



Photo by Steve Ashton

**CAMERA-SHY.** These children of a jobless coal miner in Hazard, Ky., are unaccustomed to many of the things that are a commonplace among more affluent members of our society. They found a man with a camera an unnerving experience.

## Visiting Students Get a First-Hand View Of the Plight of Jobless Kentucky Miners

By Tom Leonard

Forty-eight students from eleven campuses in New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, spent their Christmas holidays with unemployed coal miners in Eastern Kentucky. They were there at the invitation of Berman Gibson, leader of the Hazard roving-picket movement which last year conducted a militant strike in an attempt to restore union conditions and wages to coal mines in the area.

Gibson and seven other miners were subsequently arrested and indicted on a frame-up charge of conspiring to blow up a railroad bridge. If convicted, they face possible fines of \$10,000 and up to 20 years in prison.

On election day, Nov. 5, Gibson and nine of his supporters, while waiting in line to vote, were arrested on a second frame-up charge. They were accused of armed robbery and assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill, in an incident that allegedly took place nearly a year before. The maximum penalty for armed robbery in Kentucky is death.

It was during a speaking tour of Eastern campuses to raise support for the miners' legal defense, that Gibson invited his stu-

dent audiences to Kentucky. He urged them to see with their own eyes the repressive regime of the coal-boss dominated politicians and courts, as well as the terrible poverty that exists in the area.

Students responded by organizing a "Bring Christmas to Kentucky" campaign. For weeks they solicited food, clothing, and money — both on campuses and in door-to-door collections. In New York and Philadelphia, they collected enough to fill two five-ton trucks. These were provided by the Teamsters Joint Council in Philadelphia and in New York.

In addition, Macy Local 1S of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union provided storage space in its headquarters building. Local 427 of the Amalgamated

Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers in Cleveland, Ohio, donated a truckload of meat. It did not arrive, however, until after the students had left Hazard.

Student collections of money and union donations came to \$800, which was used to buy additional food in Kentucky.

Gibson's supporters arranged for the use of the United Mine Workers hall in Hazard as a distributing center. With the students' agreement, the food and clothing went to miners who had participated in the roving-picket movement. The reason for this was that many of these militants had been blacklisted from jobs and otherwise persecuted for having participated in the strike

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## Top Texas Lawyer Urges Defense for Oswald in Probe

By William Bundy

DEC. 30 — The president of the National Association of Defense Attorneys, Percy Foreman, of Houston, Texas, has called for a defense of Lee H. Oswald before the Warren Commission.

"There is no other way, in my opinion," said Foreman, "that the evidence in this case can be properly evaluated." Foreman, a leading Texas criminal lawyer, made the statement Dec. 29 on the CBS-TV panel show, "The Law and Lee Oswald."

Oswald was accused by Dallas police of assassinating President John F. Kennedy Nov. 22. But the accused man was murdered in the Dallas police station two days after his arrest and before he had obtained a lawyer. He maintained his innocence to the end. A commission to investigate Kennedy's assassination was appointed by President Johnson and is headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren.

Foreman also pointed out a number of contradictions in the "evidence" listed by the authorities who have claimed they have definite

proof that Oswald committed the crime.

Similar inconsistencies were previously pointed out in a brief sent to the Warren Commission by New York defense attorney and former state assemblyman Mark Lane. In a letter accompanying his brief, Lane also urged the commission to appoint a lawyer to defend Oswald posthumously. (Lane will speak on the Oswald case for the Militant Labor Forum on Jan. 24 at the Henry Hudson Hotel in New York City.)

The nature of the Dallas police version of the assassination was commented upon in the Jan. 2 Reporter magazine by Leo Sauvage, the correspondent in the United States of the conservative Paris newspaper *Le Figaro*. Said Sauvage: "Having covered the story as a working journalist on the scene, I must say that I cannot accept as proven facts the incoherent conglomeration of circumstantial evidence against him [Oswald] that was pieced together by the Dallas

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# THE MILITANT

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## Georgia Rights Fighters Sentenced in Frame-Up

DEC. 23 — Slater King, acting president of the Albany Movement, and Rev. Sammie B. Wells, chairman of Negro voter-registration drive in Albany, Ga., received federal sentences today of a year and a day. They were recently convicted on trumped-up perjury charges.

Also sentenced in the same case were: Thomas Chatman, chairman of the voter-education committee, who got five years probation; Robert Thomas, a supporter of the Albany Movement who also got five years probation; and Joni Rabinowitz, a white student at Antioch College who was a SNCC field worker in Albany last summer.

Miss Rabinowitz, 22, was sentenced under the youth-correction act to commitment for four years to the custody of the U.S. Attorney General. Under the act, the Attorney General's office may place her in an institution or may release her on probation to go to school.

All five are free on bail pending appeal. Mrs. Goldie Jackson, the Albany Movement's secretary and only full-time employee, is scheduled to be tried on the same charges in mid-January.

### All-White Juries

The six defendants were accused of withholding information from a federal grand jury investigating charges by a white man. The man claimed the Albany Movement had picketed his store because of his service on a federal jury which had ruled against a Negro. Actually, the pickets had demanded the employment of Negroes as clerks at the store.

Civil-rights attorney Len Holt said after the sentencing: "The wide and seemingly illogical variations in the sentences can be explained only by the degree of leadership exercised by the defendants in the Albany community. If you protest and lead the protest, you will be hit hardest by the federal courts." Holt said the persecution of Miss Rabinowitz means the power structure has sent out the message: "We don't want any white folks down



Joni Rabinowitz

here participating in the freedom struggle."

Slater King commented: "White segregationists can bomb, murder, shoot and plunder at will and with impunity, never fearing that they will be indicted. But black men must face daily death and even persecution from the federal government in attempting to obtain their rights."

The sentencing of the five took place at federal court in Macon, Georgia, before Judge W. A. Bootle, a native of Georgia and an Eisenhower appointee. A crowd of supporters accompanied the defendants. The Reverends Martin Luther King Jr., Ralph D. Abernathy and Wyatt T. Walker, who have been leaders in the civil-rights activities in Albany, were unable to attend the sentencing because of "icy roads" between Atlanta and Macon.

One basis for the appeal will probably be the fact that the defendants were tried by all-white juries. The federal jury commission in Albany draws prospective jurors from names submitted by white fraternal and civic organizations

(Continued on Page 2)

## Hail Anniversary of Cuban Revolution

In a message to Fidel Castro, the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party sent fraternal greetings to the Cuban people on the fifth anniversary of their revolution which came to power January 1, 1959. Signed by Farrell Dobbs, SWP national secretary, the message declared:

The National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, meeting in plenary session in New York City, salutes the Cuban people for their heroic efforts on this fifth anniversary of their great revolution. Were it not for the illegal and unjust ban on travel to Cuba imposed by the U.S. government a great many citizens of our country would be in Havana to participate in celebrating this historic event. Long live the first revolution in the Americas to proclaim socialism as its guide and goal.



Fidel Castro

### "National Humiliation"

An editorial in the Dec. 30 New York Times points out that despite the current boom, "four children out of every hundred in this country are growing up on relief." The editorial adds that "Dependency is becoming an inherited characteristic" and says "It is time to move toward ending this national humiliation."

It certainly is. And, in our view, the way to do it is by eliminating a system of production for profit that breeds poverty in the midst of plenty.



## REPORT FROM LOS ANGELES

## Discrimination Against Mexican-Americans

By Al Johnson

LOS ANGELES — One factor which has been overlooked by many under the impact of the progressing Negro revolution is the vast discrimination against the Mexican-American in the U.S.

Yet this discrimination is a fact strongly borne out by official statistics in various fields such as education, health, employment and politics.

One reason which could be suggested for this lack of attention is that Mexican-Americans, as a national group, are fewer than the Negro people. This, however, is not the case in the southwest and particularly in California, where the Mexican-Americans outnumber Negroes by a half million.

The Mexican-Americans are especially hard hit both in the kind of employment open to them and in their proportion of unemployment. In the California Welfare Study Commission's booklet on dependent poverty, issued by Governor Brown's office last March, it was pointed out that 18% of Mexican-Americans were employed as laborers as against 8% of all California males, and 24% were employed as farm laborers as against 5% of the remaining white population.

When it came to the question

## ...Albany, Ga., Case

(Continued from Page 1)

zations, but ignores Negro organizations. The effect is that only six per cent of the jurors in the second district of Georgia are Negro whereas Negroes are 34 per cent of the district's population. Jury cards in the office of the federal clerk in the district reportedly indicate the race of potential jurors. In addition, during the grand jury investigation of the case last summer, the U.S. attorney in Macon and the special assistant assigned to the case by Attorney General Robert Kennedy, inflamed the white Georgia jurors by asking Joni Rabinowitz about her "social relations" with Negroes in Albany.

The case is being publicized by the National Committee for the Albany Defendants, P.O. Box 922, Albany, Ga.

## Weekly Calendar

## CHICAGO

Railroad Workers Fight Job Slaughter. Which Way to Victory — In the Courts or on the Picket Line? Speaker, Charles Scheer. Fri., Jan. 10, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 South Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

## DETROIT

What Does Lyndon Johnson Really Stand For? An appraisal by Frank Lovell, State Chairman, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 10, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

## LOS ANGELES

Theodore Edwards of the Socialist Workers Party presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly commentary. Fri., Jan. 10, 6:45 p.m. KPFF-FM, 90.7 on your dial.

## NEW YORK

WHICH ROAD TO FREEDOM NOW? An appraisal by Clifton DeBerry, New York State Organizer, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 10, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

JAN. 17 — The Social Crisis in Venezuela, by Peter Camejo, a recent visitor there.

HOLD THE DATE! On Fri., Jan. 24 Mark Lane speaks on Unanswered Questions in the Oswald Case. At the Henry Hudson Hotel.

of unemployment, the study reported it to be twice as high as that of other whites. The report, with restraint, concluded, "Even if discrimination were to disappear overnight, it would still have left its mark on the economic status of the non-white and Mexican-American population: lower levels of seniority, lower occupational patterns and indeed, among the youth lower horizons."

Lack of an adequate physical environment plus the general hopelessness of the future has caused some severe educational problems. One out of every four Mexican-Americans in California has had less than four years of schooling. The average is 8.6 years. This is considerably below that of the remaining white population and less than that of the Negro, who averages a tenth-grade education. School drop-outs are common, creating further competitive disadvantage.

A report entitled "Mexican-Americans in Urban Public High Schools" revealed that 31% of the Mexican-Americans dropped out in comparison with 18.8% of non-Mexicans. Left without an education, discriminated against by business interests, the Mexican-American seeks other means of escape or expression. The California Adult Authority says that 54% of the adult narcotics addicts in California institutions are of Mexican background.

## Health Problem

In our modern society, where nearly all infectious diseases have been brought under control, Mexican-Americans nonetheless suffer from many of these destroyers of health. For example, in one particular neighborhood with a Mexican-American population of from 75 to 99 per cent, 440 cases of tuberculosis were reported in 1962.

## Veterans of Lincoln Brigade To Appeal Registration Order

Two of four organizations ordered to register as "Communist-Fronts" by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C., Dec. 17, have announced they will appeal. These are the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, composed of Americans who fought fascism in Spain, and the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Also covered by the court's decision are the United May Day Committee and the defunct Jefferson School of Social Science.

The Lincoln Brigade's action will take advantage of an unusual feature of the circuit court's ruling — an invitation to petition for reconsideration. Lincoln Brigade spokesman Moe Fishman declared: "Aside from the question of 'stale evidence' which troubles the consciences of even the two judges who gave the majority decision against us, this ruling that we are dominated and controlled by anyone but ourselves is just not true."

Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith, acting chairman of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, issued the following statement:

## Judges' Reasoning

"It is difficult for those without legal training to grasp the reasoning which led two of the three judges of the U.S. Court of Appeals in Washington to affirm the order that the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born register as a Communist-front organization under the McCarran Security Act.

"For 30 years the Committee has worked steadily to gain 'equal justice' for foreign-born Americans. Even the majority opinion of the court states explicitly that 'The American Committee for

According to city authorities, the health problem is similar in the other parts of the Mexican ghetto.

Discrimination affects every phase of life. Thus the Mexican-American population lacks proper political representation. For example, among the 120 state legislators there are only two Mexican-Americans. In Los Angeles, where there are over 500,000 Mexican-Americans, there is no Mexican-American representing his people on the city council.

The seriousness of this discrimination can best be appreciated by first-hand observation of the slum conditions in parts of East Los Angeles, where the main portion of the Mexican population is located. Some of these tracts, which are up to 99 per cent Mexican-American, can by every standard be described as a ghetto.

## Misery for Children

Here, children grow up in the atmosphere of factory smog, leaking roofs, insanitary plumbing, etc. No wonder that the young people strike out in rebellion, in the form of gang warfare or crime or seek to escape, as many do, in the dream world of the narcotic addict.

What seems to this writer to be today's basic problem, the overcoming of which is the key to ending this discrimination, is the political apathy among the Mexican-Americans. The reason that the Negro people have brought the attention of the country and the world upon themselves is the splendid struggle led by such militant organizations as SNCC, CORE, etc. The formation of similar organizations, outside the domination of the two-party power structure, is the real answer to the beginning of a Mexican-American revolution against discrimination.

Protection of Foreign Born undoubtedly devoted the major portion of its efforts to testing the deportation of aliens (Communist and non-Communist) and promoting their naturalization, and that the Committee also opposed the Internal Security Act and other bills introduced in Congress. All of the bills, including the Security Act, contained provisions affecting the foreign born.

## Rights of Foreign Born

"Obviously, the Communist Party also opposed the McCarran Security Act and approved legal action against deportation. But, as the minority opinion of Judge Bazelon rightly says, 'the evidence does not show that the Committee was primarily operated for the purpose of giving aid to the party in advancing any objective rather than for the purpose of advancing the Committee's own objectives which the Party shared.' The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has always believed that all foreign-born residents in the United States are, in the words of Justice Murphy of the Supreme Court, 'invested with the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to all people within our borders.' To defend these rights of the foreign born is and always has been our objective.

"If an organization with such a purpose can be required to register as a 'Communist-front' all organizations working for 'justice for all' (the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the ACLU, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom — even the National Council of Churches) could also be required to register. Appeal to the Supreme Court should establish the validity of Judge Bazelon's opinion."



Hospital workers in Minneapolis and St. Paul have voted to accept a new contract which falls far short of their original demands. The members of Building and Service Employees Local 113 originally asked for wage increases of 50, 30, and 14 cents an hour spaced over a three-year period. The new contract will give them increases of only four — five — and five cents an hour over the same period.

In addition, the 17 hospitals involved will pay five cents an hour into a Health and Welfare fund. It was the promised security of the welfare fund that apparently convinced the workers to accept the contract — by a standing vote — at a general membership meeting. Some workers protested, however, that the rank and file was not clear on how little they were actually getting.

Still unresolved and not included in the new contract are improvements in the miserable working conditions of area hospitals. Miller Hospital in St. Paul, for example, tried to reschedule the starting time of women workers to 5 a.m. which would have created a serious problem for working mothers trying to get children off to school. This was one of the grievances that led to a threatened wildcat strike about three months ago — despite a Minnesota state law prohibiting strikes by public employees.

In Dallas, 225 delegates to the Southern Conference of Teamsters recently heard International Vice President Murray W. Miller, proclaim that union membership and racism are incompatible.

"I've got no respect for any man," said Miller, "who professes to be a member of a trade union who can go out and join a White Citizens Council or the Ku Klux Klan. If I find out — and I've got suspicions — they're going to leave the movement."

"The people who preach in Congress against collective bargaining are the same people who encourage discrimination against minorities... If you feel the way they do, then get the hell out of the Teamsters Union and go join them."

Union membership declined by 487,000 members during 1960-62, according to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Bureau's report put total union membership at 17,630,000, of whom 14.8 million are in the AFL-CIO. The other 2.8 million are in independent unions.

The report listed union membership by occupation as follows: non-manufacturing (service trades, etc.) — 8.3 million; manufacturing — 8.1 million; federal, state, and local government — 1.2 million.

Other important statistics show that there are 3.3 million women union members, and white-collar membership increased some 93,000 to 2.3 million. Also, despite the modest numerical decline of members, organized workers still comprise a potentially powerful 22.2% of the labor force.

Only 2,669 seamen of an estimated National Maritime Union membership of 40,000 voted in a special shoreside election on Dec. 23 to give union President Joseph Curran a \$10,000 a year raise. The vote was 2,597 for, 45 opposed, and 27 abstentions.

Curran's salary will now be \$50,000 a year after taxes, which should allow him to live just about as comfortably as most corporation executives.

The United Mine Workers Journal reports that a statue will soon be erected in Springfield, Ill., to the memory of nearly 9,000 miners killed in mining accidents from 1882 to 1962.

Coal mining continues to be a hazardous occupation according to the Journal which also reports that in West Virginia alone, 108 coal miners were killed in the first nine months of 1963.

The United Mine Workers Union has just suffered a serious legal defeat before the U.S. Court of Appeals in Cincinnati.

The court upheld a \$325,000 award to the Tennessee Coal Co. which had charged the UMW with conspiring with bigger coal companies to put it out of business.

Whatever the merits of this charge, it is motivated by a campaign on the part of the Tennessee Coal Co. to smash the UMW in its mines. The company had earlier violated a contract with the union by refusing to pay the 40-cents-a-ton royalty into the miners' Welfare and Pension Fund. It claimed it had been forced to sign the contract because of strike threats. Unless the award to the scab coal operators is reversed, it will set a legal precedent endangering the right of organized labor to strike.

The UMW has announced it will appeal the decision to the U.S. Supreme Court.

## DeBerry Well-Received By Ohio Rights Fighters

CLEVELAND, Dec. 23 — Accepting the proposition that the road to Freedom Now requires a political break with the white power structure, local fighters for civil rights and students had a host of questions for visiting speaker Clifton DeBerry, here last week.

As the only Negro candidate for public office in the recent Brooklyn, N.Y., elections, and a spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, DeBerry was asked what he felt could be achieved by Negro candidates running against the entrenched Democratic and Republican machines. There were also questions about the problems of getting on the ballot, of prospects for the Freedom Now Party nationally, of the relation between the growing Negro conflict with the defenders of the status quo, and the socialist opposition to the same enemy.

In a brief four-day visit, DeBerry spoke at a public meeting of the Freedom Fighters of Ohio, sharing the platform with Richard Henry and James Boggs of Detroit and with prominent local leaders of the rent strike initiated by the Cleveland Committee on Racial Equality; at the Cleveland Militant Forum; at a meeting of the Free Speech Forum on Western Reserve University campus, and with students at Oberlin College. He also visited the headquarters of the Monroe Defense Committee here.

DeBerry concluded his visit in Ohio with a meeting in Cincinnati made up largely of students and members of the peace movement. The lively question-and-discussion period revealed a general feeling that independent political action is necessary to advance a meaningful program for peace, jobs, housing and other social needs, as well as civil rights.

"Now one of the first steps which Fascism must take in any land in order to capture power is to disrupt and destroy the labor movement. It must rob trade unions of their power to use the strike as a weapon." — Heywood Brown (1888-1939)



# THE MILITANT

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Monday, January 6, 1964

## State Dep't Rapped by ACLU For Its Snooping Practices

NEW YORK — The American Civil Liberties Union has protested the Big Brother procedures engaged in by U.S. government snoopers here in the U.S. and elsewhere in the "free world." Specifically criticized are electronic eavesdropping on the conversations of government employees and the reading of all mail between West Germany and Cuba.

The ACLU statement, released by Executive Secretary John de J. Pemberton, Jr., condemned such practices as "a blatant invasion of personal privacy which no agency of a democratic government should employ." Two specific instances of such practices were cited.

One concerned the firing of State Department employee, Otto F. Otepka, chief security evaluations officer. Ironically, Otepka was one of the chief snoopers for the McCarthyites before the State Department by illegal snooping got enough evidence to fire him.

Secretary of State Rusk dismissed Otepka for leaking confidential material to another governmental body — Senator Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee.

Three State Department officials — John F. Reilly, David I. Belisle and Elmer D. Hill — involved in getting the evidence against Otepka, were called before the Eastland committee last summer. They denied that Otepka's telephone had been tapped. Later Reilly and Hill admitted in writing that an electronic eavesdropping device had been attached to Otepka's phone, not only to record phone conversations but all conversations in his office.

They claimed, however, that the device proved faulty, recording only phone conversations, and was consequently removed after a few days and that the evidence against Otepka had been obtained by rummaging through his wastebaskets. Because of the scandal over this revised testimony Reilly and Belisle had to resign.

The ACLU statement said, "the



Dean Rusk

Fourth Amendment's prohibition against illegal search and seizures clearly bars governmental invasions of personal communications of citizens." It further noted that one of the evils of wire-tapping is that it records "not selected statements but every conversation of the individual under surveillance, even the most intimate and revealing."

The other case cited by the ACLU stems from the revelation in the West German magazine, *Der Spiegel*, that the U.S. is screening personal mail between West Germans and Cubans. The West German Constitution specifically bans wire-tapping and tampering with the mail. But German officials have made an exception for former military occupiers turned allies, such as the U.S. As a result 23 cases of wire-tapping have been reported in 1963.

The mail between West Germany and Cuba, which is read by U.S. officials, totals some 160,000 letters and postcards a year.

## ... Urges Defense for Oswald

(Continued from Page 1)

police — and immediately divulged to the world — in the first days after the crime."

Among the "loose ends" in the case to which Sauvage points is the question of Oswald's leaving the building when it was supposedly being watched by police. Says Sauvage: "When Oswald left the building . . . nobody even asked him his name. What were the dozens of policemen doing?" Many of the reporters covering the story asked themselves this question the day after the crime . . . For if Oswald was able to leave the building it is clear that others could have left it too. In short, the unbelievable carelessness of the Dallas police has left open a possibility that the assassin was some unidentified person who was also in the building at the moment of the shooting and who left undetected."

Sauvage says the circumstances were "very odd indeed" regarding the police announcement about the finding of a map in Oswald's room

on which the assassination spot was marked. He points out that Oswald's landlady saw police take a map of Dallas from Oswald's room shortly after his arrest. There is nothing unusual in having a street map. But the announcement that the map was marked wasn't made until two days later. This was despite the fact that the police were announcing all sorts of things apparently as soon as they uncovered them.

Sauvage carefully comments: "I do not mean to insinuate that anyone tampered with the document. But this is surely the sort of question that would have been pursued relentlessly by any halfway competent defense attorney — and that could have made a shambles of the case against the man accused . . ."

Sauvage concludes: "Even if Oswald had lived, I do not see how he could have been convicted, or the conviction upheld on appeal, after an investigation like the one I watched being performed by the Dallas police." But Oswald didn't get a trial.

### BOOK REVIEW

## An Important Work on the Status of Women

THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE. By Betty Friedan. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 410 pp., \$5.95.

The thesis of this important book is that after a long fight for emancipation and recognition, American women during the last 15 years have reverted to limiting themselves to their biological roles of wife and mother.

Persuaded by the subtle propaganda glorifying the role of wife and mother, which the author calls the "feminine mystique," the American woman has been crushed in the housewife's trap. She is nothing except in relation to the husband, home and children. Her identity as a person is never achieved. The answer to this lack of independent identity, Betty Friedan says, is in a role in society beyond that of housewife and mother, and beyond a job that is simply a job. Only through a role in some field which requires training and commitment can a woman achieve the satisfaction of recognition and identity as a person.

### Wife and Mother

The author, herself a wife and mother, is a Smith College graduate and a magazine writer. In her book she spends many pages blaming the male editors of women's magazines for building up the "feminine mystique." The social and economic reasons for it, she says, is to sell more consumers' goods for the home. Advertisers are the villains.

Confining women to the home, she says, is not only a social waste but personally harmful. The comfortable suburban housewife is acutely restless and further frustrated because she is unable to articulate her problem. It's just "the problem that has no name." The drive for maturity and intellectual growth is as basic as the drives for food and sex. It is as important for women as for men. When it is frustrated — even if by the woman's own lack of



Betty Friedan

consciousness of it — all kinds of problems break loose — from alcoholism and sexual promiscuity to child-beating and suicide.

Although more people — both men and women — are going to college today than 15 years ago, what happens is that the girls drop out to get married. Only underdeveloped countries and primitive societies have as high a percentage of teen-age marriages as the contemporary U.S. Surveys show that early marriage tends to retard personal development — or at any rate the two are found to be parallel — with the retardation greater for the woman.

That women play an important economic role in the family, outside the middle-class with which Mrs. Friedan concerns herself, is not denied. There are 4.5 million women who are the primary supports of their families, and 3.5 million work because their husbands earn less than \$3,000 a year. These women play an essential so-

cial role. Yet instead of recognition the feminine mystique makes them feel guilty for not being at home. They are blamed for juvenile delinquency. Although the author shows that a woman with an important activity outside the home is a better mother because she is a more developed person. She does not depend on her children for her own identity in a "sad, sick love affair with her own children."

### Professionals Decline

Dr. Mary I. Bunting, president of Radcliffe College recently said: "We have not barred women from professional education, but neither have we given them much encouragement. The result is that today women constitute a smaller proportion of our highly trained manpower than they did 20 years ago, although quite the opposite is true in many European countries."

Women deserve encouragement because even though one has the courage to insist on being more than a woman — Whether as a doctor or as a socialist — she has to fight for her development and her role all the way. She has to fight against an Uncle Tom attitude in her own thinking, a thinking which is part of the culture of our class society.

This has been called the most important book on the woman question in the last 20 years, going beyond Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*. I don't agree. Important as this book is I believe it has a number of weaknesses. While Betty Friedan applies her thesis to women in general, she confines her scrutiny mainly to middle-class, college-educated women. Nor does she probe broader aspects of women's position as second-class citizens in our society or the deeper causes of the "feminine mystique" itself. The social cause goes far deeper than the influence of advertisers in women's magazines.

### Deeper Causes

Actually the author only hints at deeper social causes of the retreat of American women during the last 15 years. Thus she says, "It was easier, safer to think about love and sex than about communism." She also notes that in this period American painters "retreated into abstract expressionism that flaunted discipline and glorified the evasion of meaning." Ignored, however, is the impact of the witch-hunt, McCarthyism and the cold war. The 1950s of the "trapped housewife" was also the period of the "silent generation" in the colleges and the decade was ushered in by the expulsion of "red-tainted" unions from the CIO.

But the Negro Revolution has put its stamp on the 1960s. The Negro is fighting for rights, identity and development. Woman, too, must fight against the abuses which confront her a thousand times a day. It is in adding to the consciousness of these abuses that *The Feminine Mystique* makes a great contribution.

—Della Rossa

## ... Students Visit Ky. Miners

(Continued from Page 1)

and were in most desperate need.

The national newspaper publicity given the student visit to Eastern Kentucky pictured them as having a warm, jolly Christmas while dining on "mountain beans, cornbread, sorghum and wild game." That was a false picture. For two days they worked around the clock to distribute their gifts to the miners. They often walked miles to reach homes in snow-bound hollows, since all but the main roads were impassable.

Prior to their visit, students were enthusiastic about the response to their appeals for contributions for the miners. For example, Judith Egan, a Columbia University student was elated on Dec. 19 with the growing pile of warm clothing stored in Local 15's headquarters. She also expressed the idealism of some of the students when she said the campaign was "strictly apolitical — its humanitarian."

### Students Appalled

After arriving in Hazard and seeing the extent of the poverty and realizing how inadequate their contribution was despite all their work, most of the students were appalled. Diane Glasser, for example, commented, "What we give out is pitifully small when they need so much. How much can we collect for so many families of 12 and more with fathers out of work for years."

Some students resented the wide publicity given their visit because it did not accurately record all that they had said.

When Gibson arranged for them to have Christmas dinners with miners' families, for example, they had felt "so ashamed to eat" the

miners' meagre rations that they bought canned food to take along.

The Hazard miners, however, were heartened by the students' visit, according to Hamish Sinclair, Secretary of the Committee for Miners, 96 Greenwich Ave., N.Y., which is raising funds for the miners' legal defense. He said: "The miners were amazed by the activity of the kids and the fact that they would even think of doing something like this."

Berman Gibson observed: "These miners know that this is a gesture of help and they appreciated it. I hope this support to these men, who have protested the bad conditions down here for over a year now, will bring national attention to the plight of the unemployed miners of the Eastern Part of Kentucky. The miners need this kind of help, but it's jobs we need — not handouts."

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## EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH A REVOLUTIONARY LEADER

# Social and Political Factors Behind

[The following is a translation of an interview granted to *Militant* correspondent Antonio Vargas by Dr. Domingo Alberto Rangel, national secretary of the *Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionario* (Movement of the Revolutionary Left). The interview took place in Venezuela prior to the Dec. 1 elections. The MIR, formerly the left wing of the *Accion Democratica*, the ruling party, split off in opposition to Betancourt's pro-imperialist policies. Dr. Rangel, a member of the chamber of deputies, was stripped of his parliamentary immunity and jailed in the roundup of oppositionists in the weeks preceding the election.]

**Question:** The Betancourt government is presented by the U.S. government as a model democracy. Has this government fulfilled its campaign promises of agrarian reform and nationalization of some industries? Has it been a democratic government?

**Answer:** The Betancourt government is as democratic as that of Diem in Vietnam or of Franco in Spain. For the last three-and-a-half years in Venezuela there have existed no democratic rights. The country has been subjected to frequent suspensions of constitutional guarantees, more or less prolonged. But besides the suspension of guarantees, there exists a regime of deception that is completely fascistic.

This affects the most combative popular organizations. At this moment, the militants of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) and the Communist Party (PCV) have absolutely no liberties. The police can shoot them in accordance with a new right which Mr. Betancourt has discovered — that of shooting first and asking questions later. The militants of these parties can be jailed without the control of any written legal norms and, in general, the militants of both the MIR and the PCV cannot carry on any legal or normal political activity.

Venezuela has been converted in this manner into a sort of military encampment, governed by a civilian named Romulo Betancourt who is simply the expression of the military as well as civilian *camarillas* [secret governing cliques] which today dominate the country.

As to the electoral promises of Betancourt, the present government has carried out absolutely none of them. The agrarian reform has been a total swindle. The government has not touched the holdings of the *latifundistas* [big land owners]. But, instead, in four years of work has devoted itself to buying estates at fabulous prices to enrich favorites, distributing the land among handfuls of peons and *conqueros* [squatters, peasants given tiny plots on an estate] who form the political clientele of *Accion Democratica* (AD) [Betancourt's party].

The agrarian reform has been in substance reduced to this.

As far as the reforms in matters of petroleum are concerned, the end result of the politics followed by Betancourt's government has been that today the profits of the imperialist trusts, which control our petroleum, are much higher than in 1959 when Betancourt came to power.

In that year, 1959, the profits of the Creole Petroleum Corporation, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey, had fallen to ten per cent of the invested capital. Today the return is 20 per cent of the invested capital. In 1959 the collection of taxes on petroleum exceeded three billion bolivares [\$1 equals 3.35 to 4.5 bolivares]. Today the figure remains exactly the same despite the fact that production is 15 per cent greater than in 1959.

In sum, the politics of nationalistic reform that Betancourt has eulogized, has produced an increase in the benefits for the imperialist interests and an impoverishment for the interests of Venezuela as a nation.

**Q. What has been the effect of the Alliance for Progress on the Venezuelan people?**

**A.** The Alliance for Progress is known here because of two very colorful circumstances. First, because the present administrator of the alliance, Mr. Teodoro Moscoso, was U.S. ambassador to Venezuela until the end of 1961. When the program of the alliance was formulated by President Kennedy, Mr. Moscoso was in Caracas. In his automobile the university students found some documents revealing the contempt with which the imperialist interests treat the peoples of Latin America.

That discovery, plus the resistance of the Venezuelan people to receiving an ambassador a semi-Yankee Puerto Rican, made Mr. Moscoso famous. And that fame, that sorrowful fame, which he enjoyed in our country was transmitted, as if from father to son, to the Alliance for Progress.

The alliance has also become famous in our country because it is financing some curious programs called "community developments," which some hackneyed planner copied from the experience of India. "Community development" consists in a certain patching up of the huts in the suburbs and poorest villages of the country.

Just as Nehru has done in India where he cleans the traditional facade of misery up a little, the program of "community development" in Venezuela consists in sweeping the streets a little and painting the houses. And this is pompously called the "development of the community." Until now this has been the principal work of the Alliance for Progress with the funds which that program allotted to Venezuela.

In another area there was a project financed under the auspices of the alliance which also gained a certain fame. This was construction of 20 or 30 aqueducts in cities of minor importance. These aqueducts were built with pipe bought in the United States at the very moment that the *Siderurgica del Orinoco* [a national steel plant] was beginning to produce those very pipes on a mass scale here in our own country; and as yet they did not have a market in Venezuela. Buying those pipes in the U.S. created a market problem for the *Siderurgica* which had just been pompously and patriotically inaugurated by Mr. Betancourt.

**Q. In view of the fact that the MIR and the PCV are at present "disqualified," which is tantamount to their illegalization, what has been the position of the MIR towards the December presidential elections?**

**A.** Regarding the presidential elections we stated an extremely clear criterion which is very well known to all people of democratic opinion in Venezuela. In the first place we declared that we are not against all types of elections. We are not dogmatists who, because we have avowed socialist ideals, are going to attack any type of election.

For avowed Marxists like ourselves, the problem concerning elections arises from concrete reality. We can participate in elections if we have sufficient guarantees for bringing our program to the widest layer of the people, to mobilize the masses in order to lead the oppressed to important battles against the exploiting classes.

Now in face of the elections called by Betancourt, the actual elections planned for December 1963 in Venezuela, we have said that in the first place we consider them fraudulent because the two most important revolutionary vanguards, the MIR and the PCV will be absent from them. This is by virtue of the fascistic decree of disqualification, which in practice is equivalent to the illegalization of both our organizations.

## Elections Not Free

For us it is clear that elections in which the representatives of the working class cannot participate are not valid elections and have not the slightest importance from the point of view of social dynamics; because in such elections only the interests of the ruling class, or of those who play up to the ruling class, will predominate.

In other words, in elections of this type the people don't have the opportunity to choose between oppressors and oppressed; which, as we said, would be necessary to justify the participation of Marxist parties in an electoral process staged by a bourgeois regime, or what is worse, in the case of Venezuela, a regime dominated by U.S. imperialist interests.

In the second place, we have maintained that in these elections deliberate fraud by — and for the advantage of — the present *camarilla* holding power will take place without restraint.

For us the problem of the elections cannot be separated from what Venezuela represents not only in the Latin American and world arena, but what it represents in the present struggle, between the revolutionary and reactionary forces on an international scale. Venezuela is much too precious a country for the imperialists.

Recently, the editorial writer of *L'Express* of Paris said — and in this I am in complete agreement — that imperialism at this mo-

ment has three great problems in the world. These are the rebellion of the Negroes in the United States, the revolutionary struggle in Vietnam, and the revolutionary struggle in Venezuela. Viewed in this manner, it is evident that the imperialists cannot permit a country as important as Venezuela to slip from their hands — a country over which they exercise complete control through the puppet government of Betancourt.

In these elections then, all the state machinery of the ruling class in the service of imperialism, will be put into motion to commit all kinds of abuses to get those results enabling them to maintain the status quo.

We have also been categorical in showing that we are not disposed to enter into a coalition of progressive forces, if the personality, the interests, the aspirations and the program of the Marxist parties — that is, of the MIR and PCV — are not admitted in that coalition. In other words, we are not disposed to participate in the elections within a democratic coalition at the tail of the bourgeoisie, with the petty-bourgeois parties which basically represent the interests of the bourgeoisie. If a democratic coalition is formed here, the Marxist parties should play a vanguard role and have important positions within it, for it is they who have been waging the most difficult part of the struggle since the Betancourt dictatorship was enthroned.

## Why We Abstain

In sum, we believe that the elections will not be free, since the two most important vanguard parties of the people are illegalized. We believe that in the elections there will be fraudulent intentions to maintain the present status quo in the country. What is more, in those elections either the interests of the ruling class will predominate, or the interests of those who — although in the opposition — at bottom serve the interests of the ruling class.

Under these conditions we believe that there is nothing to look for in the electoral process and that definitively we would have to take an attitude of militant abstention at the head of the Venezuelan people.

**Q. What is the relation between the URD (Union Republicana Democratica) and the MIR? What is the significance of the present controversy between the two parties?**

**A.** The differences with URD are not new, of course, but have existed for some time. They became public at the rally in the Plaza del Silencio. [On Aug. 30, 1963, URD leaders staged an election rally at this plaza, which is the traditional meeting place of the Venezuelan working class. They invited the MIR and CPV, the two working-class parties which were banned from running in the elections. The mass of people who showed up were MIR and CPV supporters. They booed right-wing URD leaders. When the MIR and CPV supporters left the rally, it fell apart. URD then made a slanderous public attack on the left which the MIR and CPV answered publicly on Sept. 6.]

What do these differences consist of? In the first place, URD which is a petty-bourgeois party, maintains the thesis that its role is that of axis and vanguard in the struggle against the government. And so it attempts to control and direct the coalition which — within or outside the elections — confronts the government of Betancourt.

Secondly, since it is a petty-bourgeois party with ties in the ruling class, some of whose personalities are in the party, they

## How Betancourt's

American news media hypes the elections as a great victory for Betancourt and for U.S. policy. The elections were held at all and in the face of a call for boycott by the Forces of National Liberation.

The FALN took the position of abstention from voting because Betancourt's parties, the Movement of the Revolutionary Left, the Communist Party, from the chamber of deputies of these parties and jailed and pulped points outlawed.

Working against a success in making voting compulsory. 90-day jail sentences, fines and sterner's yearly rent, loss of being barred from employment from entering or graduating, barred from leaving the country.

The Betancourt government was cast. Election manuals cited 3,240,000 as a base figure but eligible to vote and that 3,240,000. Thus of those expected to register.

A second important feature in the vote for Betancourt's government party. In Venezuela's first election, in 1958, of dictator Perez Jimenez, a left wing of AD split off, consequently outlawed. In the 1963 election, 32.8% of the vote cast. (In 1958, 14%.)

By adding to AD President vote, the total vote for Cald candidate but whose party — in coalition with AD, a total of 60% for the government. But anywhere from 10% to 25% to account, this is far from a

maintain also that it is not necessary to make a public pact with the MIR and the PCV. They presume to have with us what we would call a morganatic marriage, i.e., to arrive at a midnight understanding with the MIR and the PCV but by light of day to deny in a perfectly Philistine manner those agreements celebrated the day before.

Without question, what URD aspires to is to win governmental power with the votes of the MIR and PCV without making a concession of any kind. Now if the situation in Venezuela were different, if we were in a period of relative or prolonged stabilization of the present regime and economic situation here, possibly URD would have a whole series of advantages over us.

If Venezuela was like Uruguay, whose national capitalism is more or less stable and whose revolutionary forces are very weak, the pretensions of URD might have some validity, and it might even be possible that the Marxists parties would co-operate.

## No Pact With URD

But in Venezuela we have been living in a revolutionary situation for several years. Under these conditions it would be absurd and equivalent to a capitulation if two Marxist parties which have engaged in the most extreme forms of struggle and which have managed themselves skillfully and with foresight in an explosive situation — should accept the pretensions of this party.

Personally, I am very pessimistic about arriving at any pact or understanding with URD; and when I speak of URD I am referring to all the petty-bourgeois Venezuelan parties which, to a greater or lesser degree, have the same position as URD.

Here these parties are not only in decay but in decomposition. They were products of another era and are now in dire contradic-

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# ed Venezuela's Political Struggle

**arty Really Fared**

**l the recent Venezuelan elec-**  
**ing President Romulo Betan-**  
**story consists in that the elec-**  
**e claimed size of the vote in**  
**the pro-Castro FALN (Armed**  
**n that people should abstain**  
**ad barred the two pro-Cuban**  
**evolutionary Left (MIR) and**  
**ballot. Moreover some 30 sen-**  
**ties had been removed from**  
**tions representing their view-**

**ul boycott were severe laws**  
**alties for abstainers include:**  
**lling five per cent of the ab-**  
**employment compensation, be-**  
**a public works, being barred**  
**om a university, and being**

**claims a total vote of 2,918,350**  
**ated before the elections gave**  
**indicated there were 4,000,000**  
**0 were expected to register.**  
**r almost 700,000 did not vote.**  
**of the elections was the drop**  
**ion Democrática, the govern-**  
**popular election in 1946, AD**  
**r the revolutionary overthrow**  
**received 49%. Since then the**  
**ted itself as the MIR and was**  
**recent elections AD got only**  
**cas, the capital, AD got less**

**al Candidate Leoni's national**  
**who ran as an "opposition"**  
**PEI (Social Christian) — was**  
**2% of the vote cast is arrived**  
**he abstentions — which run**  
**re electorate — are taken in-**  
**majority.**

tion with the times and above all  
with the relationship of command-  
ing forces in the country. Those  
parties already face a dilemma  
which is crystal clear: either they  
come over to the revolutionary  
camp, and stop being what they  
are, or definitively go over to the  
enemy camp. They have no other  
alternative and the very electoral  
process will demonstrate this.

I believe that none of the petty-  
bourgeois parties will survive. I  
refer to those which are in the  
camp of the opposition. Those par-  
ties will emerge from the elec-  
tions completely fragmented. A  
left wing will evolve toward an al-  
liance with, and possibly towards  
integration into, the Marxist par-  
ties to form new combinations or  
new political forces. The right  
wing of those parties will definite-  
ly, and without the least display  
of shame, make common cause  
with Romulo Betancourt, Ken-  
nedy, Winston Churchill, Fran-  
cisco Franco, and the whole gal-  
axy of vulgar reactionary leaders.

**Q. In the statement by the MIR**  
**and PCV, issued Sept. 6, 1963,**  
**in answer to charges by URD, it**  
**stated that both the MIR and**  
**PCV are striving for a "democratic**  
**and patriotic government." What**  
**is meant by this?**

**A.** By "a democratic and pa-  
triotic government," we under-  
stand something like the material-  
ization, in the case of Venezuela,  
of what the Declaration of the  
81 Communist Parties of Decem-  
ber 1960 referred to as the "re-  
gime of national democracy." In  
that declaration there is described  
the peculiar situation of some  
countries which — though in the  
process of struggle against im-  
perialism — do not, however,  
reach the level of socialism nor  
of popular democracy.

A stage is foreseen, which is re-  
ferred to in the document as "na-  
tional democracy"; in which the  
most advanced forces, i.e., the  
avowedly Marxist forces, make

common cause with very progres-  
sive democratic forces and form a  
government which breaks the ties  
with imperialism but which in-  
ternally preserves some of the in-  
stitutions of the past.

A democratic and patriotic gov-  
ernment in Venezuela naturally  
has to break with imperialism.  
But it would essentially be a coali-  
tion government in which the par-  
ties of the left, i.e., the MIR and  
PCV, would make common cause  
with rather advanced people from  
URD, from ARS [a splinter from  
the old-guard AD party, which  
went over to the opposition] and  
from other political sectors of the  
country. We would try to establish  
a socialist regime.

It would be a government which  
would nationalize those sectors of  
the economy directly controlled by  
imperialism. It would also nation-  
alize those sectors of the economy  
dominated by local monopolistic  
capital, but would not touch those  
in which the petty bourgeoisie  
prevail, those sectors in which the  
small, peasant, property-holders  
prevail, etc.

That is what we define as a  
"democratic and patriotic govern-  
ment." It is very similar to what  
the Moscow Declaration called  
"national democracy," which is  
conceived as an indispensable  
stage, and an inevitable prerequi-  
site, to socialism in an under-  
developed country like Venezuela.

**Q. In your opinion, what did**  
**Castro mean when he said that**  
**the revolutionary forces in Venezuela**  
**were the only ones to respond cor-**  
**rectly and quickly to the imperi-**  
**alist blockade of Cuba?**

**A.** I feel that the meaning of  
that statement of Fidel Castro is  
very clear. The only country —  
at least in Latin America — in  
which the revolutionary forces put  
into effect a plan of active solid-  
arity with Cuba during those un-  
fortunate days of the blockade was  
Venezuela.

For us, that is to say, for the  
MIR and PCV, the solidarity with  
and the defense of Cuba was a  
sacred duty and we had to do ev-  
erything in our power to make our  
solidarity known to the Cuban  
Revolution. During the period pre-  
ceding the day the blockade was  
lifted — or, at least, momentarily  
canceled — we in the MIR put  
all party organizations from the  
leadership to the rank and file in  
a state of alert and declared in an  
internal document that from the  
moment the first imperialist bomb  
fell on Cuba, the party organiza-  
tions had to go onto a combat  
footing and wage an implacable  
war against the imperialist enemy  
on Venezuelan soil.

It was this spirit of solidarity,  
with which the revolutionary  
forces of Venezuela were imbued,  
that made possible the actions  
which later echoed throughout the  
international press. And it was  
because of this that Venezuela was  
the only country in Latin America

which gave visible, effective and  
real solidarity to the cause of the  
Cuban Revolution.

Unfortunately, in other Latin  
American countries the leaders did  
not go beyond words. There was  
even one very deplorable case in  
a country to our south [Brazil], in  
which the leaders had called for a  
general strike and suspended it a  
few days before the solution, with  
which we are all familiar, came  
about. Instead of launching a gen-  
eral strike, the leaders in that  
country called it off, thinking,  
perhaps, that after the start of the  
nuclear bombing the opportunity  
for calling a strike would be much  
more favorable, thus employing  
a most absurd strategy.

**Q. The Militant has publicized**  
**some of the activities of the FALN**  
**(Armed Forces of National Lib-**  
**eration). Could you comment on**  
**the existence of guerrilla forces in**  
**the interior of Venezuela, whether**  
**they are growing, and what pop-**  
**ular support they have?**

**A.** As far as guerrilla activities  
are concerned, specifically speak-  
ing, their principal base up to  
now has been in the mountainous  
areas of the State of Falcón in the  
western part of the country. It is  
an area with long traditions of  
guerrilla warfare, where some of  
the bloodiest battles of the Fed-  
eral War, which afflicted Vene-  
zuela between 1859 and 1864, were  
fought. That war was waged al-  
most simultaneously with the Civil  
War in the United States.

In Falcón, the guerrillas, whose  
activities started in the beginning  
of 1962, have had great success in  
the military arena against the  
army. Until now some 2,000 gov-  
ernment troops have three or four  
times surrounded the guerrillas  
but have not even been able to  
break up one of the detachments  
operating in the area.

**Effective Propaganda**

The detachments have also car-  
ried out very effective mass pro-  
paganda. They have applied a cor-  
rect line of struggle. They have  
explained — including by visiting  
the peasants from house to house  
— the meaning of the struggle  
they are waging and the connec-  
tion of this struggle with agrarian  
reform; and how in an under-  
developed country like Venezuela  
the only valid and effective meth-  
od for accomplishing agrarian re-  
form is that of armed struggle.

Through this patient and sys-  
tematic work, they have been able  
to get vast popular support, to the  
point where the army offensives,  
numbering three or four, and very  
well equipped, have failed. With-  
out the support of the peasant  
population, the guerrilla detach-  
ments, numbering not more than  
some 250 or 300 men, would have  
been easily liquidated militarily  
by the larger official army.

But the faith, loyalty, hopes and  
help of the masses have in one  
way or another brought food, in-

formation and medicines to these  
guerrillas. It has made it possible  
for them to survive the strangling  
encirclements which the army has  
attempted.

My personal impression is that  
in that region of Falcón the guer-  
rilla warfare is going to start  
growing and not too much time  
will go by before the guerrilla  
detachments will be able to pass  
from a defensive strategy to a  
situation of equilibrium and from  
this to a military offensive; when  
their growth and power is suf-  
ficient to take that road.

In other parts of the country it  
is very possible that armed strug-  
gle will spread to urban as well

as to rural areas. Speaking of the  
urban struggle, which has been  
publicized by the press in all the  
countries of the world, Caracas as  
well as others of the most impor-  
tant cities in Venezuela, have been  
the scene of an energetic and sus-  
tained struggle which brings  
Venezuela close to the situation in  
Algeria during the fight against  
the French.

And as far as the rural struggle  
is concerned, as I said, it is very  
probable that other regions will  
embark upon guerrilla warfare  
which could reach proportions  
equal to, or greater than, those  
already evidenced in the struggles  
in the State of Falcón.

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## A NOTED CRITIC URGES A CULTURAL ADVANCE

## Why Not Free the Theater from the Whims of Profit-Minded Proprietors?

[Kenneth Tynan, distinguished British drama critic, addressed a symposium on culture held by the Manhattan School of Music. The following is excerpted from the Dec. 1 *New York Times Magazine* report of the speech entitled: "To Divorce Art From Money-Making."

Last summer Tynan was appointed literary manager of Great Britain's new National Theater. For a number of years he had resided in the U.S. and was drama critic of the *New Yorker*. Because of his public defense of Cuba against the lynch campaign in the U.S. press he was grilled in 1960 by the Eastland Committee. Coincident with his trouble with the Senate witch-hunters he began to have passport difficulties. But

apparently he holds to his views. When Cuba was invaded his name headed the list of signers of a protest cable from England.]

\* \* \*

How far we have come from the original definition of art as a social activity that speaks to the whole of society, explaining to us why we are alive and how we are responsible one to another, for our joint, interdependent survival...

The means of redemption became apparent a long time ago. The very idea that good theater should be required to show a profit would seem indecent in Sweden, Denmark, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Norway, Russia, Italy, East and West Germany and France. You might as well insist that public libraries should profiteer, or that the edu-

cational system should pay its way.

Theater in these countries is an amenity for which the state or the municipality — which are simply the individual writ large — holds itself responsible. It is something the public deserves, just as it deserves art galleries, zoos and parks for recreation...

A great backlog of Puritan disapproval had to be dislodged before a British government would consent to spend a penny on an art so trivial. Nobody realized that one of the reasons why the theater had become so trivial was that no public money had been spent on it. Henry James wrote in 1872:

"It is impossible to spend many weeks in Paris without observing that the theater plays a very important part in French civilization..."

## The Hucksters

You could not have said that of the British or American theater. In those countries drama had already been forced into the marketplace — there to compete with every other huckster on the level of shell-game betting and snake-bite remedies. It had become a short-term art — dependent on quick returns, concerned only to produce what the public wants now — not what it might want over a period of five, ten or 20 years.

And this is where official subsidy — as opposed to capricious, private subsidy — makes all the difference. It guarantees continuity. If a certain production fails at first to find an audience, it need not be lost forever; it can be shelved for a while and then, if public opinion changes, brought back on the crest of a new wave.

Subsidy also builds a permanent bridge between the past and the present. On a subsidized Broadway, we would still be able to see Elia Kazan's production of "Death of a Salesman" and "A Streetcar Named Desire." They would be alternating at their respective theaters with a dozen other plays, new and old, performed by permanent acting troupes.

The plays of Chekhov and Gorky have been in the repertoire of the Moscow Art Theater for 60 years, with appropriate changes of cast. Each new generation of playgoers is kept in touch with history. The storehouse of past achievement is permanently open to the public, instead of being irrevocably burned down as soon as the season ends...

## Right to Fail

I took the chair at a drama conference sponsored by this year's Edinburgh Festival. In the course of it, Joan Plowright said with some passion that subsidy meant, above all, a recognition of the artist's right to fail. "Millions of pounds," she said, "are spent on the right of scientists to fail, and the creative artist should be granted the same right as the man who experiments with nuclear warfare."

People sometimes fear that state or civil subsidy may bring with it state control or censorship, and in totalitarian countries this has often been the case. Yet the BBC — a completely state-run organization — imposes no censorship except in matters of libel and obscenity.

The truth is that governments have two ways of controlling their artists. One is by direct censorship. The other is more oblique, but not less effective: a government imposes censorship by withholding subsidies, thereby enslaving the artist to the box office, and encouraging (if not compelling) him to turn out easily digestible, uncontroversial, ego-massaging, audience-flattering trifles...

To bridge the gap between private art and commodity art, sub-



**BROADWAY JIM CROW.** These pickets protesting Broadway producers' hiring practices, which exclude Negroes completely or relegate them to stereotyped roles, points up one of the ugly products of the American commercial theater. Investors in shows don't want to keep those with racial prejudice from the box office.

sidy is inevitable. At present, as Raymond Williams has said, the tragedy of the theater, film, radio, television and the press is that the artists do not own the means of distributing their own work — a fairly basic right, one would have thought. They sell it to people who turn them into employees and make a profit out of it.

Why not — as Mr. Williams suggests — let the state or the community hold the theaters, concert halls, newspapers and film studios in trust for the artists, and let them present their arguments and intuitions directly to the public, without bothering about the whims of a particular profit-minded proprietor?

## We Pay Now

If subsidy itself still offends you as a concept, recall that every one of us is subsidizing. Who pays for the vast advertising campaigns launched on behalf of pop movies, pop records, pop magazines? We — the consumers — do. Eventually, it is always the consumer who pays, and there is an element of irrationality about the libertarian zeal with which he defends his right to pay inflated prices for those products which he has seen most heavily advertised...

Recently I wrote a letter to a member of the British Labor Party high in the councils of what seems likely to be our next Government. It contained a specific proposal, and the relevant portions read:

## "Ministry of Leisure"

"A Ministry of War needs as its counterpart a Ministry of Disarmament. Similarly a Ministry of Labor must be balanced by a Ministry of Leisure. It would take over the functions now performed by the Arts Council and radically extend them — to include not only drama, opera, ballet and music but many other spare-time activities, from mountaineering schools to sports stadiums... involving children into early and intimate contact with poets, musicians, painters, film makers and theater

companies as part of the normal process of learning. It would help local authorities and the National Theater would be merely the metropolitan branch. It would set up a film school, like the one in Poland, and even a cookery class. Anything that made for the deeper enjoyment of leisure would come within its province.

"There would be no suggestion of culture imposed from above. Teams of investigators would go out to provincial centers to find out what was needed and how best to provide it.

## "Wider Horizon"

"The projected ministry could be presented to the nation in some such form as this: where the Conservatives (apart from a tiny Arts Council grant) confine you to those forms of art which are commercially profitable, the Labor Party offers you a much wider horizon of pleasure. You will have a new concert hall and good jazz as well as the twist; you will have new experiments in British film making as well as James Bond; the aim is to give you fuller opportunities to enjoy the increased leisure that technology will inevitably bring you.

"And where is the money for all this going to come from? As far as I am concerned, out of the defense estimates. Cut them by five per cent and you could revolutionize British art."

In Europe, at least, I do not think we can foster the arts properly except under some form of socialism. The artist needs a more inspiring vision of the future than one of expanding markets and unlimited freedom to criticize capitalism. He needs to regain the sense that ultimately it is the whole of society that commissions his work. His underlying job is to show us how to survive, rationally and humanely, despite the temptations toward rhetorical gestures of despair. He can reassure us that objects are to be judged on whether they are useful or beautiful, not on what they cost or what they are worth as status symbols...

## Testament of a Nicaraguan Martyr

Mexico City, Mexico

I am a Latin American who enjoys reading your weekly newspaper. I have read more facts in your newspaper than I have read in all the newspapers of your country in the past ten years.

Because of this I am writing to your section "Letters From Our Readers," so that I can honor another hero who fell in the struggle against the tyranny that has ruled my country, Nicaragua, for 30 years. I am sending a beautiful poem, translated into English, that he wrote in his last days in the horrifying prison of *La Aviación* in Managua, Nicaragua.

Edwin was put in jail because of his opposition to the tyranny of the first hereditary dictatorship in our time and he was killed with two other companions, Ausberto Narvaez Parajón and Cornelio Silva Arguello, within the prison of his torturers. These senior law students at the University of Nicaragua were kept in prison from September 1956 until the dawn of May 18, 1960, the date on which they raised the number of our martyrs.

It would be worth while to say something more about this sad state of affairs but space does not permit it; but if any one of your readers wants to know more about this or other cases, I can refer him to the book written by a Nicaraguan newspaperman, Dr. Jedro Joaquín Chamorro, who was lucky enough to live in the Somoza jail and stay alive. In his book *Estirpe Sangrienta, los Somoza* [The Bloodthirsty Somoza Family], Dr. Chamorro tells the tragedy of these men and of thousands of others who have suffered under one of the worst tyrannies of Latin America.

The poem gives a clear idea of the anguish and suffering of the author and tells what he foresees for his son and his country. At the time he was killed, Edwin left behind a young widow, two little girls and his son, Carlos, then three and a half years old. Edwin's father, Señor Carlos Castro Wassmer, died two years before in exile in San José, Costa Rica.

Thank you for letting your readers know the truth about our situation in Latin America, which for the most part is ruled by the "democracy" of the army imposed on our people by your State Department. But we, the people of Latin America, are already living for that moment when everything will be different...

Sincerely,  
N.G.

TO MY SON CARLOS  
By Edwin Castro Rodriguez

Everything, my son, will be different tomorrow.  
The hands of new men will close the door of the past forever  
After anguish, in defeat, has left through it  
Over his own land the farmer will reign  
— A small tract, but his —  
Garlanded with the flowers of his happy work.  
The daughters of workers and farmers will no longer  
Be prostitutes; honest work will provide bread and clothing.  
Tears will stop flowing in the worker's home.  
Gaily you will laugh with the laughter that is found  
On good farm roads and paved streets and by  
The waters of rivers....  
Everything, my son, will be different tomorrow:  
Without whip, without jail, without treacherous bullets  
To suppress an idea.  
You will walk through the streets in your cities,  
Hand in hand with your children,  
As I could never do with you.  
The jail will not claim your youthful years,  
As it has claimed mine;  
You will not die in exile with trembling eyes  
Longing for the sight of your country,  
As my father died.  
Everything, my son, will be different tomorrow...

Written in  
Carcel de La Aviación  
Managua, Nicaragua, 1960



# Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters under 400 words. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

## A Tenant at City Hall

New York, N.Y.  
After reading in *The Militant*, about the rent strike which is presently being waged against the landlords in Harlem, I decided to find out what violations of the city rent laws were in my apartment building.

I was laid off for a day last week so I went down to City Hall

to get information about such violations. I went first to the Health Department; they told me that they had no such public information, and sent me down stairs to the Sanitation Department. This department told me that they no longer had the information, and sent me back upstairs to the Health Department. I talked to a different person this time, and he sent me to a different building to the Buildings Department.

The Buildings Department also told me that they did not have any such information, and sent me upstairs to the City Reference Library. Up at the library I was received very coldly, until I gave them the idea that I was not concerned as a tenant. At that point, I was sent to a different office in the library, and the person there went into a closet and came back out with information which I had requested.

Information such as this should be readily accessible for all tenants in New York City. I had to waste a good part of a morning, constantly being wrapped in red tape, just in order to get two pamphlets explaining my rights as a tenant. The questions in point being: How can a tenant protect his rights if he doesn't know his rights as a tenant; and how is he going to know what his rights are, if the City Hall bureaucracy does not make the information readily available for him?

Robert Peterson

## 'Slum Clearance'?

Detroit, Mich.  
The articles by Ethel Bloch on New York's East Side point up the glaring inequalities that exist side by side under capitalism, particularly its citadel America.

In the Dec. 2 *Militant* Ethel Bloch describes how Third Avenue is being converted into another luxury residential area, with rents starting at \$200 per month.

Nothing is so revealing as the "housing pattern" now in vogue in the urban centers of the United States. Alongside the network of new expressways that reach out to the ranch-home "suburbias," new skyscraper apartments are rising in the center of cities in the "urban renewal" campaigns going on.

Detroit has its own, Lafayette Park, in the downtown area along the "scenic" waterfront. This is being accomplished by the simple device of the "ball and chain" method. (This is how Hugh Whipple described it at a recent Friday Night Socialist Forum: They swing a cast iron ball on the end of a chain and demolish the old houses.) All the aspirants to middle-class "status" are flocking into these fancy apartments, among them the high-salaried officials of the big United Auto Workers Union apparatus.

The parasitism of capitalism, as expressed in this whole artificial drive for "status," came close to home in an article that appeared on the magazine page of the Dec. 3 *Detroit News* about the "World's Swankiest Pawn Shop" that thrives in New York.

Robert Peterson

Kaskel and Sons are pawnbrokers for the rich. But no three golden balls hang over their door. Access to this hockshop on 57th St., just off Fifth Avenue, is discreetly through a private entrance from the building next door.

"Most of our customers are in the upper middle class," Mr. Kaskel says. "Sometimes they are bigger than that." Their stock in trade consists of Russian sables, famous paintings, \$50,000 diamond necklaces, and the like.

"I get the very rich too," Kaskel adds. "Society names. I find the ones who come here have fixed annual incomes. They get it once a year, near the end of it they send their chauffeur around with a painting or jewelry. The minute they get their next year's income, the chauffeur is here to take the stuff out."

Kaskel explained why so many people who can afford to wear sable coats wind up hocking them. "They go right over their heads. Rents, for one thing. These new apartment houses, they're murdering people. Do you know what those rents run? Ridiculous."

Working people, who may often wonder where all the wealth goes that they create in this country, certainly get an eyeful in this description of the status-drive of the idle rich, who spend their time clipping coupons, and pawning their luxuries for additional luxury.

Jay Burns

## A Correction

New York, N.Y.  
In Tom Leonard's fine article in your Dec. 23 issue on the Studebaker and government layoff, an unfortunate error crept into the statistical data he cites on the percentage of Americans living on family incomes below the "modest but adequate" standard-of-living

budget of the Department of Labor, which Leon Keyserling used in his pamphlet.

Keyserling, as Leonard correctly states, finds that 21 per cent of American families live in poverty and another 43 per cent suffer deprivation. Leonard's article goes on to state that "fully two-fifths of Americans live below accepted standards." Not two-fifths, but three-fifths live below the government's own standards. The median family income is somewhere between \$5,700 and \$5,900 a year. That is, half the people have family incomes considerably below the government's family budget standard and at least 60 per cent receive less than that standard, which now is several hundred dollars more than the figure Keyserling used.

The difference between two-fifths and three-fifths is the difference between a substantial minority and a substantial majority. A substantial majority live below the "modest but adequate" level. In fact, Keyserling's 21 per cent and 43 per cent add up to 64 per cent.

A.P.

## Rights for All

Orange, Calif.  
I read a lot about civil rights — are we pushing too fast and such. I think we have to stand by our colors. I have seen my trade go down the drain because of what I thought was the reluctance of union leaders to do anything but talk.

I have seen the McCarran Act put on the books by men who, to some extent, were sitting in Congress illegally (15th Amendment) or, just as bad, afraid to stand up for our Bill of Rights because maybe they would be called Communists.

I believe as the American Civil

Liberties Union believes — these rights belong to all Americans without exception.

Carl A. Gregory

## Should We Describe Torture?

Paris, France  
In the Dec. 23 issue of *The Militant*, "N.L." of Detroit protests the detailed description of the torture inflicted on political opponents of the Franco regime as reported in an article in the November 4 issue.

The revulsion of "N.L." to reading such descriptions is wholly understandable. The suggestion, however, that the details should not be reported is wrong, in my opinion. The problem here does not concern fiction or artistic presentation, but real life.

Franco's victims feel similar revulsion at reading such descriptions. They felt even less pleasure at experiencing the "details." Should they then suffer their agony in silence because describing what they underwent causes a painful sympathetic reaction among normal people?

But it is precisely crimes like these that have led them to rebel and to seek to end the Franco regime and the capitalist system that spawned and supports it.

Even artists endowed with the strongest feelings for humanity would be inclined, I think, to demand that the whole truth be presented — no matter how shocking. In Spain itself, for instance, Goya, a century and a half ago, made savage drawings in gruesome detail of almost identical tortures inflicted on the guerrilla fighters who opposed Napoleon and the French occupation.

Should socialists be less inclined to consider the full facts today when they enjoy all the superiorities of 150 years of civilized progress since Goya's time?

Juan Velázquez Hinojosa

## 10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"The Eisenhower administration has announced its legislative policy for 1954: a multitude of legislative proposals in the interest of various sections of the capitalist class, programmatic quibbles with the Democrats, wire-tapping for the McCarthy's — and no civil-rights legislation!"

"The time has come for a new program of political action. It must be a program of independent political action — independent of the thoroughly rotten capitalist parties. It must be a program aimed at ousting the anti-Negro, anti-labor government from power and replacing it with a government responsible to the overwhelming majority of the American people, the workers, regardless of color, religion or national origin."

"Such a program of independent political action requires breaking out of the limitations of capitalist legislative traps, of polite pleading with the politicians who have nothing but contempt for the Uncle Toms of the labor and Negro movements."

"It means calling a Congress of Labor — all labor — to form a broad united front for a bold counter-offensive against the well-organized reaction which is driving toward fascism in America. It means an unambiguous boycott of the Republican and Democratic parties."

"It means a return to the methods that have proved their effectiveness in winning gains for Negro and white workers — class solidarity, 'an injury to one is an injury to all,' and a 'March on Washington,' not a 'gentlemanly' conference on civil-rights legislation." — Jan. 4, 1954.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"The Interstate Commerce Commission has just handed down a decision which declares that segregation of races on railroad trains does not constitute 'unlawful discrimination.' The ICC made this ruling in dismissing the complaint of 18 colored seamen against the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Company. The railroad officials refused to feed the colored seamen while white passengers were in the dining car. So long as they received equal though segregated service, the ICC says, there was nothing wrong. Segregation itself, the ICC said, is a social question which it cannot rule upon."

"The attempt of one federal agency, the Interstate Commerce Commission, to pass the buck on the issue of segregation only emphasizes the point that the government itself supports the Jim Crow system of the South. Through its many agencies, the armed forces, and the courts, the government enforces the Southern pattern of segregation." — Jan. 8, 1944.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**A Question, Please** — An editorial in the Dec. 26 *New York Times* on the current rent strike in Harlem declares: "The answer to better housing is not the anarchy and lawlessness implied in a rent strike but the strict enforcement of the Building Code." Our question is this: Since the conditions that provoked the rent strike have existed for a long time, why didn't the *Times* run an editorial calling for enforcement of the Building Code before the rent strike got rolling?

**The Key Question** — "LIMA, Peru, Dec. 25 — The United States is faced with a problem in putting the Alliance for Progress to work in Peru. Should the United States provide substantial new aid funds for a promising economic and social development program in a country engaged in an unresolved dispute with an American-owned oil company?" — The *New York Times*.

**The Birthday Boys** — The National Association of Broadcasters

has issued a booklet to member stations with helpful tips on jazzing up their birthday parties. A key to success, the booklet explains, is involving advertisers in the festivities. Step one in achieving this is to send a gift to someone of status in the agency that buys the advertising time. Then visit the agency with a tape recorder and get a recorded birthday greeting. To facilitate this, the handbook says, "It is best to have an assortment of congratulations written out for them from which your client can pick the one that he likes best."

**TV Priorities** — Dana Andrews, recently elected president of the Screen Actors Guild, offered this comment about TV: "When you act in television, you know you do not really mean much to your audience. You do not move your

audience. Television is a built-in mediocrity because it is not drama. It is just an adjunct of the advertising business." As an indication of how little television cares about actors, he pointed to the fact that often leading performers in shows are also required to deliver the commercials.

**In White America** — The American Jewish Congress reports that more than 90 per cent of the employment agencies covered in a survey — 351 out of 385 — agreed to fill telephone requests for a "white Protestant stenographer" although prohibited by state law. The survey covered private commercial agencies in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Detroit, Boston and Philadelphia. Low score: Los Angeles, 89.5 per cent; high score, Philadelphia, 97.1 per cent.

## Thought for the Week

"Many of you, I know, are thinking these days of peace and asking why we spend so much of our nation's treasure on those hideous instruments of destruction . . . The trouble, you see, is that you probably think of these hideous instruments of destruction as weapons of war. We urge you to think of them instead as instruments of peace, for your government has no interest in making war except as it may be necessary to defend peace . . . An excellent example of how this can be done is afforded us in Vietnam . . . To be sure soldiers are being killed in the general defense action, but you will note that nobody in authority considers this a war, and your government urges you not to think of it as war. In fact, your government urges you not to think of it at all." — From Russell Baker's satirical column in the Dec. 26 *New York Times*.

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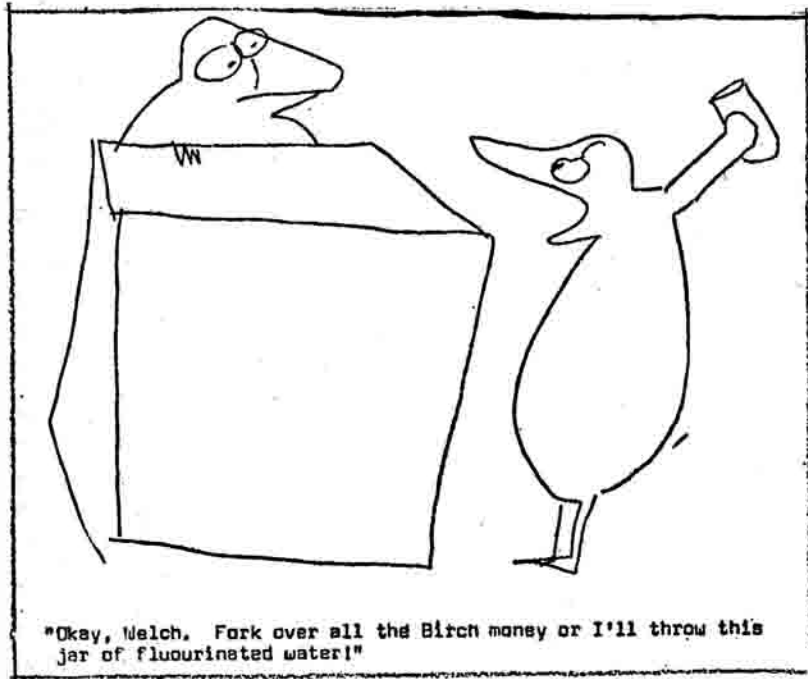
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The Allen Newsletter

## Junta Too Much Like Diem Vietnam Opposition Grows

By Steve Graham

DEC. 31 — "They say this was a revolution, but it was just a coup d'etat. Many of the same old people are in power."

This comment by a young South Vietnamese, quoted by Saigon correspondent Hedrick Smith in the Dec. 13 *New York Times*, typifies the attitude of much of the city population in South Vietnam towards the military junta that replaced dictator Ngo Dinh Diem. (The attitude in the countryside is eloquently expressed in the intensified guerrilla warfare of the armed peasantry.)

### Civil Opposition

"The new government . . . is faced with civil opposition," reports Ed Meagher in the Dec. 10 *Washington Post*. "It is led . . . by the two groups most instrumental in providing momentum for the coup — the Buddhist leadership and the students."

A recent disclosure, buried at the end of an article by Hedrick Smith in the Dec. 27 *N.Y. Times*, helps explain why the same groups that protested religious persecution under Diem now oppose the generals who purportedly restored "human rights."

A sore point shared by all Buddhist groups, says Smith, "is the government's reinstatement of Ordinance Ten, one of the regulations of the Diem regime to which Buddhists objected most vehemently." This hated law gave the government control over the finances, property and public functioning of all religious organizations. The Catholic Church was exempted from the law, while Buddhist organizations were especially restricted and harassed.

### 5 Demands

The repeal of Ordinance Ten was one of the "Five Demands" of the Buddhist protest movement, which brought down the Diem regime and for which seven Buddhists immolated themselves last summer. The reinstatement of this law is a direct blow at that entire movement. Buddhist leaders protested to no avail against the junta's reissuing of the decree on Dec. 14.

Undoubtedly Ordinance Ten will be a chief topic of discussion at a convention of all Buddhist organizations scheduled to open Dec. 31. It is rumored that the Buddhists may organize their own political party to press such grievances against the junta. Certainly, the convention will result in a more highly organized Buddhist movement.

Further areas of disagreement between the Buddhists and the junta are becoming apparent. Many of the young Buddhists are

deeply concerned over the desperate conditions of the Vietnamese peasantry, who make up the vast majority of the population.

Hedrick Smith's Dec. 27 article quotes from a speech by Tran Quang Than, a leading young Buddhist militant arrested several times in the anti-Diem protests. Speaking to a group of young Buddhists, who are preparing to go out into the countryside and organize their movement among the rural population, Than said:

### No Real Change

"The rural population considers the change in regime just a coup d'etat, not a revolution, because it has not affected them in a favorable way. A revolution must bring about changes at the lowest levels of society not just in the superstructure. The great difference between the cities and the countryside is still obvious. City folk often are not satisfied with their Peugeot cars. They want to ride in a Mercedes, while the rural population have hardly enough to support themselves."

In these brief phrases lies the essence of the war in Vietnam. The great mass of the population is made up of landless or nearly landless farmers and impoverished agricultural workers. They constituted the social base of the guerrilla movement that drove out the French. To the peasants, throwing out the French meant getting the French-supported landlords off their own backs.

For the same reason, the peasants now support the National Liberation Front, the political arm of the guerrilla movement. The Front has distributed thousands of acres to landless peasants in the areas it holds and defends against the marauding raids of the Saigon government's armies and their U.S. advisers.

### Diem's Line

The military junta, composed mostly of South Vietnamese landowning aristocracy, and urged on by the U.S., is following Diem's policy of trying to drown the peasant revolution in blood. But even with the aid of U.S. troops, tax dollars, and the most modern means of destruction, the demand of millions of peasants for a better life cannot be suppressed.

The young Buddhists are reacting to the social revolution which is rocking their nation. They are looking at the root of the conflict — the internal, class character of the civil war. They are tending to take their stand in this revolution on the side of the oppressed people and against the junta and its U.S. masters.

## N. Y. Cops Face Probe in Killing Of Puerto Ricans

NEW YORK — Under pressure from Puerto Rican community groups here, the police department has promised an "investigation" of the police killing of two Puerto Rican restaurant workers while in police custody last month. Serious questions about the incident have also been raised in the press.

The killings precipitated a demonstration by some 600 people outside the West 100 St. precinct station Nov. 21. The two cops involved were then transferred to separate stations in the Bronx, but demonstrations by Bronx Puerto Rican groups occurred there.

The two restaurant workers, Victor Rodriguez, 26, and Maximo Salero, 34, had been arrested the night of Nov. 15 while allegedly drunk at West End Avenue and 93 St. in Manhattan. They were both shot dead while in the police car which was supposed to be taking them to the 100 St. station for booking on disorderly conduct charges.

The two cops in the car, James Edmundson and Ronald Wilson, claimed Rodriguez pulled a gun and fired over the front seat. The cops claim Edmundson then shot back in self-defense, killing both prisoners. Within a few hours, the chief of detectives absolved the cops.

But people in the neighborhood raised certain questions. For one thing, neither Rodriguez or Salero had a police record. For another, it is unusual for cops to put men they arrest in the back seat alone, while the cops sit in the front. It is also difficult to explain how Rodriguez could have had a gun, since it is unusual for cops not to search prisoners before putting them in a patrol car.

But the biggest question arises from the fact that the killings took place when the car was beneath an underpass at Riverside Drive and 96 Street. This is in the opposite direction from that which the car should have taken to get to the police station. Some residents of the area believe the cops took the prisoners to the underpass to "work them over" and that when they resisted, they were shot.

In his column in the Nov. 19 *New York Post*, Editor James Wechsler says: "Some local citizens who have voluntarily explored the case report there are witnesses who can throw light on other aspects of the story but remain reluctant to speak aloud because they fear police retaliation." Wechsler said that anyone with information should come forward and "they will not be pushed around."

## Dominican Junta Murders Leading Anti-Trujillo Fighter

By Charles Gardner

The former Trujillo generals of the Dominican Republic, who seized power from the constitutional regime of Juan Bosch on Sept. 25, have cold-bloodedly murdered Manuel Tavares Justo, a well-known popular leader in the underground struggle against the Trujillo dictatorship and head of the 14th of June Movement, which was formed in that struggle.

This shocking fact was revealed by the Dec. 23 resignation of the head of the civilian triumvirate which the militarists had set up as a figurehead government. Dr. Emilio de los Santos indicated that he was resigning because of the needless bloody repression of a group of alleged guerrillas, led by Tavares Justo.

The generals had insisted, against de los Santos' urgings, that

## U.S.-to-Cuba Peace Walkers Are Jailed in Albany, Ga.

ALBANY, Ga., Dec. 30 — Thirteen members of the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace spent Christmas in jail here and are still behind bars. They were arrested Dec. 23 as they walked through this southeast Georgia city on their long trek to Cuba. A trial is still to be set for them. Meanwhile most of the group are on a hunger strike.

Veterans of two previous arrests in the state of Georgia, and of narrow escapes from many additional threats of arrest and of physical attack, the determined band of peace marchers were taken into custody by Albany police under the direction of Chief Laurie Pritchett as the Walk turned off Oglethorpe Avenue to march through the main business section of the city. The walk customarily goes through the main section of every city and town through which it passes. Pritchett has become infamous for his orders to arrest civil-rights marchers demonstrating in Albany in the past.

### Dragged Off

Also arrested was Tyrone Jackson, a local integration worker connected with the Albany office of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Twelve of the 14 refused to co-operate with arrest and most of them were carried to police vehicles on stretchers, with a few being dragged or carried.

Fred Moore, Jr., who was visiting the Walk for a few days, was arrested when he went to the police station to inquire about the charges, and is being held "for investigation." *Associated Press* of Atlanta reported that bail of \$200 each had been set, and that three charges were listed against each accused: failure to obey a parade route, disorderly conduct, and failure to obey an officer. Members of the Walk group, which is integrated, had stated in advance that none wished to post bail in case of arrest.

### Deming Case

Meanwhile, another walker, Miss Barbara Deming, was to undergo trial in Macon, Ga., on charges of violating a leafleting ordinance and resisting arrest. When she appeared in Macon City Court, she was informed the charges had been dropped. She and 18 others had been arrested in Macon Nov. 18, and her case was separated from the others to be taken up on appeal. The ordinance clearly violates a number of Supreme Court decisions, dating from 1938, affirming the constitutional right to distribute leaflets. Attorney C.B. King of Albany

was to defend Miss Deming, and the American Civil Liberties Union indicated its intention of assisting in the appeal.

The Walk for Peace, sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action, has been on the road since May. The arrest of one walker in Lawrenceville, Ga., and of virtually the entire group in Griffin and Macon, plus a two-week wait in Atlanta after the assassination of President Kennedy, have combined to postpone the expected arrival date in Miami, which had been set for Dec. 22. Once the group does reach Miami, the walkers intend to go to Cuba to march from Havana to Guantanamo Bay.

Chief purposes of the Walk, according to CNVA, are to raise the question with North Americans and Cubans alike as to how the conflict between the two nations can be settled without the threat of nuclear war, and to help restore the traditional friendship between the people of the United States and Cuba.

## 21 Rights Demonstrators Spend Xmas in Ga. Jail

ATLANTA, Ga., Dec. 30 — Sit-ins at a Toddle House restaurant, which refused service to a party accompanied by an African dignitary, have resulted in 21 arrests here during the past week. Among those arrested so far are John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Mrs. Lillian Gregory, wife of the noted comedian. They spent Christmas in jail.

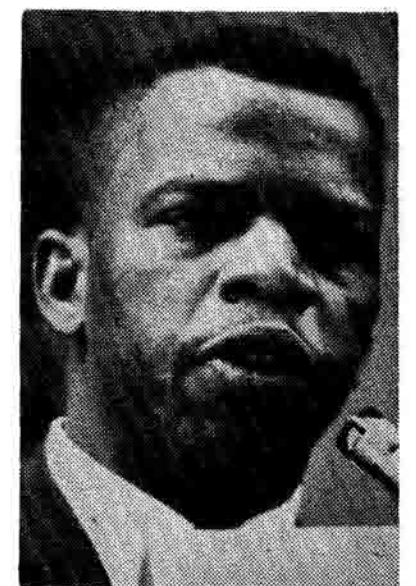
### Kenyan Official

SNCC began sit-ins at the restaurant after SNCC workers were refused service there Dec. 21. The students had stopped at the Toddle House with Mr. Oginda Odinga, Minister of Home Affairs of Kenya, with whom they had spent the evening. Mr. Odinga remained outside the restaurant as the students entered and were refused service. Sixteen were arrested that night.

After his arrest for picketing the Toddle House Dec. 22, Lewis stated that those arrested "were determined to stay in jail over the holidays to dramatize the need for a national public-accommodations law."

Mrs. Gregory, who is six months pregnant, and Prathia Hall and Roberta Yancy, both SNCC workers, were placed in solitary confinement yesterday when they refused to leave their beds.

Additional demonstrators, including Dick Gregory, filled the restaurant today and were refused service.



JOHN LEWIS, the militant young chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.