appointed by President Kennedy. The board's recommendation contained a dismal wage offer, falling far short of the level in other industries, and a proposal that the union-shop issue be decided by a vote of the workers in each aerospace company. The board recommended the unusual requirement of a two-thirds majority vote for the union shop to become effective.

Leaders of both unions capitulated "reluctantly" to this recommendation in the interests of "national security."

General Dynamics, North American and Ryan accepted the recommendations and a union-shop vote was held at those companies. In all three cases, the unions got a majority but failed to get two-thirds and therefore did not get the union shop. Lockheed refused even to agree to a vote and forced the union to strike over the nebulous issue of the right to have an election it would probably lose.

Boeing, with 30,000 IAM members in Seattle, agreed to an advisory vote, which would not be binding. The vote was held and 73.8 per cent of the workers favored the union shop. Thus, it appeared that the unions would salvage something out of the presidential board procedure. At least at Boeing, they got well over the required two thirds. But now Boeing has balked. It refuses to go along with the presidential board's recommendation or the results of the vote and is threatening to force the union to strike Jan. 15.

\*\*\*

The 16 drivers who were fired by New York City's police commissioner under the state's Condon-Wadlin Act during a strike last month by city motor-vehicle drivers, have been rehired. The firings were the first time in history the Condon-Wadlin Act, which outlaws strikes by public employees, had been invoked. The 16 drivers were not returned to the same jobs they held before, however, but were transferred to other city departments.

\*\*\*

Millinery workers in New York City went on strike Jan. 3 for a wage increase. It's the first strike by the New York Joint Board of the United Cap and Millinery Workers in over 30 years. Ten thousand workers were involved. The union asked for a ten per cent raise and fringe benefits. An agreement was reached Jan. 8 with the Eastern Women's Headwear Association granting a raise of about seven per cent.

Women workers covered by the old contract which expired Dec. 31, averaged only \$3,000 per year while male workers averaged \$4,250. About 450 firms were involved in the strike.

\*\*\*

Seen pinned to an employees' bulletin board in the Waldorf-Astoria hotel last week: brief notes acknowledging receipt of several hundred dollars collected among workers in various departments of the hotel. The receipts were signed by the union delegate who led the famous "revolt at the Waldorf" — a wildcat strike last May which succeeded in eliminating certain onerous conditions — and who was fired for it. Top officials of Hotel and Club Employees Local 6 collaborated with management in the firing. The receipts are signs that the workers are taking care of their own, and that the rank-and-file opposition is still there.



Wagner

## Weekly Calendar

### CHICAGO

Protest Anti-Defamation League "democratic legacy" award to JFK. Join demonstration of Committee to Defend William Worthy, Tues., Jan. 15, 12 noon to 1:30 p.m. at 343 S. Dearborn.

### DETROIT

THE FEDERAL GOV'T, 1963 — New Faces, New Problems, New Policies. Speaker, Frank Lovell. Fri., Jan. 18, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### MINNEAPOLIS

Four Friday evening sessions on The Socialist Road to Peace. First session, Fri., Jan. 18, 8 p.m. on History of the Cold War. At 704 Hennepin Ave., Room 240. Admission free. Aup. Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

### NEW YORK

Cuban Economic Prospects for 1963. An analysis by James O'Connor, economist and journalist. Fri., Jan. 18, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (Students, 50c). Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

## INTRODUCTORY OFFER!



### A Four-Month Subscription To The Militant for only \$1

Name .....

Street ..... Zone .....

City ..... State .....

Send to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.



## Interview With an Independence Leader

## Some Facts About Conditions in Puerto Rico

By Hedda Grant

"I feel so strongly about this that I have hoped before I die I could see it written down somewhere. I believe that one of the biggest monuments to Fidel Castro will be built in the United States. The Cuban Revolution means the happiness of America in a new era of socialization, and the spot where the struggle will be the hardest is going to be in the United States — for the United States will be part of this big battle.

"Since it is here the biggest sacrifices and acts of heroism will be, the day that the new era succeeds in the States there will be a very strong feeling about the symbols of the whole process. The struggle here will take brains, blood and hearts, and a monument will be erected to the man who put the first stone in that reconstruction — Fidel Castro."

The above words were spoken not by a Cuban, but by Gabriel Vincente Maura, a leader of the Puerto Rican independence movement, who was visiting New York in his capacity as Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the *Movimiento Pro-Independencia* of Puerto Rico when he was interviewed by *The Militant*.

Maura has been in the struggle for Puerto Rico's independence his entire adult life. Born in Guayama, a small coastal city in Puerto Rico, he learned about the colonial status of his country from his mother, who even then was an *independista*. Now in his fifties and a small businessman, Maura sees the independence movement growing rapidly since the Cuban Revolution.

The *Movimiento Pro-Independencia*, founded three years ago, now has branches throughout Puerto Rico and many young people have joined in its ranks with old-time fighters like Maura. This group works fraternally with the Nationalists and the *Accion Patriotica Unitaria* (APU) for the goal of their country's independence. "We are in a common struggle," says Maura, "We each use different methods toward the same purpose."

Although the U.S. government claims that Puerto Rico is no longer a colony but a free commonwealth associated with the U.S., Maura can see no difference. "We all know what happens when countries are retained as colonies. In Puerto Rico 78 per cent of the money is invested by United States investors; 22 per cent of the investors are Puerto Rican." As in other colonies, the foreign investors show little regard for the natural resources or the future economic needs of the colony.

Operation Bootstrap, the much publicized program of industrializing the island and the U.S. answer to social change, doesn't in the least change Maura's conviction that his country must be free from the colonial yoke.

## New Industry

Saying that Operation Bootstrap has "done much," he asks that it be examined more closely. New industry has come, but the best jobs in it have gone to Americans who are brought along, not to Puerto Ricans. "After the war many of the developments would have happened anyway without it. The new industry is only possible in the transitory circumstances where the U.S. is producing mainly for war and semi-war circumstances. But if the U.S. has to become normal or there is a depression, Operation Bootstrap will be impossible."

As "big black spots" in Operation Bootstrap, Maura cites the half-million Puerto Ricans who have migrated to the U.S. despite the plan. "The Puerto Ricans do not come here because they like living in dirty houses and working as dishwashers, but because there are too few opportunities in Puerto Rico. In Puerto Rico if a man makes \$45 a week he can buy everything he needs on credit. But most can't find jobs or don't even make that much and have to stay in a shack or come to the United States."

As to the much-touted new housing projects in Puerto Rico, Maura points out that the building boom has slowed down although many slums still stand. The housing projects themselves are an example of the social problems created by "turning Puerto Rico into an industrial country without any preparation."

In Maura's part of the island he has seen many cases of things like this: "A carpenter, his wife and children move into a project. Before that they lived in the country and the wife ironed her own clothes and the clothes of Mrs. So-and-So for a little money. She also used to buy one or two dozen avacados and sell them in front of her house. She cannot do this in the project and now she has rent to pay. Before she lived in a shack but had no rent. Her husband earns no more than he did before."

## Relative Income

"There is too much talk about the new relative income," Maura adds, and he ridicules statistics which average in the new small group of wealthy people, raising the relative income far above its real increase. He says that the American companies are the only ones that have become wealthy. They get ten years tax free and when that period is over they can leave (taking all their equipment with them) or merely change the company's name or product slightly and become eligible for ten more tax free years as a "new" company.

The United States considers Muñoz Marin, the island's present governor, a reliable and consistent friend. According to Maura, Marin was instrumental in tricking the Puerto Rican people into accepting their colonial status. Maura backs this charge with numerous stories of promises broken and letters suppressed, demonstrating how Marin gained support by pretending to be for independence.

The *Movimiento Pro-Independencia* believes that the real issue is independence, but that no plebiscite can genuinely reflect the wishes of the Puerto Rican people. "The United States took possession of Puerto Rico with bullets, not ballots. They have given us 64 years of 'training' to become Americans and so a plebiscite under the present circumstances would have only one result." The government of Muñoz Marin has made clear that it favors commonwealth status, which, according to Maura, is simply an "official name for colonialism." The schools, newspapers, radio, movies, all of the apparatus speaks out against independence.

When Maura attended school all subjects were taught in English. "I even learned French from an American teacher and we were asked to talk to our classmates and teachers in English — even during recess. This reflects now because the people important in government, social and business life, are the people who were trained."

In 1943 the law was changed and Spanish was made the official language. But the "people who have been taught the new way are still very young, they are the people of a new era."

## Pedro Albizu Campos

Maura has often heard people say that Albizu Campos destroyed confidence in the independence movement with violence and terrorism. But he says, "Every sensitive person in Puerto Rico has great respect for Albizu Campos. The lies about him were spread during the whole witch-hunt period when we had no means to answer on radio or television."

Despite the effects of the "training," Maura believes that "if the channels for democracy were free a great majority would be for independence. Scratch a Puerto Rican who says that he wants to be an American and underneath he is for independence. Even small businessmen — with the big stores from the U.S. taking away their business — feel that way. But

## Puerto Rican Salute to Cuba

[Almost a thousand people attended the assembly of the Pro-Independence Movement in Bayamon, Puerto Rico, on Dec. 9, 1962. Among resolutions adopted was the sending of the following message of greetings.]

The Fourth General Assembly of the Pro-Independence Movement sends its fraternal salute of solidarity to the Cuban People, to the Revolutionary Government and to its principal leader, Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz, expressing the greetings of the Puerto Rican people struggling for independence on the basis of the extraordinary victory which Cuba has achieved over the forces of imperialism and because of its firm refusal to enter into any compact which would encroach in the slightest upon the integrity and national sovereignty of Cuba.

The firm Cuban position of forcing respect for its sovereignty and independence at the high price of risking the very life of all its citizens is an example of patriotism which history will glorify. Cuba has demonstrated that a small nation can rid itself of all satellitism and launch a foreign policy in accord with its freest principles.

North American insistence for on-site inspection of the dismantling of Soviet rockets on Cuban soil has been vigorously and definitively refused by the Cuban government despite all the pressure that was exerted on it by its enemies as well as friends.

Cuba has responded with the greatness expected of her by all the peoples of our America. Serene and happy, with the happiness and serenity of those who know themselves to have been faithful to a great historic destiny, the Cuban people has been, and will continue to be, prepared to resist unto death all foreign aggression.

The Puerto Rican *independistas* are grateful in the name of their country to the extraordinary service rendered by the Cuban people to the integrity of the Antilles and of all our America.

with military bases and the apparatus in Puerto Rico there is no free expression of democracy."

Statehood is seen by Maura as the end of "the human Puerto Rico." "If we are to join a group of nations it should have our own roots of language and culture. Statehood would mean the disappearance of both. The Puerto Rico that can be a state is geographical. The United States is a nation which is a national unit. If Puerto Rico joins we will have to melt into that unit. It is inconceivable that they would let two units exist."

None of the pro-independence groups functions as a party. It is almost impossible for them to run

in elections because the legal requirements are that people must sign for the party before a judge and members of opposition parties.

The *independistas* are understandably overjoyed at the example set by Fidel Castro for Latin America. Gabriel Vincente Maura points with an almost personal pride to Cuba's Revolution and no doubt believes that the man who fought for national independence, the right to be free of U.S.-brand colonialism will some day have a statue erected to him on Puerto Rican soil as well as in the U.S. But in true independent spirit, he adds, "The Cubans should have their own way of living. We do not necessarily have to copy it."

## ... Vietnam War

(Continued from Page 1)

when government forces attacked. This may mark an important tactical turning point in the war. The guerrillas held their fire until the helicopters had landed, then they opened up from four sides. "The Communist ground fire hit 14 American helicopters taking part in the operation that began at dawn — and brought down at least eight," reports a Jan. 2 AP dispatch. "Five were destroyed."

Though government forces outnumbered the guerrillas ten to one and were supported by planes, artillery and armor, Diem's troops refused direct orders to advance during the Jan. 2 battle UPI dispatches report that the U.S. military "advisers" were furiously angry. They charged that an American army captain was killed while out front vainly pleading with Diem's troops to advance.

In another case a Vietnamese battalion flatly refused to advance though U.S. officers ordered and pleaded for hours. In still another case the Vietnamese commander of an armored unit refused U.S. orders to go to the rescue of downed helicopters.

The enhanced fire power of the guerrillas comes from captured U.S. weapons. As AP correspondent Malcolm W. Browne reported on Jan. 5: "Only a few months ago the average Viet Cong guerrilla had to rely on his homemade shotgun or old French rifle to blast away at the big American machines wheeling down on him with loads of troops. Now thanks to captured American weapons, the guerrilla has a good chance of making trouble for the helicopters."

## World Events

## China-Japan Trade Urged

An Asian Common Market sponsored by China and Japan was proposed Jan. 4 by Kazuo Suzuki, a Japanese trade leader who heads the Japan China Trade Promotion Association.

He said the 700 members of his organization in Japan would bring pressure on their government for early conclusion of a trade pact with China. Japan, he said, is eager to buy iron ore, coke and soy beans from China and, in return, sell machinery, fertilizer, oil products and chemicals.

Japanese productive capacity far exceeds its market, Suzuki said, and only a giant market like China is the solution to Japanese economic problems.

## Mexicans Seize Land

"Squatters from the Mexican state of Coahuila and Durango are reported infiltrating into southern Chihuahua to help invade big ranching properties," reports a Jan. 8 AP dispatch.

"Leaders of the land grab," the report continues, "say their action is an outgrowth of continued appeals to the federal government for land on which to work. They say the federal Department of Agrarian Affairs and Colonization . . . has completely ignored their demands."

A principal target of the squatters' movement, which seems to number well over several hundred, are the fabulous ranches of former President Miguel Aleman and other government figures who have acquired huge holdings.

The report said that new inva-

sions of ranches was reported in the Madera area where five ranches were seized, all reportedly owned by North Americans.

## Soviet Boosts Oil Output

The Soviet Union reports that it produced nearly a billion and a half barrels of oil last year, a gain of 11 per cent over 1961. This puts the USSR in second place behind the U.S. among the world's oil producers.

## Burmese Students' Siege

At year's end students at Rangoon University in Burma were maintaining a state of siege in protest against the military government of General Ne Win. They have won demands, including release of students jailed by the government and compensation for the families of 16 students killed in last July's protest, but they are holding out for recognition of their dormitory unions.

The government refuses to recognize the Students Union, the Dec. 21 *Christian Science Monitor* explained, because it is "aware that such organizations produced the Burmese leaders who fought for and won independence from the British after the war."

## What GIs Died for in Korea

Top civilian politicians in South Korea charge that the ruling military junta is making it virtually impossible for an effective opposition party to emerge and contest in the election due in three months. They are demanding that 2,900 political prisoners be released and the election be delayed.

## India Wants China in UN

India's ambassador to the U.S., declared Jan. 4 that despite the border conflict with China his country still favors China's admission to the UN. While lashing out at China on the border issue, the ambassador declared: "We still feel that every nation should be represented in the UN . . . We feel that the world's problems cannot be solved by the UN without representation of one fifth of mankind."

## Priests Organize

Orthodox priests who have been staging marches and demonstrations in Greece against starvation wages have started organizing a union, according to the World Council of Churches. Their goal is "to bring pressure on political leaders to increase their salaries which range from \$6.50 a week for a priest with primary education to \$12.80 for university graduate students in theology."

A key pamphlet  
In Defense of the  
Cuban Revolution

An Answer to the  
State Department  
and Theodore Draper

By Joseph Hansen  
32 pages 25¢

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



# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN

Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except from July 11 to Sept. 5 when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 27 - No. 2

345

Monday, January 14, 1963

## Striking Typos Need Own Paper

The New York Publishers Association decreed a shutdown of all the city's major newspapers — including those not on strike — and the publishers and their supporters are spreading propaganda foisting the blame for the newspaper blackout on the International Typographical Union and its allies. This campaign of double-speak is having its effect on the public, because it is going largely unanswered. The truth is that the general public, including some union workers, is confused about the issues in this strike.

The ITU membership is solid, but the importance of publicity and of an honest reporting of the union's stand should not be underestimated.

A daily newspaper, published by the labor movement to fill the vacuum created by the publishers' lockout, and to give a straight presentation of the strike's issues, could well tip the scales in this long struggle.

Plans for such a paper were mapped out before the strike and announced publicly at an Oct. 14 meeting of the various newspaper unions, but they have not been put into effect.

The cost of the project — estimated at \$50,000 a day to begin with — is well within the financial resources of the New York labor movement. At the same time, the current attempt by the publishers to deal the ITU a crippling blow is part of a general employer offensive against labor's efforts to deal with the ravages of technological change. Thus, the labor movement as a whole has a big stake in the outcome of this strike. One of the most effective contributions it could make to a strike victory would be to give financial and other aid to the newspaper unions in publishing a labor daily.

## 'To See Ourselves as Others See Us'

The great majority of Americans have not the remotest idea of how dishonest, reactionary and vicious the record of the Kennedy administration is in regard to Cuba.

That is because the big-business-owned daily papers, TV and radio in this country do voluntarily what the mass communication media in totalitarian countries do from compulsion — namely, present a falsified version of the news always justifying the government and vilifying the "enemy."

To afford a glimpse through the eyes of those not subjected to U.S. brainwashing on Cuba, we reprint below an editorial from one of Canada's oldest and most respected newspapers, *The Toronto Globe and Mail*. The editorial appeared Jan. 3 under the title "Mr. Kennedy's Arrogance."

President John F. Kennedy made a shocking blunder in April last year when he authorized Cuban exiles in the United States to invade their homeland in an attempt to overthrow the Castro regime. The adventure was politically ill-conceived and doomed to military failure. Many lives were lost, Communism in Cuba was strengthened, and the reputation of the United States was badly bruised.

There has been a charitable willingness in many countries to absolve Mr. Kennedy from full responsibility for the disaster in the Bay of Pigs. He inherited the planning of the operation from the previous Administration and had little time to find his feet as President before being faced with the decision to cancel the invasion or let it go ahead.

When the United States last week ransomed the 1,113 survivors of the invasion force from imprisonment in Cuba, it was hoped that the whole affair could pass into the footnotes of history books. One of the major irritations in U.S.-Cuban relations was being removed, and it was to be expected that President Kennedy would be happy to forget the Bay of Pigs and hope and hope that Premier Fidel Castro would forget it also.

But no such thing. The President chose on Saturday to review in Miami the survivors of the invasion force, now returned to the United States, and to make an outrageously arrogant speech. Accepting the colors of the so-called invasion brigade, he said:

"I can assure you that this flag will be returned to this brigade in a free Havana . . . I can assure you that it is the strongest wish of the people of this country, as well as the people of this hemisphere that Cuba shall one day be free again, and when it is, this brigade will deserve to march at the head of the free column."

Mr. Kennedy was careful to refrain from committing the United States to taking armed action against Cuba, and to avoid any direct incitement of the Cuban exiles to war, but his meaning was plain to his excitable audience. They chanted "guerra" (war) and "libertad" (liberty) as he spoke and repeatedly pounded the rostrum with his clenched fist.

It would be comforting to credit the President's performance to a lapse of judgment, or even to domestic political expediency. But all the signs are that his rabble-rousing speech was one more example of a frightening arrogance.

Mr. Kennedy's high-handed attitudes and ruthless methods attracted a great deal of unfavorable comment in the United States and abroad during his campaign for the Presidency. His record in the White House has not been reassuring; often he seems to confuse willfulness with toughness and bullying with strength.

One result has been, as recent reports in this newspaper have indicated, a decline of confidence in U.S. leadership among her allies. President Kennedy's deplorable speech in Miami will undoubtedly accelerate this trend.

## LONDON LETTER

# Top Topics: China-India War, the 2 Ks

By T. J. Peters

LONDON — A sharp breach in the solid anti-Chinese and pro-Indian campaign pervading all wings of official political opinion from right to left was made in a letter to the Bevanite weekly *Tribune* by Sydney Silverman, member of Parliament. Silverman is one of the five parliamentarians expelled along with Michael Foot, the director of the paper, from the Labour Party for their active implementation in the House of Commons of the radical unilateralist decisions of the party's 1960 Scarborough conference.

Silverman's case for the Chinese, though not based on Marxist class considerations, was nevertheless an effective presentation of the facts which showed that justice was clearly on their side. In its reply *Tribune* relied mostly on the Indian Communist Party's having joined the national front, and borrowed its arguments. The discussion of the border conflict, however, took a new turn and as a result the paper's emphasis is now more on advocating peaceful negotiations between the two countries than on taking India's part.

*Tribune* has also, in recent weeks, made a more consistent attempt to understand and present the position of Fidel Castro's revolutionary government in the Cuban crisis, although much is still to be desired in the way of clarity on both these issues in the Labour left wing.

### The Catalysts

The greatest attention at the moment has been aroused here by the speech of Dean Acheson at West Point, on the one hand, and Khrushchev's address to the Supreme Soviet, on the other. These speeches are serving as catalysts in the wide-ranging discussion of world problems following the Cuban crisis. As the *London Times* has put it, both sides in the universal struggle have for the moment been thrown back into considering the implications for their internal and intra-bloc politics.

Various issues in the discussion are, of course, not new in either camp. Some of the issues (for instance, "peaceful co-existence" in the Soviet camp, the problem of colonialism in the capitalist camp) even antedate the second world war. But the Cuban crisis, with its confrontation of the two nuclear super-powers, has been a sort of moment of truth. All the issues have become more urgent of solution.

Acheson's reference to Great Britain having played out its role as a great world power drew the headlines here and called forth an anguished and intemperate outcry from the ruling class, with even Macmillan joining in. The Prime Minister went so far as to remind Mr. Acheson that this view was shared in the past by such reprehensible figures as Napoleon and Hitler and that Britain's greatness outlived them. But with the publication of the full account of the Acheson speech, soberer second thoughts are taking the place of fury.

It is being realized that the former American Secretary of State was saying out loud what is on the mind of the capitalist rulers. It is a rounded argument for greater cohesion in their camp, which the disarray following the Cuban confrontation is making more urgent. In brief, it amounts to the following:

- The real power in the alliance lies in the U.S. and that is where the decisions for prompt and effective action in emergencies have to be made.

- The structure for influencing these decisions in the long run must be consolidated by politicizing the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).



Dean Acheson

- The problems of colonialism must not give rise to open conflicts between the imperialist powers but must be adjusted behind the scenes.

- Financial and economic policies, including the handling of the working classes, must be co-ordinated.

- While America concentrates on nuclear armament, the European partners must devote their main energies to building up "conventional" forces — that is huge conscript armies, above all.

- The capitalist alliance is to develop a strategy not only for holding on to what they have and for greater exploitation of the "underdeveloped" countries but for beginning to take back what they have lost, starting with reunification of Germany as a capitalist state within the alliance.

### Outlook and Strategy

This view, although attempting to be objective from the ruling class standpoint, is nevertheless tinged with optimism due to the success attributed to American policy in the dealings with the USSR during the crisis over Cuba. The Kennedy administration officially is, of course, more cautious and confines its aim to maintaining the status quo, but the basic outlook and strategy is the same.

While nobody among the capitalist rulers anywhere could take exception to this scheme as a whole, there is a great gap between desirability and accomplishment. Efforts to bridge it will run into considerable obstacles even among the capitalists themselves with their varying interests which stem from the very nature of the profit system, the difficulties of giving up vested positions, etc., let alone considerations of prestige and self-assessment.

Even greater stumbling blocks lie ahead in the ever-expanding colonial revolt which has a tendency to break out in the most unexpected places and to take on constantly new and baffling forms, cutting through all imperialist plans and agreements in this respect. And, finally, the scheme doesn't reckon with the host, the working class in the metropolitan countries, who, no matter what state of militancy or passivity they may be in now, will not take kindly to regimentation, whether by conscription into "conventional" armies or in industry itself.

As Acheson explained, however, his optimism is based mostly on the idea that the "other fellow," the Soviet bloc, is having even bigger troubles. While this is debatable, there is no doubt that there are genuine conflicts, and

certainly great differences, within the anti-capitalist camp.

Khrushchev's address to the Supreme Soviet dwells on these differences with greater objectivity and moderation and even a measure of more clarity than has come out of the Kremlin in a long, long time. While, of course, he cannot give away the basic motivations of the bureaucracy in considering the problems, he nevertheless aids in promoting more open discussion, not only among states, but in the world working class as a whole.

Khrushchev's speech has been played up here, as no doubt elsewhere, as a major step (after the recent Communist Party congresses in Europe) in exacerbating the rift with the Chinese Communists. As in the case of the Acheson speech, the chief organs of public opinion dwell on aspects of sensationalism to catch the public eye. Only gradually does the real import of what has been said make its way into the public consciousness.

It is true that Khrushchev spoke more frankly of the differences with the Chinese than ever before — although still hardly as openly as the importance of the issues requires. But, in fact, the presentation was relatively moderate, with a rather unusual attempt to be persuasive in place of the ranting and veiled threats that have been customary from the Kremlin in the past.

### Near the Mark

His characterization of his opponent's position — and these include, besides the Chinese, various shadings of opinion in the Communist movement — hit quite near the mark. He called their position *Trotskyist*. The bourgeois commentators leaped at this for their dire conclusions recalling the anathema associated with this label in Stalinist days.

The point to be remarked in this connection, however, is that nothing even slightly reminiscent of the usual epithets was used on this occasion. It was an attempt at a political characterization although Trotskyist policy, like that of the Chinese, was distorted into one of *desiring* nuclear war with the capitalist world — which Khrushchev well knows is slanderous. Here the bureaucrat was merely pandering to the universal fear of nuclear holocaust and addressing himself not to the problem, but to the mood of his audience.

## The First 10 Years Of American Communism

### Report of a Participant

By James P. Cannon

The author is a founder of American Trotskyism and the only living top leader of the early years of the U.S. Communist Party who has not repudiated communism.

### The book contains:

Sketches of Foster, Ruthenberg, Browder, Lovestone and others, as well as of leading figures in the Communist International.

Essays on the Industrial Workers of the World, Eugene V. Debs and the socialist movement of his time, and the effect of the Russian Revolution on the U. S. Negro struggle.

344 pp. — \$6.00

Order through:

### Pioneer Publishers

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



# Letters From Our Readers

## N.Y. Printers Strike

New York, N. Y.  
For several years now I've been hearing what a good union the Newspaper Guild is. Many people say that it is one of the better unions. But, better than what? How can a union be "better" when it goes against the wishes of its colleague unions by first negotiating earlier than the others, giving the Publishers Association an advantage, and then by accepting a package deal that the other craft unions didn't want.

When the Guild struck the *Daily News* last fall the other unions which were involved set up a unity committee to protect themselves from getting a raw deal from the bosses.

This committee agreed to decide on all publishers' offers by majority vote so that no single union could override the wishes of the majority. The Guild agreed to this.

Some days later the bosses offered the Guild a contract that gained them nothing. The other trades in the unity committee voted against the offer but the Guild took it anyway.

The Publishers Association thought they had it made since in the past all other unions in the industry always had to swallow their pride and accept the same conditions that the first union did or take nothing.

## 10 YEARS AGO

### IN THE MILITANT

"Federal Judge Kaufman who sentenced Ethel and Julius Rosenberg to death in a peace-time espionage case, denied clemency to the defendants. Trying to defend himself, Judge Kaufman said that 'this court has been subjected to a mounting organized campaign of vilifications, abuse and pressure.'

"It is true that the Rosenbergs were tried in a poisonous atmosphere surpassed by few court cases in modern times. It is also true that the court was under overwhelming pressure. It was, as it remains, under pressure of the witch hunters, greedy for their first blood victims.

"But this is not at all what Judge Kaufman was referring to. He denounced not the witch hunters but a courageous minority which has protested the savage verdict.

"The defense had filed in federal court scores of letters from scientists, educators and clergymen appealing for a more lenient sentence. And it was this that brought from Judge Kaufman his outburst about 'vilification, abuse and pressure.'" — Jan 12, 1953.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"José Antonio Arze, exiled leader of the Bolivian Left Revolutionary Party, stated on Jan. 1 in telegrams to the CIO, AFL and American Civil Liberties Union, that government police and troops had killed 17 workers since the declaration of martial law against the tin miners' strike in Bolivia.

"This strike nearly led to a general strike, according to the Jan. 4 *CIO News*. When the Bolivian government tried to cover up the real causes by accusing the leaders of being 'Nazi agents,' CIO and AFL officials protested saying they knew the strike leaders as *bona fide* representatives of the workers.

"The real cause of the strike is the desperate economic conditions of the workers and the Bolivian government's refusal to institute the long-promised labor code which would ease these conditions." — Jan. 9, 1943.

But the bosses hadn't counted on the Typos to stick up for their rights. So early in December Big Six, with a large strike fund in their favor, walked out on four papers. Immediately the other five papers locked everyone out and then began crying in their beer that they couldn't afford a long strike. If they can't they have only themselves to blame.

M. H.

## Tough on Teachers

Detroit, Mich.

I am enclosing a letter from "A Michigan Teacher" which appeared in the Public Letter Box of the Dec. 23 *Detroit News*. I think readers of *The Militant* will find it interesting. I'll add no comment to it; it speaks so well for itself.

E. S.

"Your editorial, 'Tough on Teachers,' certainly drew praise from several of the teachers in my building. We are presently faced with this same job; preparing a new course of study on communism and Russia that will end up with the kids seeing the bad points of the Russian system and the good points of our own. Our teacher meetings become deadlocked when we point out that it's almost impossible to teach such a subject when most of us really know practically nothing about it — and it's hard to study the subject when almost everything written about it is so very one-sided.

"It's also very difficult for a teacher to read about and discuss the subject when today there are so many Birchers, etc., who seem anxious to jump to the wrong conclusions and, through innuendo damage the teacher's professional reputation.

"We also find ourselves trying to 'pass the buck' when it comes to the question of which teacher will have the job of teaching the subject for we know everything said in the class will be watched and discussed by parents in the area. We know that any student from that class who makes any complimentary remark concerning anything about Russia will bring a Senator McCarthy-type smear against the teacher from some of the America First-type parents in the neighborhood.

"A true teacher wants to present all sides of controversial questions. Here you couldn't. It thus becomes indoctrination, not teaching.

"Today we look back at some of the things we did in the past and ask ourselves how such a thing started. Will we some day look back on the 1960s and try to find out where we first started to lose the principles of true democratic teaching in our public schools?"

## Query to George Breitman

Chicago, Ill.

George Breitman's Nov. 5 article did indeed contain many "Lessons for Whites on the Negro Struggle."

The article was excellent and insightful but I must take advantage of Mr. Breitman's request for reader's viewpoints and ask him to expand on his ideas.

In Chicago there is one independent on the City Council. This Alderman is a lawyer with a long record as a fighter for civil rights and liberties. Politically he is substantially to the left of the Democratic Party and is the only critic of the Democratic majority on the Council from anything approximating a radical point of

view. As such he is a vocal and remarkably effective spokesman for Negro rights — despite the fact that he is not himself a Negro.

There are Negroes on the Council but these Negro Aldermen are firmly under the thumb of the local Daley-Dawson Democratic political machine. As such they are powerless to represent the real interest of the local Negro community. For example, when the white independent introduced and fought for an Open Occupancy Ordinance the kept Negroes of the Democratic Party attacked him for doing so and, if memory serves me correctly, they not only failed to support the proposal but they voted against it!

This white independent is a real thorn in the side of the Democratic machine and the Daley-Dawson combine will probably spare no tricks or expense in attempting to defeat him in the next election. Since a large part of his ward is Negro the machine may well decide to run one of their docile Uncle Toms against him. This would have the effect of raising the question of Negro representation since if the Uncle Tom was to be elected it would give the inadequately represented Negro community an additional seat on the Council.

This is a hypothetical problem but it may become a real one next election and similar cases may occur elsewhere in the nation.

I would therefore like to ask Mr. Breitman how his ideas of Negro representation would apply in such a case — assuming the facts to be stated as above. What position would he advise socialists to take on such an election when

none of the socialist parties are running their own candidate for the seat in question?

Scott Arden

## Breitman's Reply

Detroit, Mich.

Scott Arden's letter does not contain enough information for me to make a solid judgment on the situation he presents. For example, he does not say what forces the white independent 'alderman' represents; if he just ran on his own; if he was the representative of some organized movement or tendency, and in that case what this movement stands for, etc.

More important for the issue he raises: He says "a large part of his ward is Negro." But how large — 30 per cent? 60 per cent? This could make a big difference. If the majority of the ward is Negro, and if the people in this ward are sufficiently opposed to the corrupt Democratic machine to elect an independent, shouldn't the progressive forces in this ward consider running an independent Negro candidate (rather than the white incumbent) in order to reduce the Democratic machine's possibility of electing an Uncle Tom?

I hope no one — Arden, the alderman in this ward, or anyone else — would answer this question of mine by saying that there are no Negroes in this ward "competent" to run and serve as alderman. Remember, my hypothesis is that a majority of the ward's population is Negro and is disposed to elect a candidate "substantially to the left of the Democratic Party."

I think a helpful guideline in approaching this question is the

Socialist Workers Party's electoral policy which can be summarized as follows:

(1) Wherever possible, we run our own candidates, who seek to win support for the socialist program and to mobilize mass action against war, unemployment, racial discrimination and the other evils of capitalism.

(2) We advocate the creation of an independent labor party, uniting the workers, farmers, Negroes and other non-capitalist forces and running its own candidates against those of the capitalist parties. In general, we would give critical support to a labor party's candidates, even if they lacked a socialist or fully socialist program — that is, we would support their election as a step in the right direction while reserving the right to criticize their policies and tactics.

(3) In the absence of a labor party ticket, we also are ready to give critical support to candidates sponsored by and responsible to independent labor movements and independent Negro movements — independent, that is, of the capitalist parties, breaking with them and running against the candidates of their machines.

If I lived in the ward Arden discusses, I would try to get together a significant section of the unions and the Negro community and organize such an independent movement. If the incumbent alderman accepted the program of this movement and committed himself to act as its representative in office, I might consider supporting him. But if a majority of the ward was Negro, I would strongly demand that its candidate be Negro too.

George Breitman

## A High-Court Justice Speaks Out

# Warns Against Pentagon, CIA

By Constance Weissman

"When the machine displaces man and does most of the work, who will own the machines and receive the rich dividends?"

"The new centers of power are in the hands of those who control science; and one who traces the controls back to origins often finds the Pentagon in the central position. Those who finance the scientific revolution usually control those who work for them."

These are quotations from a pamphlet, by U.S. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas, called *Freedom of the Mind*.

### Alarmed at Power

Douglas is alarmed because the power of the Pentagon is a "sacred white cow" which no one dares criticize. Research organizations and universities that could criticize complex space programs and nuclear energy programs are "captive agencies" of the Pentagon which finances their research. Douglas continues:

"The press does not cover the operations of the Pentagon adequately. Nor can it report truthfully on the Central Intelligence Agency. This agency has been more responsible than any other agency for foreign policy in the Middle East. Its movements are not known. The manner in which it intercedes in foreign elections with its moneybags is never reported. The reasons why it supports feudal regimes, the results of its policies, the dangers that it generates are not known even

to many of the informed press."

"Why should the CIA efforts to influence elections abroad," asks Douglas, "be a secret to the American people when they are notorious in the foreign nation?"

Douglas believes that if the people were informed — if they realized, for instance, that the Pentagon was actually in control — they would not stand for it. The tradition of civilian control in this country is too strong.

### Venial Press

But the press, which should inform the people, is operated to make money. Douglas repeated this point recently on a television program. The press, he says, falls down on its job of educating because it keeps quiet on issues that would disturb advertisers.

The outspoken Supreme Court Justice believes that dissent is a positive duty to the commonweal. Though this country was founded by dissenters, "We have forgotten our revolutionary heritage." But he is fully aware of the terrible pressures against dissenters in our contemporary society. In discussing one of these, the "loyalty" oath, he says that a person's refusal to take the oath disqualifies him from many jobs. He usually must swear that "he never was a member of any association or group on the Attorney General's list or of any other association affiliated with the Communist Party. Here the injustice is even more pronounced.

"First, the associations named by the Attorney General as 'subversive' may or may not be such. No hearing was ever held. The Attorney General's determination that an organization was 'subversive' was wholly *ex parte* [one-sided].

"Second, even if the Communists had infiltrated an organization, they may not have succeeded in using it for unlawful ends."

Douglas shows that the modern test oath outlaws or punishes a person without the constitutional procedure designed to protect him. And the fact that he can be punished for past membership in the Communist Party is particularly unjust and contrary to law for it was only recently that being a member was made criminal. "Thus people, who were never convicted of a crime and could not be, were treated worse than felons."

### "Loyalty" Probers

Also taken up by the conscientious jurist are the investigations staged by committees of Congress and state legislatures, which invade the campus and examine teachers for "loyalty." "People in positions where inventive genius is desirable become conformists," he writes. "Those removed from office, those who voluntarily relinquish their posts rather than go through the expense and agony of hearings, even those who face the ordeal and disprove the charges, have often been tagged with the same label.

"These investigations have a powerful impact on those who make policy decisions on foreign relations." But the worst crime to Douglas' thinking is that people are robbed of their greatest strength — their ideas.

Many other points are dealt with in *Freedom of the Mind*, which deserves a reading not only for its clear outline of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution but for its description of how the age of conformity came about. You can get a copy by sending 60¢ to Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 East 38th St., New York 16, N. Y.

## Thought for the Week

"In 1962 an American just does not go around knocking war and praising peace if he wants to stay out of trouble . . . What is so attractive about war, particularly nuclear war, that the United States, once the most powerful of powers, need be afraid of peace? Or its advocates?" — From Inez Robb's syndicated column, Dec. 28.



## Detroit's Schoolbook Fight

# 'GOAL' Assails Anti-Negro Texts

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — "I'll go to jail before I allow my son to return to a history class in which these objectionable books are being used." The *Michigan Chronicle* of Dec. 1 reported these words of Richard B. Henry, president of GOAL (Group On Advanced Leadership). This organization had been pressing the Board of Education since March to do something about the false picture of Negroes presented in the Detroit school textbooks.

After a fruitless correspondence with the Board for eight months, Mr. Henry withdrew his son from his 8th grade classes at Durfee Junior High School in order to force the Board to take some action on the matter. The boy left school in October and then returned the following month but does not attend any class in which objectionable texts are used.

The main target of dissatisfaction has been the 8th grade history book, *Our United States* by Eibling, King and Harlow but other texts also are under fire: *The Story of Man's Achievements* by Halberton, Roth and Spears, *Backgrounds of American Freedom* by Edna McGuire, and *The Story of American Democracy* by Casner and Gabriel.

In September GOAL submitted a detailed report of its objections to *Our United States*. Here is an example: "On page 372 — 'Why did Southern farmers, generally speaking, take good care of their slaves?' This question presupposes that Southern farmers, generally speaking, did take good care of their slaves; obviously, judging from the history of insurrection, suicide, flight and sullenness, the slave did not regard himself as being well taken care of, while, we submit, to be a slave and to be well taken care of are mutually exclusive conditions."

GOAL sent letters to the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the city's Commission on Community Relations urging these organizations to "speak out in behalf of raising the Negro's prestige and self-esteem" by joining in the fight against unfair textbooks. The NAACP responded by investigating and publishing a seven page critical review of *Our United States* and branding it "an insult to every Negro in Detroit."

The leading Detroit newspapers then picked up the story. Nov. 28 — the *Detroit News*' headline read: "NAACP Complaint on Book Received by School Board." Supt. Brownell promised to investigate the matter. Dec. 3 — the *Detroit*

*News* reported that the Anti-Denigration League of the B'nai B'rith had recently concluded a survey of the 48 most widely used history texts. The Jewish organization stated that not one of these texts was completely satisfactory in its treatment of minority groups. They blamed this situation on the publishers who tried to appease the racial prejudices of the Southern market.

Dec. 5 — the *Detroit News* announced GOAL's plans to hold mass demonstrations against the Board of Education. Its aims were to get the Board to eliminate the use of *Our United States*, to relieve overcrowding at Northwestern High School and to promote further integration of Detroit public schools. The NAACP announced it would join these demonstrations.

Dec. 4 — the *Detroit Free Press* reported that a state committee of educators had been trying for months to prod publishers to review treatment of minority groups in school textbooks. Ten top publishing firms had sent representatives to meet with the Michigan Department of Instruction's Curriculum Committee on Better Human Relations.

Mary Brand, the chairman of the school committee stated, "The publishers were receptive. They're being pressured by the large Western and Northern cities. One man told me 'We can no longer let Mississippi dictate the kind of textbooks we write.'" She said she knew of similar conferences between individual publishers and various cities but that this was the first such meeting held at a state level.

(The Oct. 27 *Michigan Chronicle* had reported that similar textbook disputes were occurring in Norfolk, Virginia, and New York City.)

Dec. 9 — The *Detroit News* headline was, "Won't Back 'Extremists' in Book Row." The NAACP explained that it had had one encouraging meeting with school officials and "obviously we would not be staging a picket line at the same time negotiations are progressing."

The same edition of the paper carried an editorial which stated: "No text can tell every last detail, of course, and the simplicity required for eighth grade makes the problem more difficult. But this book manages somehow, in what it says and what it doesn't, to reinforce all the old Negro stereotypes, at best patronizing and often cruel. Nothing in it would give Gov. Ross Barnett, of Mississippi, the slightest cause for offense . . ."

"A child who derives his knowledge of American history from the book will get, among other shoddy goods, an inadequate and inaccurate view of the Negro in America. He needs something better, be he Negro or white . . ."

"There have been textbooks with prejudice far more overt. But if this is the best of the lot, the state of the art is parlous indeed — and not just because it slights Negroes."

"That problem, we suspect, is on the way to solution. Northern city school systems, at least, are on notice that better books must be found. Publishers are on notice that Southern tastes in history can no longer be the common denominator for the nation."

Dec. 19 — the settlement of the textbook dispute was reported in the *Detroit News*. Supt. Brownell announced that *Our United States* would still be used but that he had ordered the division of instruction to prepare supplementary material for the use of teachers in the 7th and 8th grade history classes. This material would be ready by the beginning of the February term and would correct the errors of the history text.

The article said the NAACP was "satisfied" with the settlement. Charles L. Wells, chairman of the NAACP Education Committee, said, "I think the action is reasonable as long as they left the door open to get rid of this book. I still don't think it's a good book . . ."

However, Richard Henry, president of GOAL, told me, "This fight is not over — not at all. We won't be satisfied until at least these minimal demands are met:

1) "We have to have a clear commitment from the Board of Education that this supplementary



STUDENT IN RICHMOND, VA., being arrested on Lincoln's birthday for lunch counter sit-in. Should not civil-rights struggle be part of subject matter in school courses on "building democracy"?

material is mandatory and not optional.

2) "We want to be sure that this supplementary material is adequate. We submitted a report to the Board in which we listed detailed criticism of *Our United States*. We feel the Board is obliged to answer our charges. What points do they agree with? What points do they think are wrong? We want to establish a standard by which this supplementary material can be judged.

3) "We want a review committee to investigate all material used in the public schools in the light of our complaints.

4) "Further, we are not concerned only about the role of the Negro in the past — what about the Negro of today? The chapters of this book dealing with the building of democracy in this country do not describe the struggle of the Negro to secure the vote, to integrate educational fa-

cilities, to use public services such as bus terminals on an equal basis with whites. This fight is completely left out. The fact that Negroes are fighting to bring all these things about should be taught. We can't deal with the story of democracy without dealing with this fight."

Mr. Henry described to me some tentative plans his organization is working out in case the Board does not satisfy its demands. "We're thinking of having a jam-in at the Board meeting and, if these matters aren't cleared up by next term, we are considering pulling our children out of school."

He is convinced that if enough pressure is put on the school board and the publishers, good textbooks will be printed and used. "If the South can influence the publishers to print bad textbooks, we can convince these same publishers that they had better print good textbooks."

## ... U.S. Uses UN as Front in Congo Grab

(Continued from Page 1)

plores that "Britain, standing by and seeing Katanga trampled, must expect to lose its last friends on the dark continent. For in this rising and foreseeable crisis our leaders should have insisted that the victor of Cuba is not always right."

When it comes to matters of plunder and pelf the question of "right" or "wrong" is irrelevant, as the British ruling class taught in its imperial heyday. In the lexicon of capitalist imperialism it is power that decides. "Might makes right" is the watchword of imperialist aggrandizement. The "victor of Cuba" made this amply clear in the recent announcement retaining a monopoly of nuclear power for the U.S. and assigning its partners in Europe a subordinate role in world affairs.

The American colossus sees in Africa a vast area for the export of capital, a growing market for its commodities and, last, but not least, a huge reservoir of mineral riches and other raw materials to feed the insatiable maw of American industry. And the richest prize in the whole of Africa is the Congo.

The Nov. 1960 issue of *Fortune* magazine, noted that the Congo has already "disgorged a vast treasure of copper, tin, cobalt, manganese, zinc, industrial diamonds and uranium." Uranium! That is the stuff out of which power is forged in this atomic age. The plundered wealth of the Congo, Basil Davidson, an authority on Africa, recounts in a recently published book, provided the cornerstone of the Belgian capitalist order.

"There is general agreement," he says, "that it was from the Congo during the years of 'primitive accumulation' — and here the term is most abundantly justified — that the foundations of Belgian capitalism were built."

Walter Lippmann, writing in his *Washington Post* column, Jan. 3,

is even more specific concerning the huge stakes involved. "The mineral wealth of Katanga is very great," he says. As his authority he quotes author Colin Legum, who "says that Katanga produces some 8 per cent of the world's copper, 60 per cent of the uranium of the Western world, 73 per cent of the world's cobalt, 80 per cent of its industrial diamonds as well as important quantities of gold, zinc, manganese, and many other rare metals."

"Although Katanga has only 12 per cent of the population of the Congo," he adds, "it produces 60 per cent of the revenues. The mining wealth of Katanga is controlled in the main by Belgian and British interests, though there are some American shareholders."

"Hogwash"

If you want to know what all the fighting is about in the Congo you have it in cold facts and figures. The claim that Washington is impelled to come to the aid of the Congolese because of the threat of "communist" infiltration is so much hogwash. Nobody believes it but the boobs. And the hard-headed business tycoons of Britain, Belgium and France are not about to be taken in by American boob-bait.

From the beginning, Belgian and British policy, aided by French imperialist interests, aimed at fragmenting the newly formed Congo Republic. They encouraged and supported the Katanga secessionist movement. Moise Tshombe was their man. Financed by the revenues contributed by the *Union Minière*, Tshombe gathered together an army of mercenaries recruited from the dregs of European society. With this gang of cut-throats to bolster his defiance, he was able to successfully challenge the central authority of the newly elected Congolese parliament, headed by Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba.

Without Katanga and its riches the Congo federation could not

exist as a nation. Lumumba appealed to the United Nations for aid in ridding the country of Tshombe's mercenaries. By this time Lumumba had been tagged as a "communist" for appealing to the Soviet Union for aid after the Western powers had turned him down. On Sept. 5, 1960, he was "deposed" by Congolese President Kasavubu in a coup engineered by the imperialists. He was replaced by Colonel (later General) Mobutu who took over with the support of the Western powers.

Patrice Lumumba, the only leader with real popular support, was cold-bloodedly murdered while the UN Mission stood by and blinked. Mobutu won the gratitude of the imperialists by expelling the Soviet representatives. The Congo had been "saved" for the "Free World." The duly elected Congolese parliament was sent packing with the promise that it would be recalled at a more propitious time.

After extended diplomatic maneuvering both within and without the UN, the Congolese Parliament was recalled and gave its backing to a new government of "national union," headed by a spineless Leopoldville politician named Cyrille Adoula. But the parliamentary majority was still Lumumbist, just as it was when first elected. Adoula called upon the UN to carry out the Security Council resolution of Feb. 21, 1961 for the removal of Tshombe's European advisers and mercenaries.

This is the background of the current political and military developments in the Congo. When Adoula, who is acknowledged to be Washington's man in the Congo, ran into stiffening resistance, he simply announced that Parliament would be adjourned until March 1, by which time the rival imperialist gangs would, he hoped, have worked out a division of the spoils. Thus are the people of the "dark continent" to be given an object lesson in "democracy."

## Were You Puzzled?

[In our Jan. 7 issue there were several unfortunate typographical errors in Tom Kerry's article, "Revolutionary Specter Haunts Yankee Imperialism." The most serious was the garbling of a section of the article by placing ten lines of type out of sequence. By the grace of the printer, the following is a corrected version of the garbled section.]

\* \* \*

Acheson cites, as an example, one of the knottiest and most explosive, the unification of Germany. "Soviet domination of East Germany," he avers, "is largely based on the preponderance of Soviet conventional power on their western front. If this did not exist Soviet intervention to support Ulbricht's authority might become increasingly impracticable. A policy of the solution of the German question by Germans, restrained by membership in a United Europe and an Atlantic Alliance might end the dilemma of Berlin."

The Europeans are not enamoured of the "new look" in American

policy — especially since the unilateral action taken by Kennedy in pushing the world to the nuclear brink during the Cuban crisis.

The American policy, writes Steel, "suggests that Europeans are to be relegated to the role of cannon fodder in the event that hostilities actually break out. A division of forces within an alliance which prescribes that Europe should furnish the troops and America the atomic bombs is not a balance which strongly recommends itself to Europeans."

"Not only does it demand enormous personal sacrifices which no European government desiring to remain in office dares call upon its people to make, but it gives Europeans the feeling that they are little more than an instrument of American strategy. This is a sacrifice which poor and military-dominated nations such as Turkey and Pakistan may be willing to accept in return for American aid, but it is not one which the prosperous nations of Western Europe can be expected to support."



# USSR vs. China—Argument and Rebuttal

## Moscow's Position

The only choice before mankind in our time is: peaceful co-existence or devastating war. But no people of any country needs a military catastrophe. A new war, if it is permitted to start, would kill people by the millions, regardless of nationality and property status. Consequently, there is only one alternative: peaceful co-existence. And this means renunciation of war among states as a means of settling international disputes, their solution through negotiation . . .

Among the ruling circles of the United States there are some politicians who are rightly called "madmen." The "madmen" insisted and insist now on starting war as soon as possible against the Soviet Union and the countries of the Socialist camp. Is it not clear that had we taken an uncompromising position, we would have only helped the camp of the "madmen" to take advantage of the situation in order to strike a blow at Cuba and touch off a world war?

For the sake of justice it should be noted that among the leading circles of the United States are also some people who take a more sane view of the situation and, considering the present balance of forces in the international arena, realize that, had the United States touched off a war, it would not win it, and would fail to achieve its purpose . . .

The critics of a peaceful settlement of the conflict say that, don't you see, one cannot believe words of the United States, that history

knows many instances when treaties have been violated. Yes, history knows such instances, but if one proceeds only from this, then one must acknowledge that people now have no other prospect except reciprocal extermination. To assert this means wittingly or unwittingly taking to the road of militarism, to regard war as the only method of settling disputes.

Are international disputes really bound to be settled through war and not through negotiations? No, the preaching of the settlement of disputes between states through war is madness, which can hold out only suffering and calamity for the peoples. It has nothing in common with the teaching of Marx and Lenin. It is tantamount to denying the significance of international treaties and agreements, denying the principle of peaceful co-existence. Reasonable standards of international relations exist and we must not undermine but strengthen them. Cursing does not settle disputed issues . . .

### "Trotskyite Positions"

Some dogmatics have slid [sic] to Trotskyite positions and are prodding the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries to the course of unleashing world war. They would like to impose the same kind of provocative policy that Trotsky had followed in his time. Clearly, the Albanian leaders and those who are goading them on, have lost faith in the possibility of victory of socialism without war between states, and possibility they never understood such a possibility, in the belief that only through war, by destroying millions of human beings is it possible to arrive at communism . . . They are clearly disappointed that a thermonuclear war was not touched off, that the peoples, having passed a dangerous crisis, are living and working in the conditions of peace. And because of that they are criticizing our party, our Government, slinging mud by the bucket at the Soviet Union, at the Soviet people . . .

And so it happens that, on the one hand, war is eagerly desired by the aggressive adventurist forces of imperialism, the madmen who have lost the hope that capitalism can hold its own in peaceful competition with socialism, and, on the other, attempts are made to push the developments in the same direction by people who call themselves Marx-

## 'Great Debate' In New Stage

The following excerpts are from two documents which are — up to this date — the most authoritative and definitive statements by the respective sides in the Moscow-Peking dispute.

The first is the Dec. 12 speech of Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev, translated by the Soviet Mission to the UN. In this Khrushchev defended his policies in the recent Cuban crisis against critics within the world's Communist parties. He specifies only the Albanian Communist Party, but his references to the Chinese are thinly veiled.

The second document is a long editorial in the Dec. 31 Peking People's Daily, principal newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party. The full text of this editorial appeared in translation in the Jan. 3 Washington Post. The Chinese document does not mention the Soviet CP by name, but addresses itself directly to Palmiro Togliatti, head of the Communist Party of Italy and a supporter of Khrushchev, who openly criticized the Chinese at the CPI Congress in Rome last month.

Both documents deal with a number of questions. The excerpts below concern only Khrushchev's attack on the Communist critics of his actions in the Cuban crisis and the Chinese answer to these allegations. Other excerpts from Khrushchev's speech were printed and discussed in articles in The Militant of Dec. 24.

ist-Leninists, but who actually are dogmatists who do not believe in the possibility of the victory of socialism and communism in the conditions of peaceful co-existence with capitalism. Both the former and the latter want to prod history to a new war, to decide the question of the victory of communism or capitalism through war, by a way in which millions upon millions of people would be killed . . .

without standing up and leaning over a bannister.

**A Distinction** — A spokesman for the American Aviation Historical Society wrote a mildly reproachful letter to the Dec. 10 issue of *Aviation Weekly* pointing out that in a previous issue photos of South Vietnamese planes had been incorrectly identified as U.S. planes. He noted that the mistake was easily made since they were formerly U.S. planes that still bore Navy Bureau numbers and that the Vietnamese insignia was the same as that of the U.S. with a different color combination. When the aircraft arrive in Vietnam their insignias are simply painted over with the new colors.

**When the Spirit Moves Them** — "The West likes to think it is defending spiritual values against communism. But the only places where a battle-line has been thrown up against the rather haphazard Communist advances are where economic or military interests of the West are directly at stake." — *Decatur (Ill.) Sunday Herald & Review*.

## Peking's Position

In the final analysis, the stand taken by Togliatti and certain other CPI leaders boils down to this — the people of the capitalist countries should not make revolutions, the oppressed nations should not wage struggles to win liberation, and the people of the world should not fight against imperialism . . .

In the course of the struggle to defend world peace, it is necessary to enter into negotiations on one issue or another with the governments of the imperialist countries, including the Government of the United States, for the purpose of easing international tension, reaching some kind of compromise, and arriving at certain agreements, subject to the principle that such compromises and agreements must not damage the fundamental interests of the people.

### "Misrepresent Viewpoint"

However, world peace can never be achieved by negotiations alone. And in no circumstances must we pin our hopes on imperialism and divorce ourselves from the struggles of the masses. Those who attack the Chinese Communist Party misrepresent this correct viewpoint of ours as showing lack of faith in the possibility of averting a world war. As a matter of fact, they themselves have no faith in the possibility of preventing world war by relying on the strength of the masses and their struggles and they are opposed to relying on the masses and their struggles . . .

The Chinese Communist Party holds that the struggle for the defense of world peace supports, is supported by and indeed is inseparable from the national liberation movements and the people's revolutionary struggles in various countries. The national liberation movements and the people's revolutionary struggles are a powerful force weakening the imperialist forces of war and defending world peace. The more the national liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles of the people develop, the better for the defense of world peace.

### "Correct View"

In branding this correct view of ours as "warlike," those who attack the Chinese Communist Party are, in fact, placing the struggle in defense of world peace in opposition to the movements of national liberation, the people's revolutionary struggle, and in opposition to wars of national liberation and people's revolutionary wars . . .

Facts have shown that every victory for the national liberation movement and for the revolutionary struggle of the people hits at and weakens the imperialist forces of war and strengthens and increases the peace forces of the world. To take the stand of fearing revolution, of opposing revolution, results in setbacks and defeats for the national liberation movements and the people's revolutionary cause and this will only damage peace forces and heighten the danger that the imperialists will start a world war . . .

The aim of this [the Chinese] stand is precisely the effective prevention of a world war and the preservation of world peace. . . We persist in this correct policy precisely because we are deeply convinced that it is possible to prevent a world war by relying on the combined struggle of all the forces mentioned above . . .

The Chinese Communist Party has consistently held that nuclear weapons have unprecedented destructive power and that it would be an unprecedented calamity for mankind if nuclear war should

break out. It is precisely for this reason that we have always called for a complete ban on nuclear weapons, that is a total ban on the testing, manufacture, stockpiling, and use of nuclear weapons . . .

The allegations that the Chinese Communist Party underestimates the destructiveness of nuclear weapons and wants to drag the world into a nuclear war are absurd slanders . . .

On the question of weapons and nuclear war, the first difference between us and those who attack the Chinese Communist Party is whether or not the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles on war and peace have become "out-of-date" since the emergence of nuclear weapons . . .

We hold that the emergence of nuclear weapons has not changed and cannot change the fundamental Marxist-Leninist theory with regard to war and peace. In reality, the numerous wars that have broken out since the appearance of nuclear weapons have all been the continuation of politics, and we still have just and unjust wars . . .

The victory of the Chinese Revolution and the great victories of the peoples of Korea, Viet-Nam, Cuba, Algeria, and other countries in their revolutionary struggles, were all won at a time when U.S. imperialism possessed nuclear weapons . . . In the end the nuclear teeth of imperialism, and whatever other teeth it may have, will be consigned by the people of the world to the museum of history, together with imperialism itself . . .

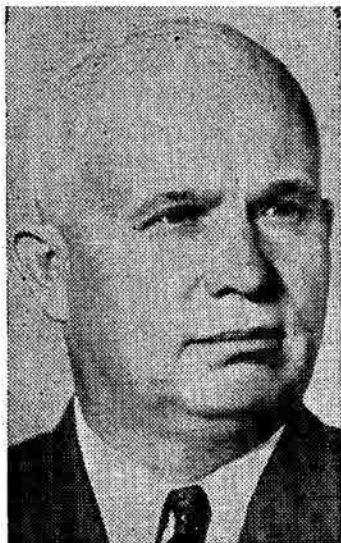
### "Fight Together"

In the present situation, it is possible to prevent imperialism from launching a new world war, if all the peace-loving forces of the world unite into a broad international anti-imperialist united front and fight together. But it is one thing to prevent a world war and another to eliminate all wars . . . Oppressed nations and oppressed peoples are bound to rise in revolution. When imperialism and the reactionaries employ armed force to suppress revolution, it is inevitable that civil wars and national liberation wars will occur . . .

How can one possibly interpret the resolute support which the Chinese people gave to the Cuban people in their struggle against international inspection and in defense of their sovereignty as meaning that China was opposed to peaceful co-existence or wanted to plunge others into a thermonuclear war? Does this mean that China, also, should have applied pressure on Cuba to force it to accept international inspection, and that only by so doing would China have conformed to this so-called "peaceful co-existence"? . . .

### "Have Made It Clear"

On more than one occasion we have made it clear that we neither called for the establishment of missile bases in Cuba nor obstructed the withdrawal of the so-called "offensive weapons" from Cuba. We have never considered that it was a Marxist-Leninist attitude to brandish nuclear weapons as a way of settling international disputes. Nor have we ever considered that the avoidance of a thermonuclear war in the Caribbean crisis was a "Munich." What we did strongly oppose, still strongly oppose and will strongly oppose in the future is the sacrifice of another country's sovereignty as a means of reaching a compromise with imperialism. A compromise of this sort can only be regarded as 100 per cent appeasement, a "Munich" pure and simple . . .



Khrushchev

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Skybolt** — Last month, while President Kennedy was announcing cancellation of the Skybolt missile program allegedly to save the taxpayers some money large ads appeared in *Time*, *Newsweek* and *Fortune* which declared: "Air Force Skybolt is expected to be one of America's most powerful deterrent weapons. This air-launched ballistic missile will save billions in taxes by extending the useful life of our B-52 and British Vulcan bombers." The ads were placed by Douglas Aircraft, manufacturer of Skybolt, and will be paid for by the taxpayers since the cost of the ads is simply added to Douglas' bill to the Air Force.

**Like At Fire Sales?** — "LAKE-LAND, Fla., Jan. 2 (AP) — More than 90 per cent of Florida's early and mid-season orange crop was damaged by the Dec. 12-13 freeze . . . Some of the damaged fruit is still usable, however, even on the fresh fruit market."

**Or Leeches Without Blood** — Addressing the Investment Bankers Ass'n, Lamont du Pont Copeland, president of guess what corporation, complained bitterly

that the word "profits" is "perhaps the most misunderstood term in our whole economic glossary. . . the most significant misunderstanding relates to the importance of profits in our system. Importance is, indeed, too weak a word. Without profits, our system literally cannot be maintained anymore than man can survive without oxygen."

**By or Of?** — The FBI reported a 25 per cent increase in bank robberies in 1962.

**Raters Rated** — The Federal Trade Commission reported Jan. 2 that it had accused three audience measuring firms of misrepresenting the accuracy of radio and television ratings. Each company was charged with claiming error-free techniques when actually such ratings are estimates. The companies agreed to refrain from such practices.

**Out of Sight, Out of Mind** — The Missouri House of Representatives has adopted new rules banishing reporters to a dimly lit fourth floor gallery where it is almost impossible to observe House proceedings



## Seek Indictment Of Georgia Cop In SNCC Cases

SASSER, Ga., Jan. 3 — A Sasser policeman faces federal charges of violating the civil rights of three field workers from the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee by forcing them to leave town during a drive to register Negro voters.

United States Attorney Floyd M. Buford said he has filed a criminal information against Denver Edgar Short, Sr., the policeman. Buford said Short is charged with six counts of depriving citizens of constitutional rights. Short, who fired a pistol at a car full of SNCC workers driving in Sasser, is charged with "illegally arresting Ralph Waldo Allen, Willie Paul Berein, Jr., and Prathia Lauranne Hall," all SNCC staff members. Berein, a student at Atlanta's Clark College, who worked for SNCC last summer and during the Christmas holidays, said that Short arrested the occupants of the car, placed them in the Sasser jail from where they were transferred to a jail in Dawson. There they were held five hours and released.

Sasser is in Terrell County, the scene of the first voting suit under the 1957 Civil Rights Act. The Atlanta-based SNCC has been conducting vote drives there and in Lee, Baker, and Dougherty Counties for a year and a half. SNCC workers have repeatedly been arrested and harassed by local law officers. Four churches in the area have been burned. Two SNCC staff members were shot by night riders this summer. Terrell County Sheriff Z. T. Matthews told newsmen last July that "we want our colored people to go in living like they have for the past 100 years."



**DR. LINUS PAULING**, the noted scientist, is among those calling for picket lines to protest Anti-Defamation League's "democratic legacy" award to Pres. Kennedy while he refuses to stop federal prosecution of Negro journalist William Worthy. Charged with returning to his native U.S. from Cuba without a passport, Worthy's real "crime" was fair reporting of what he saw in Cuba. In New York pickets will protest the undeserved award to Kennedy from noon till 2 p.m., Jan. 15, at ADL office, Madison Ave. and 53rd St. Simultaneous demonstrations will take place in eight other cities. Joining in the call for this protest are James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, Dorothy Day, David Dellinger, Lorraine Hansberry, Conrad Lynn and Ava Helen Pauling.

In Chicago the demonstration will be held Jan. 15 at 343 S. Dearborn.

## Picketline in Boston Protests "God and Country" Conclave

On Sunday, Jan. 6, various rightist groups held a "God and Country" rally at the Statler-Hilton hotel in Boston. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and other organizations called for a picket line at the hotel in opposition to the ultra-right gathering.

The rally was organized by Mrs. Anna G. McKinny, an official of the John Birch Society in Dedham, Mass., and by two policemen from the Boston area, also members of the Birch outfit. Of the 24 official sponsors of the rally, 17 are Birchites, according to Mrs. Melnea Cass, president of the local NAACP.

Pickets assembled at 10 a.m. and a continuous line was maintained until 6 p.m. The size of the line was kept at 50 to 100, with over 150 at the height of the picketing. The spearhead of the line was the large Negro contingent, which comprised about 35 per cent of the demonstration. CORE, the Unitarian Fellowship on Social Justice, members of the Greater Boston Labor Council, and many interested youth joined the line in addition to the NAACP.

The rightists had planned for 5,000 participants in their rally, but they had only 1,000 total registrants, and many of their speakers faced audiences of only a couple hundred. They attributed the bad turnout to "adverse publicity."

A featured speaker was Billy James Hargis of the Christian Crusade. Mrs. Cass, in a statement given out at the picket line, characterized Mr. Hargis as a "rabid segregationist." She quoted a sentence from a pamphlet on segregation by Hargis: "It is my opinion that God ordained segregation."

Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, introduced Congressman Roussell of California, director of the Western division of the Society. In addition to the John Birch Society and the Christian Crusade, participating organizations included the Young Americans for Freedom, the Culpepper Minute Men, America's Future, Inc., and others. Former Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson and the other speakers denounced integration, labor, socialized medicine, and the "Socialist-Communist conspiracy."

### "Anti-Labor"

Lawrence Sullivan, secretary-treasurer of the Greater Boston Labor Council, said that the speakers were "viciously anti-labor." In a statement to the press he declared "To be anti-race is to be anti-labor and vice versa."

Pickets carried signs reading "Mr. Hargis don't hide your hate behind our flag," "Segregation hurts America," "Hargis says segregation is O.K.K.K." etc.

One aspect of the demonstration which marred its effectiveness was a pronounced and extraneous anti-communism. Both on some of the picket signs and in Mrs. Cass' statement, J. Edgar Hoover was quoted as an authority on communism. Instead of standing up to the witch-hunters as did the Women's Strike for Peace spokesmen at the HUAC hearings, the organizers of the demonstration allowed themselves to be sidetracked into the kind of thinking on which the ultra-right feeds. The majority of the pickets, however, were sincerely opposed to the racism and incipient fascism which they saw in the rally.

## Secret of That Attempted Nuclear Suicide

# Where the Site of Near-Blast Was

The Dec. 10 *Militant* reported how a psychologically disturbed U.S. airman had threatened to commit suicide by detonating an armed nuclear bomb. The near-accident occurred back in 1958, although the Pentagon did not admit the truth of the story until this past November. Even then, the place of the event and other particulars were kept from the public as "classified information."

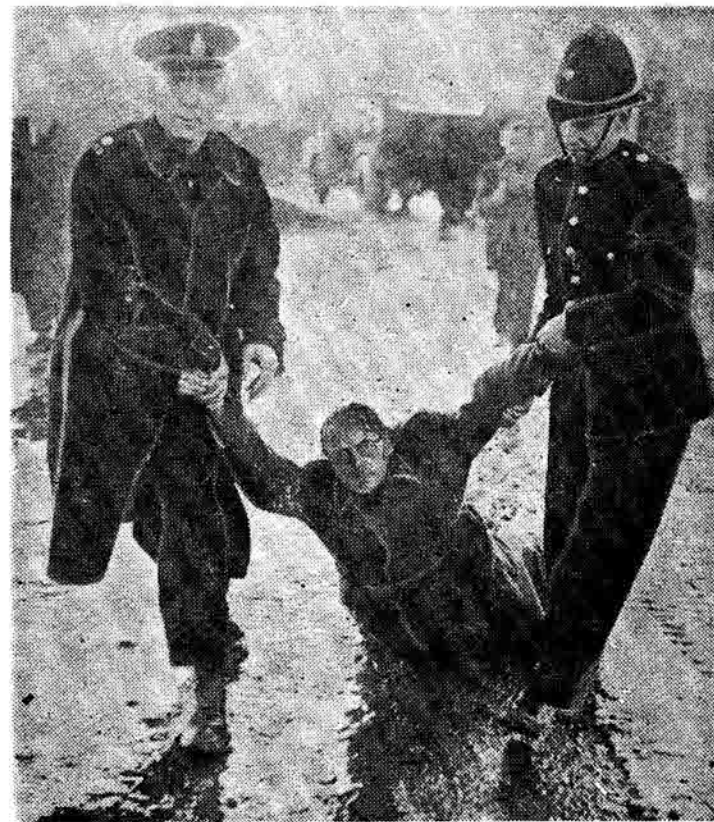
Thanks to the British labor weekly, *Tribune*, we now have the facts as to what happened and where. In October, 1958, at the Strategic Air Command base in Norfolk Township, Sculthorpe, England, Master Sergeant Cunningham, a nuclear-weapons technician, carefully armed a hydrogen bomb, climbed the rafters over it, and threatened to explode it by shooting into it with his .45 caliber pistol.

Cunningham demanded that his immediate commanding officers be lined up next to the bomb so that he could take some of his troubles with him. These officers were in fact brought down to the bomb.

The base was immediately put under emergency restrictions and a large area cordoned off. Newspapermen half a mile away were told to draw the blinds and to hug the floor. People from the town were turned back from the base and told that an airman was threatening to take his life.

It took eight nerve-racking hours to talk Cunningham out of his nuclear suicide plan. After Cunningham had been taken into custody, Captain J. W. Plankinow, the base information officer, denied local rumors that a nuclear bomb had been involved. The rumors persisted, however, and what was common knowledge in the village was finally confirmed last November by the Department of Defense.

"That it was a hydrogen bomb is certain," says the Dec. 7 *Tribune*. "A 15-megaton H-bomb would create a fireball 4.4 miles in diameter, destroy everything within a diameter of 10.6 miles,



**A BRITISH DEMONSTRATOR** is dragged away from the site of a proposed U.S. missile base near Swaffham in northeast England. About 50 miles away is the U.S. Strategic Bomber base which a crazed GI held in his power for eight hours while he threatened to commit suicide by setting off an H-bomb.

severely damage and kill in a band six miles wide around the central area of destruction and cause lesser damage in a further eleven mile belt. Dangerous, and perhaps lethal, fallout would occur some 250 miles from the center of the explosion."

It is clear why the U.S. Defense Department withheld such information from the world. That a berserk U.S. airman could endanger millions of people in a foreign country because of the presence of a U.S. nuclear-weapons base in that country would heighten the popular feeling

against the U.S. bases throughout the world. This would be especially true in England where widespread opposition to nuclear weapons and testing and to the presence of U.S. bases had been manifested by large and militant protest demonstrations.

The British newspapers were "lied to" and "hoodwinked" says *Tribune*, and asks, "To what extent are journalists still being gagged (an official denial of the truth amounts to gagging) by United States military authorities in this country? Have there been more Cunningham incidents?"

## Proposed Roads for Negro Struggle

DETROIT, Jan. 4 — The Friday Night Socialist Forum celebrated the centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation tonight with a symposium on the future of the Negro struggle. A capacity audience heard the views of George Breitman, Reginald Wilson and Rev. Albert Cleague.

Breitman, the first speaker, saw events since 1960 as evidence of the radicalization of the Negro people. Their struggle is becoming more independent, he said, and this important development was the precursor of, as well as a goad to, the reassertion of independence by the labor movement. The effect of Negroes building an independent movement based on their own program would be to divide and shake up the white population. This was an important strategic and tactical consideration for the Negro people, who — since they constitute only about one-ninth of the total U.S. population — will need allies among the white people.

Wilson lampooned the Negro protagonists of "official society" who present a rosy picture of the Negro people's situation in 1963. He singled out Ralph Bunche for his "patronizing" speech at Howard University and his attack on the Muslims at the NAACP convention.

Wilson argued that Negroes are not bound by any hard-and-fast line in their struggle. He expressed confidence that through this they

would develop an ideology. What is important, he said, is what they are fighting for. He declared: "If all the buses and lunch counters were integrated, and if all the Negro people were registered to vote, they would still not have freedom." This drew an appreciative response from the audience.

Rev. Cleague jestingly disassociated himself from the two preceding speakers by referring to Breitman as "all brain" and Wilson as "too detached." He said that the Negro needs to believe in the fact of struggle against a total white civilization, that he needs emotional commitment to this struggle. As an example of the illusions Negroes still have about equality, he described the experience of a friend with important connections in the community who went to buy a house from a white woman in West Detroit. She opened the door, looked at him, said, "I am not selling to Negroes," and slammed the door in his face.

Such experiences are creating a new Negro, Cleague said. The Negro is learning that "he is oppressed because he has been systematically deprived of opportunity for 100 years." Cleague felt that only a power struggle, such as the youth are conducting in the South, will gain the Negro full equality.

The varied views of the speakers evoked a lively discussion period, with the audience and speakers reaching agreement on some

points, such as American Negroes' pride in the independence of the new nations of Africa, and disagreement on others, such as the relationship between whites and Negroes in the civil-rights struggle.

Cleague and Wilson agreed that Rev. Martin Luther King's non-violent methods were of primary importance. Cleague asserted there was no answer to a sit-in. "All they can do is shoot you, and you're free then." He said that King's call for an economic boycott of businesses, which discriminate in employment, has come at the right moment and has great appeal throughout the country.

**Price Cut to 50c**  
**Negroes on the March**  
by Daniel Guerin

One of the best books ever written on the nature, problems and prospects of the Negro struggle for equality.

192 pages, paper cover  
(hard cover \$1.50)

Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.