

# THE MILITANT

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## Bertrand Russell Brands U. S. Guilty in Vietnam

By Barry Sheppard

The eminent British philosopher, 91-year-old Bertrand Russell, sent a letter to the April 8 *New York Times* protesting the U.S. role in the war in South Vietnam.

"The United States Government is conducting a war of annihilation in Vietnam," Russell wrote. "The sole purpose of this war is to retain a brutal and feudal regime in the South and to exterminate all those who resist the dictatorship of the South. A further purpose is an invasion of the North, which is in Communist hands."

"The real concern which brings the United States to pursue the brutal policy abandoned by France in Indochina is the protection of economic interests and the prevention of far reaching social reforms in that part of the world."

"I raise my voice, however, not only because I am in profound disagreement with American objections to social change in Indochina, but because the war is being conducted as an atrocity. Napalm jelly gasoline is being used against whole villages without warning. Chemical warfare is employed for the purpose of destroying crops and livestock and to starve the population."

"The American Government has suppressed the truth about the conduct of this war, the fact that it violates the Geneva agreements concerning Indochina, that it involves large numbers of American troops, and that it is being conducted in a manner reminiscent of warfare as practiced by the Germans in Eastern Europe and the Japanese in Southeast Asia. How long will Americans lend themselves to this sort of barbarism?"

On the same page, the *New York Times* tried to answer Russell with an editorial accusing him of "an unthinking receptivity to the most transparent Communist propaganda." The editorial goes on to repeat the distortions, half lies and full lies of the official Washing-



South Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem. Bertrand Russell assailed his rule as a brutal, feudal dictatorship.

ton explanation of the U.S. role in South Vietnam's civil war.

The "uniformed Americans" in Vietnam, claims the *Times*, are there solely as "advisers and trainers." This is a fiction — the American troops lead the fighting, often are the only ones fighting in the attacks upon the Viet Cong guerrillas. The March 23 *Saturday Evening Post* has a long report of the war, in which virtually all the fighting described is done by U.S. troops.

"Napalm has been used by the South Vietnam air force," the *Times* admits, trying to place the blame for the atrocities upon the Diem government's troops. "Its use has certainly killed innocent people — as other weapons have done in all wars. American advisers have opposed its employment, on both moral and practical grounds, against all except clearly defined military targets."

The Jan. 25 issue of *Life* has a two-page photo showing a napalm bombing with the following explanation: "Sweeping low across enemy-infested scrubland, U.S. pilot instructor watches Vietnamese napalm strike. Object of

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## Ben Bella Extends Algerian Workers' Rule

— See Text of Speech on Page 5 —

## A Special Report on Algerian Developments

— See Article on Page 4 —

## Negroes Push Attack On Southern Racism

By Fred Halstead

APRIL 10 — A new wave of anti-segregation demonstrations is sweeping the South. The most spectacular of these are taking place in one of the most heavily industrialized and unionized cities in the country—Birmingham, Ala. The Birmingham demonstrations, which police have attacked with trained dogs, are under the leadership of veteran rights fighter Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth and the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, which he heads. So far over a hundred demonstrators have been arrested in ten days of sit-ins and protest marches seeking to desegregate downtown Birmingham.

Kennedy: 'Cool Off'

The United States Justice Department, headed by Attorney General Robert Kennedy, has been urging Negroes to call a moratorium on the Birmingham demonstrations until a new city administration takes office. The new city government, which was elected April 2, is scheduled to take over April 15 but may be prevented from doing so by a court action instituted by Police Commissioner Eugene (Bull) Connor, head of the previous administration. Federal agents have told Negro leaders that the new council is expected to be more moderate than Connor, and that the Negroes' demands should be presented to it rather than pressed through direct action. Shuttlesworth rejected the advice declaring: "We have had all the moratoriums we want. We are in this to the end."

The movement's demands are: 1) Desegregation of lunch counters and all public facilities in all downtown stores. 2) Immediate establishment of fair hiring practices in those stores. 3) The dropping of charges against those arrested during sit-ins. 4) Fair hiring practices in city departments.



RIGHTS FIGHTER. Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth (left), leader of Birmingham, Ala. demonstrations. He has long record fighting Jim Crow and is shown here with friends after racists bombed his home Christmas, 1956. In the famous 1961 Freedom Ride it was he who helped Nashville students continue ride after mob violence stopped buses in Alabama.

5) Reopening of city parks and playgrounds, all of which are now closed to avoid desegregation.

Dr. Martin Luther King, and Dr. Ralph Abernathy, leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference came to Birmingham April 4 declaring they would stay until "the battle is won." King called for the establishment of a bi-racial group to work out a timetable for desegregation of Birmingham schools.

Several downtown stores have kept their lunch counters closed

since the sit-ins began. One store remained open with three strong-arm men at the entrance wearing lettering on their coat-fronts that said: "We reserve the right to refuse service to anyone."

The popular, blind singer, Al Hibbler, was arrested April 9 along with nine other pickets in front of a downtown Birmingham department store. On April 7, police with dogs broke up a march by 600 Negroes to a Palm Sunday "prayer pilgrimage" at City Hall.

(Continued on Page 2)

## Mae Mallory Again Free on Bail

CLEVELAND — Mrs. Mae Mallory, one of the defendants in the notorious Monroe, N.C. "kidnap" frame-up, was released April 8 on \$15,000 bail. She is free pending a federal court decision on her lawyer's appeal against the Ohio order for her extradition to North Carolina. Deadline for filing the appeal is in June and the court's decision is expected that month.

Mrs. Mallory spent over a year in jail while fighting extradition. Released on bail March 14, she was imprisoned again March 22.

Meanwhile civil-rights groups are stepping up a campaign of petitions to Ohio's new governor, James Rhodes, to cancel the extradition order which was issued by former Governor DiSalle.

Petitions against her extradition may be obtained from the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, 168 W. 23 St., N.Y. 11, N.Y.

## REPORT FROM PARIS

## Most French Miners See Strike Settlement as Victory

PARIS, April 5 — Although miners at some pits, demonstrating their militancy, grumbled at the settlement, it appears that the majority consider they have won their strike after 34 days on the picket line.

So far as the demands raised at the beginning by the miners' unions are concerned, the struggle ends with a quite favorable compromise. A wage boost of 6.5% goes into effect at once, retroactive to April 1. Further increases will go into effect until the rise reaches 11% next January 1 and 12.5% by April 1, 1964. An immediate payment on account is granted, and the government agrees to another week's paid vacation, giving the miners an annual paid vacation of four weeks.

Against the background of general class relations in France — both the objective reality and the prevailing mass sentiment — the

struggle terminated in victory for both the working class and the unions. It suffices to cite the facts to show this.

The united take-off of the strike was a surprise for everyone, including the unions. The government, to save face, named a "committee of wise men" who recognized that wages had fallen behind 8%. In response to this, the government, while making out that it was accepting the report, granted only a ridiculously small increase, hoping that the miners, at least those in Lorraine, would go back to work and thus break the strike. This was at the end of the second week.

The maneuver failed; more vague promises were made at the end of the third week; the miners rejected them unanimously.

At the end of the fourth week, another identical maneuver, and this time the representatives of the UNR (de Gaulle's Union pour

la Nouvelle République), elected in the Lorraine area, personally appealed for a back-to-work movement. A new failure.

This time the government permitted top management of the Charbonnages of France to engage in genuine negotiations which, after some 20 hours, ended in an agreement.

In almost five weeks — not a scab. The miners left and returned to work as one man. The decree signed by de Gaulle, requisitioning the miners was thwarted.

Parallel with the miners, workers in other industries presented their demands. Substantial concessions were either gained or are in process of being gained.

Solidarity with the miners was widely demonstrated. Not only on the part of the working class but also among wide layers of the petty bourgeoisie, and even toward the end of the strike.

The regime had counted on

defeating the miners and the unions through weariness, debt, material difficulties (important as financial aid was, it is self-evident that solidarity collections could never get enough money to assure minimum subsistence for 200,000 strikers and their families), and the irritation of the middle class over a succession of demonstrations upsetting the daily routine (stoppages of electricity, gas, transport, etc.) which accompanied the upsurge of demands during March.

All this failed to achieve the results sought by the regime. It became engaged in a test of strength. Although the unions did not exactly reply on this level, the movement was so powerful that the government was unable to follow through. At no time did it dare engage the forces of coercion which it brought into the strike-bound areas. At no time did it

(Continued on Page 4)



## Jackson Youth Leaders Urge Backing for Anti-Bias Boycott

JACKSON, Miss. — The effectiveness of the three-and-a-half-month-old Jackson area boycott to end racial segregation in hiring and service is reaching new peaks. The boycott is now held to be at least 75 per cent effective.

Neighborhood boycott committees are now definitely taking shape and a number of well-attended and enthusiastic public meetings have been held — and these will continue.

The school for potential workers — so they can hold the jobs the boycott wins — is now shaping up nicely and is ready to go. It will teach the techniques of basic accounting, adding-machine operation, cash-register operation, and clerking methods.

Boycott workers and supporters have unanimously agreed that boycott demands must be met in full before a businessman will be taken off the boycott list. Also, arrangements are currently underway to develop committees — with predominant representation from the grass-roots — which will, when the time comes, face the businessmen across the table.

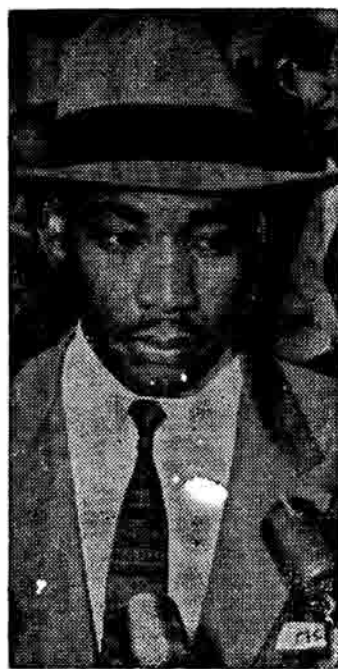
Within the last few days, a number of students from Millsaps College in Jackson — a white school — have become active workers in the boycott movement. Through leaflets and other techniques they have publicized the boycott on their college campus — and report strong sympathy for the boycott on the part of many of the

Millsaps students and faculty. This is probably the first time in the history of the state that white Mississippi students have directly and openly involved themselves in a civil-rights project.

National pressure against the 17 chain stores involved in the 127-business Jackson boycott has been developing well. The North Jackson Youth Council (NAACP), which organized the boycott, has sent out lists of these 17 chain stores requesting that sympathetic individuals and organizations withdraw their trade from these chains. It also requested that the word be spread, that protest petitions be circulated, letters of protest written and, if possible, chain stores picketed.

As a result, such action is currently underway or scheduled for the very near future in Chicago, Denver, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, and New York — as well as in a number of smaller communities in Arizona, Indiana, Iowa, Ohio, and Wisconsin. The 17 chain stores include: Bakers Shoes, Bell Brothers Shoes, Bomar Shoes, Butlers Shoes, Grayson's Dress Shops, H.L. Green (dime stores), J.C. Penney, Lerner's Dress Shops, National Shirt Shops, Nora Day Shops, Owens Ltd., Tom McCann Shoes, Walgreen Drugs, and Woolworth.

The address of the boycott headquarters is: North Jackson NAACP Youth Council, Box 13, Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tougaloo, Miss.



Martin Luther King

## ...The South

(Continued from Page 1)

The cops arrested 26 marchers, including one who allegedly pulled a knife on a police dog when it attacked him.

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., April 9 — Over 50 students have been arrested here recently as a result of stand-in demonstrations at the Tennessee Theatre and sit-ins at the Tennessee Diner. Marion S. Barry Jr., first chairman of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, was one of those arrested.

CAMBRIDGE, Maryland, April 9 — At least 45 persons have been arrested here in the last few days in anti-segregation demonstrations at the Dorset theatre and other public places. One of those arrested, Gloria Richardson, co-chairman of the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee, said demonstrations will continue here "until every vestige of segregation has been removed from Cambridge." The Baltimore Civic Interest Group, an affiliate of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, is also participating in the Cambridge demonstrations.

HAMPTON, Virginia, April 3 — Four hundred college students, members of the Student Movement for Human Dignity at Hampton College, marched through the streets of downtown Hampton Sunday protesting segregation here and police brutality against ten demonstrators last Saturday. Some carried signs which read: "I was arrested for unconstitutional reasons. Dismiss the police department for brutality." The ten were arrested after seeking service at the counters of two drug stores on March 30. Earlier the same day 700 students had marched through Hampton to kick off a boycott of stores with discriminatory practices.

## ...Russell on Vietnam War

(Continued from Page 1)

fire bombing is to sear the foliage and flush the enemy into the open. U.S. airmen train Vietnamese to handle T-28 fighter-bombers—which retain U.S. markings — and lead to target." (emphasis added)

The Times then informs us that the defoliation chemicals are "common weed killers" used to "strip leaves from heavy jungle growth near lines of communications and base areas." Unmen-

tioned is use of these chemicals to kill crops to starve the peasant guerrillas.

The U.S. not only supplies, trains and leads the army of reactionary Diem (whom the Times "explores"), U.S. presence has further brutalized the regime. U.S. "advisers" conduct a tally of guerrilla corpses after each battle, to make sure that Diem's troops are using American equipment to maximum advantage. This leads to indiscriminate killing of peasants by Diem's troops so they can display a good "bag."

As the March 8 *Christian Science Monitor* put it: "Since the army finds sullen villagers and doesn't know which are pro-Communist and which are merely dissatisfied with Saigon, and since the army must do its job, it shoots anyone seen running or looking dangerous and often shoots the wrong peasants. They are always, in the records of the battle, listed as Communists. Anyone killed is automatically a Viet Cong."

Commenting upon the Times editorial, Russell said, "The use of napalm jelly and of chemical warfare is an atrocity and unless they can refute the facts concerning the nature of this war they cannot refute my charge that it is an atrocity to which they now lend themselves."

## Weekly Calendar

### CHICAGO

NUCLEAR STRATEGY and a NEW ROAD for the PEACE MOVEMENT. Speaker, Richard Roberts, Associate Editor, *Sanity* magazine. Fri., April 19, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 South Canal St. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### DETROIT

Two Views on The Black Revolt in America. Speakers: Leroy McRae, NAACP Organizational Secretary, Young Socialist Alliance, and V. Austin Chavou, Administrator, Afro-American Congress. Fri., April 19, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

Six Seminar Sessions: THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY. Beginning Sunday, April 21, 11 a.m. at 1702 E. Fourth St. Aup. School of International Socialism. For registration call AN 9-4953.

### NEW YORK

The Coming Revolution in Venezuela. Speaker, Peter Valdez, National Secretary Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., April 19, 5 p.m. New York University, Main Bldg. (Off Washington Sq.) Room 709. Aup. NYU Socialist Club.

The Abolitionist Experience — A Lesson for Socialists Today. A lecture by David Dreiser, contributor to *International Socialist Review*. Fri., April 19, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1 (Students, 50c.). Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

### SAN FRANCISCO

The Moscow-Peking Dispute. Speaker, George Myland. Fri., April 26, 8 p.m. 1488 Fulton St. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

### Los Angeles

## Emergency Protest Meeting

## Help Stop Extradition of Mae Mallory

### Speakers

Pat Alexander

Editor, *Herald-Dispatch*

Harold Grant

Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants

Dr. Marcus McBroom

Educator

John Shabazz

West Coast Muslim Leader

Frank Whitley

Afro-American Heritage Society

Gentry Wilson

Monroe Defense Committee

Sunday, April 21, 3 p.m. 2308 S. Hoover St.



The injunction, suspending application by the country's railroads of new work rules drastically cutting jobs of operating employees, expired March 29. The companies immediately declared their intention of instituting the new rules which had been recommended by a fact-finding board appointed by President Kennedy. To avoid a strike threat, Kennedy on April 4 appointed an emergency board under the Railway Labor Act. This freezes things as they are for 60 days. Unless an agreement is reached by then, the only recourse left to the unions would be to strike. The unions estimate 100,000 jobs are at stake.

So far the railroad brotherhoods have not issued a strike call. Last month, however, officers of the Transport Workers Union, which also has some members on railroads, sent a telegram to AFL-CIO President George Meany saying in part: "The arrogant attitude of railroad employers makes a strike inevitable. Organized labor faces its greatest challenge here and mere statements and hand-wringing are utterly inadequate. The AFL-CIO must give leadership to this strike. Let us set this strike date, not the employers. We, therefore, urge you to call an immediate meeting of all representatives of railroad labor unions, under your chairmanship, for the purpose of setting a strike date."

So far, Meany has not taken up the TWU on this offer. He can still boast that he has never called a strike.

Craft union members employed at the test site for nuclear weapons and rockets in Nevada walked off the job April 4 to back up demands for travel-time pay. It takes several hours each day to travel to the site from the nearest inhabited areas. It seems it's not healthy to live too close to the job.

Compulsory arbitration in the maritime industry is being supported by major shipping companies at congressional committee hearings on the Bonner bill. The bill, authored by Democrat Herbert C. Bonner of N.C., would authorize the president to order compulsory arbitration in any maritime dispute. Maritime unions oppose the bill.

The New York state legislature has passed a law granting collec-

## Anti-Strike Bills Draw Ire of Belgian Workers

BRUSSELS, April 3 — To give a dramatic demonstration of their views on the anti-strike legislation now under consideration in Parliament, Belgian workers began turning this week to direct action.

Day before yesterday a wildcat strike involving 10,000 workers broke out at the big electrical equipment plant of ACEC at Charleroi.

Yesterday wildcat strikes of tramway workers snarled up Charleroi's public transportation system.

Today more than 50,000 workers in Liège staged a two-hour general strike. They met in three separate mass meetings to hear union spokesmen denounce the projected anti-strike laws.

On April 6 an emergency congress of the Socialist Party will decide what way the Socialist Members of Parliament should vote on the pending bills. The work stoppages are intended to help stiffen resistance against the laws and weaken the pressure of those seeking to put them on the books.

tive bargaining rights to hospital workers. The law, however, forbids strikes. The legislation was promised by Governor Rockefeller as part of the settlement of last year's hospital strikes in New York City.

Some state-wide labor leaders opposed the law on the grounds that it provides compulsory arbitration and outlaws strikes. Local 1199 leaders supported the law saying that it doesn't take away any rights the hospital workers had before, but it does give them some they didn't have before. Hospital strikes, they argued, were always declared illegal anyway, and Local 1199 President Leon J. Davis was sent to jail for 30 days last year for refusing to call off picketing.

The union now plans a major organizing campaign. It recently won a full-fledged contract at the Flower-Fifth Ave. Hospital. It was at Flower-Fifth that last year's hospital strikes began after the management tried to oust the union from a precarious toe-hold it had gained. The management attack was beaten back by a militant strike in which Freedom Riders sparked the picket line action, and strikes then spread to two other important hospitals.

"Prompt federal protection" for Negro citizens of Greenwood, Miss., was urged by United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther in a telegram to President John F. Kennedy April 1.

"There could be no question that the Congress would enact this legislation promptly if each legislator could experience only for a moment the bitterness a woman feels working day by day beside a man who does nothing that she does not do, and yet who receives eight, nine, ten, fifteen cents an hour more than she; and in plants where progress equal to that of the UAW has not been made, perhaps a third more pay." — Caroline Davis, testifying for the United Auto Workers before the House Labor Committee in support of the "Equal Pay Act." She pointed out that 39 countries have laws providing equal pay for equal work for women, but the U.S. is not one of them.

Several thousand teachers rallied recently in front of New York City Hall to demand higher pay and more money for the school system. The United Federation of Teachers in the city has declared a policy of "no contract, no work," and leaflets passed out by the union declare that the schools "will not open in September" unless a satisfactory contract has been negotiated.

The union had a one-day strike last year which was called off by leaders on the grounds that an injunction outlawing the strike had been issued. A resolution is now being submitted to the membership to provide that a strike cannot be called off except by membership vote.

## A Correction

In Jack Katz's article about the end of the New York City printers' strike in last week's issue there was a typographical error. In the fourth paragraph the word **without** was incorrectly printed with. The sentence in question should have read: "All the other craft unions accepted contracts in line with Mayor Wagner's \$12.63 formula for the printers without a reduction in the work week."



# THE MILITANT

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Monday, April 15, 1963

## 'Rehabilitating' Oppenheimer

The Atomic Energy Commission has decided to confer its yearly \$50,000 Fermi award on Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer. In so doing the AEC, of course, is publicly admitting that its blacklisting of Dr. Oppenheimer in 1954 as a "security risk" was a fake and a fraud.

The rehabilitation of Oppenheimer exposes the whole system of blacklist and frame-up that was the McCarthy era — and is a condemnation of the somewhat more refined continuation of these practices by the government since his death. The government's shame-faced reversal in the Oppenheimer case — there has been no official statement by the government reversing the denial of a security clearance to Oppenheimer — is an attempt to present a liberal appearance without going to the embarrassing heart of the witch hunt.

In this respect, the rehabilitation of Oppenheimer is like the rehabilitation of some of Stalin's victims in the Soviet Union. Khrushchev has legally rehabilitated some of the old Bolsheviks executed in the purges. But these victims have not been publicly or politically rehabilitated. Kennedy and Khrushchev do not explain McCarthy and Stalin.

The AEC's rehabilitation of Oppenheimer is all very well and good for him. But the witch hunt before, during and since McCarthy's day did injury to thousands and thousands of other people. The union militants screened out of the factories, the writers, scientists, and artists blacklisted — where is their rehabilitation? We will be able to say that McCarthyism is truly over only when the witch hunt in all its forms is repudiated and all of its victims cleared.

## Khrushchev's Invitation to Mao

Mao Tse-tung recently invited Soviet Premier Khrushchev to China to discuss differences. Khrushchev declined the invitation but in turn invited Mao to meet with him in the USSR. Both have agreed to a meeting but differ on whether it will take place in Peking or Moscow.

Beneath the obvious question of prestige concerning where the meeting takes place are the different aims each party has for a conference. The Chinese want a meeting with Khrushchev to be merely a preliminary to an international conference of the Communist parties of the world to take up the disputed issues.

Khrushchev, on the other hand, wants to confine participation in any discussions to Russia and China, putting off a multi-party conference as long as possible. He fears the Chinese would use such a conference at this time to promote their views and proselyte other Communist parties.

It remains to be seen what type of meeting, if any, Moscow and Peking will agree to. Mao has left the door open for lower level talks between the two Communist parties in Moscow.

The differences between the Soviet and Chinese Communist parties touch upon the fundamental problems of our time. A great debate has been opened up in the world proletarian movement on the problems of war and revolution, national chauvinism and proletarian internationalism, Stalinism and Soviet democracy, Leninism and revisionism.

The differences are themselves reflections of acute material conflicts and of the crisis of the world workers' movement. It is difficult at this stage of the developing discussion to see on what terms Moscow and Peking can reach a durable reconciliation.

## An Unmerited Award

Vice President Johnson has been given the 1963 Human Rights Award of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Johnson has no record as a defender of civil rights. He was and remains a Southern politician whose machine and career were built on the Jim-Crow system of Texas. His rise to national prominence was based on his ability to manage the Southern-dominated Senate, all of whose key committees are headed by Southerners, to the satisfaction of the Dixiecrats and the big city machines of the Democratic Party in the North.

His recent performance as presiding officer of the Senate during the Southern filibuster against the attempt to change Rule 22 (which permits filibusters) was scandalous. It brought charges of open pro-filibuster bias from such people as Senator Javits of New York and others trying to change Rule 22.

The Anti-Defamation League is disgracing itself as a civil-rights organization by this kind of toadying. It started off earlier this year by honoring Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who has never used his power to do anything for Negroes that he hasn't been forced to do, and it was justly picketed for that action by many people fighting Kennedy's trampling on civil rights in the case of Negro journalist William Worthy, convicted after having visited Cuba.

The fact is that the Anti-Defamation League is making such awards not for merit but for political reasons. It hopes to gain something by honoring undeserving but powerful politicians. In giving an award to Johnson it has sunk deeper into the mire. It makes one wonder if its directors aren't weighing whether there would be any benefit to be gained from making an award to Senator Eastland.

## New Reuther Gimmick

# Decides He'll Represent 'Nation,' Not Labor

By Jim Campbell

DETROIT — Ordinarily the bluster that comes out of Solidarity House where Walter Reuther, the "boss," holds sway brings no surprises. We, like everybody else, simply find it boring. It's next to impossible to get shook up at the grandiloquent overtures, cooked up by the "experts" at the bidding of Reuther and the United Auto Workers executive board, overflowing with phrases about "full employment" and "more consumption" in our "affluent society."

That's the way it was last month when Reuther proposed to the auto companies the establishment of "joint study committees" to begin functioning on July 1 — 14 months ahead of the contract-expiration date and long before the union members involved are given the opportunity to say what the demands should be. The purpose was, Reuther explained, to afford time to think through and work out problems with "calm deliberation," taking into consideration the "welfare of the nation as a whole." This is the only "rational and responsible way," he says, to settle the "competing equities of stockholders and workers."

This time in his zeal to please, however, Reuther went off the deep end and said something that deserves attention: "While we each have our separate responsibilities — to workers and stockholders respectively — these separate responsibilities are transcended by our joint responsibility to the nation..." (Our emphasis — J.C.)

It is this crisp phrase which raises the hair on our heads! For years union members have believed it the responsibility of their "elected leaders" to represent them at the bargaining table. Here Reuther, whose ample income derives from the dues the auto workers pay each month, openly decides to go beyond his public and his first and most important obligation. To such a pass have "labor statesmen" like Reuther



Reuther

come. Isolated from the real problems of the workers, whom he is supposed to represent, he openly abandons his most elementary responsibility.

And he does so on the plea that the 60-day bargaining period is insufficient to "identify and define the problems." Only 60 days of "crisis" bargaining, says Reuther, will irritate the "public" and lead to "government intervention."

Let's leave aside the patently false logic — that the government, "public" or "nation" is above the struggle — and look at the immediate effect of Reuther's proposal. He suggests nothing less than removing farther from the membership democratic control over their bargaining rights. A small clique of "policy-level representatives" — that is corporate executives and well-paid, easy-living union bureaucrats — who have long since forgotten what speed-up or unemployment feel like — are to "transcend their separate responsibilities" and settle all the important issues before the membership gets even the formal right to consider them.

What's wrong with 60-days notice? Isn't that what a strike is for — to create a "crisis" for the bosses? Hasn't that been a cherished right of organized labor?

## Crisis in Southern Rhodesia

# Racist Repressions Mounting

By Constance Weissman

Joshua Nkomo, Southern Rhodesia's African nationalist leader, was sentenced to six months hard labor on April 1, the day after his return from talks in London about the status of his country.

The situation in Southern Rhodesia is so serious that half of the white population has left. In London, where the question of independence is agitating the British government, the *New York Times* of April 8 reports: "An increasing sense of helplessness is evident among many politicians and members of Parliament, particularly Conservatives. There is almost a resigned acceptance of the prospect of violence. The phrase 'another Algeria' is heard with increasing frequency."

Racial tension has become so great that the British Parliament has decided to withhold independence in the hope that the white-supremacist government of Prime Minister Winston Field, elected last December 15, can be prevailed upon to modify the repressive constitution.

According to Keith Kyle in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Premier Field had been trying to keep Nkomo from returning home. The Zimbabwe African People's Union party, of which he is president, has been permanently banned. Other repressive legislation passed by the government is intended to stifle all opposition, even critical letters to newspapers. The penalty for appealing to the UN is 20 years in prison. Sunday political meetings are not allowed. (Sunday

is a favorite time for mass meetings.)

While Nkomo was being tried with two other nationalist leaders on charges of obstructing the police, several hundred of his countrymen were singing and praying outside the courtroom. A police superintendent testified that when he put his hand on Nkomo's shoulder at a meeting and told him, "You will have to go," there was an uproar. The *New York Times* further reports that the policeman claimed that "Mr. Nyagumbo [one of the other leaders on trial] knocked him down and Mr. Nkomo poked him in the ribs with a stick as he got up."

The constitution in effect in Southern Rhodesia has been a matter of concern to the United Nations' Committee on Decolonization on the grounds that the racial oppression which it enforces will lead to violence and bloodshed. In 1962 the UN General Assembly requested Britain to draw up a new constitution which would insure the rights of the African majority of Southern Rhodesia. The very next day, the present oppressive constitution was put into effect and elections were held shortly afterwards, on Dec. 15, 1962.

Out of 3,600,000 Africans, only 13,000 are allowed to vote. They boycotted the election.

Nkomo's efforts in London to persuade the British government to intervene against the white supremacists was the last legal resort open to the African majority. The Field government has asked

Aren't the demands of labor supposed to be worked out in the workers' own organizations, to express the generalized experience in daily struggle with the bosses? Reuther wants to junk these lessons tested in the workers' bitter experiences.

To find out what should be done in the 1964 negotiations, Reuther would do better to turn his attention to the men and women on the production line. There were three events on March 25, while Reuther's pompous phrases were still resounding, which point up the real problems of the auto workers.

First, 700 workers struck the Budd plant in Detroit to protest the company's having arbitrarily cut the automatic wheel operation from eleven to nine men. This same company only a month before had bulldozed the workers into two more hours work per week with no increase in pay (reported in the *Militant* March 18).

Second, in Indianapolis 1,500 workers struck a Chrysler parts factory to try to stop an increase in work schedules and production rates. The plant manager accused them of demanding "unreasonable concessions."

Third, in Grand Rapids a refrigeration manufacturer notified its 1,500 employees, who are members of UAW Local 137, that it must "slash costs" or move South. It "suggested" a wage cut of 45 cents an hour and a cut of 37 cents per hour in fringe benefits to bring them in line with Southern scales.

With the companies crying about a tightening world market, the auto workers see their working conditions, wages and job security withering on the vine. A new spirit of struggle is becoming necessary for the workers just to hold their own and to restore their confidence in the future. But Reuther is not the man for the job. He long since turned in another direction. He represents, not the workers, but the easy-living bureaucrats who have "transcended" the class struggle.

Britain for immediate independence, which would mean making permanent the present rule by the white minority. The Rhodesian correspondent of *The Sunday Telegraph* reported that Field has said his government "wanted immediate independence to keep Britain from intervening militarily in the event of an African uprising." In the event that independence is granted, Nkomo may establish a Southern Rhodesian government-in-exile which would be supported by at least some, if not all five, African nations in the British Commonwealth. The Field government would undoubtedly receive economic — and probably military — help from the Union of South Africa.

In spite of the terror against the African population, many demonstrations, explosions and burnings have taken place in protest against the government. During the debate in Southern Rhodesia's Parliament on the "Hanging Bill," demonstrators stood outside with placards reading: "Don't Outdo Verwoerd"; "Don't Mock Justice"; and "Drop the Hangman's Charter."

This bill, which was passed, gives the courts the right to impose the death sentence for gasoline bombings [Molotov cocktails]. The *Torch*, Capetown anti-apartheid newspaper, writes: "The only 'leniency' Field's fascists could show was to arrange for sentences other than hanging in cases of pregnant women and children under 16."



## DeGaulle's A-Test Brings Unexpected Reaction

# Algerian People Deepen Their Revolution

By Joseph Hansen

PARIS — On March 18 the French government, pursuing de Gaulle's aim of becoming a power big enough to start a nuclear war, if not win it, tested an atomic device in the Sahara hinterlands of Algeria. The chain reaction set off by that explosion has not yet come to an end.

The Algerian government protested the violation of its sovereignty. The French diplomats replied sympathetically but evasively, apparently taking the Algerian protest as a mere face-saving statement. If you carefully read the fine print of the Evian ceasefire agreement, signed exactly a year before the test, they argued, you will find that the military clauses sanction French nuclear experiments in the Sahara.

The Algerian government replied that it would seek revision of the military clauses, but whatever the fine print said, the fact remained that the nuclear test, conducted against the express will of all humanity, violated Algerian sovereignty. The French diplomats smiled politely.

The issue was a crucial one for the government of Ahmed Ben Bella. The move of the French government coincided with an alarming growth of the neo-colonialist tendency in Algeria, a tendency subtly, skillfully and stubbornly fostered by the representatives of imperialist France. If de Gaulle succeeded in flouting the opposition of the Algerian government to nuclear tests on its national territory, the encouraging effect it would have on the neo-colonialist tendency was obvious.

The Ben Bella government rose to the challenge. On March 23 the *Official Journal* published the text of a decree defining the meaning of "vacated properties." These are the holdings which some 800,000 European colonialists left behind a year ago when they fled Algeria in fear of the consequences of the victory won against France in the seven-and-a-half year war for independence. Almost one-fourth of all the land under cultivation in Algeria is involved, including the most fertile, favorably situated areas, the largest farms and estates as well as important industrial enterprises. Two decrees last fall (Oct. 22 and Nov. 23) had placed these holdings under Management Committees which had formed more or less spontaneously over all of Algeria, but it was still possible for the Europeans to return and reclaim their properties under certain conditions. The March 23 decree ended this possibility. The "vacated properties" became irredeemable. They were in effect nationalized.

On March 29 came another spectacular move. A two-part decree placed the Management Committees in permanent control of the "vacated properties" and set up related institutions, including

Workers' Councils. The new law specifies that both Management Committees and Workers' Councils, as well as General Assemblies of Workers, are to be democratically elected. Technological "directors," who are nominated by the government to represent its interests in management, are subject to approval of the workers involved.

As the French imperialists sputtered and fumed over such unexpected end results in their nuclear test, the Algerian government moved directly against some of the more notorious neo-colonialists.

At 2 a.m. March 30, the government moved troops into the giant Trappe farms and expropriated the owner, Henri Borgeaud. They came, they said, under a French colonial law requiring protection of properties threatened by a mass revolt.

A central figure in colonial politics during the days of French rule, Borgeaud was one of the few colonialists who did not flee Algeria, coolly choosing to attempt to ride out the revolutionary storm. The expropriation of his properties was therefore at once seized upon by the French as in clear violation of the Evian agreements.

Borgeaud's properties were not the only ones seized. Others of similar kind, "some 15 or 20," were expropriated in various parts of the country.

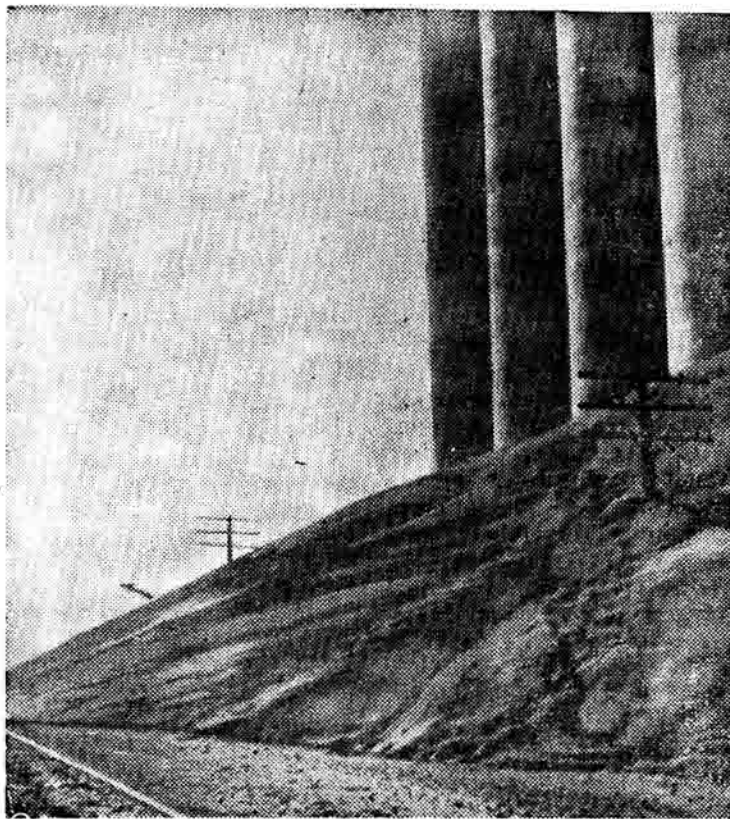
In the past several months, the Ben Bella government has taken over several hundred farms and 120 movie houses purchased by Algerians at bargain prices from fleeing European colonialists. With the March 29 decree, this drive against neo-colonialism was put into high gear. On April 2, the government took over 69 hotels in Algiers which had been purchased by Algerian speculators. This was followed April 4 by the seizure of 21 restaurants. These were placed under Workers Management Committees.

The main significance of these expropriations was not so much the size of the holdings as the fact that they were directed against Algerian owners.

While these actions took place, Ben Bella explained their meaning in a series of vigorous speeches. These disclosed a significant shift in policy. Instead of addressing his audience with the customary "brothers and sisters," Ben Bella used "working men and women," clearly directing a revolutionary appeal to the working class and poor peasants. He explained that the "vacated properties" had now become the socialist sector of the Algerian economy and that it would be used in accordance with a national plan "to steer our socialism." And he made references to Yugoslavia and to Cuba, reaffirming the position he took at the height of the Cuban crisis when he boldly visited Havana and expressed the solidarity felt by the Algerian people for the Cuban Revolution.

What is the meaning of this development in the context of the Algerian Revolution? The nuclear test obviously only precipitated something that was already beginning to crystallize. When the Ben Bella government came to power, the Algerian people lay like a grievously wounded fighter who had succeeded in throwing off a murderous assailant but now needed time to recuperate from the exhausting struggle. The economy was down, unemployment was universal, and hunger and misery acutely affected most of the population. Thus a lull occurred in the class struggle while the most elementary measures of recovery were taken.

With extraordinary swiftness



**SURPLUS WHEAT.** The regular granaries filled, surplus wheat bought by U.S. government is heaped on a railroad siding. Washington spends \$1,000,000 a day for rental of storage space for surplus grain, but doles it out in stingy quantities to hungry Algeria trying to recover from devastation of civil war.

neo-colonialist tendencies, carefully nurtured by both French and American imperialism appeared. Against this tendency, and as a spontaneous way of getting things going again, the working masses started organizing Management Committees.

The struggle between these class forces focused around the key sector in the economy, the "vacated properties." The issue was who should control them. Effective control implied eventual ownership.

This conflict on a national scale took the rather humdrum form of collusion, graft, private profiteering and abuse of office on the one hand; and, on the other hand, of public-spirited efforts to clean out the neo-colonialists in favor of democratic management through committees of workers on the job. It was reflected in the government by opposing forces that tended to form around two poles: 1) The figures most responsive to neo-colonialism and imperialism; 2) Those most responsive to the will of the peasantry and workers as transmitted through the armed forces and the Management Committees. The conflict centered around the "National Office of Vacated Properties" which was in charge of administering the holdings left by the fleeing colonialists.

The tugging and hauling within the government over this department increased. Purge measures against the bolder representatives of neo-colonialism were undertaken by the Ben Bella wing. There were repeated rumors of differences in the government so sharp that they might even split the Political Bureau. Extreme left forces, formerly highly critical of Ben Bella, began rallying behind him in this struggle.

Another important factor should be borne in mind in assessing the situation as a whole. The freedom struggle of the Algerian people was particularly exhausting because they got no help from the mass organizations of the French working class due to their class-collaborationist leadership. In March, however, the French coal miners touched off a great new class struggle. Just as the miners' example inspired and encouraged the workers in other industries in France and the workers through-

out Europe, so it helped inspire and encourage the Algerian people in taking bolder moves against the power they face in common with the French workers.

Such was the background when de Gaulle's generals decided that the time was ripe to conduct a nuclear test in the Sahara in defiance of Ben Bella's neutralist policy in the nuclear-arms race. They are probably still trying to puzzle out why a modest fission experiment should have blown off so many fingers in the political field.

In the tension inside the Algerian government, the main significance of the recent measures is the strengthening they give to the wing favoring the socialist road for Algeria. It is worth noting, for instance, that the National Office of Vacated Proper-

ties was renamed when it received fresh powers under the new decree. It is now the "National Office of Rural Initiative of the Socialist Sector" (*Bureau national d'animation rurale du secteur socialiste*). Under its jurisdiction it has huge industrial and agricultural enterprises, including 3,750,000 acres cultivated under Workers' Management Committees. Under the new decree this jurisdiction can no longer revert to the former owners. A qualitative change has occurred in the relative weight and importance of this sector of the government.

The French capitalist press reports that circles around de Gaulle have reacted to Ben Bella's moves with such words as "shocking" and "inadmissible"; a "knife blow" to the Evian agreements. But it appears that the French government, bearing in mind the Cuban experience, will not resort to spectacular counter-moves. It has too much to lose if Algeria should respond in kind by taking over the oil reserves in the Sahara which have been explored sufficiently to reveal that they may be the richest prize in North Africa.

More likely, the French government will consider using threats to tighten the financial squeeze on Algeria in the way of aid, credits and loans. Possibly it will threaten to impose retaliatory restrictions on imports of wines, citrus fruits, olives and garden crops.

The French view of the situation was aptly expressed by a colonialist wine grower in the Mitidja who was quoted as follows in the April 5 *Figaro*:

"We had the impression that Ben Bella was trying at first to get good relations with France. In face of all the internal difficulties, he couldn't fight on all fronts and so he temporized. Now his power is secure; he lifts the mask — it's all-out socialism. To safeguard our interests, it's now up to the French government to act."

In this struggle, it should be clear to every socialist which side he should favor. The tendency of the Algerian Revolution to develop in the socialist direction has grown stronger. The new gains must be defended against the fierce pressure that will now be mounted to undo them.

## ... French Strike Settlement

(Continued from Page 1)

succeed in dividing the miners whether in getting a return to work in the coal basin or in pitting the three unions in competition with each other.

Without overestimating the victory of the miners, it must nevertheless be underlined that it involves a serious loss of prestige for de Gaulle and his regime, both nationally and internationally. This personage who only had to speak to bring the generals to heel, to make the bourgeois political parties bite the dust, to cancel out the American and British projects, this great personage who already had to change his tone in speaking with the Algerian revolutionists, was checked by the miners in his first great test with the French working class.

### First Confrontation

After such results, does this signify that the workers' organizations followed correct tactics? Understandably in this first confrontation with the regime, the unions wanted to assure unity of action at all costs and did everything possible to avoid incidents. However, it was possible to achieve more in building solidarity for the miners — not so much

in the financial side of it as in workers' action.

It could not be a question of a general strike, which presupposes a different relation of forces in the country, but of mass demonstrations in the streets.

Toward the end of the second week of the strike, the ferment had reached such proportions that much greater pressure could have been brought to bear against the government to obtain its capitulation.

The other great weakness was that the mass organizations, both parties and unions, while they supported the strike, did not utilize the opportunity during the course of it to speak out strongly for a program (for a 40-hour week, against de Gaulle's atomic weapons policy, etc.) which would have placed the combat in proper relation to a perspective of further battle of greater scope, reaching even to a struggle against the regime itself.

The French working class scored an important victory, especially if one takes into account the atmosphere which has prevailed since de Gaulle came to power. But it still has a hard road ahead of even more difficult battle which may not always end as favorably as this one did.

## Documents of the Negro Struggle

Texts of discussions on question with Leon Trotsky and of analytical resolutions adopted by conventions of Socialist Workers Party.

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## DECLARATION BY BEN BELLA

# 'Workers' Control Is Reality of Revolution'

[On announcing a two-part decree March 29 establishing Workers' Councils and related institutions, Ben Bella spoke to the Algerian people over radio and television, explaining the meaning of these significant measures. The full text of his speech follows]

Working men and women of Algeria, as I speak to you the *Official Journal* of the Democratic and Popular Algerian Republic is publishing the text of some of the most, if not the most, important decisions which the government has taken since it was constituted.

It concerns a decree bearing on the organization and management of industrial, mining and artisan enterprises as well as vacated agricultural undertakings.

Already last week, more precisely Friday, March 23, the *Official Journal* published a significant text defining the meaning of "vacated" once and for all. Those who imagined that the government of revolutionary Algeria would wait, arms folded, in face of maneuvers which aimed at nothing more nor less than liquidating the "vacated properties"; well, they were mistaken.

## Sabotage by Colons

I have said it before and I repeat it now. It was not we who drove away the former exploiters of this vast sector of the Algerian economy which then became "vacated properties." It was not we who sought to suffocate the Algerian economy. It was the former exploiters who left, seeking through their exodus to sabotage and block the possibilities of reconstructing independent Algeria. We had to stem in the briefest possible time the disastrous consequences of this sabotage.

The Provisional Government appealed to those who had left, asking them to return. How many of them returned?

Before anyone starts to invoke high principles, let him tell us clearly how many of them responded to the appeal of the Provisional Government to return and to participate in the reconstruction of the country.

Could the government that issued from the Algerian Revolution stand, arms folded, before such a challenge? If it had done so, it would not have been worthy of the Algerian Revolution, it would not have been worthy of speaking in the name of the Algerian people. Moreover, the working masses of the country understood their duty. Almost everywhere, they organized themselves spontaneously and moved in to replace the absconding exploiters. In this respect, the decrees of October 22 and November 23, 1962, setting up Management Committees, did not more than ratify a state of affairs which the working masses, in their patriotic

and revolutionary spirit, had created throughout the length and breadth of the country.

Did the decrees of October 22 and November 23, 1962, close the door to those who had left, neglecting their duties toward the land which had nourished them? In no wise. Revolutionary Algeria has its traditions of generosity.



Ahmed Ben Bella

The decrees of October 22 and November 23, 1962, left open the possibility of returning and even of being reinstated in their enterprises and undertakings which they had abandoned, but on condition that they gave sufficient guarantees for honest and productive management of the enterprise and on condition of accepting sincere collaboration with the Management Committees.

How many of them returned and agreed to collaborate with the Management Committees?

What national government, worthy of the name, would have permitted the situation to deteriorate? It was high time that Algeria went to work. It was high time that the government that issued from the Algerian Revolution organized the management of the enterprises and undertakings abandoned, betrayed by their former exploiters. The Algerian workers had proved their capacity to fill the gap. It was necessary to give them the opportunity to continue in their efforts.

## Proved Impossible

It then proved to be impossible to organize anything in a sector in which "vacated" could be continually placed in question, in which "vacated" could be made the object of pressure, of bargaining, of the business of influence. It was necessary definitively to settle the question of the "vacated properties." It was necessary that the sector of "vacated properties" be defined, determined, once and for all!

It was in this spirit that we passed our decree of March 18, 1963, dealing with the regulation of the "vacated properties." This decree which the National Constituent Assembly approved in its session of March 26, 1963, barred any appeal from a ruling taken prior to March 22, 1963, that a property had been "vacated." All enterprises of an industrial, commercial, artisan, financial and mining character, all agricultural and forestry undertakings, all the offices, real estate or portions of real estate which, on the date of March 22, 1963, had been ruled to be "vacated," were, once and for all, definitively, "vacated properties" and from this fact their management passed, once and for all, definitively, to the Algerian workers.

From now on we will not speak any more of "vacated properties" but of enterprises and undertakings of self-management.

Once defined as "vacated," once

determined as the key sector of the Algerian economy, we must turn, seriously, to the problem of the management of this sector with which we wish to steer our socialism.

Two solutions are offered. Should we place management in the state? Should we place it with the workers?

In fact no hesitation is possible. The principle of self-management of the enterprises by the workers has already been inscribed in the reality of the Algerian Revolution by the spontaneous, conscious action of the laboring masses. The powerful movement of the Management Committee, which multiplied throughout the country, awaited simply legalization in all its revolutionary extent.

## Self-Management

The decrees which the *Official Journal* of the Democratic and Popular Algerian Republic is publishing today legalizes and institutionalizes the enterprises of self-management being run by the democratic collectivity of the workers.

With the General Assemblies and the Workers' Councils, with the Management Committees, the Algerian workers are taking their destiny into their own hands. It is the workers, in their General Assemblies, who will decide on the plan of development for their enterprises within the framework of the National Plan. It is they, the workers, who will establish, examine and adopt the bookkeeping accounts. It is they who will determine bonuses for output. It is

they who will harvest the fruit of their labor. They will participate in the management of the national funds for investment and the balancing of employment.

Working men and women of Algeria, I would like to stress the national funds for balancing employment.

As you know, there are unemployed, many unemployed in Algeria. There are jobs, many jobs with poor or little pay in Algeria. There is heavy labor which exhausts a person and other work that is not so bad. There are rich regions, but also poor ones in Algeria.

It is through the national funds for the balancing of employment that the solidarity of the working men and women of Algeria expresses itself. It is through these funds that the workers of the Mitidja and those of the Aurès express their fraternity. From the east to the west, from the north to the south, the Algerian workers, through the national funds for balancing of employment, express once again the unity of the Algerian nation.

Working men and women of Algeria, I would also like to speak about the Director who constitutes one of the instruments of your self-management.

This Director will be selected on a moral and professional level. He will be nominated by the state, but this nomination will be submitted to your approval.

It is necessary that within your enterprises of self-management someone should represent the na-

tional collectivity to which you belong and safeguard its interests. It is necessary that your enterprises attain a high degree of productivity and that you should be able to aid in the economic development of our country. It is necessary that within your enterprises of self-management there should be someone who can serve as a transmission belt between our enterprises and the state, someone responsible for the National Plan of development.

## Role of Director

This Director, whose nomination is subject to your approval, this Director is a worker like you and will share your troubles and joys and participate, with you, in the socialist construction of our country.

Make his task easy. Help him. Protect him like one of your own.

Working men and women of Algeria. It is up to you and only you to prove to the world that the Algerian Revolution wants to be and can be in the vanguard of the socialist experiments of our times. Close your ranks, demonstrate to the world that you are masters of your destiny, united, vigilant and conscious of your duties and your rights; organize yourselves so that everywhere, over the whole Algerian territory, the General Assemblies of the Workers can join together and that everywhere, throughout the Algerian territory, the Management Committees, democratically elected, can harness themselves to the exalting task of the socialist construction of our country.

## Algerian Decree on Workers' Management

The March 29 decree "dealing with the organization and management of industrial, mining and artisan enterprises as well as vacated agricultural undertakings" establishes four institutions:

- "(1) the General Assembly of Workers,
- "(2) the Workers' Council,
- "(3) the Management Committee,
- "(4) the Director."

The General Assembly of Workers is composed of permanent workers on the job over 18 years of age. The size of the General Assembly is determined each year according to the degree of development of the enterprise. Its duties include:

"Adopting the enterprise's plan of development or cultivation within the framework of the National Plan as well as the annual programs of equipment, production and sales;

"Adopting rules in regard to the organization of the work and in regard to the determination and division of tasks and responsibilities;

"Approving the books at the end of the accounting period;

"Electing the Workers Council where this body is set up."

The General Assembly makes its decisions by a simple majority of workers present, although a quorum of two-thirds of the members is required for valid action. Voting takes place by secret ballot.

Workers' Councils are set up in enterprises where more than 100 workers are employed. Representation is on the basis of not more than one Council member for every 15 and not less than one for every ten. The rules for voting are the same as for the General Assembly. Elected for three-year terms, one-third of its members are renewed each year. Its duties, with some differences, are the same as those of the General Assembly in

smaller enterprises. But it also "elects and controls" the Management Committee.

The Management Committee consists of from three to eleven members who hold office on the same basis as members of the Workers' Council. Its duty is to run the enterprise. It must meet at least once a month; oftener, if the interests of the enterprise demand it, or the chairman, which it elects, convenes it, or one-third of the members call for it. It can admit to its meetings in a consultative capacity members of the Workers' Council or the General Assembly.

The Director "represents the state" in the running of the enterprise. He checks the legality of economic and financial operations to see that they are maintained in conformity with the National Plan. Under the authority of the Chairman he checks the daily conduct of affairs, particularly financial, accounts, inventories, and minutes. He has a deliberative voice in the Management Committee but can never serve as chairman. He is nominated and withdrawn by the government body in charge of the enterprise in agreement with the Council of Communal Enterprise and Self-Management.

In addition to codifying the establishment of the above organisms, the decree sets up Communal Councils.

"In every commune," reads the decree, "a Council of Communal Initiative [animation] and Self-Management is created, composed of the chairmen of the Management Committees, a representative of the Party, of the UGTA [unions], the ANP [army] and of the administrative authorities of the commune. In case of necessity, an Intercommunal Council can be created in place of the Communal Councils but without power to substitute itself for more than five Councils.

These Communal Councils aid in creating management bodies, in interesting the workers in the problems of self-management, and in co-ordinating the activities of enterprises.

They have the power to accord or withdraw approval of directors appointed by the government.

The following articles of the decree are of special interest:

"Article 26. The members of Workers' Councils, of the Committees of Management of enterprises and undertakings, or of Councils of Communal Initiative and Self-Management, cannot receive any special remuneration for the accomplishment of their duties, it being understood that the time devoted to the deliberations and work of these bodies will be considered as normal work time and remunerated on the same scale.

"Article 27. The members of the above bodies exercise the functions developing on them only in the meetings of the bodies of which they are members and cannot extend the said functions outside the sessions of the said bodies unless expressly mandated by the body to which they belong.

"Article 28. Any person who knowingly blocks the functioning of a Management Committee, will be liable to a penalty of five years imprisonment and a fine of from 1,000 to 10,000 francs (\$200 to \$2,000) or one of the two penalties.

"Article 29. The measures of the present decree become effective with its publication and must be put into full and entire effect with a maximum delay of one year.

"Article 30. The present decree on the organization of the self-management of vacated enterprises and undertakings annuls all contrary measures."

## Fidel Castro Denounces Bureaucracy And Sectarianism

March 26 speech assailing Anibal Escalante and others for converting the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations into "a yoke, a straitjacket."

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Do Socialist Criticisms of Khrushchev Harm USSR?

# Discussion of Viewpoint of 'Marxist-Leninist Quarterly'

By William F. Warde

The first issue of a new radical publication, the *Marxist-Leninist Quarterly*, has just appeared. In such a venture, the editorial statement of principles has the greatest political significance and interest. Since it ends with an invitation for a "frank discussion of differences" among "all who share our desire to advance the cause of a socialist United States," I should like to respond to that suggestion in the same fraternal spirit which motivated it.

To begin with, let me state agreement with the positions expressed in the first three sections of the editorial. These set forth an analysis of the situation and policies of U.S. imperialism at home and abroad, and an attitude of principled revolutionary opposition to them, which is much needed in our listless political atmosphere.

The views on the Kennedy administration, for example, are as much aligned with those of the Socialist Workers Party as they are at odds with those propagated by the U.S. Communist Party which have just been so vigorously criticized by the Chinese Communists. The determination to fight for the removal of the imperialists from power, instead of vainly trying to persuade the representatives of big business that they do not understand their own best class interests, as the followers of Khrushchev are doing, is certainly in the Marxist-Leninist tradition.

## Poses Question

However, the final section, which takes up the organizational conclusions of the analysis, has serious defects, it seems to me. There the question is posed: how is the American socialist movement to be revitalized and a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party built which can lead the American workers to the abolition of capitalism and a socialist democracy?

We all realize this is no small task. No group, as the *Marxist-Leninist Quarterly* editorial says, can claim a monopoly on "the ideas, experiences and talents" for achieving these aims. These will require the collaboration and contributions of many people with differing backgrounds and connections. But where and how shall we start?

What about the existing organizations? The *Marxist-Leninist Quarterly* criticizes the CPUSA because "it is no longer willing to undertake an uncompromising, principled struggle against class collaborationists in the labor movement and against liberal capitalists in the Democratic Party." This is absolutely true. Does not this clearly disqualify the CP from taking any lead in the socialist struggle against the upholders of the established power structure?

On the other hand, the critic-

isms made of the Socialist Workers Party are, in my opinion, not well-founded or well thought-out. M-L Q presents two main objections to SWP positions. Here is the first. "The Trotskyist SWP is dangerously wrong in its hostility to the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc and . . . its position is harmful to the struggle for a socialist world. We recognize that the SWP has generally defended the socialist bloc against the attacks of imperialism, but the extent and nature of its criticism has often



Lenin

done far more damage to our cause than its support could offset."

The statement, unfortunately, does not specify which of the SWP criticisms directed against the policies or acts of the Soviet leadership did "damage" to the socialist cause. It surely cannot have been its exposures of the crimes and betrayals of Stalin while they were being committed and long before Khrushchev corroborated them. The Soviet press has now disclosed that the Red Army high command was beheaded by Stalin on the basis of false reports instigated by Hitler, prepared by his Gestapo, and transmitted by President Benes of Czechoslovakia. Who, in those days, helped and who harmed the defense of the Soviet Union and the cause of socialism: those who trusted Stalin or those, like ourselves, who denounced the deed as a frameup which weakened the USSR?

## Ancient History?

But the crimes of Stalin, it might be said, are ancient history. Let us, then, come to the past year. The SWP has criticized Khrushchev's regime for renewing nuclear tests, for imposing restraints on the free expression of Soviet writers, for its support of capitalist India against Communist China, and for negotiating with Kennedy in the Caribbean crisis without consulting with its Cuban ally. Is the Cuban government wrong in demanding that the Kremlin observe Cuba's sovereign rights in its dealings with Washington? And does the SWP injure "the socialist bloc" by supporting Castro's position along with the Chinese Communists?

It is simply not true that the SWP is "hostile to the Soviet Union and the socialist bloc." Being politically opposed to bureaucratic leaderships of the workers states, it openly criticizes any of their views or deeds which compromise and set back the socialist movement. These are not one and the same thing.

Let me explain by referring to the experience of the M-L Q and Progressive Labor group. They oppose and criticize the Meany-Reuther union bureaucracy in this country. Does this, as right-wing opponents contend, thereby make M-L Q "hostile to the union movement?" In exposing the misdeeds of the officialdom, the M-L Q and Progressive Labor rightly regard themselves as defenders of the workers and their organizations. Why does not this same rule apply to the workers' states and the

Trotskyist attitude toward their leaderships?

It is an old trick of bureaucrats to identify the unions with their own selfish interests and the maintenance of their offices and privileges and to brand rank-and-file opposition as "helping the bosses" and "harming the union." Through such accusations democracy has been strangled, left-wing formations crushed, militants hounded and expelled. The M-L Q editors are familiar with all the penalties applied for exercising the right of criticism.

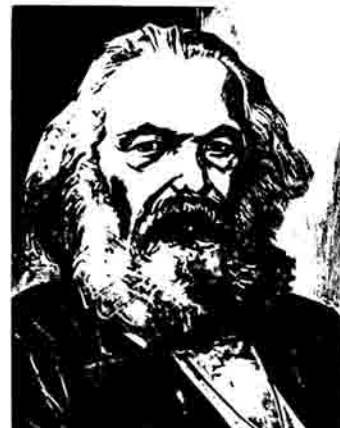
The same thing happened on a much larger and fiercer scale in the Soviet Union under Stalin in regard to his left-wing political opponents, above all the Trotskyists. I have the impression that M-L Q's judgment retains a lingering tint of those now-exploded charges that socialist critics of the holders of state power are "agents of the class enemy" whose opinions harm the socialist bloc.

Harm would be done only if the criticisms and the fundamental stands behind them were wrong. That would have to be substantiated with proofs in hand. But even if it should be conceded that the Trotskyist views are unjustified, that would not dispose of the problem.

Today Moscow and Peking, Belgrade and Tirana assail one another's positions in terms as strong as those used by the SWP. Are all their public criticisms harmful to the cause of socialism? Or is it essential to distinguish the right from the wrong ones?

I have just tried to do that in a pamphlet entitled *Moscow vs. Peking: The Meaning of the Great Debate*. This is the first comprehensive appraisal of the

Sino-Soviet dispute from a Marxist standpoint in this country. Surely the M-L Q will acknowledge both the necessity and legitimacy of such an undertaking. In



Marx

a democratic socialist movement, Russian and Chinese Communists have no greater right to criticize each other than American socialists have to state their opinions of both sides in a controversy where so much is at stake.

On the other hand, the M-L Q statement suffers from a failure to establish any connection between the American CP's "abandonment of the fight for socialism" and its "liberal illusions" and the line of Stalin and his successors. Do the editors really believe the CP leadership here arrived at its views entirely apart from the political and ideological influence of the Khrushchev tendency? The Chinese Communists do not think so. Do the M-L Q editors think it possible to get at the roots of the errors of the

CPUSA without exposing and explaining the nature of Stalinism?

M-L Q's second criticism is that "the SWP has for too long been a sect engaged in special pleading for Trotskyist theses, some correct, some dubious, some absurd, and most irrelevant to contemporary problems." Here again the statement gives no instances of sectarian thought or conduct which might be discussed or refuted.

Is the SWP advocacy of a Labor Party evidence of its being a "sect"? Is its record of joining in any struggle for civil rights, civil liberties or labor's welfare, regardless of the leaderships at the head of these struggles, "sectarian"? Is its participation in mass demonstrations against nuclear tests and arms "sectarian"?

In 1958 the SWP was the only "left" political group to participate in the United Independent-Socialist campaign in New York, even though it was given no candidate on the ticket. The CP and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation refused to participate. Who, then, were the sectarians?

The statement asks for "a frank discussion of differences and, wherever possible, a co-ordinated socialist struggle against the imperialist enemy." This is an excellent platform. Indeed, it corresponds to what the SWP has been practicing for years.

To promote a more fruitful exchange along these lines, I for one would be pleased to participate in a public meeting in New York where spokesmen for the M-L Q, the SWP, and other tendencies could discuss the issues raised by the Sino-Soviet dispute or any others relevant to current problems.

## PAMPHLET REVIEW

# Trotsky on the Negro Struggle

DOCUMENTS ON THE NEGRO STRUGGLE: Including the Texts of discussions with Leon Trotsky, 1933 and 1939, and Socialist Workers Party convention resolutions, 1939 and 1948. Pioneer Publishers, 65c.

This is number four in the series of historical and theoretical studies published by Pioneer under the general title: *Bulletin of Marxist Studies*. This material, some for the first time made available to the public, appeared previously in various forms — as discussion material and convention resolutions circulated among SWP members and some as articles in the magazine, *Fourth International*, now the *International Socialist Review*.

Although dating back some 15 to 30 years, the material in this bulletin comprises an important contribution to the current discussion on the future of the Negro

struggle in this country. The questions and problems first posed in this bulletin have been elevated from the level of theoretical consideration to matters of practical policy; of tactics and strategy in the struggle for Negro equality.

The question today is sharply posed and hotly debated: Which Road—"Integration" or "Separation?" The answer to the problem of strategic goal must, in large measure, determine the tactics to be adopted. But this posing of the problem does not exhaust the question. Is there an unbridgeable dichotomy between the two? Approached from the standpoint of formal logic the two would seem to stand at opposite poles. But through the logic of the dialectic the unity of these apparent polar opposites can be attained by achieving the goal of "Integration" through "separation."

## Simplistic View

The early Socialist movement in this country held a simplistic view on the "Negro problem." From Debs on down, the leaders held that discrimination because of skin color, was simply a class question. That inasmuch as the overwhelming majority of Negroes were workers, urban and rural, their emancipation from double exploitation would come about in the course of the class struggle to overthrow capitalism and establish — what they called — the co-operative commonwealth: socialism.

It was not until after the 1917 Russian Revolution that the American socialist movement was fully apprised of the revolutionary significance attached by the leaders of the Bolshevik party to the national question — the double exploitation of national and racial minorities. Under the Czar, Imperial Russia was a veritable prison house of exploited and op-

pressed national minorities.

As a leader with Lenin of the Russian October, Trotsky drew upon his vast experience to shed great light on the Negro struggle in this country and made a unique contribution to an understanding of the problems involved. No serious student of the problem nor actual participant in the struggle can afford to miss reading and studying this rich material.

—Tom Kerry

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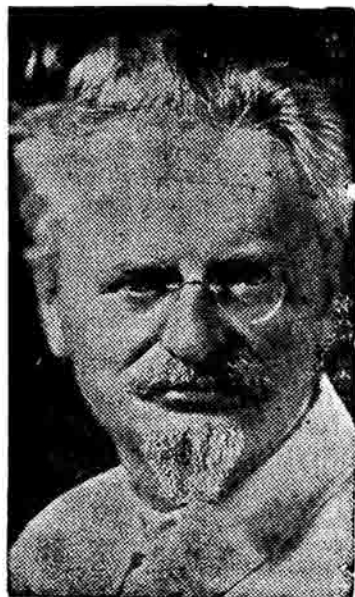
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Trotsky



# Letters From Our Readers

## Disagrees on Black Muslims

Houston, Texas

Only today I renewed my four-month trial subscription for a full year. I have been reading the columns of *The Militant* with a great deal of interest, and I feel that your Marxist orientation gives a more enlightening view of our contemporary American society than most of the bourgeois press.

However, there is one particular aspect of your coverage with which I would take issue, and this pertains to the "Black Muslims." I feel that this represents a regressive rather than a progressive aspect of the Negro struggle for equality. Being a doormat never got anybody anywhere, but the doctrine of white supremacy cannot be successfully countered with black chauvinism. It is self-defeating. Only a true understanding of the basic issues and class solidarity (not racial exclusiveness) can effectively carry forward the struggle.

Sure, the "Black Muslims" are

underdogs, but then so are the American Nazis. The Negro's fight for equality and acceptance as a human being must not be complicated by crank racism or phony religious doctrines. The cry of the "Black Muslims" is, "White man, you can't segregate me, 'cause I'll segregate myself." The answer does not lie in a crackpot interpretation of the Qur'an or in supplanting a black man's god, but in comprehending (and acting on) the concepts of scientific socialism as first enunciated by Marx and Engels.

E.L.

[We are opposed to all forms of chauvinism and thus reject all claims that any particular groups of mankind are inherently or by destiny superior in worth or ability to any others. But we consider it a great mistake to equate the chauvinism of oppressors with the chauvinism of the oppressed. The chauvinism of the oppressed is a self-defense, reflex mechanism. It attempts with words to counteract the feelings of inferiority which white supremacist society daily tries to inculcate into Negroes; it is also an attempt to get even with the oppressors by saying back to them everything they do and say to Negroes. But white supremacy is a verbalization of what exist in fact — economic and social oppression, lynchings, frame-ups and a million and one daily insults and injustices.

The socialist attitude to white supremacists should be one of declared war; towards black chauvinists it should be one of patiently trying to explain. But to win the right even to do this, a white socialist must first prove himself a militant, all-the-way fighter against Jim Crow in all its forms. Since Marxists do not believe in the supernatural — the very premise of all religions — the concept of a black god seems to them no more ludicrous than the concept of a white god.

But we believe these aspects of the Muslim movement, though the most publicized, are not the most significant. What attracts the working-class Negroes to it, and what alarms the powers-that-be are 1) its brutal frankness in describing the position of the Negro in the U.S. and how Negroes actually feel about it; 2) its insistence that Negroes must control and lead their own organizations dispensing with the guidance of white liberals; and 3) its preaching and practice of self-defense against police brutality.—  
EDITOR]

## Origin of 'Paper Tiger'

New York, N.Y.

I also would like to commend *The Militant* for publishing the texts of the statements from the Peking People's Daily. I think it is interesting that the term "paper tigers" is being used again, for it is not a new term. It was first used during the Second Chinese Revolution.

A glossary of names and terms in Trotsky's book, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*, offers this explanation: "Paper Tigers: movement set afoot by bourgeois compradors and commercial forces in Canton in October 1924 for the overthrow of the Sun Yat Sen government. Quickly defeated."

From that point, the Chinese revolutionaries referred to the bourgeoisie, or capitalist class, as "paper tigers."

R.S.

## Thought for the Week

"The longer their patience is maintained, the more violent will be their explosion when they reach the limit of their endurance." — Former United Mine Workers President John L. Lewis in an April 3 speech in which he said he was "astonished" at the patience of the nation's 6,000,000 jobless,

## For Friend in Cuba

Palo Alto, Calif.

Because of its unusual coverage of events in Cuba and Latin America, *The Militant* would greatly interest a liberal U.S. Protestant teacher for a decade in Cuba, one who stayed at her post, fascinated by the revolution. Could the paper be sent to her?

I don't know if she has time to write about the educational progress there and the new status of the 30 per cent of Cuba that is of African ancestry in whole or in part — previously neglected and discriminated against.

She would appreciate receiving some of your pamphlets on the Cuban revolution which show that not all being published in the vast, powerful USA about struggling little Cuba is false propaganda or hysterical jingoism.

Reader

## A Fund Director's Friend

Chicago, Ill.

With postal rates now raised and with more raises sure to come as time passes I think it would be a fine idea if you were to make a direct appeal to all readers to help meet your postal deficit. No sense in your trying to pay all of it, but let us share this burden together. I am willing to start by sending in the first dollar beginning next week. I'm sure many others would want to assist on such a program.

S.T.R.

## We Thank You

Los Angeles, Calif.

Please find enclosed my check for \$3 for a year's subscription to your paper.

I'm looking forward to reading it as I have just finished reading the copy of a friend and enjoyed the experience very much.

J.M.

## Chicago Rent-Gougers

Chicago, Ill.

After leaving apartment-barren New York City, you can imagine the joy at arriving in a city with a newspaper that carried pages of ads for apartments to rent.

The shock comes when you go to rent one, and are presented with a form at the renting agent's office, to fill out, that asks where you lived before, your landlord's name, the owners' names, your last job, your present job, your bank account numbers, your mother's maiden name, three people who will be checked for references, and their places of employment, and on and on.

When I found a place that was willing to rent that day and checked later, I was further surprised in the lease I was asked to sign. Not one single right in there for me. Two full pages of landlord's rights!

As I walked around the neighborhood in the next few days it seemed odd to me that I kept seeing so many for-rent signs around, and yet the rents remained the

same. It would be natural to think they would lower them or do like some cities which give two or three-rent free months to get tenants in. But apparently in this section of Chicago the agents are well organized and instead of lowering the rents they actually are increasing them!

One neighbor tells me in the three years he had three raises totaling \$9. The tops was a friend who has just been asked for a \$20 a month increase. And this doesn't even include a paint job. Instead, when her husband was patching up the plaster in the walls, in hopes of at least getting the landlord to provide the paint, he was told, "if you like to putter around get your own house to putter around in, this one is alright just like it is." Despite the fact that it hadn't been painted in 5 years.

I don't know all the special reasons given for these high rents, nor do I know what the rest of the city is like, but I do know that the people living in the Hyde Park area could stand some laws giving them a few rights, and most of all a ceiling on rents.

Beatrice Hansen

## Likes Labor Coverage

Baltimore, Md.

Keep up the good reporting on important strikes. *The Militant* is about the only place one can find comprehensive labor news.

K.M.

# It Was Reported in the Press

**Confused?** — J. E. Haley, spokesman for "Texans for America," says: "The stressing of both sides of a controversy only confuses the young and encourages them to make snap judgements based on insufficient evidence. Until they are old enough to understand both sides of a question they should only be taught the American side."

**Limp Alliance** — "In inaugurating the Alliance for Progress, President Kennedy insisted that economic and social progress must come within the framework of freedom and political democracy . . . But the emergence of three new military governments in Latin America since the advent of the Alliance for Progress, accompanied by what appears to many Latin Americans as United States approval of them, has helped weaken the already limp political and ideological standing of the Alliance." — The April 6 *New York Times*.

**Large-Hearted Louie** — A press release from the office of New York Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz contains this grandiose offer: "Law students will have the opportunity to gain experience in their future profession under the guidance of Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz. He said students interested in volunteering to work without salary should apply in writing . . ."

**Maturity Quotient** — The head of Maryland's Frostburg State Teachers College denies he fired four teachers for planning to use such books for studies as *Lady Chatterly's Lover*, *Lolita* and *Tropic of Cancer*. He canceled the book orders but insisted the teachers were fired for "immaturity."

It is reported he also suspected one of the teachers of having been responsible for a recent campus visit by Norman Thomas. The firings were protested by several hundred picketing students. One picket sign declared: "Wanted, conformists and provincial thinkers. No original thinkers need apply."

**Prosperous Texas** — Texas Employment Commission officials paint a bleak picture of the prospects for Dallas area high school and college students seeking a job for the summer. "We will probably be able to place one out of every ten applicants we get," a spokesman predicted.

**Working Mothers** — Urging a program of adequate care facilities for children of working mothers, Joseph Reid, executive director of the Child Welfare League noted that two out of five women with children are working today. He said the number of working women with children under six has increased 400 per cent in the last decade.

**Economic Theory Dep't** — Martin Gainsburgh, chief economist for the National Industrial Con-

ference Board, says that what's needed to give business a boost is the "creative spark that springs in good part from the 'puritan ethic.'" Like, "Rook thy neighbor?"

**Capitalist Realism?** — A record reviewer in *Cue* magazine likes Bossa Nova music, among other reasons, because "it's a kind of Alliance for Progress, spanning the Caribbean (discreetly side-stepping the issue of Afro-Cuban influence), its roots firmly implanted in Brazilian soil."

**Baylor 'Idealist' Still Busy** — Last December Baylor University President Abner McCall shut down a university drama department production of Eugene O'Neill's *Long Day's Journey Into Night*. McCall said the play was not in keeping with the university's "ideals." Faculty members associated with the production resigned from the theater group in protest. Now Mrs. Frances Provenance has resigned as editor of the university's ex-student association magazine because she was ordered to omit the faculty members' statement of resignation from the magazine.

## 10 YEARS AGO

### IN THE MILITANT

"Since liberals and reformers are so fond of using the old cliché, 'Socialism won't work,' we can't resist the temptation, every once in a while, to see just how well their solutions to recognized social problems work.

"Their solutions are based on the contention that capitalism can and does work, with a few adjustments and reforms now and then. And they cite as examples of progress cities like Cleveland, 'the best location in the nation . . .'

"Let's take a look at one important aspect of this 'best location' — its housing situation. An editorial in the *Cleveland Call & Post* last week summed up the main features as follows: The West Side of the city is 'so tightly barred against Negro residence that less than 2% of the whole county colored population lives West of the Cuyahoga River.' The Housing Authority 'does not dare put Negroes in federally-aided housing on the West Side for fear of having hate-mongers attack the whole public housing structure.'

"These things happen in the year 1953, in a northern city, Cleveland, 'the best location in the nation.'

"All we can say to those who have faith that capitalism can be reformed to eliminate discrimination and segregation is that their methods don't seem to work very well." — April 13, 1953.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"A steadily growing number of vicious anti-labor laws are being placed upon the statute books of this nation . . .

"What is behind this anti-labor offensive? Undoubtedly fear is a prime motive force [of the capitalist class] . . . But another major consideration on their part is the fact that the leaders of labor today, the Greens, Murrays, Hillman's etc., are their political allies and that they need fear no political retaliation from these toadies.

"These leaders of labor support the capitalist political parties. Consequently they have done their utmost to prevent labor from organizing its own mighty forces in competition to these parties . . .

"There is only one way to meet the growing menace and that is by facing the political enemy on the political arena.

"It is high time to organize an Independent Labor Party!" — April 10, 1943.

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## While Production and Profits Soar

## List of Long-Term Jobless Triples in 5 Years

By Robert Shann

1962 was a year of prosperity, which means that it was a year of record profits and record output for the corporations that run the economy of the United States. In the midst of the economic upturn, as the huge profits rolled in for the rich and powerful, the working people suffered a continuous unemployment. In the wealthiest country in the world, with the highest technology and greatest industrial plant, in the middle of a boom, unemployment is a hardship upon a vast section of the American population.

Government intervention into the economy in the form of the largest budget in peacetime history, with tens of billions being poured into the war machine, has not been able to achieve full employment even during the favorable phase of the economic cycle. Output is increasing, but the figures issued by Ewan Clague, director of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, show the "seasonally adjusted" rate of unemployment consistently above 5.5 per cent of the work force.

A survey of 69 major manufacturers reported in the March 12 *Wall Street Journal* indicates that while business is better and orders are increasing, there are no plans by the capitalists to hire more workers. The increase in production is being taken up by machines, not men.

The *Journal* quotes a spokesman for the Aluminum Co. of America (Alcoa): "Business is better than a year ago but we foresee nothing in increased volume that would result in large callbacks" of laid-off workers. "If our production was the same as a year ago, it's quite likely there would have been some layoffs."



**REMEMBER?** For people who went through the depression of the '30s this was a symbol of unemployment. If present trend continues it may well become symbol for today's young people.

On March 11 Kennedy sent a special report to Congress about unemployment. The report noted that there is a long range trend of increasing joblessness as the economy does not grow fast enough to keep pace with the growing number available for work. Since 1947, the number of jobholders has increased by 17% but the total labor force has increased by 21%. Unemployment after each of the three postwar recessions has remained at progressively higher levels.

The Kennedy report indicated the rise in long-term unemployment in the last five years. Since 1957 the number of those out of work for at least 15 weeks rose 100%, and the number out of work over six months rose 150%.

Within the context of high gen-

eral unemployment, certain sections of the working class are hit hard. The aged, the young, and racial minorities find the present situation with regard to getting jobs especially tough. Automation creates needs for more complex skills at the same time that it is driving even skilled workers onto the streets.

With skilled workers looking for jobs, unskilled and inexperienced young workers find it hard to get jobs and even harder to get real trades. In spite of enlistment in the armed forces, unemployment among teenagers stands at 15.6%. Racially oppressed youth are in a situation bordering on the hopeless. In the boom year of 1959, 27.2% of non-white males in the 18 to 19-year-old bracket were unemployed. These staggering figures can only go up as the general employment picture worsens.

The president's proposed "solution" to the problem is a tax cut. The main points of his proposal are to provide business with plums in the form of reduced taxes on the allegation that businessmen will thereupon invest more money thus stimulating the economy.

The Kennedy administration stubbornly denounces the real way to reduce unemployment — the reduction of the work week with no reduction in pay. From the moment Kennedy took office he bitterly opposed this proposal which would benefit the workers, not the industrialists. Secretary of Labor Wirtz recently reiterated this opposition. Yet reducing the work week to 30 hours with no reduction in pay would spread jobs immediately — approximately one-quarter more jobs would be opened. But this simple and obvious way to solve the problem is anathema to Kennedy because it would cut into the capitalists' profits.

## Big Solidarity Demonstration Helps Small Strike in Calif.

By Lee Stephens

DOWNEY, Calif., April 6 — Organized labor a thousand strong marched today through the business section of this suburb (population: 100,000) of Los Angeles, in response to a "Walk With Labor" call sent out by 16 striking printers and stereotypers at the *Southeast News*.

Represented were auto, rubber, steel, office workers, carpenters, painters and furniture workers, utilities and communications workers, boilermakers, lumber and sawmill workers, paper industries, oil, chemical and packing house workers. Even potters and glass blowers.

It was a colorful, cheerful and determined parade that stuck to its line of march despite police "wishes" that it take a less populous route. The ages of men were also represented — from a two-months-old baby in its union mother's arms, to an 80-year-old union veteran who stubbornly walked every step of the long march.

The rally began with a speech by George B. Roberts, president of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, which has supported the strike all the way. Roberts was a leading figure in the CIO organizing drive of the 1930s and many labor militants of that period walked with him Saturday. One marcher wore the striped overalls and red kerchief of his trade (Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers) and boasted that his union was founded by Eugene V. Debs.

The *Southeast News* has operated with scab labor since it was

struck last September after the breakdown of negotiations with its publisher, John Dennis. He publicly announced his intention to "bust" the union. Two hours after the union struck, Dennis brought in professional strikebreakers and declared that further negotiations would have to begin with union acceptance of the fact that scabs would have seniority over the striking regular employees.

The arrogance of this demand reflected the very attitude which had triggered the strike. A basic area-wide contract had already been signed by the California Newspaper Publishers Association, representing 17 publishers, and International Typographical Union Local 174 and Stereotypers Local 50. Dennis refused to sign that contract.

Besides daily picketing, the strike committee has done an excellent job of saturating the area with union information. In front of stores they distribute leaflets soliciting consumer support in persuading merchants to withdraw advertising from the struck newspaper. They canvass residents asking them not to buy at stores that do advertise. More than 1,000 families have petitioned the city council to enforce a "litter law" to prohibit the publisher throwing his "throwaway" scab sheet on their lawns.

This was the first time any of the 16 strikers had been on a picket line. But after more than six months of picketing, their morale is still high, and they intend to hold out until their demands are met.

## Miss. Vote Drive Gains a Breather



**RESPONSE IN NORTH.** Heeding call of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee for demonstrations protesting arrest of SNCC voter-registration workers in Greenwood, Miss., 250 Chicagoans, mostly students, picket Federal Building. They demanded Justice Department intervene in Greenwood. Among groups participating in March 30 demonstration shown above were Chicago-Area Friends of SNCC, High School Friends of SNCC, Roosevelt U Negro History Club, Afro-American Heritage Ass'n, U of Chicago CORE and Young Socialist Alliance.

By William Bundy

APRIL 9 — After reaching a high point of national attention last week, the Negro voter-registration drive in Greenwood, Miss., has quieted down temporarily. The Negroes have won a minor victory — a promise by the city officials to provide bus transportation for groups of Negroes going from the voter-drive office to the county courthouse to register.

This helps overcome the terror which kept many Negroes from even applying at the courthouse, but it does nothing about the subterfuges by which most Negroes are disqualified when they do apply. In addition, Negroes are still subject to attack by nightriders and to economic reprisals, because the names of applicants are published for two weeks in the local press.

The concession granted by the racist city officials was in return for a promise by the famous comedian Dick Gregory that he would leave town. Gregory's presence, his public ridicule of the racist cops and his participation in the mass actions of the local Negroes, kept the heat of international publicity on the Greenwood officials and the federal government. Those mass actions gave the Negroes of the Mississippi Delta some political bargaining power for the first time since Reconstruction days. It will take a lot more such militant mass actions, and a lot more such putting of the federal government on the spot, to win the Delta Negroes the right to vote.

There are 10,274 whites and 13,576 Negroes of voting age in Leflore county, according to a court brief filed by the federal government. Approximately 95.5 per cent of the whites, but only 1.9 per cent of the Negroes, are registered voters.

The goal of the voter drive is to enfranchise the Negroes in as large a percentage as the whites. To ensure that goal is the duty of the federal government and until that goal is accomplished the federal government is defaulting and allowing criminal terror and subterfuge to rule the county. The Kennedy administration — deathly afraid of the social changes that would come with majority rule in places like Leflore county — is trying to limit its actions to long drawn out court suits and to introducing a weak civil-rights bill in Congress.

The most important fact about

this bill is that no such legislation is needed to empower the federal government to ensure voter rights. The Constitution and the 13th and 14th amendments are enough for that. Kennedy's emphasis on this bill amounts to a declaration that he intends to continue to stall on his obligation to enforce the right to vote of Negroes in Deep South counties.

## Seattle Students Hear Socialist

In Seattle, 135 pupils of Ballard High School overflowed the student activities room to hear Frank Krasnowsky explain the program of the Socialist Workers Party.

The talk was sponsored by the Ballard High School Forum, a student group which invites speakers of all viewpoints. The Forum originally had scheduled a debate between Krasnowsky and Don Flynn of the John Birch Society. Flynn begged off, and separate meetings were scheduled.

Flynn and other Birchites thereupon launched a campaign to bar the SWP representative from speaking. Principal Peter Schneller bowed to the Birchite pressure and canceled Krasnowsky's talk. But the public outcry against this suppression of free speech reached such proportions that Schneller rescheduled the SWP's talk.

Krasnowsky, who is a steelworker, told the youthful audience about the depression of the 1930s and how he had become convinced by Marxist writings of the need and desirability of a socialist society. He also explained how Stalinism had been a betrayal of the Russian Revolution and Socialist ideals.

"The United States is ruled, both economically and politically, by a handful of millionaires," he told the deeply interested audience. "Go through Congress with a fine-toothed comb and you won't find a real representative of the working class."

The speaker said that the SWP believes that the "means of production should belong to the people, and every individual is entitled to a decent standard of living." He pointed out that the SWP opposed U.S. intervention in Cuba, and had opposed Soviet intervention in Hungary.

## Conn. Rubber Workers In Work-Rule Strike

NEW HAVEN — Following a week-long wildcat strike two months ago at the Armstrong Rubber Co., which employs 750, in West Haven, members of Local 93 United Rubber Workers, have just staged another walkout.

This time the company provoked workers in the mill room (90 per cent Negro) by changing the work rules. "Work pools" were reduced from the customary three-man group to a two-man group. The reduction was made as a result of "new methods" and new machines coming into the plant, so that work formerly requiring the three-man group can now be done by two men. The third man has been put on "average," but the other two, facing a new piece-work set-up, feel they will get a cut in pay.

After the last "unauthorized" beef, the company, with the consent of the leaders of the local, imposed very heavy discipline on the workers who walked out — ranging from long probation periods to two-week layoffs to issuance of pink warning slips.

On March 22, union officers persuaded the men to go back to work, but an amendment was voted to the effect that negotiations begin at once. When the mill-room workers reported for the 11 p.m. shift and found that negotiations had not started, a large number refused to work their shift. The next day they were disciplined, with consent of the officers of the local, by being given more pink slips.

Meanwhile, resentment is mounting on both sides. The contract comes up in July; Local 93's elections in September. The men are beginning to talk about replacing officers and company officials are threatening to shut down the plant for six months if any more wildcats occur.