

# U.S. Moves to Attack North Vietnam Can Touch Off Full-Scale Asian War

## THE MILITANT

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### High Time to Fire J. Edgar Hoover!

An Editorial

It is high time that J. Edgar Hoover was fired as head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The only thing surprising about Hoover's outrageous slander of Rev. Martin Luther King at a Nov. 18 press conference in Washington was the fact that the attack was made publicly. Hoover has avoided press conferences in the past.

But there has been no secret about Hoover's views on the civil-rights struggle in the South. When he called Rev. King "the most notorious liar in the country," he was simply expressing in words the contempt he has demonstrated in action over the years for the civil-rights movement.

#### Red-Baiting

Similarly Hoover's "off-the-record" statement to newswomen at the conference that Rev. King has "Communist" connections is in line with his long record of persecuting, witch hunting and smearing many sections of the movement for social progress.

The record of the FBI under Hoover's direction has already spoken louder than his words. It is a record of continuous and deliberate collaboration with white racist officials in the South at the very time they are perpetrating acts of violence against Negroes. It is a record of failure to apprehend bombers, murderers and terrorists who have clearly violated federal law and who are known to hundreds of people in the counties where the crimes have been committed.

#### Failure to Use Powers

Everyone knows full well that this failure is not due to bungling incompetence — though, if it were, that would be reason enough for Hoover's removal. It is due to deliberate policy on the part of Hoover to avoid using the more than ample powers of the FBI on behalf of the federal constitutional rights of Negroes.

That much is an old story. But there is something new in Hoover's Nov. 18 attacks on King. That is the fact that one of the most powerful figures in the federal government has publicly slandered the nation's most prominent Negro leader, and expressed contempt for the civil-rights movement. How can a President of the United States let that go unanswered and still claim to be for Negro rights?

#### Lawyers Urge Censure

The Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, an organization of civil-rights attorneys, has already urged President Johnson to "publicly censure Mr. Hoover for his vilification of a highly respected American."

Though conservative Negro leaders like NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins and Rev. King himself, are reluctant to press for the removal of Hoover, it is crystal clear that no President with an ounce of concern for the rights of the Negro people could continue to allow a man capable of such publicly-expressed attitudes to remain as head of the FBI. The fact that Hoover is an old buddy of President Johnson only increases Johnson's obligation to act with dispatch.

It is also clear from the whole Hoover press conference, that Hoover is now a political liability. If Johnson allows him to remain, that very fact will be an additional expression of contempt for the rights and feelings of the Negro people.



J. Edgar Hoover  
Fond of Railroad

By Charles Taylor

NOV. 23 — Powerful forces in Washington are pressing to spread the war in South Vietnam to North Vietnam and to Laos. Such reckless acts of aggression involve the risk of war with China and possibly nuclear world war. It is insane to think — as the U.S. military leaders do or pretend to — that the U.S. can wage undeclared war against the people of Vietnam — South and North — without provoking retaliation.

General Maxwell D. Taylor, U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam and the military architect of U.S. intervention there, flew to Washington expressly to urge extension of the war to North Vietnam at his Nov. 25 conference with President Johnson.

The Johnson "peace" administration, which was contrasted during the election campaign to Goldwater's bomb-rattling program, is not only rattling its bombs loudly, but has already dropped a good number. Thus U.S. air activity has recently been stepped up in Laos.

#### Extension of War

It is also clear now that the Tonkin Gulf incidents — where undamaged U.S. warships claimed North Vietnamese motor boats tried to attack them and in "retaliation" U.S. planes bombed North Vietnam's coastal installations — was just the beginning of the extension of this undeclared war.

Gen. Taylor's trial balloon is the first clear public statement by an important administration official for extending the war, but leaks to the press had made it clear that the move was being prepared behind the backs of the American people for some time.

The Nov. 18 *Wall Street Journal*, reporting the likelihood of the U.S. "escalating" the war in Southeast Asia, stated: "At the Pentagon, planners are crossing T's and dotting I's in five sets of contingency plans, any one or combination of

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#### White Paper on Vietnam

### U.S. Readies Data That Could Serve To Justify 'Escalating' War on Reds

By WILLIAM BEECHER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL  
WASHINGTON — The Johnson Administration is preparing a bulky White Paper detailing ways in which the Red guerrillas of South Vietnam have been directed and supplied from outside. If it's made public, this document could serve to establish justification for extending the anti-Communist war to military targets in North Vietnam, Laos and possibly Cambodia.

The decision on whether or when to "escalate" warfare in Southeast Asia hasn't yet been made. But Governmental activity which one lofty participant calls "feverish" suggests the decision point is close at hand.

At the Pentagon, planners are crossing T's and dotting I's in five sets of contingency plans, any one or combination of which might be ripe for implementation.

**REPORTED ADVANCE ALIBI.** Leaks from high Washington officials made possible this kind of revelation of U.S. plans in Southeast Asia.

which might be ripe for implementation."

One of these plans involves bombardment of North Vietnamese cities and military bases by U.S. planes and warships. Another involves invasion of Pathet Lao-held areas of Laos by South Vietnamese and U.S.-sponsored Laotian troops. Similar attacks by South Vietnamese troops on North Vietnam are detailed in another plan.

Public opinion, at home and abroad, must of course, first be prepared for such outrageous acts of aggression. The same article reports what is being done on this score! "The Johnson Administration is preparing a bulky White Paper detailing ways in which the Red guerrillas of South Vietnam have been directed and supplied from outside."

The recent mass demonstrations in Saigon against Washington's latest puppet government there give the lie to charges that the so-called Viet Cong are foreign invaders. Every South Vietnam

government set up by the U.S. so far has fallen to popular opposition despite the unlimited U.S. funds and arms.

This shows that the conflict in South Vietnam is a civil war. On one side is a military dictatorship supported by the privileged few, unable to muster popular support. On the other, is a guerrilla army supported by the overwhelming majority of the population.

Because its corrupt puppets in Saigon are in danger of being overthrown and replaced with a popular government which would demand that the U.S. get out, the Johnson administration is weighing whether or not to "escalate" the war to other parts of Asia.

Senator Wayne Morse, one of the few capitalist politicians who has dared criticize U.S. policy in Vietnam, said that if the reports of Gen. Taylor's statements were true, "Ambassador Taylor should be summarily fired." To that should be added the demand to get U.S. troops, planes and warships out of Vietnam now.

#### SETTING A GOOD EXAMPLE

### Mississippi Unionists Arm Against Klan

NOV. 24—The campaign of racist terror in Mississippi suffered a highly significant set-back in the town of Laurel, a town in the south-central part of the state. There a local of the AFL-CIO International Woodworkers of America has publicly urged its members to carry arms to repulse attacks by the Ku Klux Klan.

The union's self-defense recommendation was made following consultation with the local's lawyers after two attacks on the local's secretary-treasurer, Otis Mathews. The local, whose members work at the Masonite factory, had recently agreed with the company to comply with a federal order to upgrade workers on the basis of seniority, not race. This resulted in some Negro workers becoming supervisors. All officials of the local union are white. The Ku Klux Klan began a campaign of threats against the union for negotiating compliance with the order.

On the night of Nov. 16, Mathews was abducted by two carloads of armed, hooded men who had stopped his car on a road. Mathews said the men tied his hands, stripped off his trousers and beat him with a heavy strap. They also poured a liquid that burned into his wounds.

Both the local sheriff's department and the FBI were informed and were reported to be investigating the incident, but no arrests were made. Two nights later an attempt was made to kidnap

Mathews again. This time he eluded the Klansmen. It was then, said the local's president, J. D. Dolly, that the decision to organize defense against the Klan was made.

The decision to exercise the legal right of armed self-defense against the white-supremacist terrorists was announced by the union in an advertisement in the Nov. 19 *Laurel Leader-Call*. In the ad, the union said: "We will not allow the fear of verbal denunciation, physical assault or even death to deter us from our following a reasonable, practical, sound course. Our members have been advised to arm themselves against a future occurrence of violence." Any attempt by Klansmen to abduct or impede the travel of union members on the roads would be "met by death," the ad said.

Laurel has been the scene of several instances of racist violence for which there have been no arrests. The *Leader-Call* newspaper itself was bombed last May. Its editor, J. W. West, is said to be a "moderate."

Meanwhile, in McComb, about 100 miles west of Laurel, a significant token breakthrough in the struggle by Negroes for equal treatment took place Nov. 18. Twenty Negroes, led by state and local leaders of the NAACP, were served without incident at two hotels, a movie, restaurants and drug-store lunch counters.

The desegregation test followed publication of a statement, signed

by more than 600 prominent white residents of McComb, calling for "re-establishment of order and respect for law." Charles Evers, NAACP Mississippi field director, who headed the testing group, said that certain Negro leaders had had several meetings with leaders of the white community regarding desegregation prior to formulation and release of the statement.

McComb has been the scene of dozens of bombings and other acts of violence this summer and fall against participants in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's voter-registration drive and the Mississippi Summer Project.

Following one such bombing, residents of the Negro community were reported to have congregated at the scene with arms in hand. Several bombers were arrested and convicted; but they were released on suspended sentences by a judge who said they had been provoked by the presence of civil-rights workers.

The token desegregation in McComb is an important symbolic breakthrough. It was in McComb that SNCC's voter-registration project first began in the summer of 1961 under the leadership of Robert Moses. Prior to that summer — which also saw the famous Jackson Freedom Ride — there had been virtually no civil-rights activity in Mississippi. But in the late summer of 1961, local Negroes organized by SNCC engaged in Mississippi's first sit-in at a restaurant in McComb.



# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Robert Moses, czar of many New York City public works, pulled another one of his mean tricks in connection with the opening of the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge — the longest suspension span in the world — last week. Moses is famous for his attitude that all things exist for the pleasure and enrichment of the high and mighty and to hell with the common man. This time he refused to invite Locals 40 and 361 of the International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers to participate officially in the bridge opening. After all, the union's members had only put the bridge together and two of them had been killed doing it.

So Moses and a list of "distinguished dignitaries" attended the opening ceremonies, but the iron workers attended a requiem mass

## Cleveland Forum Hears Young Socialist Leader

By Rachel Gage

CLEVELAND — Jack Barnes, national organizer of the Young Socialist Alliance, now on a nationwide speaking and organizing tour of YSA locals and campus groups, addressed the Militant Forum here Sunday, Nov. 15.

His subject was *The Myth of American Liberalism*. Today's students, Barnes declared, have been raised in an atmosphere of prosperity and cold war in a world rocked by colonial revolution. In the schools, at all grade levels, this revolution is explained to them by the myth of the "international Communist conspiracy."

Liberal thought does not basically question U.S. foreign policy since to do so would call into question its own basic tenets. Liberals accept the falsified cold-war explanations of what is going on in the world and thereby open the door to the ultra right, he said.

Barnes spoke at one of the Cleveland Militant Forum's regular Sunday night meetings. The next topic is *The Right Wing and What to Do About It*.

## Weekly Calendar

### BOSTON

THE MYTH OF AMERICAN LIBERALISM. Speaker: Jack Barnes, national organizer of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Dec. 4, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave. Room 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.). Contrib. 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

### CHICAGO

THE FBI — BULWARK OF AMERICAN REACTION. Speaker, Peter Allan. Fri., Dec. 4, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

CUBA REVISITED. Colored slides and commentary by Jane McManus, promotional director, National Guardian, who made her third trip to Cuba this summer. Fri., Dec. 4, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

James Boggs, Detroit Freedom leader, and Michael Harrington, "war on poverty" adviser, speak on "Politics and Poverty" on Sat., Dec. 5, 8 p.m. 17 West 20th St. Contrib. \$1 (Unemployed free). Aup. Alliance for Jobs or Income Now.

### PHILADELPHIA

Symposium: Cuba, 1964 — A Progress Report — Speakers: Allen and Sharon Krebs, young New Yorkers who visited Cuba this summer, Edward Shaw, 1964 presidential candidate Socialist Workers Party, who made a number of extensive tours of Cuba. Fri., Dec. 4, 8:15 p.m. Hotel Philadelphia, Broad & Vine Sts. Contrib. \$1 (Students, 50c). Aup. The Independent Forum.

for their two dead brothers which was offered by the two local unions at St. Patrick's Church in Brooklyn at the exact time as the opening ceremonies at the bridge.

A "job-action" strike by some 2,000 members of Local 1101 of the Communications Workers of America in New York City spread throughout the state and involved some 20,000 workers before it ended Nov. 20. This kind of action is highly unusual within the CWA which has one of the most gutless peaceful co-existence-with-management-type leaderships in the whole labor movement. The immediate issue which sparked the strike was the fact that the New York Telephone Company assigned supervisory personnel to do certain work they aren't supposed to do according to the union contract.

But a general dissatisfaction with working conditions and job security, and a fear that the company wouldn't be stopped in its encroachments was behind the spread of the walkout. The strike ended when the dispute was submitted to arbitration. Since the supervisory personnel involved had been shifted to other jobs as soon as the strike began, the strike accomplished its immediate purpose.

That the strike wasn't declared to be a "wildcat" by the CWA leadership is reportedly due to the fact that the leadership is having difficulty holding on to the rank and file in the New York area. A section of the union attempted to go over to the Teamsters recently, but state-wide the Teamsters lost a National Labor Board Election.

An organized opposition in Local 1101, however, remains. At a strike rally Nov. 19, the local's leadership was shouted out of the hall, and Hank Hable, an ex-president of the local, took over the meeting to demand a more militant position against the company.

## Rights Fund Gives Report on Help to Liberties Victims

NEW YORK — Grants were announced Nov. 13, the tenth anniversary of the Bill of Rights Fund, to give financial aid to individuals defending their civil liberties in the courts.

Dr. Corliss Lamont, president of the fund, reported that financial grants in excess of \$150,000 in more than 250 civil-liberties cases have been made.

An annual grant was made to the Civil Liberties Docket, published in Berkeley, Calif., a quarterly that lists and summarizes civil-liberties and civil-rights cases pending in the courts.

The fund, at its recent meeting, voted grants to the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade for their appeal in the U.S. Supreme Court to contest their listing as a subversive organization; to Louis Zemel of Middletown, Conn., whose suit against the State Department for the right to travel to Cuba will also be heard by the Supreme Court.

Also grants were made to Herman Liveright of Philadelphia, Pa., who is fighting his prosecution for contempt of Congress for refusing to answer questions before the Senate Internal Security Committee; to Henry J. Haldeman of Girard, Kansas, who is appealing his conviction for obscenity for the sale of his Little Blue Books giving information about sex matters.

## Unions Proving Not So Dead

# Some Cracks in the Bureaucratic Crust

By Fred Halstead

For a long time now, about the duller and apparently most unchanging feature on the American scene has been that peculiar caste known as the trade-union bureaucracy. Recently, however, cracks and even some upheavals have begun to appear within it.

The top officials of at least three major unions — the American Federation of Teachers, the State County and Municipal Workers, and the International Longshoremen's Association (East and Gulf Coast) — have recently been ousted. In at least three other larger unions — the International Union of Electrical Workers, the United Steelworkers of America, and the United Mine Workers — the top officials are facing unprecedented election challenges for their positions.

At least three additional unions — the Building Service Employees Union, the Textile Workers Union of America, and the Communications Workers of America — have witnessed attempted break-aways or challenges to the top leadership by local and regional leaders.

### New Union

The top leadership of the United Auto Workers, while still secure in its position, was recently forced by local pressure to go along with strikes it didn't want. Perhaps the most drastic upheaval to date occurred in the West Coast paper industry where locals of the two AFL-CIO unions broke away. They formed a new union which won an election to represent some 22,000 workers in over 40 plants. It is now conducting the first strike in the West Coast section of the industry in 30 years.

As a general rule, the changes are not the result of the appearance of newly organized, militant caucuses with left-wing programs. Rather, they are breaks within the existing leadership, between union officials with similar conservative records. But the cracks, particularly those within the larger industrial unions, are in their way a reflection of pressure from the rank and file.

This pressure built up because the unions involved have not protected conditions and job security, nor made gains which the rank and file could be made in this period of high profits. The IUE, for example, has been at a virtual standstill in wages and has even taken cuts since the collapse of the 1960 General Electric strike.

### Membership Drop

The UMW, while maintaining a fairly high wage at union mines, has had a third of its members squeezed out of unionized jobs in the last decade. Thousands of miners, who ten years ago felt secure with good wages and the famous UMW welfare fund, have lost their unionized jobs and all welfare-fund rights. Few miners now working in union mines can be sure the same won't happen to them.

Steelworkers' wages have gone down relative to other industries over the last five years, and the working conditions have deteriorated.

All this has resulted from the process of bureaucratization that has continued apace in these unions. In the long period of relative economic prosperity and political reaction, these "labor statesmen" have become experts in submerging the human problems of the capitalist production process beneath mountains of red tape and hot air.

They have become so comfortably adjusted to the continuous round of all-expense-paid trips, conferences at luxury resorts and teas at the White House, that some of them had actually come to believe they had talked the class struggle out of existence.

Out of this wishful thinking,



James Carey

union leaders virtually outlawed local strikes and job actions (quickie work stoppages, slowdowns, etc.) and at the same time

refused to fight for national-contract demands which would create jobs or have real meaning at the point of production (such as the shorter work week, workers' control of production speeds, etc.)

To top it all off, the "labor statesmen" put labor's political power in the pocket of the Democratic Party, controlled — like the Republican — by big business. As a result nothing serious has been done about labor's political demands.

All this had its effect in the plants and produced frustration in the ranks and — here and there — revolt. So far it takes the form of "throw the rascals out." This is the relatively primitive stage of supporting the "outs" against the "ins," whoever the "outs" may be.

The solution to these problems, however, lies in the building of a genuine class-struggle left wing within the unions. Such a class-struggle opposition can only be built around a program that fits the needs of the struggle. Among the essential planks in this program will no doubt be the shorter work week with no reduction in pay, equality for Negroes, and political action by unions independent of the big-business parties.

## XMAS BOOK LIST

### BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON NEGRO HISTORY AND CIVIL RIGHTS

- THE BLACK GHETTO by Robert Vernon. Preface by Rev. Albert Cleage. Introduction by James Shabazz. Paper, 35.  
HOW A MINORITY CAN CHANGE SOCIETY by George Breitman. The real potential of the Negro struggle. Paper, 25.  
THE FIRE NEXT TIME by James Baldwin. Paper, \$1.65.  
NOBODY KNOWS MY NAME by James Baldwin. Paper, 50.  
BLACK NATIONALISM by Essien-Udom. Report on the Black Muslim movement. Paper, 75.  
AND THEN WE HEARD THE THUNDER by John O. Killens. Novel about race tensions in U.S. armed forces in World War II which culminate in a small-scale civil war between Negro and white military units stationed in Australia. Cloth, \$5.95.  
LABOR PARTY AND FREEDOM NOW PARTY by Tom Kerry. Paper, 10.  
NEGRO SLAVE SONGS IN THE UNITED STATES by M. M. Fisher. Paper \$1.95.  
SOULS OF BLACK FOLK by W. E. B. DuBois. Paper, 50.  
FACING MOUNT KENYA by Jomo Kenyatta. A study of the Kikuyu tribe by the man who is now Kenya's Prime Minister. A classic of anthropology and African nationalism. Paper, \$1.45.  
FREEDOM RIDE by James Peck. The story of the first freedom rides by a participant. Paper, 50.  
JOHN BROWN by W. E. B. DuBois. Paper, \$2.25.  
NEGROES ON THE MARCH by Daniel Guerin. A survey of the Negro struggle in the U.S. to 1954 by the noted French Marxist scholar. Reduced price. Cloth, \$1.50. Paper, 50.  
THE WEST INDIES AND THEIR FUTURE by Daniel Guerin. Cloth, \$4.  
BLACK JACOBS by C. L. R. James. The classic on Toussaint L'Ouverture and the slave revolution which established the Republic of Haiti. Revised edition. Paper, \$1.95.  
LIFE AND TIMES OF FREDERICK DOUGLAS, The complete autobiography of the slave-born abolitionist leader. Paper, \$1.50.  
BLACK BOURGEOISIE by E. Franklin Frazier. Paper, 95.  
FREEDOM NOW — Socialist Workers Party resolution on the current stage in the struggle for equal rights. Paper, 25.  
WHY WE NEED A FREEDOM NOW PARTY. Answers to questions by Michigan supporters of Freedom Now Party. Paper, 15.  
MONROE, N.C. — TURNING POINT IN AMERICAN HISTORY by Conrad Lynn. Paper, 25.  
THE WALL BETWEEN by Ann Braden. The story of courageous white Southern integrationist. Carl and Ann Braden. Paper, \$1.85.  
NEGROES WITH GUNS by Robert Williams. The case for self defense by the militant Afro-American leader from Monroe, N.C. Paper, \$1.95.  
PEOPLE WITH STRENGTH by Truman Nelson. The noted novelist on the Abolitionist movement upholds the right of Negroes to self-defense. Paper, special, 25.  
BLACK MOSES — THE STORY OF MARCUS GARVEY by E. D. Cronon. Paper, \$1.95.  
BLACK RECONSTRUCTION by W. E. B. DuBois. The great work on the revolutionary period following the Civil War. Paper, \$3.45.  
DOCUMENTS ON THE NEGRO STRUGGLE. Texts of discussions with Leon Trotsky and Socialist Workers Party convention resolutions. Paper, 65.

### BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY

- THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED. The classic analysis of the rise of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Paper, \$2.50.  
THE AGE OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION — A TROTSKY ANTHOLOGY. Paper, 95.  
LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION. Cloth, \$2.98; Paper, \$1.50.  
IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM. Classic exposition on the class nature of the Soviet state and dialectical materialism. Written in 1940. Paper, \$2.50.  
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FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Trotsky's writings, speeches and reports at Comintern meetings. Vol. I: Cloth, \$3.50. Vol. II: Cloth, \$3.50.

### BOOKS BY JAMES P. CANNON

- HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. Cloth, \$2.75.  
NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR. Vivid, colorful compilation of articles beginning in days of defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. Cloth, \$4.  
THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM. Report of a participant. Cloth, \$6.00.

### HISTORY, POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

- LABOR'S GIANT STEP — TWENTY YEARS OF THE CIO by Art Preis. Story of the rise of the CIO told by a participant. Cloth, \$7.50.  
THE ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL by Rosa Luxemburg. Paper, \$3.95.  
JACK LONDON — AMERICAN REBEL by Phillip S. Foner. Paper, \$1.95.  
THE PROPHET ARMED. THE PROPHET UNARMED. THE PROPHET OUTCAST. Isaac Deutscher's trilogy on the life of Leon Trotsky. Cloth, \$9.50 per volume.  
AMERICAN COMMUNISM AND SOVIET RUSSIA by Theodore Draper. Paper, \$1.95.  
THE ROOTS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM by Theodore Draper. Cloth, \$6.95; Paper, \$1.95.  
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LOGIC OF MARXISM by William F. Warde. Paper, \$1.00.  
THE FRENCH REVOLUTION by Albert Mathiez. Paper, \$2.65.  
POWER, POLITICS AND PEOPLE by C. Wright Mills. Paper, \$1.45.  
THE MARXISTS by C. Wright Mills. Paper, 75.  
THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION — 1914-1915 by Robert E. Quirk. Paper, \$2.25.  
ANCIENT SOCIETY by Lewis Henry Morgan. Researchers on human progress from savagery through barbarism to civilization. Paper, \$2.95.  
LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS by Lewis Henry Morgan. Classic account of an Indian tribe. Paper, \$2.95.

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# Reception Salutes Author Of 'Labor's Giant Step'

By John Pederson

NEW YORK — A memorable reception for Art Preis, celebrating the publication of his book, *Labor's Giant Step — Twenty Years of the CIO*, was held here Nov. 21. It brought together a number of leading participants in the early struggles for industrial unions which preceded and paved the way for the CIO.

Among those honoring Preis were Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; A. J. Muste, the patriarch of the peace movement in the U.S.; Sam Pollock, president of the Butcher Workmen's Union in Cleveland, Ohio; and Tom Kerry, editor of the *International Socialist Review*.

Farrell Dobbs was a leader of the historic Minneapolis Teamsters strike of 1934. A. J. Muste was head of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, the militant union trail-blazing movement of the 1930s. In the 1930s Sam Pollock, was one of the trio, along with Ted Selander and Art Preis, known as "the Three Muste Steers" because of their close collaboration with "A.J." in the heroic battles of the unemployed and the industrial workers of Ohio. Tom Kerry was a participant in the West Coast maritime strike of 1936.

It was fitting that, in addition to the "veterans," many young people, representing the new generation of socialists, attended the reception and were deeply moved by it.

## Many Messages

Following a buffet dinner, Tom Kerry, toastmaster of the reception, read a number of congratulatory messages from veteran socialists, including James Cannon, Rose Karsner, V. R. Dunne, George Breitman, Arne Swabeck, and Harvey O'Connor, who were unable to attend. O'Connor ended his message: "Preis' book is priceless." This pretty well summed up the other messages.

The evening's speakers were Barry Sheppard, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, A. J. Muste, Farrell Dobbs, Sam Pollock and Art Preis.

Barry Sheppard emphasized the vital role *Labor's Giant Step* will play in educating young people coming to socialism today, who seek to learn from the militant traditions of the American working class. He said: "*Labor's Giant Step* will arm us and prepare us for the struggles of the future. On behalf of the youth I would like to thank Art Preis for his valuable book."

A. J. Muste began by saying, "I am very glad that Art Preis has written this book. . . I congratulate him on this occasion." On the basis of his long acquaintance with him, Muste said, three of Art Preis' qualities stood out: intellectual seriousness, courage — physical and moral, and integrity.



A. J. Muste



Farrell Dobbs

Referring to Art and his other close associates from the early days Muste said, "they were strong, they were clean, there was nothing impure, there was no flaw in them. . . These were the qualities they gave to the movement."

Farrell Dobbs pointed out that Art Preis' book was no potboiler tossed off after some research in the library but a work written by an active participant in the struggles it describes. After thanking Preis for the book and his previous contributions to the socialist movement and those still to come, Dobbs concluded: "As national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, I'm sure I can speak for every member across this land — We salute you!"

Sam Pollock humorously noted that the reception was a historic occasion because "the Three Muste Steers are back with Muste." He gave a running commentary on film clips of a WPA (work-relief projects) union strike and sit-in which showed Preis in action in the 1930s. After the film showing, he presented Art with a hand-somely framed copy of *Strike Truth*, the union newspaper of the Toledo Chevrolet strikers of 1935, edited by Art.

## High Point

The high point of the evening was Art Preis' speech. Indeed, his appearance at the reception — as the completion of his monumental work on the CIO — was further proof of his indomitability. For a series of severe illnesses in the past few years have necessitated a number of operations, including two leg amputations, and have deprived him of his hearing.

Preis addressed his remarks particularly to the young people in the audience. He confided to them: "I don't want to knock the writing of history, but making history is what really counts."

Then in his matchless style he told the inspiring story of his experiences in 1933 in helping to organize the unemployed in Toledo.

He described the WPA-union strike which lasted a month and won its central demand of cash relief instead of food handouts. This was the first successful strike in Toledo since 1919 and was an inspiration to workers all over the country. "As I look back at that time," said Preis, "never did organized labor's prospects look so bleak. And yet we were at the very threshold of an upsurge that was to swiftly transform the relationship of class forces in the United States."

He concluded on a note of great optimism. "This generation of socialist youth will get its chance. You must study, work, prepare, organize. Your chance will come. And you will finish the job that my generation and the generations before me began."

## SPEECH BY ART PREIS

# Neither Cops Nor KKK Stopped Them

[The following is the text of the speech by Art Preis at the Nov. 21 reception in his honor.]

This is a rare and wonderful occasion.

Just think, we have as participants and guests with us this evening men and women who fought on the picket lines 30 and more years ago in strikes that made labor history.

Here is Farrell Dobbs, who with Marvell Dobbs, stood shoulder to shoulder with the Dunne brothers, Carl Skoglund and Kelly Postal, writing that imperishable chapter of the American class struggle, the 1934 Minneapolis truckdrivers strikes.

We are honored to have as one of our speakers, Sam Pollock, who with Ted Selander in May 1934 challenged and smashed an injunction and mobilized the Toledo Auto-Lite workers in a six-day battle with the National Guard. That battle won the first union contract in the automobile industry.

And there is that grand old fighter for the rights of labor, A. J. Muste, who was the adviser and strategist in the Toledo Chevrolet strike of 1935. It was the first successful strike in a General Motors Plant or any plant of the automotive "Big Three." I can still see and hear William Green's representative Francis Dillon screaming "Muste's men! Muste's men!" at the Chevrolet strikers in Toledo's Civic Auditorium after they booed down Dillon's sell-out agreement.

And there are others here tonight who do us honor.

You know that Anne Chester, with Bob Chester and Mary Henderson, did a monumental job in putting out *Labor's Giant Step*. But did you know that Anne Chester fought on the picket lines in that terribly fierce Paterson silk strike of 1931 and again in 1934?

Karolyn Kerry went out in 1935 to help the horribly exploited agricultural strikers in California's Imperial Valley and Tom Kerry fought in the bitter 99-day West Coast maritime strike of 1936.

I don't want to knock the writing of history — but making history is what really counts.

You are not paying tribute tonight to a book, but to the men and women who wrote, in life, the greatest chapters of that book.

When I went as a young man of 22 into Toledo, Ohio, on Jan. 2, 1933, I got the shock of my life. That industrial city was a ghost town — hardly any autos on the streets, half the stores vacant, most of the banks failed.

The workers and their wives and children walked around in rags. They looked starved and they were starved.

Then and there, all on our own, without one drop of experience, strangers in town, Ted Selander and I determined to organize the unemployed. We had phenomenal luck and success. By August 1933 we were ready to launch our first big-scale "mass action" — although I don't remember that we even knew that phrase.

We called a strike of the unemployed on relief. Sound fantastic? Well, it was. It was a strike of the workers in the relief warehouse.

You see, "relief" was a handout of old potatoes, sour prunes and moldy beans — and damn little of those. Those on relief worked at sacking this food in burlap bags. Then they got this food — called "commissary relief" — as payment.

Well, we called a strike against commissary relief for cash relief. The strike was to begin on a Tuesday morning, at 9 a.m., at an open-air meeting in front of the Lucas County Courthouse.

But the previous Saturday night Ted and I went to a nearby township where we had called a meeting of the rural unemployed. We were to meet in an open field.

When we got there another or-



Photo by Finer

Art and Ethel Preis

ganization was out in force in a field across the road. It was the Ku Klux Klan burning a cross. This was not down in Alabama or Mississippi. This was in northern Ohio, 31 years ago.

We had barely arrived when several county deputies' cars came blasting up the road. Ted was picked up and shoved into a patrol car. Then a big deputy came right up to me and bellowed, "Where's Preis?"

I said, "I think he went down that way." As soon as the deputy moved away, I sauntered across the road in the dark. There was a young worker in overalls at the wheel of an old beat-up Model T Ford.

I whispered, "The cops are after me. Can you give me a lift away from here?" He had never seen me before. But he took me in his car over a terrible back-country road to Toledo.

When I got to Toledo, my troubles only began. I had no place to stay — no home, no money.

I had met Ethel at a YWCA forum, so I decided to go to her house and see if she would let me use the phone so I could try to find out what was happening to Ted. Ethel asked me no questions. I was able to phone a civil-liberties lawyer.

He called back and told me Ted was in the county jail and so were all the other members of our strike committee. I was the only one still at large to call the strike on Tuesday morning.

Unfortunately, there was a warrant out for my arrest on 21 counts, including plotting to blow up the relief warehouse. When I told Ethel what the situation was, she didn't hesitate.

Now, Ethel was a very proper young lady, but she hid me out. She put me in a tiny alcove in back of the third floor stairwell. I was there three nights and two days.

On Tuesday morning came the moment of truth. I had to go to the county court house, stand on the monument and call the strike. At any second I expected the heavy hand of the law to fall on my shoulder.

I began to speak although there wasn't a single person there. Then, out of nowhere, the unemployed started to gather: from doorways, alley ways, around the corners. In five minutes there were 5,000 demonstrating unemployed.

And at the peak of the demonstration, the arrested strike leaders were released. They filed right onto the monument and we had a grand reunion.

Our strike lasted a month, and we won cash relief — \$1.65 per week per person, whether we needed it or whether we didn't. That was the first successful strike of any kind in Toledo since 1919.

Yes, only 31 years ago there was not a single recognized union

in any plant of basic industry in the United States. The Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion, another secret terrorist society, were lynching union organizers.

I don't think anyone dreamed that within a year we would have the Minneapolis drivers strikes, The Toledo Auto-Lite strike and the San Francisco general strike. As I look back at that time, never did organized labor's prospects look so bleak.

And yet we were at the very threshold of a mighty upsurge that was to swiftly transform the relationship of class forces in the United States.

That is a lesson for the youth of today.

The class struggle goes on. We will see a new upsurge.

We cannot fix the day or the hour, just as we could not foresee the rise of the CIO. But this generation's socialist youth will get its chance.

You must study, work, prepare, organize.

Your chance will come.

And you will finish the job that my generation and the generations before me began.

# Labor's Giant Step

— 20 Years Of the CIO

By Art Preis

The dramatic story of the birth and establishment of mass industrial unionism comes to life in this comprehensive, swiftly-paced historical work by an outstanding labor and socialist journalist.

538 pp.

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# THE MILITANT

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Monday, November 30, 1964

## Documents Released Showing Wartime Pope Was Pro-Hitler

By Constance Weissman

After almost 2,000 years, the Catholic Church at its ecumenical council in Rome, has finally denied in principle that the Jewish people as a whole were responsible for the crucifixion of Christ. Actual implementing of the resolution, which will mean changing anti-Semitic passages in textbooks used in Catholic schools and phrases in church ritual will be taken up next year. The church's blaming of the Jews for the death of Christ has been one of the main justifications of anti-Semitism among Catholics.

As the church council in Rome was voting on this resolution, documents were revealed by the British and U.S. governments which support the growing evidence that the war-time pope, Pius XII, favored Hitler in World War II.

There is no explanation of why these captured German documents were kept secret so long. One of them, a letter written in 1941 by Fritz Menshausen, then Counselor of the German Embassy to the Vatican, to Ernst von Weizsacker, State Secretary of the German Foreign Ministry, says, "one is assured time and time again Pope Pius XII stands on the side of the Axis powers." Menshausen also reported that on the basis of conversations with informed and authoritative persons he was convinced that the pope was sympathetic to fascism.

Last summer, a furious controversy was aroused by *The Deputy*, a play by Rolf Hochhuth, a West German. The play accuses Pope Pius XII of having refused to speak out against the Nazi genocide of the Jews. The play's hero is a young Italian priest who begs the pope to intervene. When the pope refuses, the young priest goes to the Auschwitz death-camp with the Italian Jewish families who have been rounded up in Rome and is exterminated with them.

The play depicts the pope as cold and sanctimonious, quite unmoved by the reports of the horrors inflicted on the Jews by the Nazis. In Paris, religious zealots jumped to the stage and slugged the actor playing the role of Pius XII. In Basel, Switzerland, 2,500 protesters paraded with torches and there were demonstrations in London.

It is generally agreed that if the pope had broadcast an appeal at the time the Jews were being sent to the gas chambers, it would have had a great effect. It would have heartened anti-Nazi elements in Germany, which was 40 per cent Catholic, and might have stopped the extermination of Jews in predominantly Catholic countries like Poland and Hungary. It would, at the least, have encouraged Catholics to hide Jews if they had felt it was their duty.

Pius XII, however, believed that Communism was Semitic in origin and that Jews were responsible for the Soviet Union. Since in Pius' mind, Communism was the church's prime enemy, he heartily approved of the totalitarian fascist states' proclaimed aim of destroying communism.

Of course it was not only the Vatican that turned a deaf ear to the anguished cries of the Jews. The U.S. and British governments, despite their crocodile tears, found excuses for not helping.

In the period when Hitler was preparing his death camps, virtually the only voice which called for opening the door of the U.S. to the persecuted Jews was that of the Socialist Workers Party. Issue after issue of *The Militant* and its predecessor, the *Socialist Appeal*, carried headlines such as that of Nov. 19, 1938: "Let The Refugees into The U.S. Open The Doors to Victims of Hitler's Nazi Terror!" In an editorial, the National Committee of the SWP declared, "The first step of solidarity with the German Jews and the German workers must be a vast outpouring of the workers from every shop and factory and office into a mighty protest demonstration at which labor will give voice to its resounding indignation."

"The Socialist Workers Party urges the workers, especially the Needle Trade Unions of New York, to have their unions take the initiative in organizing a half-day stoppage of work so they may parade in a huge demonstration ...

"Show the victims of the Fascist terror that you mean it seriously by stretching out to them the hand of fraternal solidarity, by demanding of the American government the free and unrestricted right of asylum for the Jewish scapegoats of Fascist barbarism!"

## Was Key Figure in Trial

# Cuban Official Suspended

By Barry Sheppard

The National Directorate of Cuba's United Revolutionary Socialist Party (PURS) suspended Joaquin Ordoqui from the party on Nov. 18. Fidel Castro, as PURS first secretary, signed the suspension order. Ordoqui was the 15th ranking member of the Party's National Directorate, from which he was also suspended. The suspension will remain in effect until a complete investigation of his political conduct from 1957 to the present is completed.

Ordoqui has also been suspended from his post as Quartermaster General of the Cuban Armed Forces, which carries with it the post of Second Vice Minister of the Armed Forces.

Joaquin Ordoqui was an old-time leader of the Popular Socialist Party (the old Communist Party of Cuba). He figured prominently in the trial last April of Marcos Rodriguez, who was charged with having caused the death of four revolutionaries in 1957 by informing on them to Batista's police.

### Attack on Palace

The case grew out of the famous attack on dictator Batista's palace on March 13, 1957. The attack was organized by the Revolutionary Student Directorate (*Directorio*), and was repulsed with great loss of life among the *Directorio*. But some of them escaped. On April 20, 1957, the police, acting upon a tip from an informer, found and killed four students hiding in an apartment at Humbolt 7, Havana.

Faure Chomon, a leader of the *Directorio* and the present Transport Minister, testified at Marcos' trial that the suspicions of *Directorio* members centered on Marcos and a Perez Cowley. Marcos left Cuba and ended up in Mexico, where he associated with PSP figures, including Edith Garcia Buchaca, present general secretary of the National Council of Culture, and wife of Ordoqui. Chomon testified that after the triumph of the Revolution in January 1959, *Directorio* leaders reported their suspicions to the PSP and the July 26 Movement. Cowley was cleared, and insufficient evidence freed Marcos.

Marcos joined the PSP and was given a scholarship to study in Czechoslovakia. While there he corresponded with Ordoqui. According to the testimony of Police



Fidel Castro

Captain Juan Abrahantes, Marcos was brought back to Cuba for investigation because of suspicious associations with foreign embassies in Czechoslovakia. During this investigation proof that Marcos was the Humbolt 7 informer was discovered, and Marcos confessed to the crime.

At first Marcos claimed that he had told Edith Garcia Buchaca that he was the informer. Both she and Ordoqui denied the imputation, and Marcos changed his story after she directly confronted him

with other Cuban leaders present, including President Dorticos and Chomon. All agreed that this imputation against her was false.

At the trial, Chomon read a letter which had been sent by Marcos to Ordoqui in 1962, pleading for help to get out of jail. In this letter Marcos said he was in the *Directorio* from 1955 to 1957, providing information to the PSP. Later in the trial, Fidel criticized Ordoqui from keeping this letter from the PURS leadership for over a year. He also criticized Ordoqui for giving Marcos "entrance or re-entrance" into PSP in 1959, for allowing him to get a scholarship and a job at the Cuban Embassy in Czechoslovakia, all after it was known that he was under suspicion by the *Directorio*.

Marcos was found guilty and was executed, after his appeal to the Supreme Court resulted in the Court's upholding the death penalty.

During the trial Fidel criticized the tendency in the Cuban press to attack the PSP, and said that Cuba must create the tradition "that always, always justice be exercised, and that never, never will it have to be said that one single revolutionary was unjustly injured, that one single innocent person was shot, that one single child of the revolution was devoured."

## Cuba's Economic Growth

(*World Outlook*) The October 18 issue of the Mexico City publication *El Correo Económico* reports that its correspondent in Geneva succeeded in obtaining an advance copy of a report on the Cuban economy prepared by the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America. The report was prepared by UN technicians who went expressly to Cuba for the purpose.

Their figures show that the annual rate of growth in gross production for the two years under study averaged out at 9%, a remarkable achievement, particularly under the difficult conditions of economic blockade, diplomatic assault and armed invasion suffered by the small country at the hands of the mightiest imperialist power in the world.

The rate of growth reached 9.6% in 1962, then dipped to 8.4% in 1963. The drop was ascribed mainly to the effects of hurricane "Flora."

The report noted a persistent decline in sugar production. This was held to be due to a reduction in the acreage planted to sugar cane and a drop in the yield per acre due to unfavorable weather conditions.

Sugar exports, which amounted to 6.4 million tons in 1961, dropped to 3.3 million tons in 1963. In total sales, sugar accounted for 85.0% in 1961 and 88.9% in 1963.

Outside of sugar, growth was registered in truck gardening (170.1%), roots and tubers (40.4%), and grains (15.1%).

Industry (outside of sugar) showed a rate of growth of 7.7% in the period 1961-63. Investments doubled during the period under study.

The branches of industry showing the highest annual rates of growth were chemicals, 16.3%; textiles, 11%; mining, 6.7%; oil, 9.9%; and electricity, 5.7%.

The rate of growth in commerce (an increase of 34.6% in 1962 and 29% in 1963) was ascribed to the swift rise in mass purchasing power as a result of the Revolution.

### Major Shift

The report notes the major shift in the direction of Cuban exports and imports as a result of the Revolution. In 1958, 66% of Cuba's exports went to the United States, while 69.8% of Cuba's imports came from there. In 1963, 65.8% of Cuba's exports went to countries having planned economies while 82.5% of Cuba's imports came from this area.

Cuba's trade with Western Europe, which reached a low point in 1962, rose to 18.2% in 1963.

A change in the character of Cuba's imports was noted. In 1956 consumers' goods amounted to 40.5% of the total; in 1963 this category amounted to 25.1%. The importation of luxury goods has ceased; and the importation of hard consumers' goods, which reached 10.6% in 1956, has practically been cut off. On the other hand, the importation of capital goods rose from 21.0% in 1956 to 34.2% in 1962.

## SOCIALIST FUND

# How Twin Cities Built a Tradition

By Marvel Scholl  
National Fund Director

There are just about three weeks left in the Socialist Campaign Fund Drive and we are a long way away from our goal of \$17,000. Dec. 15 is the deadline. We ask our friends to make their contributions now.

Minneapolis-St. Paul has climbed to the top of the scoreboard in traditional Twin-City fashion. It has been just 30 years since my husband, Farrell Dobbs, and I joined the small group of pioneer Marxists in that Minnesota city, during the great Minneapolis truck strikes. All of the old cadre of that day were our teachers — V.R. Dunne, Carl Skogland, Oscar Coover, Sr., C.R. Hedlund, and the other two "Dunne Brothers," Grant and Miles.

It was during those early "dog days" that Minneapolis earned its reputation as the cradle of the movement. More than a hundred young men and women were recruited in those Minnesota cities, got their basic socialist education and training and were sent out to become leaders or founders of other branches. The constant drain on the membership only served to step up recruitment and the further training of people who still de-

dicte their lives to serving the movement.

But Minneapolis and St. Paul served in another basic way, too. This joint branch has always been one of the most faithful mainstays of the socialist movement financially. They are living up to their reputation in this fund, once again. We want to thank both Mrs. L.F., of Boston and J.M.H., of Columbus, Ohio, as well as J.B. of Plentywood, Montana, for their contributions to "The General" this week.

And our special thanks goes to L.M. of Pittsburgh. This indomitable woman, not old in years but badly crippled with arthritis, makes a "silent pledge" of \$10 to every fund drive. She takes this money out of a very limited income. This week she sent in another payment on her pledge with this note: "... at present this is the only way I can work for that day when my grandchildren and their children and the world of children will have the 'best of all possible worlds' to live and grow in, not just exist as we have."

Won't you make your contribution toward that world Leona M. is talking about?

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Minneapolis-St. Paul	\$ 1,200	\$ 1,070	89
St. Louis	100	85	85
Denver	200	167	83
Cleveland	550	450	82
New York	4,300	3,285	74
Boston	850	612	72
Milwaukee	300	200	67
Oakland-Berkeley	700	432	62
Chicago	1,500	920	61
Detroit	900	533	59
Allentown	150	80	53
San Francisco	700	335	48
Los Angeles	3,700	1,714	46
San Diego	400	105	26
Newark	150	36	24
Philadelphia	200	40	20
Connecticut	200	35	18
Seattle	550	35	6
General	350	158	45
Total to Nov. 23	\$17,000	\$10,292	61%



## Gov't Figures Show Extent Of Job Bias

By Ed Smith

The truth that 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation American Negroes still get the lowest paid, dirtiest, and hardest jobs, was confirmed by U.S. Census Bureau figures supplied to the Urban League last week. At least half, and often as many as four out of five employed Negroes in various cities throughout the country, fall into four "menial-and-unskilled" categories.

Jobs open to black workers are "operative," meaning unskilled mill and factory jobs; "household," referring to maids, cooks, and cleaning women; "service," like janitors and gas-station attendants; and "laborer," including warehouse and packing work. Excluded from these four categories are professional, technical, managerial, craft, and sales jobs.

### Job Categories

In New York, for example, 63% of employed Negroes fall into the unskilled categories, and the figures run up to 83% for Miami, and 84% for New Orleans.

Given these facts, it comes as no surprise that poverty is widespread among Negro families. In five major Southern cities, more than half the Negro families have total incomes of less than \$3,000 a year — the federal government's figure for a minimum-subsistence-level income per family; and 1962 statistics showed that 45% of the non-white families in the country had incomes below \$3,000.

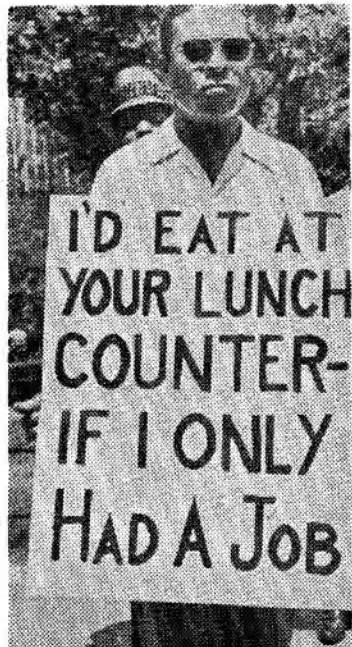
Socialists point out that it is this basic discrimination at the job level which is the real source of racism in America. By keeping the Negro in the position of the unskilled and semi-skilled laborer, American capitalists can not only keep Negroes' wages low; they can keep down the wages of white workers.

### Jim Crow's Effect

Jim Crow insures the existence of a large pool of poorly educated people who can be compelled to take the worst jobs, at minimum wages; and on top of this, high unemployment among Negroes means even these jobs are hard to come by. In New York again, non-white unemployment is 6.9% compared to about 4.5% for whites.

At the same time, the very existence of a large supply of low-paid labor makes it possible for the bosses to keep down the wages of all workers.

The struggle against Jim Crow is not merely the struggle for the right of Negroes to eat in any restaurant open to the public. It is a struggle for the basic right to a decent job at living wages. And this latest compilation of statistics on Negro employment shows that the real struggle is only beginning.



## How a Growing Number of Experts See It:

# More Unemployed, Greater Inflation

By David Herman

The economic outlook for American labor in the next few years is growing unemployment and inflation! Who says so? A growing number of business and government economists.

Let's look at the facts on which this conclusion is based. Then let's look at what the government proposes to do. Finally, let's look at what working people and unemployed can do to defend themselves against these two threats.

Although the economy has been in an upswing since early 1961 — the longest boom since the end of World War II — the official unemployment rate remains at over 5% of the work force. The mid-October figure was 5.2%. This does not include those so discouraged they have quit looking for jobs nor those forced to take part-time jobs when they want to work full time.

What does the government propose to do about this unemployment? The basic policy was set by the Kennedy administration and has not changed. Its goal is reduction of unemployment to 4% by stimulating the economy to grow faster. It hopes to get businessmen to run their plants more nearly at full capacity and to invest in new plants and equipment, to create enough jobs to reduce unemployment.

### Government Plan

Basically, the Kennedy-Johnson scheme is to try to bring this about by raising profits. Even if it doesn't solve the unemployment problem, it keeps the businessmen happy.

The main instrument so far has been tax reduction. Corporation taxes were reduced and the income tax of the rich was cut back much more than that of the poor. In addition, special tax gimmicks were offered to induce businesses to invest.

The tax cut succeeded in maintaining business expansion but the unemployment rate was not reduced to 4%. Some economists are getting worried. This concern was voiced Nov. 4 by Alfred L. Malabre, Jr. in the *Wall Street Journal*:

"Are current measures to reduce unemployment, largely through speeding up economic growth, broad enough to do the job? A growing number of economists don't believe so; they fear present policies will bring on spiraling inflation before they bring down the nation's unemployment rate appreciably."

### More Experts

The *Wall Street Journal* article quotes a Labor Department economist as saying: "It's becoming painfully apparent, as the current expansion continues to gather momentum, that we're running faster and faster just to stay in the same place, as far as unemployment is concerned."

Murry S. Wernick, a senior economist of the Federal Reserve Board, told a meeting of the National Association of Business Economists that "current policies aren't sufficient to bring unemployment down to 4% — either this year, in 1965 or in 1966."

Citing the record number of teen-agers who will enter the labor force before 1970, he pointed out that to cut unemployment to 4% business would have to expand so fast that "capacity and material bottlenecks and price pressures" would surely develop.

Alfred Tella, another Federal Reserve Board economist, estimated that a net increase of at least 2.2 million jobs a year would be necessary to get unemployment down to 4% during the next period. Wernick doubts that industrial production can possibly rise at the rate required to create that many jobs.

From October 1963 to October



**VICTIMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT.** Children of jobless coal miners in Appalachia. Mechanization of mining has reduced number of union jobs in coal mines by one-third in past ten years. Most of the displaced miners aren't even counted in unemployment statistics.

1964 — the period which experienced the effect of the tax-reduction program — about 1.3 million extra jobs were created by the expansion of the economy. But that's almost a million short of what would be required each year in the coming period.

The great influx of young people into the job market will start in 1965 when 3.7 million will turn 18. That's almost a million more than are turning 18 this year.

Furthermore, the growth of labor productivity — through automation, mechanization, speed-up, new methods and materials, etc. — will increase unemployment if the economy does not grow fast enough. A 3% rate of increase of productivity (the average since 1947) in the non-government economy would eliminate more than 1.8 million jobs a year if the economy were to stand still.

Since 1947, the economy has expanded at a slightly higher rate than labor productivity increased, but the expansion was not great enough to absorb both the total number of workers displaced by automation and the increased number seeking employment.

### Government Jobs

Most of the expansion has been in teaching and other state and local government jobs; in service and miscellaneous job categories; and in wholesale and retail trade. Manufacturing output has grown just fast enough to offset job losses from increased labor productivity; so the total number of jobs in manufacturing has remained about the same since 1957.

All these factors make necessary a much higher rate of growth than has yet been achieved in this boom, if the government is to reach its goal of a 4% jobless rate. Long before such a high rate of growth can be reached, many economists contend, rampant inflation will overtake the economy.

They point out that excess capacity had the effect of restraining price increases. But now utilization of capacity has increased

from 78% in 1961 to nearly 90%, according to the *WSJ* article.

As output nears capacity, businessmen are less constrained by domestic competition to keep prices down. They can often increase their profits greatly by raising prices. This is especially true in industries dominated by a few giant corporations, which have even raised prices when there was much unused capacity.

### Prices Rise

Though wholesale prices remained stable in the three years before this summer, they began to edge up noticeably in the past few months. The wholesale-price index, based on the 1957-59 average of 100, was only 100.9 in June, but it had risen to 101.4 by the beginning of November.

Consumer prices have gone up throughout the period. The Department of Labor cost-of-living index, based on the 1957-59 average of 100, had risen to 108.4 at the beginning of November. But if wholesale prices start rising, consumer prices will rise much more rapidly than in the past few years.

If the government's program will lead only to more unemployment and inflation, how can the working class be protected from these two evils? The only concrete, realistic program both for the unemployed and those with jobs is the sliding scale of wages and hours.

A sliding scale of hours means adjusting the length of the work-week so as to prevent unemployment. If unemployment increased, the work week would be reduced in order to provide more jobs and to absorb the unemployed. Shorter hours would thus mean more jobs with no cut in pay. Everyone seeking work could have a job.

Businessmen, of course, object to this solution. They argue that prices would go up because production costs would be higher, and so through inflation real wages would be lowered.

That might be true, if there were only a sliding scale of hours. That's why a sliding scale of wages is also necessary. They're two sides of the single demand for full employment at union wages.

A sliding scale of wages ties wages to the cost of living. If businessmen raise prices, wages go up automatically. This is the only effective way of stopping the bosses from lowering everyone's real income by raising prices. That's what they've been doing for a long time now, even without a shorter work week.

Those who argue that the extra costs resulting from a shorter work-week could not be borne by the economy are arguing, in effect, that this economic system depends on keeping a growing part of the population unemployed and in poverty.

It is obvious that this country is wealthy enough to give employment to everyone at a decent wage. But those who own and run this country find it more profitable to maintain unemployment rather than to shorten the work week.

### Gains Made

The present demand for "30 for 40" — 30 hours' work at 40 hours' pay — is a concretization of the sliding-scale of hours. Furthermore, many unions won a form of the sliding-scale of wages in the "escalator clause" which tied wages to the cost-of-living index. While this index is determined by a government board, instead of by economists representing labor, and consequently minimizes the rise in living costs, it is still an important protection against inflation.

It's not possible to predict in detail the economy's development, but it is absolutely clear that the evils of unemployment and inflation will face us as long as capitalism exists. The only adequate defense that those who work for a living have against them is the sliding scale of wages and hours.



A Christian-Democratic 'New Frontier'

# First-Hand Report from Chile

By Livio Maitan

SANTIAGO DE CHILE (*World Outlook*) — President-elect Eduardo Frei, the victor in the September 4 election, was sworn into office at La Moneda, the presidential palace, Nov. 3. In his inaugural address and later in a press conference, he outlined the situation in Chile and his own political and ideological orientation. A Chilean-style "New Frontier" was delineated as the result of the first major victory registered by the Christian Democrats in Latin America.

Continuing the method used in his election campaign, Frei did not spell out his proposed policies (he promised to reveal his first important measures after the end of November); at the same time he sought to indicate his orientation by taking a stand on certain issues.

First of all, he did not seek to emphasize governmental continuity but, on the contrary, stressed the break with the past which this experiment represented. "We are crossing a border," he said, "in which one historic epoch is ending and another is being born." And to characterize the import of his policies, he did not hesitate to add: "I represent a generation formed in a new orientation and a new philosophy which gained office after 30 years of hard and implacable struggle." In addition, he ended his discourse with a strong appeal to his popular following: "It is my right and duty to ask the real ranks of the people, the workers, the miners, the peasants, the ordinary people, the Chilean women, the youth who, just as they struggled for victory, are accompanying me now to make sure that we do not end up with the old proverb, 'You lifted me up to the heavens and abandoned me to the winds.'"

In foreign policy, Frei reaffirmed his desire to establish

diplomatic relations with the workers' states, very clearly projecting a move in this direction in the oratorical language of the occasion: "I also salute from this tribune the peoples of the so-called socialist world, whose dramatic human adventure is to be welcomed. Other peoples are aware of it and it would be blind of us not to recognize it..." In addition, he said little in general about the ideological differences and stressed the necessity of recognizing reality and avoiding any discrimination in foreign policy. However, it is necessary to add that the new Chilean regime displays no intention of establishing relations with East Germany (its ties with West Germany are too important to allow such an attitude) or of soon revising the decision of the Alessandri government to break relations with Cuba. ("These problems," Frei told the press in referring to Cuba, "must be examined by the nations as a whole, in the light of new facts.")

Besides this, the new president repeated his criticisms of the existing inter-American and Latin-American political and economic organizations, insisting on reforming them and on the need for the economic integration of Latin America. Nor did he overlook overtures in the direction of the so-called non-aligned countries, alluding especially to the Algeria of Ben Bella (from whom he has received an invitation for a visit).

On domestic policy he repeated the main themes of the Christian Democratic election campaign, speaking among other things in his inaugural address about the need for widening the educational system and reorganizing it, and about the need for a housing program to improve the shocking conditions affecting wide sectors of the population, in the cities as well

as the countryside.

In addressing the peasants, Frei said: "I stand for increasing ownership of the land by the peasants and against concentration of the land by a minority. I am for a fair income and wages for those who work in the fields and for rigorous enforcement of the laws passed in their benefit."

In the area of industrial policy, Frei likewise referred to his general line in which he advocated increasing Chile's national participation in exploiting the great mineral resources of the country. A few days later his Minister of Mines indicated that the aims of the government in relation to copper production are an "increase in production, greater government participation, more refining of the ore within the country smelting on a bigger scale and greater government participation in marketing operations." Here in concrete terms is Frei's famous "Chileanization."

The inaugural address, finally, did not overlook another current slogan of "Freism": democratic rights for everybody and opposition to any kind of ideological, religious, racial or political discrimination, including a noticeable allusion to the rights and the role of the unions and their autonomy in relation to the state.

Aside from the ideological and programmatic proclamations, it is clear that a very important change has occurred with Frei's coming to power. It is an elementary fact questioned by no one that this is in essence a bourgeois government. But the formula is new and it is correct to say that the power will not be wielded as before; that is, directly by a sector of the ruling class itself. Frei is not — at least at this stage — the direct representative of either the oligarchy, the financial circles, nor the merchant bourgeoisie. Enjoying rather

## Plunder of Latin America

The reason for the avid interest displayed by merchants, industrialists and bankers in the domestic politics of Latin American countries can be gleaned from statistics:

The United States imports from Latin America these percentages: bananas, 95%; coffee, 85%; sugar, 76%; cacao, 48%; copper, 62%; iron, 58%; zinc, 52%; oil, 43%; bauxite, 42%; beryllium, 71%, etc.

For dealing in supplies like these, American businessmen insist on a cut. The annual take is about \$1 billion.

And for their generosity in supplying the United States, the Latin Americans are often rewarded with catastrophic drops in the prices of what they sell. From 1951 to 1959, cacao dropped 52%; sugar, 47%; wool, 46%; coffee, 33%; lead, 32%; tin, 20%; etc.

wide popular support and the sympathy of sectors of the industrial bourgeoisie and the middle classes in general, his role will be to preserve the basic capitalist structure of Chilean society through at times complex means and balancing acts that can appear contradictory. In the final analysis, his strength resides precisely in the possibility open to him of maneuvering between the various social layers. He could at one turn appeal to the populace in order to impose measures distasteful to the conservative bourgeois sectors and then mobilize the conservative bourgeois forces in order to resist too great pressure from below. He could perform a similar balancing act among the layers of the owning classes. In the field of foreign policy, he could act in analogous fashion: the establishment of diplomatic relations with the workers' states and a bid to the "third" world would give him room for maneuver in relation to American imperialism. This could be widened by skillful exploitation of the inter-imperialist conflicts. (Chile could play at least in part the card of closer ties with Gaullist France or with Western Germany.)

In all circles in Chile the possibility is being discussed of the Frei experiment succeeding, if only partially. The conclusions, naturally, are as diverse as the interests, hopes and fears of those voicing an opinion. In general, however, the inclination in bourgeois circles, including the non-Freist, is to consider Frei's try as the last chance for "democracy" in face of "Marxism-Leninism" or "totalitarianism." In left-wing circles, on the other hand, the prevailing tendency is to forecast failure, even within the near future.

It is certain that Frei enters office in difficult objective conditions, above all on the economic level. In a recent article, *El Mercurio*, by far the most authoritative Chilean daily, observed that the country's economy was undergoing a phase of prolonged stagnation, the tendency in the most recent period being toward aggravation of this condition. In fact, after the rather favorable results from 1960 to 1962, the increase in production in 1963 barely matched the growth in population, particularly in agricultural production (with the result that food products had to be imported, thus limiting available foreign exchange recently).

The evolution of the balance of payments was also negative and the national debt has reached towering heights so that the cost of retiring the debt and interest charges are absorbing a growing proportion of the funds received from abroad (20% in 1962 and 37% in 1963). It is not surprising under such conditions that the effort at monetary stabilization ended in lamentable failure. In 1963 the cost of living increased 45% and prices went up more than 50%.

Frei spoke about the seriousness of the situation, referring to "burdensome financial obligations abroad"; and, naturally, he had every interest to add that this situation could not be changed "in a day, a month, or a year."

It should be added that within the framework of a "reformist" policy such as Frei advocates;

that is, a policy that does not aim at fundamental structural changes, substantial and rapid foreign aid is an absolute necessity for any improvement whatsoever. In the first place, as the new president did not fail to stress, the government's immediate measures hinge on the possibility of arranging payment of the foreign debt.

Nevertheless certain favorable factors should not be underestimated. Frei won the September elections by a quite wide margin and there is no doubt that he was supported by wide sectors of the populace, including workers. The left suffered a hard blow and from several angles finds itself in a rather critical situation. It is possible that Frei will strengthen his parliamentary position in the March elections and that his party will succeed in gaining additional important unions, if not the CUT [Central Unica de Trabajadores] as a whole. From the viewpoint of American imperialism, in the years since the victory of the Cuban Revolution, it is difficult to visualize a more encouraging situation in Chile. It is logical to calculate that Washington will do everything possible, in all fields, to assure success for the Frei experiment.

All this indicates that a difficult period is opening for the Chilean workers' movement — not difficult in the sense of the movement having suffered a crushing defeat in which the objective situation makes impossible a counter-offensive for some time, but in the sense that the foe is proceeding to organize a new system of defense, enjoys a certain amount of popular support, and is drafting a new orientation. All this calls for deeper analysis if a strategic and tactical line is to be worked out to fit the period now opening. It is true that recognition of the bourgeois character of Freism is a prerequisite, since any attempt to palm off this basic fact could open the door to the disastrous formulas of class collaboration. But it is not less true that it is impossible to limit oneself to repeating this truth and counting on the easy and rapid erosion of Freism. Thus the problems of specific tactical orientation have acquired first-rate importance.

## World Events

### Convicted in Nigeria

Dr. Victor Leonard Allen and three Nigerian defendants were convicted Nov. 10 at Ikeja, Nigeria, on charges of "sedition" and sentenced to prison for one year at hard labor.

Dr. Allen, a senior lecturer in Industrial Science at the University of Leeds and a specialist in trade-union studies, was in Africa collecting material and interviewing trade-union leaders. His fellow defendants were Sidi Kharam and Jonas Kiomasekenagh Abam, both trade unionists, and Olushegun Adebayo, a teacher.

Chief Magistrate Ufnmilayo

Wickliffe found the four defendants guilty on three separate charges: "conspiring" between March 1 and June 10 of this year to overthrow the Nigerian federal government by subversive military means, drawing up a "plan" for the same purpose, and possessing a seditious publication setting out "plans" for the realization of the same unlawful purpose.

The judge imposed four months' imprisonment with hard labor on each count to run consecutively. Dr. Allen's counsel, Michael Odesanya, announced that the verdict of the court will be appealed.

The political trial, which began July 1, was part of a nation-wide witch-hunt staged by the Nigerian government as its response to a general strike that swept the country in the first two weeks of June. A number of arrests were made following the strike, including leading trade unionists.

### Sudan Dictator Out

Gen. Ibrahim Abboud, who ruled Sudan for six years through a military junta, was finally forced to resign as head of state Nov. 15 and leave the country. He had retained that post despite the popular upsurge which brought in a civilian government. Abboud's resignation had been asked the previous week by the National Front, a coalition of political parties and professional groups, including the Sudan Communist Party. The resignation demand came in the wake of mass demonstrations in the capital, Khartoum Nov. 9, caused by rumors that the military was attempting a comeback.

### Spanish Trials Ends

Spain's fascist regime concluded a trial of 40 miners Nov. 19. They

were charged with "Communist activities" and "illegal association" in the recent Asturias coal-mine strikes. Sentences may range up to 20 years. During the trial, the workers brought out the brutal police torture methods used in fighting the strike.

### Plan New Party in Jamaica

The Unemployed Workers Council of Jamaica recently launched a campaign in the western parts of that island for the building of "a socialist oriented anti-imperialist Party."

The general view, reports the UWC weekly organ, was that "there is a need for a new Party to establish a new system of rule by which the country will rid itself of foreign domination and plunder, establish equal opportunities for everyone to share in the building of the nation, effect a fair distribution of the wealth produced and the socialization of basic services in order to ensure the well-being of all."

### Will Invest, If...

An international investment group, ADELA (Atlantic Community Development Group for Latin America), has announced it already has over \$16 million for investment in Latin American projects.

ADELA's shareholders include over 50 banks, industrial concerns and financial institutions in Western Europe, the U.S., Canada and Japan. A statement by ADELA said it would be active in "those Latin American countries which maintain a favorable investment climate with reasonable political, economic, and monetary stability and furnish adequate assurance for the development of private enterprises."

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# 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 brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

## The Congo Mercenaries

New York Times correspondent Lloyd Garrison, Nov. 15, expressed concern over the "myth" he uncovered in the Congo that the

mercenary army of Moise Tshombe is believed to be American.

Worries Garrison: "It is surprising how many Congolese think these allegations are true: 'You are Americans, aren't you?' many Congolese civilians ask as the mercenaries march into newly liberated areas."

One source of this erroneous assertion may be Garrison himself. Five days earlier he had reported in the Times:

"The mercenaries are now smartly uniformed, eat three meals a day from the plentiful stocks of American field rations, and drive new American trucks and jeeps." D.R.

## Sees Evolution for Negroes

Washington, D.C.

I submit the following as a reply to some facets (time limiting me to consider the whole question) of Mr. Breitman's article, "Can White and Black Radicals Collaborate?" To my mind radical thinking represents deviant behavior and logical fallacy, which in turn represents destruction rather than construction. If the Negro is to construct for himself a place in society, radicalism is a dubious and negative course of action.

Sophistic discourse as represented in Mr. Breitman's article dispels any illusions of collaboration. He maintains that Marxism is "the best theory now available" and defends it against Cruse's type of attack. In attacking Cruse he says: "A weakness of some Negro intellectuals, like Cruse, is that they proceed with their analyses and arrive at their conclusions by assuming the indefinite perpetuation of the present conditions of the struggle..." I do not defend Cruse's position, but I do point out Breitman's polemical incompetence. The theory in question, Marxism, was based on the social situation in England at the time of the Industrial Revolution. Marx, "assuming the indefinite perpetuation of the present conditions of the struggle" maintained that the proletariat would revolt. No "capitalistic" society has yet seen such a revolt. A society such as ours responds to the demands of the masses through non-violent revolution. Mr. Breitman: "Physician cure thyself."

The only answer for the Negro population is collaboration with the masses of our society. America is basically Anglo-Saxon in thought and institutions, yet throughout its history America has admitted and become composed of, populations from all parts of the world. How has this been possible? These people have accepted America, her government, her way of life. This is what the Negro must do. When the Negro considers himself an individual judged by his personal merits and not as an alienated group intent on achieving "owed" recognition by subversive or revolutionary methods, will his demands be recognized. It is a difficult path, but it works.

The only revolution to occur in America will be that one which employs the systems provided by our society to secure change — change which has occurred from the conception of this great country and has perpetuated the greatest and most dynamic society of the age. A society built and nurtured on a constant assimilation of new elements, can surely incorporate the Negro.

D.L.S.

## Points Out Error

Kent, Ohio

I feel compelled to point out a very serious error on the editorial page of your issue of Nov. 9, 1964. You claimed that the USAF B-57's in Vietnam were long-range heavy, strategic bombers, standing alert around the world, and the backbone of SAC. SAC does not even use the B-57. I have no way of knowing whether you purposely distorted the facts to make your "point," or whether you just confused the B-57 with the B-47.

Actually the B-57 is a medium-range light bomber. Of course it can carry a nuclear weapon; we have some nuclear weapons so small that a man can carry several. It cannot carry the city-destroying weapons of the heavy bombers, B-47 and B-52 which can carry 20,000 pounds of weapons compared to the 5,000 pounds for the B-57. Bases in Vietnam would be of no advantage for attacks against Red China; bases in Japan, the Pacific Islands, and the U.S. mainland are safer and the newer aircraft are better suited for the mission. Which is to say, the B-57 is well suited as a counter-guerrilla weapon system with machine guns, cannon, and wing pylons for bombs and rockets.

You should be more careful with your "facts." The case you make in the editorial is destroyed in the light of the actual facts about the B-57. I would like to know if you deliberately distorted the facts in this case. Your use of the alleged capabilities to build your "case" certainly makes this ap-

pear to be the case. I would like to hear from you whether this is what happened or if you did confuse the B-57 with the B-47.

S.E.C.

[The editorial identification of the B-57's as part of the Strategic Air Command was an error, and we appreciate this correction. However, the point of the editorial, that these planes were not directly linked with the counter-guerrilla warfare in South Vietnam, but were part of the U.S. build-up for possible use against North Vietnamese and Chinese targets, still seems valid to us. Indeed, many statements in the U.S. daily press at the time of the Bienhoa raid made this apparent. For example, the New York Times of Nov. 3 stated:

"The [Bienhoa] base, 12 miles north of Saigon, was closed to newsmen until recently. It is known to be one of the key installations of the American Air Force build-up across Southeast Asia and has been the base of nearly 40 American B-57 bombers sent to Vietnam after the Gulf of Tonkin incidents in August."

Clearly this build-up, and it includes SAC forces along with USAF general purpose forces, is motivated by plans extending beyond the present engagement in South Vietnam — specifically to North Vietnam and China. — EDITOR.]

## Taxpayers Last

Philadelphia, Pa.

It is not right to use the taxpayers' money to help the Phila-

delphia Transportation Company, railroads and other transportation companies to make profits. If the government is going to help some people to make profits, then they have to help everybody to make profits.

They were going to buy the Philadelphia transportation companies. The only reason I can see that they did not buy them is that they want the companies to make more profits on the taxpayers.

When the government puts in a highway they make the people sell at a price they want to give them. Then they say the public comes first.

M. Z.

## Speak Up

Nashville, Tenn.

I have intended to write to your paper for some time. I feel that the great problem of liberals and radicals is that we are too silent and too far from the rest of the people.

We complain to each other about things like Vietnam. Do we ever write our congressmen? How many of us have written a letter of support to Senator Morse?

Do you get tired of having right-wing propaganda dinned into your ears? Have you ever sent a letter of protest to the local station?

In your classroom, when some noisy racist makes a dumb remark, do you try to answer back?

The great problem with progressives is that they are too timid. Whenever you are in a position to do so, be sure to make yourself heard.

R. H.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Academic Warriors**—The Chamber of Commerce has joined the war on poverty. It announced it has undertaken an "academic and objective" study of the problem. Its first finding is that the government is guilty of too sweeping a generalization in classifying all families with annual incomes of less than \$3,000 as in the poverty bracket. On the basis of its own "field observations," the Chamber reported it had found that a family in Arkansas, for example, can live nicely on \$2,400 a year. They didn't say if this included members of the Arkansas C of C.

**Soundly Conceived Sentence** — Reporting on the extensive adult educational program being carried on in Cuba, New York Times correspondent Juan de Onis describes a Spanish grammar book being used. From a chapter on sentence structure he quotes this: "All our neighbors in Latin America live under the exploitation of Yankee imperialism, which maintains them in the state of semi-colonies under puppet governments. This was the case in Cuba until the revolution." We'll leave it to the grammarians to judge the quality of the sentence structure. From the viewpoint of content it strikes us as rating a 100 per cent mark.

**Oil Salesman** — Ira H. Cram, chairman of the executive committee of the Continental Oil Company, said no other industry has done so well abroad as the oil industry. He said the U.S. now controls 63 per cent of the non-Communist world's oil reserve. During the past five years, he said, U.S. oil companies spent \$4.2 billion abroad and brought home profits of \$7.6 billion. Apparently with a straight face, Cram went

on to say that the oil industry was an effective overseas selling agent for "our way of life."

**Election Returns** — It's still proving tough to get election returns for the minority tickets, but we did extract this bit of information from an editorial in the Miami Times, a Negro weekly, on write-in votes in that city: "There was comedy in the voting booth. Why even Fidel Castro received a few votes. One wonders what the bearded gentleman thought about such recognition?"

**Progress Report** — The National Labor Relations Board, which was founded in 1935, has just appointed its first Negro trial examiner. An examiner conducts hearings and makes findings in unfair labor practice cases. The appointee is Arthur Christopher, Jr., an attorney for the NLRB since 1946.

**For the Socially Conscious** — There are other problems in this world besides the bomb and we're happy to report that one of them that has bugged us for a long time has been finally cleared up. The New York Times — which we consider authoritative on the ques-

tion — reported Nov. 20 that when you finish eating, you should lay your napkin down on the left side of the plate.

**Nero Fiddled?** — It simply isn't so that U.S. embassies abroad aren't doing anything to cope with turbulent world political developments. The State Department is urging diplomatic representatives abroad to serve American wine. It is felt this will enhance the American image and also be good for the wine business. Literature has been mailed throughout the globe and tastings are being held to familiarize Foreign Service personnel with U.S. wines. We are assured this doesn't involve big expenses for the taxpayer. The wine industry is helping with the project.

**Gang-Buster at Work** — Fearless Louis Lefkowitz, New York State District Attorney, has racked up a triumph for law and order. In a press release, he announced he had won the agreement of an animal company to stop advertising monkeys as "small chimpanzees."

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

**"AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE: FUGITIVE FROM A CHAIN GANG** — In Philadelphia Edward Brown, a native of the 'land of the free', sits in jail waiting. The courts of Pennsylvania have said he must be extradited to Georgia.

"On April 24, 1937 at Macon, Ga. . . the authorities arrested Brown and charged him with murder despite his plea of innocence and self-defense in the accident.

"A lawyer was obtained and received from Brown's family between \$150 and \$200. He complained that this sum was not enough and advised Brown to change his plea of not guilty to guilty with the assurance that he would get off with a light sentence. Brown followed his lawyer's advice and was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment on the chain gang.

"Shortly after his imprisonment, Brown testified that double shackles were placed on his feet; his legs were chained together with a 20-foot chain and a 15-pound ball at the end of it. Also, picks were placed on his legs which impeded his walking and which would hit him on the buttocks whenever he walked. He was beaten constantly with black jacks and rubber hose; liniment was poured into his rectum, and he was placed in a sweat box, a small structure too small for anyone to stand or lie down in and which was exposed to the heat of the sun with no ventilation, except a two-inch opening leading to the tin roof.

"Brown escaped on Dec. 19, 1937, but was captured June 21, 1940 . . . On Sept. 22, 1940, Brown again escaped . . . until 1947, when he was recaptured . . . Brown escaped again in 1950. This time he made his way to Philadelphia. He was arrested on March 31, 1952, upon the request of the authorities of Georgia." — Nov. 29, 1954.

## 20 Years Ago

"The Canadian government faces its worst crisis in 20 years as demonstrations . . . last week vented mounting popular resentment against . . . sudden scuttling of the five-year policy of depending on volunteers . . . for overseas service.

"At Vernon, British Columbia, nearly 1,000 soldiers from the nearby military camp formed spontaneously upon learning of the reversal in policy and paraded the streets four abreast shouting, 'Down with conscription,' and 'Conscript wealth and industry as well as manpower.' . . .

"As Chicoutimi, Quebec, demonstrating youths tore down the Union Jack from the post office building and paraded to the City Hall . . .

"In the city of Quebec . . . 700 youths of draft age staged an anti-conscription parade . . ." Dec. 2, 1944.

## Thought for the Week

"... you can't explain to a Negro why a plane can be bombed and its pieces scattered for miles and the crime can be solved, but they can't find out who bombed a church." — Rev. Martin Luther King in reply to attack on him by J. Edgar Hoover.

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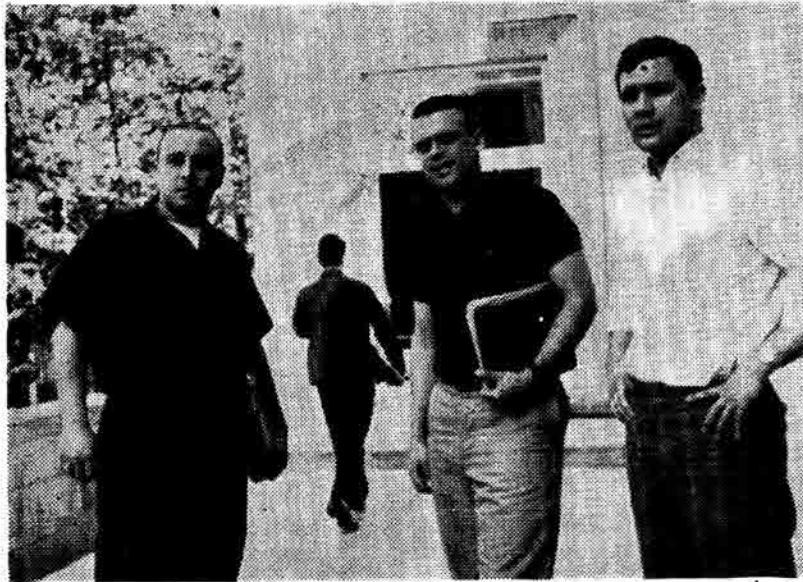
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## Court to Hear Prosecutor's Appeal In Indiana Student 'Sedition' Case



**FACE POSSIBLE RE-INDICTMENT.** Ralph Levitt (left), James Bingham (center) and Tom Morgan, defendants in Indiana 'sedition' trial.

On Dec. 15 the Indiana Supreme Court will hear oral arguments in the case of the Bloomington students, Ralph Levitt, James Bingham, and Tom Morgan, students at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana, were indicted in 1963 under the state's Anti-Communism Act. Local prosecutor Thomas Hoadley charged the three with "advocating the violent overthrow of the governments of the United States and the State of Indiana," because they were members of the campus Young Socialist Alliance.

Last March, defense attorneys Leonard Boudin and Daniel Taylor III, argued at a pre-trial hearing in Bloomington that the Anti-Communism Act is unconstitutional. Judge Nat U. Hill, concurring with the defense, ruled the law unconstitutional, thereby dismissing the indictments against the three students. Prosecutor Hoadley, however, appealed that ruling to the Indiana Supreme Court. On Dec. 15 that court will hear Hoadley's appeal and the arguments of the defense.

The witch-hunt law states its purpose is "to exterminate com-

munist, communists, and any or all teachings of the same." The law's unconstitutional character was clearly manifested in the indictments themselves. The students were first charged, on May 1, 1963, with having attended a campus meeting, at which YSA leader Leroy McRae, a Negro, spoke on the civil-rights struggle.

### Secured New Indictment

After this first indictment was thrown out because of faulty wording, Hoadley secured another indictment with the same charge as in the original, with another charge tacked on. The second charge was that the defendants "assembled" on May 2, the day after the first indictment. The defendants did "assemble" that day — to discuss getting a lawyer.

The defense against this witch-hunt attack was organized by the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee provided its general counsel, Leonard Boudin, who is the nation's foremost civil-liberties lawyer in the field of state "sedition" laws.

The CABS is still in need of funds to carry through the fight against the witch-hunt law and the threat it holds over the three students. Send contributions to: CABS, Box 205, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y.

## Hospital in St. Paul Locks Out Unionists

By Everett Luoma

MINNEAPOLIS — Tensions between hospital administrators and their employees came to a head Nov. 16 when a hundred members of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees Local 113 were locked out at Children's Hospital in St. Paul.

In violation of the contract, the hospital arbitrarily instituted work-schedule changes Nov. 16. Norman E. Carle, secretary-treasurer of Local 113, requested the new scheduling be held in abeyance for arbitration under the contract provisions.

Eleanor Sackett, administrator of Children's Hospital, replied that the new schedule would be put into effect despite the contract. Nineteen employees objected to the changes in work rules and were fired. About 85 others walked off their jobs in protest. The union filed a lock-out notice and set up a 24-hour picket line.

All deliveries to the hospital were stopped. Management tried to get scabs from other hospitals to replace its locked-out workers but could obtain only seven.

Judge Arthur Stewart of Ramsey County issued an order Nov. 25 banning union participation in the work stoppage and all picketing. The union had not been represented at the court hearing but promptly withdrew the picketline.

## TSHOMBE'S WHITE MERCENARIES

# Massacre Congo Civilians

By Dick Roberts

As the brutal mercenary army of the U.S.-Belgian puppet dictator Moise Tshombe pushed north towards the rebel-held city of Stanleyville last week, *New York Times* correspondent Lloyd Garrison seemed to be having second thoughts about the whole campaign.

Garrison is the *Times*' war correspondent with Tshombe's forces in the eastern Congo province of Kivu, and he has given day-by-day coverage since the mercenary army began campaigning against the rebel regime of Christophe Gbenye.

Most of the time, Garrison (or perhaps his editor in the *Times* office) has been doing his level best to ignore the slaughter and pretend that the United States has little or nothing to do with the motley and reactionary band of white-supremacists and killers-for-hire who make up Tshombe's mercenary crew.

### Slanted Reports

One of Garrison's tricks, in this respect, has been the continual allusion to "Cuban pilots" and "Cuban bombers" when referring to the air support of the mercenary invasion. The "Cubans" he is referring to are none other than Cuban counter-revolutionary exiles who were recruited by U.S. government officials in Miami to fly Uncle Sam's bombers and drop Uncle Sam's bombs on unarmed and defenseless civilians in Congolese rebel territory.

But in the *New York Times* Sunday magazine section (Nov. 15) Garrison unburdened himself of all his pent-up misgivings about the mercenary campaign. The result is a lurid description of continual butchery, cutely entitled "White Mercenaries On a 'Rabbit Hunt'."

In this article, Garrison presents the ex-Nazis, ex-French Secret Army terrorists, ex-South African police, who constitute the mercenary army, in a sympathetic light. According to Garrison, some of these butchers just can't take it anymore.

In the whole campaign, he notes, only one mercenary has been killed, while hundreds of Congolese, armed with nothing more than spears and bows and arrows, have been unmercifully mowed down.

## New U.S.-Belgian Crime in Congo

NOV. 24 — The landing of Belgian paratroopers in the Congo by the U.S. Air Force is a shameful new act of aggression against the Congolese people by both these countries.

The State Department claims that the Belgian paratroopers were sent into the Congo for "humanitarian" reasons is a thoroughgoing piece of hypocrisy. For long years the Belgian tortured, maimed and killed Congolese under their rule. In the present moves of the Belgians and the U.S. to establish neo-colonialism in the Congo, white mercenaries are killing Congolese civilians in violation of all rules of warfare.

Then Garrison goes on to describe how one mercenary couldn't bear to kill a wounded prisoner who was lying on the roadside and he had to have a subordinate, called "Ugly," do it:

"Ugly pumped six rounds into the man with his automatic rifle. When he returned to his jeep he could be heard muttering over and over to himself: 'Mass murder... mass murder.'"

What is made absolutely obvi-

ous about the whole Kivu campaign in Garrison's article is that the kind of warfare the mercenaries are carrying on can't be called fighting at all. "Mass murder" and "rabbit hunt" aren't epithets which could be applied to a battle with armed and organized guerrillas.

This is abundantly clear if you compare Garrison's description with the news from South Vietnam where there really is a battle against guerrillas.

### Seek to Terrorize

On the contrary, this mercenary invasion of Kivu Province is apparently a drive to terrorize the whole population against supporting the freedom movement of the Lumumbists. The mercenaries apparently are killing every man woman and child in their path, and the CIA's "Cubans" are destroying villages wholesale with their U.S. bombs.

In passing, Garrison makes the following admission: "One has read in the press (and one has written, in the haste to simplify), of 'Communist-backed guerrillas'... Yet for all of China's reported influence, it hasn't shown up in rebel tactics."

But this admission is a comparatively small matter. The real importance of Garrison's article is that it reveals in horrifying clarity the nature of the imperialist-conducted massacre going on in the Congo.

## Interception of Foreign Mail Held Illegal by Federal Court

A federal law providing for the interception of "Communist propaganda" mail from abroad was declared unconstitutional by a three-judge federal court in San Francisco Nov. 19. The government indicated it will appeal the ruling and the San Francisco Post Office said it will continue to intercept the mail "until Washington tells us to stop."

Under the law, publications and other mail from "Communist" countries addressed to individuals here are intercepted and a notice sent to the addressee that the mail

will not be delivered unless he signs a form stating that he wants it.

The court declared the practice inhibited the spread of ideas and was a "clear and direct invasion of First Amendment territory." The judges said the lists compiled on the basis of the Post Office procedure have been used for witch-hunting purposes.

The ruling came as a result of a suit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union on behalf of Leif Heilberg, a Denmark-born resident of San Francisco. Heilberg, a student of Esperanto, had tried to obtain a Chinese Communist pamphlet in that language.

### Feared Reprisal

But, he told the court, he feared that if he signed the postal form his name would be added to the list of those willing to receive "Communist propaganda" and this would jeopardize his efforts to become an American citizen.

The court apparently agreed this was a legitimate concern on his part. The judges noted that lists of people who have signed the form have been made available to the House Un-American Activities Committee.

San Francisco Postmaster John Fixa told the court that a list of 7,000 people who signed the form has been compiled in that city. Nationally, in the past two years alone, 1.8 million pieces of such mail has been forwarded on the basis of people signing the form.

The witch-hunting practice was begun as an administrative practice under Truman. In 1961, after many protests from individuals and civil-liberties bodies, and moves toward court action, the practice was ordered stopped by President Kennedy. It was reinstituted by act of Congress in 1962.

Dr. Corliss Lamont, civil libertarian, currently has a test of the mail-ban before the U.S. Supreme Court.

## Breaks Passport Barrier Again

# William Worthy Goes to N. Vietnam

NOV. 23 — William Worthy, Jr., the prominent Negro reporter, is on his way to visit North Vietnam and guerrilla-controlled areas of South Vietnam. He is traveling without a passport, because the government revoked it after he visited China in 1957.

Worthy arrived in Cambodia Nov. 21 enroute to North Vietnam, which has given him permission to enter. "I have consistently maintained that all citizens have the right to go to any country that will admit them," Worthy said, "and that newsmen, in particular, should not be prohibited by the United States government from traveling wherever news is breaking."

On April 16, Worthy had applied again for a passport, saying he wished to go to Africa, Europe and Asia "to see and report the news." He was turned down on May 8 because of his forbidden journey to China in 1957, and also because he visited Cuba in 1961. The State Department has banned travel to Cuba by Americans with the exception of certain newsmen cleared by the State Department. North Vietnam is also on the State De-

partment's list of prohibited countries.

When Worthy returned from Cuba in 1961, he was charged with entering the United States, his native country, without a passport. A federal jury in Miami convicted him on this charge but it was reversed on Feb. 20 by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals which ruled that returning to the U.S. cannot be made a crime.

### Length of Stay

Worthy says that he plans to stay in Vietnam from four to six weeks. He has received advance funds from two leading magazines for stories. "The news in Vietnam is obviously a matter of life and death for the American people and possibly all mankind, and we can ill afford to be ill-informed about such matters," he said.

In a cablegram to the *New York Times*, Worthy said he flew from Boston to Montreal on Nov. 19, then from Montreal to Paris. From Paris he flew to Phnompenh, Cambodia. He said he planned to fly to Hanoi, capital of North Vietnam, on Nov. 24.

Worthy should arrive in Hanoi

in time to cover the International Solidarity Conference scheduled to be held there to protest U.S. military attacks against the Vietnamese people.



William Worthy