

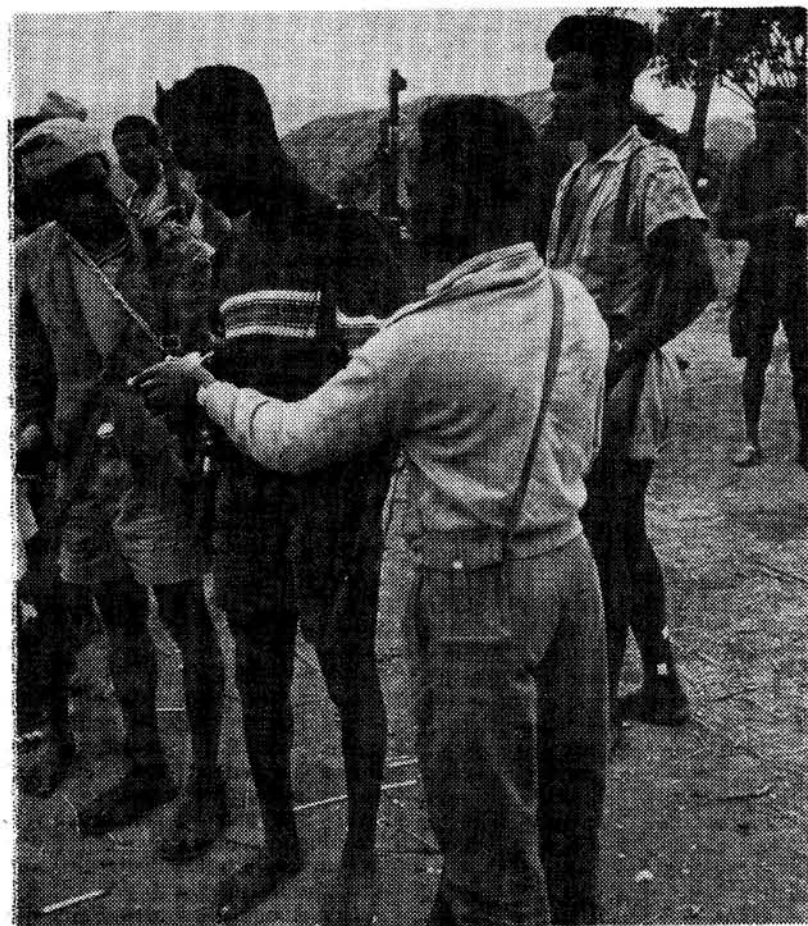
THE MILITANT

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Exclusive Report

Revolt in Angola-An Uprising Against Unendurable Misery



ANGOLA LIBERATION MOVEMENT, now in its second year of armed struggle against the Portuguese imperialists, had its origins in the formation of guerrilla bands in the colony's villages as shown above.

By Victor Moazul

ALGIERS — Nearly two years have passed since the Angolan people took the road of armed struggle against Portuguese imperialism. It was not until February 1961, with the Luanda revolt, that the world was informed of the atrocious nature of Portuguese imperialism.

Hitherto a mysterious silence had surrounded Portuguese colonialism, but the sweep of the African liberation movement inevitably penetrated the iron bars of the Angolan prison house. With the Congo's independence in 1960, the Portuguese, fearing unrest spreading across into their West African colony of Angola, hastily deployed their military forces to crush any revolt.

But in February 1961 Angolan nationalists, under the leadership of the MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), assaulted jails and police headquarters in Luanda in an attempt to free their leaders who had been rounded up over the previous two years.

The Luanda rising was quickly followed in March by the revolt of the northern people just across the border from the ex-Belgian Congo.

Between the months of February and May 1961, 70,000 Africans were killed; of this number, 3,000 were slaughtered in Luanda in a single day — a record of wholesale murder that has not been achieved by any other colonialist power. Portuguese killed, however, numbered only 1,000.

These crimes have not subdued the liberation struggle. On the contrary they have driven the peoples of "Portuguese" Guinea,

Mozambique, the Cape Verde Islands and Saint Thomas — all of which are dominated by Portugal — into an indivisible alliance. They have been made increasingly aware that the victory of one colony contributes towards the victory of all. And, of course, this unity is backed, encouraged and reinforced by the solidarity of the independent African states, socialist countries and liberal opinion in the imperialist countries.

Faced with this combination, it is apparent that victory in the long run is on side of the oppressed. But before victory can be achieved, there will have to be a hard and prolonged struggle; because Portugal is rendered behind-the-scenes assistance by her "oldest ally," Britain, on the one hand and by United States and other imperialist interests on the other.

NATO Support

The two most powerful colonizing nations, Britain and France, have had to make a tactical retreat in the face of the African liberation struggle — for economic reasons. What can be the future of backward Portugal whose military potential is in no way comparable to these countries?

Certainly if the Portuguese fascists were not supported by Welensky, Verwoerd and the NATO powers, they would not have been able to wage a protracted war against the Angolans.

If one recalls that the bombs that razed Angolan villages were made in British factories, and that both Welensky and Verwoerd have spoken in favor of Portugal's policy of genocide in Africa, it is clear that international reaction is

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Strike Hits 4 NYC Papers, Others Close

By Jack Katz

NEW YORK, Dec. 11 — This city's newspaper printers struck four of the major city dailies, the *Times*, *News*, *Journal-American* and *World-Telegram*, Dec. 8. The Publishers Association quickly locked out the workers on the other four papers, the *Post*, *Mirror*, *Herald Tribune* and *Long Island Press*. The publisher's action in closing down the non-struck plants was to put the blame on the union for the news blackout and build up public opinion and government pressure against the strikers.

This is the first strike by New York Typographical Union Local 6 (Big Six), in its 65 years of contractual relations with the Publishers Association.

The strike was called after it became clear that the publishers would not budge from their position of forcing the union to accept the \$8-for-two-years package that the Newspaper Guild accepted last month after an eight-day strike at the *News*.

The strike was preceded by a series of unprecedented unity moves among the ten unions in the industry which are now banded together in the Committee for Newspaper Unity under the chairmanship of Bertram Powers, president of Local 6. On Oct. 14 the ten unions held a joint mass meeting at Manhattan Center where an overflow crowd of more than 3,500 newspaper workers cheered their craft leaders' pledges of unity against the publisher's solid front.

The unity committee was born last year after all contracts were signed, when the leaders of the nine crafts and the Guild began to meet to discuss methods of breaching the publishers' arrogant take-it-or-leave-it bargaining technique.

Current application of this technique is the publishers' attempt to force all the other crafts to accept at their later contract expiration the pattern of the recent settlement with the Guild.

This plan worked for the past decade while the printers and the other crafts slowly saw their leading position in labor slowly dis-

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Economic Soothsayers Sure Of One Thing — More Jobless

By Art Preis

DEC. 11 — Since President Kennedy unleashed the Cuban crisis, the mood of the capitalist economists and the business community has shifted abruptly from pessimistic uncertainty to optimistic uncertainty. Before Oct. 22, the economic forecasters and soothsayers were predicting that U.S. economic conditions would get worse if they did not get better; now they confidently forecast that the economic situation will get better if it does not get worse. But there is one element of the economic future about which there is unanimous and unshakable certainty: unemployment is going to get worse.

In fact, as average prices on the New York Stock Exchange rose about 17 per cent from Oct. 23 to Nov. 30, the number of unemployed also rose in the same period almost 16 per cent.

On Dec. 5, the U.S. Department of Labor made public its employment statistics for the month of November. Unemployment last month was 3,801,000, a rise of about 500,000 over October. The unemployment rate — the ratio of the unemployed to the total labor force — rose to 5.8 per cent in November from 5.5 per cent in October.

Although the number of unemployed increased by a half million,

Kennedy Steps Up Cold-War Moves

By Fred Halstead

Immediately following the Kennedy-Khrushchev arrangement in the "Cuban crisis" widespread hope arose that a general easing of the cold war was in the offing. The significance of the current "Stevenson affair" is that this was a dangerous illusion. The affair indicates a tougher line by the Kennedy administration in the cold war as well as a continuation of the policy of unilateral U.S. attempts to crush the Cuban Revolution.

An article in the Dec. 8 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* began a neat, but not so subtle, bit of political hatchet work on Adlai Stevenson, U.S. ambassador to the UN, and on the "liberal wing" of the Democratic Party which he symbolizes.

The article, by Stewart Alsop and Charles Bartlett, both highly-placed, authoritative journalists and intimate friends of President Kennedy, reports on the secret discussions during the Cuban crisis among the president and his eight top advisors.

The article suggests, in the words of a Dec. 5 *New York Post* editorial, "that the only thing relevant in the Cuban crisis — and by implication, in future crises — was a readiness to brandish our nuclear power and to invite the impression that Mr. Kennedy holds to that view." In addition, the article implies that Stevenson did not hold that view and was "soft on communism" during the deliberations.

Whether the article was published with Kennedy's direct knowledge is not the point. There can be no doubt that the story — by two of Kennedy's intimate associates — represents administration policy. It is designed to serve notice on the shell of "liberalism" left in this country that it had better not get in the way of a hard line in the cold war.

Stevenson hastened to deny that he has any such idea. He called the article "inaccurate" and declared that he "strongly supported the decision taken by the President on the quarantine" of Cuba.

The Dec. 10 *National Observer*,



John F. Kennedy

the new weekly paper of news analysis put out by the publishers of the *Wall Street Journal*, explains that the political butchering of Stevenson by Kennedy "strengthened his [Kennedy's] image, forged in the Cuban crisis, as a man who can get tough with Khrushchev and make it stick. That's a far cry from the image he would project if he cared greatly about wooing the more liberal wing of his party, represented by Mr. Stevenson, which historically seeks the soft approach in dealing with the reds."

Stevenson is no threat to Kennedy's war plans, but Stevenson is expendable. He serves as a handy whipping boy for Kennedy in the political maneuver of placating the right wing and, at the same time, intimidating the U.S. peace movement.

The real purpose and effect of Kennedy's current propaganda campaign and political moves have been noted by "highly placed United Nations diplomats."

The Dec. 8 *Christian Science Monitor* reports:

"Wholly apart from what they call the mistaken account of Mr. Stevenson's views, however, two things particularly disturb UN people: 1) The general popular belief in the United States that the blockade, and the blockade alone, produced the Soviet capitulation — and that therefore the United States should be 'tough' more often. 2) The tendency to glorify as 'hard nosed' and courageous suggestions that the missile bases should have been bombed or that Cuba should have been invaded . . ."

"In any event, moral standards seem to have been turned upside (Continued on Page 2)

White Supremacist Gets African Boot

Senator Allen J. Ellender, a big Democratic Party wheel from Louisiana, on tour in Africa, has been barred from Uganda, Tanganyika, the Congo and Ethiopia because of his racially insulting remarks at a press conference. Since other independent African nations were preparing to keep him out as an undesirable, he was forced to return to the U.S. Ellender seems genuinely surprised at the reaction to his racist spouting. He has always talked that way — in the Senate, at the White House, at Democratic Party conventions, all over the U.S. — and never suffered for it. Kennedy publicly praises him as invaluable to the administration, liberal Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman is particularly chummy with him.

The newly independent African countries are acting in a definitely un-American fashion.

'Advising' Japanese Labor

By Tom Kerry

The apparent success of the Kennedy administration's exercise in brinkmanship at the height of the Cuban crisis, has emboldened the exponents of the "get-tough" line, to seize the initiative in pressing for a more aggressive posture in the global cold war to make the world safe for capitalist exploitation.

In its ultimatic confrontation of the Soviet Union, the American capitalist ruling class asserted its prerogative, to take unilateral action in its holy war against "communism."

Pressure on Washington's junior partners in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to expand their military commitments in Europe, have been intensified.

The term, "neutrality," has become a dirty word. The uncommitted nations are being given to understand that there can no longer be any middle ground in the cold war.

While the NATO powers are being lined up for a more aggressive stand in Europe, increasing pressure is being applied to convert Japan into a military bastion of American imperialism in the Far-East.

High-level talks of a hush-hush character took place in Washington this past week between cabinet-level delegations headed by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira. Staff correspondent Robert R. Brunn of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 7, reports that:

"What is taking place, according to observers here, is that the United States is playing a long-run diplomatic game of trying to bring Tokyo more firmly into the Western political camp."

This "diplomatic game," is spelled out more specifically in Brunn's comment "that the United States leadership sees that Tokyo eventually will have a larger military role to play, if it will."

Emphasizing the importance attached by Washington to the cabinet-level negotiations, Brunn recounts that Kennedy was called in to address the Japanese delegation. "In an off-the-cuff statement fresh from a National Security Council meeting," says Brunn, "President Kennedy spoke briefly to the Japanese delegation."

"Our major problem," said Kennedy, "is how we can contain the



JAPANESE STUDENTS snake-dance in front of Prime Minister's official residence in 1960 to protest the new Japanese-U.S. military treaty. These demonstrations reached such mass proportions that President Eisenhower was forced to cancel his scheduled visit.

expansion of communism in Asia." It is a problem, he averred, that "most directly concerns the two countries who are in the strongest position, really, Japan and the United States . . . I hope that in the months ahead thought can be given to what role we can play as partners . . . to prevent the domination of Asia by a Communist movement . . ."

Japan is the major industrial power in Asia. It is the key piece in the master plan for American imperialist conquest of the world. The bid to make Japan junior partner in Asia of Washington's schemes for hegemony over a capitalist-dominated world requires the re-militarization of that country.

But the people of Japan have, on more than one occasion, forcefully expressed their determined opposition to re-militarization. The frightful atrocity committed by the Truman administration in atom-bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki is still too fresh in their memory. Their attitude toward American "cold warriors" was amply demonstrated by the reception accorded the Eisenhower entourage in 1960 after Washington had executed its arms pact with the Ikeda regime.

This constitutes a knotty problem for the Foreign Office and the American State Department. How better to cope with this problem than to enlist the aid of the labor lieutenants of the American capitalist class. So . . .

Walter Reuther, vice president of the AFL-CIO and president of the United Automobile Workers, suddenly decides that the Japanese workers are sorely in need of his advice and guidance.

In Japan the workers have their own political parties. The largest Japanese trade union federation, SOHYO, representing some 3.5 million workers, is strongly influenced by the Socialist Party of Japan.

The class-conscious workers of Japan view support by labor of the Japanese capitalist parties and candidates as political scabbery. Knowing this, Reuther was constrained to be rather circumspect about his advice. He could hardly advise the labor movement of Japan to emulate the policy of the American labor skates who keep the workers here tied to the tail of the Democratic donkey. But leave it to Reuther, he knows his way around!

The *New York Times* of Nov. 25, reports from Tokyo, that "Mr. Reuther . . . advised Japanese union men to concentrate on improving wages and working conditions and place as little emphasis on politics as possible."

Using Kennedy's bogeyman approach, Reuther warned the Japanese trade unionists about having any truck with "communists," who, he avowed, "use labor unions primarily to advance the foreign policy of the Soviet Union." *Our policy*, Reuther declared, "is that you can't cooperate with anyone who puts trade-union aims behind other aims."

But whose "aims" were being advanced by Reuther's Japanese junket? The "foreign policy of the Soviet Union," does not constitute any threat to the Japanese workers. But what about those who "use labor unions primarily to advance the foreign policy" of the American State Department? Can the Japanese workers "cooperate" with the likes of those?

Reuther's pose as a pure and simple trade unionist would, of course, be given greater credence in Japan than in the United States. The Reuthers of this country are immersed in politics up to their eyebrows. In domestic politics they are the most ardent defenders of the capitalist two-party system. In foreign politics they serve as lackeys of the American State Department, ready and willing to lend their prestige as "labor leaders," to further the most reactionary aims of Washington and Wall Street.

Fortunately, it is certain, that Reuther's "advice" to the Japanese workers will not meet with any enthusiastic response. There is nothing they have to learn, either about trade-union struggle or politics, from the Reuthers of America.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The number of executives on the country's railroads has remained steady at about 15,000 since 1947, according to a November report by the Labor Department, but the number of workers has dropped by 670,000. There was one rail executive to every 93 railroad workers 15 years ago and today there is one executive for each 58 workers. Output per man-hour by production workers has risen 70 per cent in the same period of time.

Average employment at the United States Steel Corporation for the first nine months of 1962 was 199,400. Except for the 1961 figure, which was 199,200, this was the lowest since 1935.

The United Auto Workers Skilled Trades Conference Dec. 1 in Chicago passed a resolution "strongly urging the International Executive Board to negotiate in all future agreements a shorter work week and a lower retirement age." The resolution had been submitted by Cleveland GM Local 45.

A resolution making the demand specific as "30 hours work for 40 hours pay," submitted by International Harvester Local 152 at Hinsdale, Ill., was not acted upon by the conference.

The Local 152 resolution said in part: "The long delay of the modern union movement to parallel increases in productivity with an equivalent struggle for a reduced work week has resulted in the untenable condition of a growing mass of unemployed workers. This growing unemployment problem continues unresolved today, even when our economy shows some general improvement."

The resolution called upon the International Executive Board to "give full support to organizing an effective struggle for a '30-for-40' work week." It declared that an "indeterminate flexible approach toward this key issue can serve only to bring further weakness and loss to our Union and to the American Workers in general."

At its 1957 convention the UAW adopted the shorter work week as its next major collective bargaining goal, but UAW President Walter Reuther has been sidetracking the demand ever since, saying that he favors a "flexible" approach to contract talks. President John F. Kennedy, with whom Reuther has close ties, has repeatedly stated his complete opposition to the shorter work week demand.

New York City's 2,000 civilian drivers — members of Local 983 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO — ended their ten-day strike Dec. 7 in an arbitration deal offered by Mayor Robert F. Wagner.

A three-man "citizen's panel" will recommend a settlement. The panel is composed of Rev. Phillip J. Carey, director of the Xavier Industrial Relations Institute, City Administrator Charles H. Tenney, and Matthew Guinan, president of Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union. Guinan replaced Harry Van Arsdale, president of the city AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, who was originally named, but has left to attend a conference in Europe.

A key issue, the jobs of 16 civilian drivers for the police department who were fired for not working during the strike, was not resolved by the settlement. The men face hearings on whether they will be returned to their jobs. Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy dismissed them under the state's Condon-Wadlin Act, which purports to outlaw strikes by public employees. The law was not

directly invoked in other city departments.

The Chicago Bears professional football team has joined the Players Association of the National Football League thus making the league 100 per cent organized for the first time in the union's six-year history. The Players Association has established a minimum pay-scale of \$5,000 a year, \$50 per game for pre-season games and a pension fund. Players Association president Pete Retzlaff announced that the union is also establishing contacts with professional players in other sports.

Telephone installers employed by Western Electric — 17,000 strong — are voting by mail in a National Labor Relations Board election on switching from the Communications Workers of America to the Teamsters. Top officials of the installers unit bolted the CWA for the Teamsters in protest over the last contract. It contained a hated "merit" wage system left in the contract over installer protest by CWA president Joseph A. Beirne. Ballots will be counted Jan. 7, but no matter how the vote goes, the revolt has already forced Beirne to adopt the slogan: "Merit must go."

... Cold-War Moves

(Continued from Page 1) down, it is said. 'To advocate peaceful settlements without risking nuclear war is considered inestimable, indeed reprehensible,' one diplomat commented here Friday. 'If you are for war, you are tough; you are a hero. If you are for negotiation, you are soft on communism.'

This sums up the attitude of the U.S. ruling circles about the recent Cuban crisis. Kennedy feels he has gained a victory for imperialism by a unilateral show of force and nuclear brinkmanship. He is prepared to try some more of the same and is arrogant toward any domestic or foreign allies' waverings. Recent speeches by high administration spokesmen, warning Japan against trade with China and deflating British claims to first-class military status, are part of this same course.

Cuba remains in the same danger as before. Secretary of State Dean Rusk repeated Dec. 10 that Washington's policy remains that "a Marxist-Leninist government in this hemisphere is incompatible with the commitments of the hemisphere . . . we simply take up again that question that we had before us before the offensive weapons got into Cuba."

From the point of view of maintaining peace, the hopeful aspect of the situation is that the Cuban revolutionists have been neither intimidated by Kennedy's force nor fooled by Khrushchev's illusions. Peace can be maintained only through opposition to Kennedy's war drive. The more resolute that opposition is, both in the U.S. and abroad, the more hope there is for peace.

NAM Goes All-Out

The National Association of Manufacturers has put its president on full-time — with a reported salary of \$100,000 per year — for the first time in its history. Werner P. Gullander, former executive of General Electric, was named to the post.

Blue-Collar Jobs Decline

Manufacturing payrolls this year included 12.3 million production workers in the U.S., almost one million less than in 1957. The same payrolls include 335,000 more white-collar workers and executives than in 1957.

Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES

Celebrate New Year's Eve with friends of *The Militant* at 1702 East Fourth St. Entertainment, dancing, refreshments.

NEW YORK

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Behind Ban on Communist Party in Algeria

ALGIERS — The announcement Nov. 29 that the Algerian Communist Party (PCA) and its weekly paper *Al Hourrya* have been banned drew considerable attention in the world press. Some quarters have interpreted it as indicating that Algeria has turned away from the direction of socialism. This is not the case although it was a step backward.

In explaining the reasons for the ban, *El Moudjahid*, central organ of the Party of the National Liberation Front (FLN), denies any intent to muzzle critical voices. The aim of the ban, according to the editors, is "to clarify the political situation" and to help bring the Algerians together in a common constructive effort.

The struggle for freedom was organized and led by the FLN, *El Moudjahid* continues. The PCA disavowed the armed action that was begun in 1954 and remained outside the struggle. "Reduced to few members, without links with the people, whose genuine aspirations it lacked the knowledge or the will to advance, without any roots in the country and therefore in no position to analyze its problems correctly, as revolutionary parties must succeed in doing if they are conscious of their responsibilities and duties, cut off from the confidence of the Algerians, the PCA played no role whatever in the struggle for national liberation."

Only at the very end, when victory was in sight, did the PCA suddenly announce that it was an "integral part of the FLN." Since



Ahmed Ben Bella

then it has sought to extend this pretension into something even more presumptuous.

But the truth is that the freedom struggle was organized and led by the FLN, *El Moudjahid* continues, and it now falls upon the FLN to lead the struggle for socialism. No witch-hunt is involved. Ben Bella, as a member of the Political Bureau and President of the Council, "has, on two occasions, invited the Algerian Communists to join the FLN, where they can play a useful role in the ranks if they are animated by a sincere desire to contribute to the victory of socialism in our country." The PCA, however, has failed to respond to this offer.

Moreover, *El Moudjahid* declares, the Tripoli program calls for a single party. "It was supported by the Communists themselves . . ." This is a dubious interpretation, since the draft program which the FLN unanimously adopted at Tripoli speaks only in terms of "the revolutionary party," not a one-party system.

One-Party System

In addition to these arguments *Al Chaab*, the official daily newspaper, notes that "All the countries traveling the road of the socialist revolution live under the regime of a single party . . ." *Al Chaab* maintains that it was the unity made possible by a one-party system which enabled these countries to advance at such prodigious rate. "Neither counter-revolutionary bourgeois tendencies nor leftist formations" are permitted in these countries; therefore they should not be permitted in Algeria. Let "all the Algerians, whether Marxist or not," find their place in the ranks of the FLN.

In reply to this, Bachir Hadj Ali, a leader of the PCA, said that the ban was a "grave measure," "completely illegal," "lacking any juridical or political basis." It was an "anti-democratic decision" which could only bring "rejoicing to the imperialists."

The ban doubtlessly aroused no protests among the imperialists. The *New York Times* thought that Ben Bella is trying to steer a "middle course." The *New York Herald Tribune* declared that the ban was "expected to give new impetus to Algerian talks with French and American diplomats about aid . . ."

But aside from this, the arguments of Hadj Ali lacked force. The fact is that the PCA agrees in principle with the one-party system. The PCA leaders hold simply that Algeria is not yet ripe for it. They contend that the masses must first receive a political education. The PCA, naturally, nominates itself to play the key role in this. What it proposes for the time being is a "united front of all the anti-imperialist tendencies on the road toward a single party on the basis of socialism."

The PCA, quite clearly, is handicapped in this debate by poor credentials. Its role during the fight for freedom was negative. The role of its sister organization, the French Communist Party, was

still worse; it stood on the side of the colonial oppressors during some of the most desperate years. Even today when the French CP leaders could do much to mobilize help for the struggling young country, they confine themselves to pious phrases. The government of the Soviet Union has held back on offering substantial aid to Algeria. Thus the PCA has little to point to. So bankrupt are they, in fact, that they are even incapable of calling attention to the major flaws in the arguments advanced for banning their party.

Yet these are almost self-evident. The lack of democracy in the countries of the Soviet bloc is a glaring weakness, not a source of strength. The absence of proletarian democracy has been the greatest single factor in alienating the working people of the industrially advanced countries from socialism. This has had abysmal effects on both the cause of socialism and the defense of the worker's states. Inside the Soviet countries themselves the lack of proletarian democracy facilitated economic deficiencies, bureaucratic abuses and inequalities in all spheres, and paved the way for the fearful crimes of Stalinism. The prodigious advances in these countries were made despite the lack of democracy, not because of it!

To cite the one-party system of the Soviet countries as a reason for applying it to Algeria plays into the hands of the imperialists who have long taken advantage of the practices of Stalinism to argue that totalitarianism and socialism are synonymous. The truth is that socialism signifies the extension and development of democracy into the economic and social structure itself. Anything else is a departure from socialism.

In a country that takes the road to socialism, the working class should be free to organize as many political parties as it wishes. That is the norm of proletarian democracy.

It is true that this norm is not

Algerian Minister Explains Action on CP

ALGIERS, Dec. 6 — At a special press conference yesterday afternoon, Minister of Information Hadj Hamou vigorously denied charges that the Algerian government is engaging in witch-hunting.

"The decision to ban the Algerian Communist Party," he said, "gave rise to certain commentaries and interpretations that are absolutely unjustified. A special attempt has been made to picture the measure as occurring within the framework of a so-called anti-Communist policy." The government considers "such an interpretation as contrary to the reality."

"The PCA," he continued, "was not banned because of its ideology. It was banned as any other party would be except the

National Liberation Front, the only party recognized by the Algerian Revolution."

Since 1954, the government spokesman said, "any Communists who wished to join were admitted to the ranks of the National Liberation Front."

He called attention to a recent declaration by Ben Bella reaffirming that "the National Liberation Front has always been willing to welcome Communists desirous of joining its ranks as individuals."

Attacking the evils of demagoguery and factionalism, the minister declared that the ban, far from having a negative aspect, aims fundamentally at "maintaining and reinforcing the unity and cohesion of our Revolution."

an absolute, without which a country is not entitled to use the label "socialist." Situations can exist where only one party has actually been organized or is overwhelmingly supported by the workers. Here it is all the more necessary to establish guarantees for the democratic rights of all tendencies inside the single party. In completely exceptional circumstances, such as war, it may be necessary to curtail democracy temporarily. However, departures from the norm entail grave dangers that can only be mitigated by clearest explanation of the situation and recognition that the norm is being violated.

Whether or not the Algerian Communist Party has something to offer the Revolution is not the issue. And, of course, it is undeniable that it has a poor record.

But the issue involved is the principle of proletarian democracy.

Algeria stands to gain most through a policy aimed at demonstrating the democratic side of socialism. Few contributions to the struggle for socialism could bring Algeria more quickly into the center of world politics than this. In the imperialist countries, France especially, it would bring fresh inspiration to the working people and perhaps soon alter the political balance in favor of socialism. In the Soviet Union, Algeria's example would help speed the restoration of proletarian democracy such as the workers knew in the time of Lenin and Trotsky. In Algeria itself it would surely help in rallying the masses for the heroic effort now needed to reconstruct the country after eight years of devastating war and ferocious suppression.

Where Socialists Are Much Too Shy

By George Breitman

DETROIT — One thing I find it hard to understand is the attitude most socialists show toward the work of raising money for the socialist cause.

I don't mean their attitude toward giving money themselves; most are pretty good about that. I mean their attitude toward collecting money from friends and fellow-workers who are sympathetic to socialism to one degree or another.

Most socialists I have known (that is, people who belong to a socialist organization) seem to be bashful about asking for money. Bashful, or embarrassed, or even unwilling.

They will try to recruit their friends into the socialist movement. This means asking them to give their time, their lives, to the socialist cause. It may result in unpopularity, ostracism, economic and political victimization, maybe worse.

Isn't it strange that socialists will ask their friends for all that, and at the same time be hesitant about asking for money? What is money compared with the other, more precious things we ask of people friendly to the socialist movement?

I may be wrong, but it strikes me that this backwardness in soliciting money reflects an overvaluation of money. Its source must be our capitalist and petty-bourgeois environment, which influences and exerts pressure on all of us — on socialists less than others, but on socialists too. Being aware of an influence sometimes makes it easier to overcome it.

Money is a necessary means for maintaining and expanding the movement. Therefore a good socialist does more than ask his friends and fellow-workers to read and distribute socialist literature, walk on picketlines, get petitions signed, attend meetings and join the socialist movement — he also asks them to give money to finance all these activities.

Money is literally the least of the things they can give.

World Events

Like Batista and Trujillo

A *Chicago Daily News* dispatch of Dec. 7 states that "A cold war raises a frost over much of Nicaragua today. The issue is whether free elections will be held here Feb. 3 . . . If elections are not held, street violence or even revolution is freely predicted." A greater danger than the Communists, a Conservative Party spokesman said, is the young group, between 18 and 25 who have never had a chance to vote. Most of them don't belong to any party, "but they know what is happening in other countries, and know they should have the right to vote." Luis Somoza, president-dictator of Nicaragua for 26 years is running a hand-picked stooge. The major party opposing him, the Conservative Party, wants a "relaxed" dictatorship.

Korean Censorship

Hankook Ilbo, an "independent" daily in Seoul, South Korea, resumed publication Dec. 5 after a three-day "voluntary" suspension because the military dictatorship which succeeded Syngman Rhee accused it of having published a false story about the military. The editors thought that their "voluntary" suspension would satisfy the dictators but the owner and three editors were arrested anyway. The next day the military junta approved a new constitution providing for a strong president and a weak premier.

Former Nazi Tries Victims

Proceedings in the West German Supreme Administrative

Court against the Association of Victims of Nazism were adjourned Nov. 30 when a spectator in the court rose and charged the presiding judge with having been a member of the Nazi Party. The West German government is seeking to have the association banned as an illegal pro-Communist group. Informed sources confirmed that the court president, Dr. Fritz Werner, had been a member of the Nazi Party but explained that an Allied de-Nazification board had given him "clearance."

The Real Trouble

Costa Rica's President Francisco Orlich on Dec. 7 foresaw increased subversive action by "Cuban" agents. "As far as we are concerned Castro is strengthening his position," he said. "Costa Rican Castroist agents are constantly on the move to and from Cuba." Costa Rica's real trouble is shortage of capital and the drop in coffee prices which since 1957 has cost the country 130 million dollars. Kennedy is scheduled to visit the Central American nations next February or March.

Congo Minister Censured

The Chamber of Deputies of the Congo in Leopoldville voted to censure Jean Chretien Weregere, Premier Cyrille Adoula's right-hand man, by a vote of 76-4 for his role in arresting four opposition deputies last month. "Mr. Weregere," a dispatch in the Dec. 8 *New York Times* reports, "tried to explain his position for more than an hour and a half against increasingly violent jeering. After the censure vote, he

walked out amid catcalls." The *Times'* Leopoldville correspondent also said, "There is evidence that the government hoped to use the unpopular Mr. Weregere as a scapegoat and urged some of its supporters to vote for the censure."

Czechs Blast Albanians

Vladimir Kouky, Secretary of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party charged in a speech to the party's central committee that "The Albanian slanderers remind us of the methods of Hitler and Goebbels," and that he can't view the Albanian leaders as Communists any more. He referred to the "disgusting slanders" against the Soviet Union during the Cuban crisis when, he said, Albania accused Moscow of agreeing "in treacherous ways to a Cuban Munich." He called the Albanian position one of hysterical dogmatism which has been "transferred into a cold-blooded anti-Soviet subversion."

How to Get Out the Vote

Morocco will now have a new Constitution after what appears to have been a rigged election. The Opposition National Union of Popular Forces accused the royal authorities of creating a climate of intimidation and arresting over 1,000 of its members. After the election King Hassan claimed that he got 97% of the vote. 13% of the voters followed the advice of the National Union and abstained by casting blank ballots. To show how democratic he is, King Hassan II voted in an office set up in a poor residential quarter near the palace.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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LETTER FROM LONDON

Jobs, Votes and Yemen

By T. J. Peters

LONDON — Unemployment passed the half-million mark last month in a steady upward curve over the past year. Particularly hard hit is the industrial north where unemployment of 5 per cent of the work force is the average against 2.5 per cent for the country as a whole. In parts of northern England and Scotland the average is 10 per cent and even more. It hits the young people very heavily as the steep rise in recruitment to the armed forces — always a reliable indicator — has shown: some 13,000 in the last quarter as against 3,000 in the same period a year ago. Even more significant than the general unemployment figures is the growing element of the permanently jobless.

The newspapers are full of the problem. Stories about local distress are becoming a regular feature. Scare headlines are frequent. The general consensus is that the gloss is rubbing off the 'affluent society.' Automation, more limited in scope here than in the U.S., is beginning to produce its toll of technologically unemployed.

In response to pressure, the Tory government merely unwinds measures it had previously taken to control inflation, manipulating the money market and credit system. The reformist leadership of the Labour Party, which all along has confined itself merely to demands for various spurs to production, is beginning to demand an upward revision of unemployment compensation, which has not kept pace proportionately with rising prices, and various connected social benefits.

The industrialists are naturally trying to take advantage of the situation to cut down the power of unionism. The British Ford Company has been in the van of this attempt. After a sudden swoop to eliminate militant shop stewards at its Dagenham plant in London, which has resulted in see-sawing negotiations between union officials and management to avoid a showdown strike — already authorized — the head of the company, Sir Patrick Hennessey, has warned of coming curtailment of operations. Visiting the hard-hit Lancashire area, he threatened that unless unofficial strikes are curbed by the labor leaders, a new plant under construction near Liverpool will be left uncompleted. There have also been rumors of the company concentrating more and more of its operations in Belgium and elsewhere on the Continent.

A militant temper marks the attitude of the workers in the face of the pressures now being exerted on them. Resentment is mounting and sharp conflicts on the industrial scene are in the offing.

Last week five by-elections for parliament took place. Since they were spread over England, the press played them up as a "little general election." They resulted in an even greater deflation of the Tory vote than had been expected. The Labour Party took away two of the Tories' seats, one probably due to a split in local conservative ranks over the Common Market issue. The slogan under which Prime Minister Macmillan won the 1959 elections for his party — "You never had it so good." — sounds today like a rather shabby joke.

Although the heavy Tory losses enabled the Labour Party to gain in parliamentary representation, there was no tide running in its favor — it merely lost very little support compared to the Tories. Indeed, the Liberal Party revival showed its continued strength. But that also is of very limited scope. From present indications it looks as though the Labour Party will regain power at the next elections.

* * *

A revolution in Yemen last September, organized mainly within the army, overthrew the Imman or king and launched a republic which soon found the support it needed from Egypt. From all reports it was a classic nationalist revolution, aiming as one reporter put it, at bringing the people of Yemen "from the 12th into the 20th Century." It immediately received the support of the impoverished masses of people not only in Yemen but also in neighboring Saudi Arabia, which is ruled by a despot whose main revenue comes from the oil exploitation rights he has granted the U.S. monopolists.

The Yemen revolution alerted not only the American oil interests but also the British in nearby Aden, headquarters for their Near East empire. The British have been known for putting spokes into the wheels of revolutions in that area for half a century, and this one seems to have been no exception. But apparently American intervention was more effective. It seems that the revolutionary government in Yemen under Brigadier General al-Sallal broadcast its intention of creating a "Republic of the Arabian Peninsula," which would include parts of Saudi Arabia and other Arab states which are now protectorates, in one form or another, of the oil trusts. Suddenly, then, U.S. Air Force Super Sabre jet fighters and bombers from West Germany and elsewhere appeared on the Saudi Arabia-Yemen border and a U.S. warship put in at the Saudi

harbor of Jidda.

"This was a plain message that the United States would keep order," says a report to the London Times, "and it seems to have been fortified since by the reported arrival of two American bombers or reconnaissance aircraft in Saudi Arabia. It could not have been missed by President Nasser . . . Brigadier al-Sallal's concept of an Arabian Republic was suddenly broadcast and as suddenly dropped."

The tentacles of American imperialism reach into the most obscure corners of the world to curb revolutions. Not only are attempts made to bully and browbeat the Cuban Revolution — which is led by self-proclaimed Marxist-Leninists with a clear socialist program — on the pretext that their presence 90 miles from Key West constitutes a danger; but intimidation of the same stripe is used against the most primitive sort of incipient colonial revolution — with a little more initial success, perhaps — thousands of miles away in Asia. It demonstrates that neither nearness to the U.S. nor even the revolution's proclaimed program has anything to do with it. Any rising of the slaves in the "underdeveloped" countries of the world, any revolt against abject poverty and despotism is, in the last analysis, subject to military action by Washington. The high and mighty rulers of the American citadel proclaim by their actions that the status quo is to be protected and maintained by military power everywhere in the world.

The Trial of the Communist Party

On December 11, in Washington, D. C., the trial of the Communist Party under the McCarran Act began. For the first time in U.S. history, a political party was brought into criminal court and placed on trial. Thus, another long step down the road of thought control and ideological regimentation was taken by the Attorney General.

James J. Tormey, executive secretary of the Gus Hall-Benjamin J. Davis Defense Committee, pointed out Dec. 7 that "the real aim of the McCarran Act is to curb freedom and to silence any opposition to official policy."

This trial is part of the drive of the Kennedy administration — carried over from previous administrations, both Democratic and Republican — to outlaw the Communist Party.

The drive is further aimed at all manifestations of protest or dissent against Washington's cold-war policies and, particularly, at the entire workers' movement.

The purpose of the drive is to maintain a witch-hunt atmosphere in which persecution of unpopular political ideas becomes customary and to establish precedents for subsequent use against other sections of the workers' movement.

Differences with the ideas of the Communist Party should not deter anyone, sincerely concerned with the defense of civil liberties, from defending the Communist Party against this attack.

For the radical movement this is particularly important. One of the most important traditions this movement should uphold, spread, and teach the youth, is that workers must close ranks in the face of attacks by the capitalist class. The tradition that in the workers' movement, regardless of differences, an attack by the capitalist upon one, is an attack upon all.

The Hall-Davis Defense Committee is urging all Americans to write, wire or telephone Attorney General Kennedy, asking him to stop all proceedings under the McCarran Act. We urge our readers to do likewise and to rally to the defense of the civil liberties of the Communist Party.

... NYC Newspaper Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

sipated. Along with this, the publishers gave the crafts and object lesson in unity. They announced that it would be their doctrine to close all the papers if any were struck. They did exactly this in the 1953 photo-engravers strike and the 1958 deliverers' shutdown. They were restrained from a city-wide shut-down at the time of the News strike because of an NLRB examiner's ruling that this was an unfair labor practice. This ruling was reversed by the board last month just in time for the publishers to use their lockout weapon in this strike.

Meanwhile, determined picket lines are at the entrances of the eight major daily papers on a round-the-clock basis as the printers dug in for a long and difficult strike.

The strikers are determined to keep up the fight for as long as it takes in order to win long overdue improvements in wages and working conditions.

Each chapel (shop union) has set up its own strike or lockout headquarters and under the supervision of chapel committees, all workers have been assigned picketing and other duties to make the strike completely effective.

The eight newspapers have 20,000 employees and a total circulation of nearly 6,000,000.

The strike is having a wide and adverse effect on many retail businesses as December's busy retail season reaches its peak. The public is unable to know that it is the publishers who insured a total news blackout.

The usual distortion of labor's position are rife in all other news media. For example: *Time* magazine's Dec. 14 issue, in an article, "Strikes for Christmas," gives the publisher's position that "Typographers' Boss Powers . . . is trying to make a name for himself with a successful strike against

the big-city dailies." Powers, it says, "deliberately set his union's demands at an unacceptable high."

Absent from the *Time* magazine piece was the simple truth that the strike was called, not by Powers, but by the workers, in a secret-ballot referendum by more than 2,000 to 47. Since the ITC is widely known for its internal union democracy and full membership participation in union decisions at every level, this calumny that the strike was due to the desire of an ambitious union boss is seen through by every printer. However, the union's side, the truth, is totally absent from this and virtually every article and piece of reportage coming out about the strike.

The strikers are asking for a \$19 package over the next two years, a 35-hour work week (their present work week is 36¼ hours and their original demand was for a 30-hour week), and improved sick leave and vacation benefits.

They are showing the labor movement of New York and the nation the power of the workers to "stop the presses" until they win. They will stand firm for one month, six months or six years. Those who know the printers and their deep affection for their union have no doubt of this.

Freedom Songs

Reviewers agree that the recording *Freedom in the Air*, a documentary produced by the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, is the best album on the Southern Negro freedom movement. It contains "blazing, chanting sermons and sweeping gospel tunes as well as sharply turned adaptations of pop material to the revolution at hand," and is available for a minimum \$4 contribution from the offices of SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Georgia.

Four Areas Achieve Quotas For Socialist Education Fund

This will be the next-to-last scoreboard and fund story in the SWP Socialist Education Fund campaign to raise \$15,000. As of today the score stands at 75 per cent. But despite this seeming lag, which is more apparent than real, we are confident that all areas will fulfill their pledges, and some of them have promised to go over the top! The mail this week should really be heavy.

There are now four cities in the 100 per cent category. St. Louis and Detroit joined Chicago and San Diego.

The response to a letter sent to a limited number of *Militant* readers has already brought in a total of \$219!

One letter from F. and B. C., Minneapolis, was especially welcome, not only because it contained \$20 but because it said: "... *The Militant* is doing an excellent job in defending the Cuban Revolution. Keep it up." Another sizable donation was received from Mc's in St. Paul. A friend in Chicago sent in her contribu-

tion in appreciation of the *Militant's* publishing both the speech by Castro and that delivered before the UN by Dorticòs. F.C., Delevan, N.Y., signed his note "gratefully." Several other contributors have thanked the paper for printing the poems by Yevtushenko. E.R.M. of Georgia, also made a contribution. We thank all of these good friends who prove, with their money, that they understand the problems of a small socialist organization engaged in a gigantic task — countering, with the truth, the entire capitalist propaganda brainwashing machine.

Even though the fund formally ends on December 15, we hope all our friends will keep the money flowing in. There is literally no time of the year, or any year, for that matter, when contributions to the work of building a socialist society in this bastion of capitalism isn't welcome and needed. You can contribute to this fund by sending your Truth Dollars to 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
The General	\$ 300	\$ 550	181
San Diego	250	250	100
Chicago	700	700	100
Detroit	625	625	100
St. Louis	75	75	100
Connecticut	150	130	87
San Francisco	560	488	87
Twin Cities	850	700	82
Allentown	115	90	78
New York	4,300	3,293	77
Seattle	475	355	75
Oakland-Berkeley	525	370	70
Milwaukee	225	159	70
Boston	600	367	61
Newark	125	76	61
Philadelphia	225	133	60
Los Angeles	4,300	2,500	58
Cleveland	500	328	56
Denver	100	27	27
Totals through Dec. 10, 1962	\$15,000	\$11,216	75

Negro Workers and the Seniority System

By George Breitman

"In an article entitled "Lessons for Whites on the Negro Struggle," which appeared in this paper Nov. 5, I made some observations about Negro workers and the seniority system. Among comments on that article was a letter in the Nov. 26 *Militant* signed E.B. E.B.'s criticism is based partly on a misunderstanding or misreading of what I actually wrote. Let me try to clear that up first.

I sought to present "some situations that should be approached with understanding and imagination by white people who sympathize with the struggle for racial equality." The last of these situations concerned what I called the demand for pro-Negro "discrimination."

Until recently, I noted, most Negro groups asked only for equality and equal opportunity. Lately, however, the feeling has grown that because of past and present disabilities real equality is not possible, and the gap between

white and Negro conditions cannot be closed, unless for a certain period the Negro can have "preferential treatment" or "special priority" (or pro-Negro "discrimination," as I put it).

As an example of this demand I cited the Urban League's call for a ten-year program of "special consideration" for Negro youth in the South's segregated schools and the North's segregated slums as the only way of enabling them to achieve genuinely equal opportunity. Urban League director Whitney M. Young, Jr. recently put it this way:

"We must go further than fine impartiality. We must have, in fact, special consideration if we are to compensate for the scars left by 300 years of deprivation, which actually represented special consideration of another type. Equality for a while, therefore, is not enough. We must have better schools, better teachers, better facilities . . ."

Young says this is not an original idea because "after World War II veterans were given a ten-point preference in Civil Service exams because they had been out of the mainstream of American life for four years. Certainly those of us who have been out of it for 300 years are not being unrealistic when we ask for special consideration."

I then wrote that many liberals would reject this approach, but that I could see "its spread to other areas of the Negro struggle," meaning non-youth areas: "Why can't it be applied, for example, to Negro workers who are laid off first because they are at

the bottom of the seniority list and who are the bottom of that list because for decades the plants wouldn't hire them at all?"

That's all I wrote about the seniority system. I did not, as E.B. puts it, call for "upgrading out of turn Negroes at the bottom of the union seniority list" or make a "proposal to bypass seniority in the trade unions." What I did was predict that the same logic which leads to demands for compensatory preferential treatment for Negro youth will lead to demands for compensatory preferential treatment for Negro workers.

I did not say what that preferential treatment should be — whether it should be a change in the seniority system itself, or whether it should be some other changes. I deliberately left that point open; I deliberately did not try to formulate any concrete way of compensating Negroes for the unfairness of the seniority system. For the following reasons:

1) The Negro people are perfectly capable of formulating their own demands to correct the injustices of which they have been the victims. I think specific proposals on this whole question should properly originate with them, not with me or any other white worker, however sympathetic; and that in due course they will.

2) I am well aware of the difficulty of making any changes in the seniority system. Even when racial factors are absent, much bitterness results whenever department-wide seniority is changed to plant-wide or company-wide

seniority, because for every worker who benefits immediately from such changes there is another who is hurt by it.

3) Even if changes are possible, I honestly don't know what specific changes would be best (partly because the whole issue is rarely discussed).

4) Maybe instead of changing the seniority system at all it would be better to make non-seniority changes, such as in the policy of hiring new workers for a certain period.

Anyhow, E.B. misunderstood me. I was not advocating specific changes in the seniority system, I merely referred to it to stress the need for white workers to learn what is happening and to begin thinking about what to do about the growing sentiment for "special treatment," which I consider completely legitimate and timely.

* * *

I find another thing in E.B.'s letter more disturbing than his failure to read me right. When I say the seniority system is unfair to Negroes, he agrees this is "valid" (and even says a proposal to change the seniority system, which I did not make, is "valid"). But, he adds, "It's not opportune because it would take years of education to lay the groundwork for even class-conscious, rank-and-file unionists to accept this valid idea."

But is it "opportune" NOW to begin to lay the groundwork by starting to discuss it openly? And if it isn't opportune now, why not and when will it be?

I know that E.B. does not share

the prejudices that make it difficult for white workers to admit that the seniority system is unfair to Negroes. But I want to point out to him, and everybody else, that the "opportune" of discussing this problem, and doing something about it, no longer depends solely on the white workers. *It now also depends on what Negroes think about it.*

It's all very well for radicals to "understand" how deep-seated the prejudices among white workers are, to realize that white workers did not originate prejudice and are themselves victims of it, and to be sensitive about the best ways to help white workers to overcome their prejudices.

But isn't it also time to "understand" that Negroes are justly becoming impatient with all aspects of second-class citizenship, and to be equally sensitive to their justified demand for equality in this lifetime?

All they hear from the government, the liberals and the labor bureaucrats is, "This is not the time" (that is, the opportune time). They are fed up to here with that approach. The radical movement, which wants to abolish the whole capitalist system and forever wipe out all the forms of racist inequality that have been fostered by this system, deserves not to be lumped together with the government, liberals and labor officials. But it will be, unless it learns to see what is happening in the Negro community and to respond to it, as I urged in my article, with understanding, imagination, sympathy and support.

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"The International Red Cross Committee, with world headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, has censured the U.S.-U.N. military command in Korea in connection with the massacres of Chinese and Korean prisoners of war by U.S. and South Korean guards last spring on Kojima Island.

"This sensational fact, which explodes the lying pretexts given out by U.S. officials for their frightful atrocities against unarmed war prisoners, has been buried by the pro-war capitalist press. The *New York Times*, which boasts the most complete news coverage of any newspaper, published only two tiny paragraphs on the Red Cross censure as reported in a Dec. 16 *Associated Press* dispatch from Geneva.

"The censure was made public the day after the disclosure that another 84 Korean civilian 'internees,' formerly classified as prisoners of war, were murdered and 118 others wounded by machine-gun and automatic-rifle fire from U.S. and South Korean troops on Dec. 14 during what U.S. Army press handouts called a 'riot.'

"This latest act of frightfulness against war prisoners occurred on Pongran Island — a rocky speck off the South Korean coast that the U.S. military have converted into a 'Devil's Island' for so-called 'die-hard Communists' who have rejected, despite all threats and brutalities, to say they would 'forcibly resist' repatriation to Communist-ruled North Korea." — Dec. 22, 1952.

20 YEARS AGO

"Government control over the nation's principal propaganda instruments is being extended to the motion pictures. This was revealed last week in the news that the movie version of Hemingway's novel, *For Whom the Bells Toll*, is being edited by the State Department to fit its policy of friendliness and co-operation with General Franco and the Spanish Fascists.

"According to the *Hollywood Reporter* and *Variety*, movie trade papers, the U.S. State Department forced the picture makers to submit the Hemingway movie script to Spanish representatives after Franco had expressed 'concern' over the fact that the movie refers to the two sides in the Civil War as 'loyalists' and 'fascists.' Hemingway's story was anti-fascist but it now appears that the entire political content will be altered so as not to offend the fascists." — Dec. 19, 1942.

Letters From Our Readers

Against Castro Stand

Chapel Hill, N.C.

I am a new subscriber and I have been appreciative of your printing Dr. Castro's recent speech, and your general coverage of Cuba.

From this I have learned new things: namely that Dr. Castro has the same ego-centrism and lack of awareness of other peoples as does President Kennedy. His speech uses several of the same justifications as does Kennedy's, though for opposite reasons.

I live literally between Washington and Cuba, and I am unhappy at the prospect of being exterminated on the one hand "to save the free world" and on the other hand, "to save the Revolution."

My four-and-a-half year old daughter, Anna, is with me just now — not a photograph on the wall, but a living person in the room with me. Should she and I become atomized soon, where will my sympathy for the so-called "good" of mankind then be? Who will be free, and who will be fed when we are all incinerated?

I submit that the situation is more desperate than you seem to imagine, with your continued support of any one side against another. If you truly believe the United States Government to be mad — which I do — then treat it with the calm and quiet persistence that a doctor treats an insane patient. Not the anger another inmate in the same institution might be tempted to exhibit!

Z.C.

Simple Makes a Point

New York, N.Y.

George Breitman's article in the Dec. 3 issue on the radicalization of the Negro struggle and the consequent growing rejection of "go-slow" liberals — both white and black — is the best explanation I've seen of the current upsurge in the civil-rights movement.

If the trade unions would only take a leaf out of the book of the

Negro struggle and learn that the only way to get results is through militant action, what a difference there would be! The shackles on labor — Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin and the "right-to-work" laws — would become meaningless statutes.

Appropos liberalism and the Negro, Simple made a poignant and telling point in Langston Hughes' column last week. Part of the dialogue between Simple and his anonymous friend ran like this:

"It is so easy to blame all one's failures on race," I said, "to whine, I can't do this, I can't do that because I'm colored. That, I think, is one bad habit you have, friend — always bring up race."

"I do," said Simple, "because that is what I am always coming face to face with — race . . . You are about the most UN-NEGRO NEGRO I know. You ought to be a race leader. White folks would love you."

"I'm a liberal. I'm trying to look on both sides of the question," I said.

"To do which, you have to straddle BOTH sides of the fence. Me, I stand on one side and look on the other — and all I see over there is white. On my side is me. Setting on the fence is you."

"I didn't build the fence," I said. "Then tear it down," said Simple.

Simple Fan

Detroit Girl Makes Good

Detroit, Mich.

I have a great deal of local pride and I am always happy to hear about a home-town girl making good in the big world out there. So you can imagine my delight and civic pride when I read in the paper that Miss Charlotte Ford, daughter of Henry Ford II, made her formal entry into French society at a "glittering international debutantes" ball marking the highlight of the Paris winter social season."

The *Detroit News* described the scene: "Wearing white gowns and

rhinestones and pearl diadems, the debutantes from 29 countries were escorted onto the stage of the Paris Opera House, where they were presented to Princess Maria Pia D'Orleans Braganca, a descendant of Emperor Maximilian of Mexico." And our Charlotte was there!

People usually think of Detroit in term of auto factories and sit-down strikes and union activities. That's only part of the picture. The other part is local-girl Charlotte Ford making the scene in high society. Really, I'm so overcome at the thought of Detroit being represented at this glittering occasion that I must break off here and calm myself down.

Evelyn Sell

A Familiar Story

San Antonio, Texas

The bullying of Cuba by Washington is not a new story. The only difference is that this time the Marines are conspicuous by their absence. It's a long, long story of interference into South American affairs. Wherever there is any patriotic attempts on the part of some leaders to restore the land to the people, Uncle Sam has interfered.

Now it has come to the point where an old Spanish-American war veteran (as is the writer) is not permitted to visit the country where he spent two years of his youth. After seeing the poverty and misery of Cuba in 1898 and '99, I'm sure I would like to visit Cuba after her clean-up of capitalist exploiters.

Those who availed themselves of the opportunity before the travel ban have told so well of Cuban liberation from capitalism;

better access to the land; new, modern housing; the elimination of illiteracy and racial discrimination — all by Castro who has kept his word to the Cuban people and will not be bought off by Washington.

So he was compelled by Washington, through its elimination of the sugar allotment, to turn toward Russia which took up the slack on Cuba's production.

U.S. forces in Guantanamo are likely to start an incident any time which might realize the warmongers' desire, as plainly evidenced by hot-headed Legionaires.

Truly, one is ashamed to call himself an American.

Paul Dennie

Sold!

Valley Stream, N.Y.

I would like to receive some information on the Socialist Workers Party. I was very much impressed by your literature and by *The Militant*. The newspaper was recommended to me by a friend who I understand already has a subscription and after having read it, I immediately decided to take a four-month subscription. Enclosed please find \$1 to cover the cost.

S.Z.

Supernaturalism Gaining

Cleveland, Ohio

Supernaturalistic institutions in America are gaining in prestige and power due to their defense of capitalism via anti-communism. This development will eventually result in disaster for our country. It should be prevented if it can.

Joseph Manlet

Thought for the Week

"In Asia, Africa and Latin America, the living standards have largely remained stationary, or have even declined. Throughout the last decade, the fall in the price of raw materials, while priming the affluent societies of the West, has not only cancelled out the sum total of Western aid, but in many cases has led to an absolute drop in national income." — From a Dec. 2 speech at Johns Hopkins University by UN General Secretary U Thant.

Fruits of Calif. Labor's Election "Victory"

By Paul Montauk

OAKLAND, Calif. — During the course of the recent election, the California labor press came out with banner headlines calling for the support of Governor Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown, the "working man's friend." Stringing along the sidelines in this endeavor was the West Coast People's World, the weekly paper which supports the ideas of the Communist Party. It advocated a "vote against Nixon," Brown's opponent, and a vote for "the progressive forces," namely "Pat."

Now the obnoxious Nixon has been defeated and the labor leaders can rest on their laurels. But what about the "friend of labor," Brown? Have the workers of California really achieved a victory by supporting him instead of striking out on the road of independent labor political action?

The major industry of this fastest growing state is agriculture. The "factories in the field" here are the highest form of agricultural rationalization ever developed. The enormous agricultural concentration and its technique here is a source of wonder to visitors from other countries. The machines move down pre-planned rows stretching for miles. The long "arms" of the machines contain conveyor belts, part of a system

of intense mechanization from the field to the supermarket counter.

The major source of unskilled agricultural labor in the state consists of imported Mexican laborers and some native-born migrants, many of them Negroes — a large army hauled into the fields when the crop is ready and then thrust back across the border or onto the roads when picking time is over.

The native whites, while contributing to the "stoop labor" supply, monopolize the steady, skilled jobs such as tractor drivers, combine operators, irrigators, machinists, checkers, etc., and thus fare much better than their Latin brothers.

For some time now a part of the labor movement here has been involved in a most determined, militant struggle to bring this huge body of workers into the fold of the trade-union movement. The struggle has been terribly weakened by the tendency of the unionists to fall into a self-defeating policy — centering their struggle around the demand that Mexican citizens be deported, instead of concentrating energies on organizing the Mexican migrants together with the native born. Until that problem is overcome, California field workers cannot be organized successfully, because the government always

co-operates with the "farmers" in importing Mexican nationals to break the field strikes.

Nevertheless, this struggle has thrown up many militant leaders and has at times taken on the characteristics of local war. The Farm Bureau — the big owners' organization — does not look lightly upon unionization. In February

the fields, concentrated their energies on a program of putting pressure on the legislature for a minimum-wage law. The existence of the large pool of destitute farm labor is a constant threat to the conditions of city workers in organized industries. The minimum-wage law would help alleviate that situation, though, of course, it wouldn't organize the field workers.

Although the vast bulk of California agricultural products are shipped across state lines, this highly rationalized industry is exempt from the federal minimum-wage law. Where a minimum rate does exist, it runs about 75 cents an hour or a few pennies more depending on shifting conditions. There is no such thing as overtime penalty pay. The working hours are from sun up to sun down. A 14-hour day, seven days a week is not unusual.

All of this is justified with the excuse that family farmers should not have to submit to regulations — for their hired hands — that are designed for city factory workers. The reality is that there are very few family farms left in California's irrigated valleys. The "farmers" who hire most of the labor are millionaires and often absentee corporate owners.

At the time of the campaign for the state minimum-wage law, the proposal met with wide support. Governor Brown, "the workingman's friend," came out supporting such a law and favored a commission to seek ways of improving the plight of the oppressed agricultural workers.

These statements of Brown were heralded by the labor bureaucrats as proof that labor had a real and true friend in the Governor's Mansion.

Now that the election is over a leading San Francisco newspaper publishes the following report:

"Although you didn't hear about it during the campaign, labor leaders and liberal Democrats were unhappy with Gov. Brown's sudden reversal of his earlier strong stand in favor of a Calif. minimum wage. Brown's switch, announced two months before his re-election, no doubt attracted votes out on the farm [that is, in the rich men's clubs

and banks where the "farmers" hang out], where he had been in trouble due in large part to his previous advocacy of a \$1.25-an-hour base wage for all California workers, including farm hands.

"Asked for comment at the time, Brown disclosed his change of heart. State AFL-CIO Secretary Pitts was mum. This was to be expected since Pitts and virtually the entire hierarchy of organized labor were at the moment dedicating their full energies to getting Brown elected... One thing Brown's aides insist upon: His policy change was based on principle and not on the fact that he recently acquired some ranch land in Colusa County and has been telling farm groups, 'I'm a farmer now myself'."

There you have it. Brown is now a man of principle. When it came to capital punishment — to which he said he was opposed on principle — he let Caryl Chessman die in the gas chamber. But in this case he stands on principle and is able to overcome his tender feelings for the labor movement and the farm laborers who live in pitiful hovels devoid of the most elementary sanitation and who have to have their entire family work in order to get a few dollars together. In this case he stands by the principle that the agents of the Farm Bureau and the Bank of America are the real power in the Democratic Party — as well as in the Republican.

Besides, the farm laborers — Mexican citizens or migrants without residential status — can't vote anyway.

It is now reported that, having suppressed this information in order to corral votes for Brown, the labor leaders are now planning to put the minimum-wage issue on the agenda at Sacramento. Now, however, the bill will face the legislature without the governor's support. Some victory!

And the People's World glows with satisfaction at the election triumph of the "progressive forces," namely "Pat" Brown. How much better off the California labor movement would be if labor had broken with the Democratic Party and begun to wield its political power in its own interests by building a labor party.



Nixon

1961, for example, over 30 unionists were arrested during a lettuce strike in Imperial Valley.

Supreme Court Justice Goldberg, then Secretary of Labor, flew out to "arbitrate" the dispute and from his "impartial" efforts came a settlement leaving the union without a contract and back where it had started. The strike was the high point in a drive by the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC).

AFL-CIO President George Meany, leery of the sums of money being spent and the political repercussions of the drive, withdrew official financial support. A great hue and cry arose as a result. Many central labor bodies in the state brought pressure on him to continue aid to the organizing drive. Meany then continued some support but demoted the field organizers and imposed a well-tamed hierarchy on the drive.

These bureaucrats having failed to establish any significant base in

...The Revolt in Portuguese Angola

(Continued from Page 1)

throwing everything it can behind Portuguese colonialism.

The Salazarist rulers of Portugal are not normal people: they are more like a gang of pirates with a 16th Century mentality who happen to exist in the 20th century and remain totally ignorant of the world around them. They cling to an outworn mish-mash of "racial superiority over Africans" and the view that they are commissioned by God to civilize Africa. But behind this facade of holiness they conduct ruthless exploitation both at home and in the colonies.

In metropolitan Portugal and in its "overseas provinces" (as Salazar calls the colonies), every vestige of civil rights is trampled upon, but in the colonies bayonets and torture enforce Portuguese domination. In Portugal itself the people have the lowest standard of living in Europe.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to step on African soil, and their so-called discovery of Africa was a lucrative one. They subtly penetrated the Congo from 1483 onwards, and under cover of evangelizing African chiefs — regarded as "assimilation" to white civilization — the Portuguese immediately embarked upon trade in slaves, or "black ivory." Hundreds of thousands of Africans were uprooted from their agricultural existence and transported to the West Indies, South America and later North America.

Intoxicated with their speedy accumulation of wealth and now challenged by France and Britain, the "explorers" vigorously entrenched their positions by means of setting up trading posts on the coast of Southwest Africa. After an epoch of difficulties arising from differences with Spain, Holland, Britain, France, Belgium and Germany over spoliation of the continent, Portugal's "legal" rights over her "possessions" were not fully established until the latter part of the 19th century.

In 1880 full-scale occupation of Angola was begun in defiance of the wishes of its people, and despite constant rebellion, Portugal's "mission" of civilizing the Africans went ahead. Under the terms of the alliance with Portugal, dating from 1383 and afterwards amplified, Britain protected her semi-colony from the other imperialist powers — with the purpose of better exploiting both Portugal and Africa.

Finally, the Berlin Conference of 1885 sealed and confirmed the rights of all the European colonizers to their various spheres of influence in Africa. Portugal, under British protection, emerged from the deal with an area of over three-quarters of a million square miles of the African continent: the colonies of Angola on the west coast and Mozambique on the east coast.

Today, this area accounts for eleven million people living in the most degraded conditions. The

rich resources of these territories — coal, iron, oil, manganese, wolfram, bauxite, uranium, diamonds, gold and other precious metals as well as rich soil for agriculture and livestock breeding — remain in the hands of imperialism and the Africans have no control over them.

"Angola is described by Krupp sources as 'the greatest African treasure house outside the Congo,'" wrote the Johannesburg Star on May 5, 1962.

Angolan production is chiefly agrarian, although there is also exploitation of mineral resources. The Portuguese have geared the Angolan economy to the sole aim of extracting raw materials, and this method applies to all her other colonies.

But since Portugal herself is a semi-colony exploited by British and other foreign monopolies, she is not the only power interested in her colonies. Apart from her own vested interests, she also plays the role of intermediary, a kind of ground landlord, conceding the right to foreign companies to exploit her colonies and drawing a tribute from the transaction. Even now American companies too have penetrated Angola, financing hydroelectric stations, ports and highways.

So a veritable stranglehold is imposed on the Angolan people by world imperialism. It is thus not surprising that NATO arms are used in Portugal's genocidal campaign of repression.

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A Soviet Novel on Stalin's Prison Camps

By George Saunders

At the instigation of the Soviet government a new literary de-Stalinization drive was recently opened. A *New York Times* article of Nov. 29 on the subject points to the link between a poem by Yevgeny Yevtushenko, a short novel by A. Solzhenitsyn on Stalin's concentration camps and a play, *The Ward*, by Samuil Aloyshin, which scathingly attacks a current 'neo-Stalinist' party functionary. In the as-yet-unpublished closing speech to the recent Central Committee plenum Soviet Premier Khrushchev is reported to have taken personal responsibility for publication of the first two works. Top Soviet officials attended a select pre-opening performance of the play, a clear token of governmental support for its message.

These three works are the most prominent in a recent outpouring of literary attack on Stalin, his era and present advocates of that era's harsh practices. Let us look in greater detail at the content and significance of this literature, particularly at some of Yevtushenko's recent poetry and Solzhenitsyn's novel.

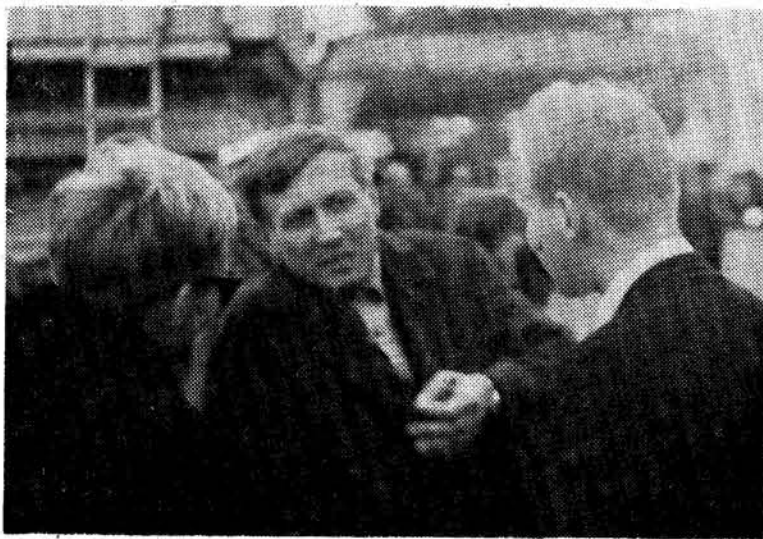
Stalin's Heirs, which was translated in this newspaper's last issue, and *The Fate of Names*, which was discussed in the accompanying article, are not Yevtushenko's only contributions to the anti-Stalin literary wave. As early as last July 16 *Literaturnaya Gazeta* published two of his poems on this same theme.

The first, *Morning City*, recalls the Stalin days with their sudden arrests, house searches, informers and denunciations. It closes with the stanza:

This city—it does not have any doubts about itself. It will not let the gloomy shades be resurrected. Deathless in it will be the memorable year, '17. Never again in it will be the year, '37.

The poem bases its optimism on a picture of thoughtful, confident workers, professionals and youth arguing and discussing as they travel to work. They are "ironical and self-assured," while those "who have grown accustomed to only cowardice and faking" are disconcerted.

The newspaper of the Young Communists, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, on Oct. 21 devoted its whole back page to poems by Yevtushenko (which the *New*



SOVIET POET Yevgeny Yevtushenko (center) talks with American newsmen at Helsinki Youth Festival.

York Times myopically dismissed as mere patriotic pieces.)

One of these, entitled *Fears*, gives an unsparing picture of the terror of the Stalin years, when fears attended at the palace "of the triumphant lie," — fear of the nocturnal knock on the door, the ever-present fear of being denounced to the police and the consequent fear of talking with anyone, even one's intimates.

The poem closes by listing contemporary fears — of pompous speechifying, of debasing true ideas with falsehood. These are clearly the fears of a bureaucrat before an increasingly aroused public.

Another poem in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* bears the title, *Intimate Lyric*, and apologizes for the poet's not writing lyrics of love and nature, explaining that "struggle against any untruth" is for him the most "intimate lyric."

I hate it when they eulogize and blabber, befouling Leninism with rhetoric. Lenin — that's my friend most intimate and I will not let him be befouled.

Another poem in the youth paper is addressed to José Echevarría, Cuban revolutionary martyr. It was about a falsification of Echevarría's last testament at a commemorative ceremony last year in Havana, that Fidel Castro made his memorable speech, *The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought* [Printed in full in the April 2 *Militant*, now available as a pamphlet from Pioneer Publishers], Yevtushenko, who knows and strongly approves of Castro's drive against "Escalantism," is certainly familiar with this speech.

Yevtushenko describes Echevarría as a youth living under a government of lies, who after seizing a radio station, dies for the sake of "three minutes of truth." In closing, the poet addresses the youth of the world, urging: "When the lie rules any country, when they blabber ceaselessly in the press . . . go to your death, forgetting ease and comfort, but speak the truth — if only for three minutes!"

The last poem from the Oct. 21 *Komsomolskaya Pravda* I have space to discuss is *You Are Russia*. In it the poet describes his feelings on returning home after extensive tours abroad where, he says, he acted as "representative and propagandist" for Russia, the "enigmatic land" which sheltered infant communism with her bullet-ridden greatcoat. He cautions himself that when speaking of his country he should not lie, for "any falsity of yours they may consider communism's." In the Soviet Union, he states, "some things do not exist in plenty and of other things there are shortages. . . . (there) life is stern and complicated, and many questions not yet answered." But he reminds himself

not to let foreign impressions make him indifferent.

"Amidst hard-working families' daily cares, amidst someone's well-fed two-facedness, be courageous! If in Russia something bad exists don't leave it to Uncle Sam — set it straight yourself!"

The theme that the truth should be told, no matter how hard, is very characteristic for the spokesmen of the post-Stalin ferment in Soviet intellectual life. The concept includes the idea of freedom of discussion as well as freedom of subject and style in artistic matters. This demand for truth at present coincides with the regime's desire to extend the de-Stalinization drive. Anti-Stalin literature plays an obvious role in an as yet unclarified Kremlin political struggle. But the free-speech demand goes beyond narrow considerations of official needs, as the sentiments expressed in these poems suggest. The truth about Soviet life should be stated. And if it is to stir the Soviet people against privilege and power, still the truth must out.

The truth of conditions in Stalin's concentration camps is detailed in *A Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*. It is said that Khrushchev revealed in his closing speech to the Central Committee plenum that some top officials, who read this novel before publication, wanted to cut parts of it. Khrush-

chev himself took responsibility for having it printed in full. To this is attributed the wide publicity given by Soviet news media to the book. For instance, it is being published in the English language paper, *Moscow News*.

At this writing the novel was not available here, but the Nov. 22 *Literaturnaya Gazeta* contains a lengthy review with interesting comment on the work. From it we learn that Solzhenitsyn, a new name in literature, and now a school teacher in Ryazan, was a World War II Red Army officer when he was removed to prison camp.

The novel recounts a day in the life of the inmates of one of Stalin's "special camps." One prisoner, a naval captain, new to the camp, still cries out naively, "You don't have the right. You're not Soviet people. You're not communists." Another had escaped three times from Buchenwald but is unable to escape from Stalin's camp. One has been a prisoner for 21 years (the story is laid in 1951).

The hero, Ivan Denisovich, was taken from the front in 1943. While one might expect him to hate "the forced, debasing and sometimes senseless labor," he surprisingly maintains an attitude of responsibility in his work. "Having experienced everything," says the reviewer, "these people preserved a stern goodness and respect for the human individual, an amazing tact and a rare virtue considering their conditions of life." As was often true of revolutionaries in Tsarist days, these political "criminals" are generally of a higher moral and intellectual caliber than the men guarding them.

The novel gives an interesting analysis of the mechanism behind the close and ruthless guard system. Guards were apparently selected from the less-educated, backward sectors of the populace. They were kept underfed to make them harsher. And they lived in fear of the punishment they would incur if a prisoner should escape: "A man was dearer than gold. If a head was missing behind the wire, you had to make up for him with your own head."

The reviewer's comment on the novel's political significance could be paraphrased as follows: Now and then in Soviet literature there

appear books which in themselves are more important than any bright new author. This is because of the effect such books have on what will be written after them. They appear, not by accident, but because a developing process calls them forth. They are needed and anticipated by the reading public.

After the appearance of such a book, the quality of the literature as a whole changes, not because that particular theme is going to be exhausted, but because a new level of discourse between author and public has been reached. The significance of this novel, says the reviewer, lies not in the facts it reveals. These have been generally known since the 20th Congress. But it marks the arrival of a time of "thinking over," of delving into causes.

To the question whether it is worthwhile to probe old wounds, the reviewer replies: "A wound which is still bleeding must be healed." Truth is the only treatment. The Stalin cult fostered a psychology which in turn reinforced Stalin's rule. The rationalization went something like, "If he does it, there must be some higher sense to it . . . We forced ourselves to believe, not the plain facts, but him."

Such self-imposed blindness cannot be permitted in the future, the reviewer asserts. To root out the remnants of this psychology of subservience is not an easy or quickly done job. In this work, Soviet literature, by telling the people the truth, should play a tremendous role.

The reviewer, a young writer who, like Yevtushenko, has had his share of controversy, seems to be setting a task for the literature of truth-telling which goes beyond official desires — that is to nurture consciously a habit of independent thinking in the masses which will enable and encourage them to question the leadership.

When this reviewer reminds his readers that today's shortages and shortcomings have their roots in the years of "what is now called the personality cult," we can see how the brutal truth about the Stalin era — such as told in Solzhenitsyn's novel — leads both author and public in a direct line toward ever closer scrutiny of and challenge to the run of things today.

[Second of a series]

It Was Reported in the Press

High Spirits on Capitol Hill — "Washington year after year has the largest per capita whiskey consumption of any major city in the nation — the recent range was between five and seven gallons a year per person, which, if consumed by local residents, would have even the kiddies going to school on the bleary side." — Merriam Smith in the Dec. 6 *New York World-Telegram*.

Socialized Medicine, Anyone? — The nation's medical bill was \$21.1 billion in 1961, according to the Social Security Administration. This represents an increase of \$1.3 billion over the previous year and averages \$116.60 for each person in the country. Of this amount only 28.3 per cent was covered by insurance benefits.

What We Fought For — The following is from a Dec. 2 AP Berlin dispatch: "Thirty-two American soldiers relieved 32 Russian soldiers Saturday as guards at Spandau war crimes prison . . . Guard duty at the prison rotates on a monthly basis among the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. The prison was placed under four-power control for the detention of Nazi leaders convicted in the 1946 Nuremberg war crimes trial. Only former deputy fuhrer Rudolf Hess, Nazi armaments minister Albert Speer

and youth leader Baldur von Shirach are still prisoners. Hess is serving a life term, Speer and von Shirach 20 years each. The prison . . . costs \$60,000 annually to maintain. The city of West Berlin foot the bill. There have been complaints about the high cost of maintaining the prison for three convicts but the four powers have been unable to agree on what to do with the prisoners."

Free-World Report — "An assistant secretary of state urged businessmen and industrialists yesterday to make foreign investments and said for the first time the federal government can provide guarantees on such investments. In an interview, Seymour M. Peyser . . . said: 'We can help American companies solve their problems abroad, political risks for example, by guaranteeing against expropriation of their property.' . . . He also pointed out that when he urges American businessmen to invest overseas 'I talk profit, not an appeal to their humanitarian instincts.'" From a Dec. 1 AP dispatch.

Greatest Since Richmond Took Grant — Polish ham is going to be expensive in Columbus, Ga., what with the adoption by the city commission of an ordinance levying a \$1,000 license fee on stores

selling imports from "Communist" countries. According to the *Associated Press* the city fathers say they have received more than 100 letters from across the country on their action, with but one of them critical. They announce that the rest hail the ordinance as "admirable, inspiring, terrific, pro-American and the best news ever to come out of the South."

Complexities of High Finance — "TOKYO, Dec. 1 (AP) — Counterfeit 1,000-yen notes that have turned up in the last year are worth more than the genuine bills now. In an effort to trace the counterfeit money's origin, the police have offered a 10,000 yen (\$27.78) reward for each bogus 1,000-yen note turned in. The owners will be questioned on how they got the notes."

Tough Situation — A Buenos Aires correspondent reported in the Dec. 10 *National Observer* that Argentina faces "frightening problems" including "a severe recession and a potentially disastrous economic situation." In an effort to indicate how bad things are, he quotes a junior airline executive: "We don't have parties any more, because nobody can afford to give them. And besides, I don't want to go to a party and listen to other people's money troubles — I've got troubles of my own."

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Professor in Michigan Fired For Speaking Truth on Cuba

Dr. Samuel Shapiro, a noted authority on Cuba and Latin America and an outspoken critic of U.S. policy in these areas, has been fired as assistant professor and head of the history department of Michigan State University-Oakland.

MSU-O Associate Dean George Matthews, Prof. Shapiro's immediate superior, claimed there were "academic" reasons for Shapiro's dismissal, although he added, "I cannot give the academic reasons for our judgment. They are internal considerations, which are private."

He conceded, however, that Prof. Shapiro "would have had a better chance" of having his university contract renewed if he had written and spoken less on the controversial matters of Cuba and Latin America.

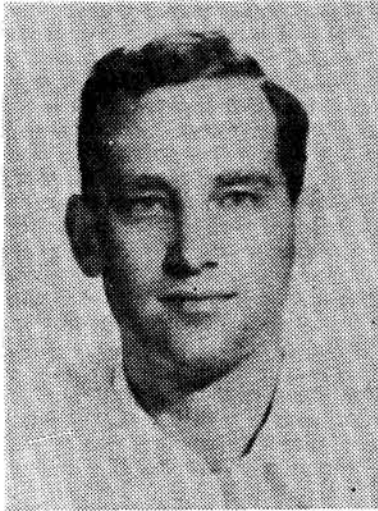
Prof. Shapiro himself said that he had been informed by a top MSU-O official that "if I hadn't published anything on Latin America I would have had a better chance to be retained."

Built Up Department

He told a correspondent of the *Detroit News* on Dec. 7 in Iowa City, Ia., where he had addressed a group at the State University of Iowa on foreign policy, that he was "completely surprised" by the university's action.

"On the subject of my work, my conscience is clear," Prof. Shapiro said. "I was the first American history teacher at the school and built up the department myself, ordered library books and taught all the classes. How can anyone say I'm not interested in my subject!"

This last question was a response to the claim of an unnamed top university spokesman who told the *Detroit News* "privately" that Dr. Shapiro was hired as an American history teacher but it was felt that his interest had turned to Latin and South America."



Dr. Samuel Shapiro

It is a fact that outside pressure has been brought to bear and Dr. Shapiro had been subjected to smear attacks since he visited Cuba in January 1961 and publicly called for fairer and more truthful reporting of what was actually happening in Cuba. He sued for damages against a Lansing TV station for an attack by its commentator on him. The suit is still pending.

Visited Cuba

Dr. Shapiro has visited Cuba several times in the past three years, most recently in August. He has written articles for such publications as the *London Economist*, *Columbia University Forum*, *American Heritage Journal of Inter-American Studies*, *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, the *Reporter and Commentary*. He has spoken in a courageous and truthful manner on Cuba and Latin America before many different groups and forums where he has been invited to give his authoritative, first-hand reports on what he had learned and observed on his trips.

There May Be A Slight Delay At Shelter Door

Have you ever noticed signs in office or other commercial buildings announcing that the structure has been designated as a civil-defense shelter? Did you ever wonder what those signs really mean? Some indication was given by a story in the Nov. 28 *Cleveland Plain Dealer*.

It seems that the operators of the Schofield Building made news when they rejected a Civil Defense plan to designate the building as a public fallout shelter. The rejection is believed to be the first received by the CD in the Cleveland area.

According to John J. Pokorny, local Civil Defense co-ordinator, the Schofield Building was surveyed for shelter purposes by an architectural firm under contract to the army.

The architects decided the building could shelter 9,050 people in an emergency and recommended storage of 200 tons of survival food for those seeking shelter.

Owners Object

In the letter of rejection, the operators of the 15-story Schofield building noted that not more than 1,000 persons an hour could enter the lobby of the building. This would mean that it would take a good nine hours for the designated 9,050 persons to get into the building when the bomb hits.

Further, the owners objected, 200 tons supplies spread over 15 floors would mean 13 tons per floor and would occupy space now bringing in rent of about \$7,500 a year.

Admits Problem

Civil Defense Co-ordinator Pokorny conceded that spending nine hours to get the people through the revolving door could be a problem. But he pointed out that there should be no apprehension about all those people being jammed into the basement. He noted that each floor except the second and top, would be used for shelter purposes. Apparently the method of taking shelter once you get inside is to stay away from the windows.

Pokorny also agreed that storing 200 tons of supplies would be a problem. But, he suggested, "Maybe we can get additional storage space near the Schofield Building."

Why not? And each morning the survivors in the Schofield Building could draw lots to see who's going out to bring back breakfast. Or maybe it could be stored in nearby luncheonettes that feature delivery service.

Demand Federal Protection From Racist Violence

WASHINGTON, D.C. Dec. 10 — The Nonviolent Action Group, a student anti-segregation organization affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, picketed the White House today to protest "the absence of First Amendment rights in Albany, Ga."

Slater King, executive vice president of the Albany Movement — which has been leading the anti-segregation protests that began in the southwest Georgia city over a year ago and have resulted in over 1,000 arrests — said last week that "another wave of persecution has begun."

King wired Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy Dec. 5 for federal protection for a Negro youth active in the Albany Movement who was jailed on trumped up charges of sodomy. Albany Movement officials said they "emphatically" do not believe the charges against Luther Woodall, 17, who was arrested earlier this month and held on \$2,500 cash bond. Woodall has been arrested six times before for his anti-segregation activities. He led a demonstration through downtown Albany Oct. 11 wearing a T-shirt on which was printed: "Don't Shop Downtown or Midtown." He was jailed and beaten by police at that time. Albany Negroes have been boycotting downtown stores as part of their protest against segregation.

The Atlanta-based Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee has begun a campaign to free Clyde Kennard, a 30-year old Negro, currently serving a seven-year jail term in Mississippi as a result of attempting to enter one of the state's all-white colleges.

Kennard, a native of Hattiesburg, became the first of his race to apply, in 1958, to Mississippi Southern College. This brought a series of economic and police reprisals against him.

After his second visit to the white college in 1959, Kennard was arrested for "reckless driving," and was then confronted at the police station with five whiskey bottles which police claimed to have discovered in his car. He was found guilty of possessing illegal whiskey and fined \$600 and costs. The resultant publicity spurred the campaign of economic reprisals against him. His credit was cut off and he soon found it increasingly difficult to buy feed for his poultry.

On Sept. 5, 1960, five sacks of

chicken feed valued at \$25 were allegedly stolen from the Forrest County Cooperative Warehouse. Another Negro, Johnny Lee Roberts, 19, confessed the theft, but after claiming that Kennard had engineered the robbery, was freed on five years' probation. Kennard, however, was convicted as an "accessory" and was sentenced to seven years. He is still behind bars at Parchman State Penitentiary.

The Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee has asked student groups, human-relations and civil-rights organizations and individuals to send letters and te-



Atty. Gen. Kennedy

grams of protest to their congressmen and to the President. Students at Tougaloo Southern Christian College in Mississippi are preparing a petition for Kennard's release. SNCC Chairman, Charles McDew, has urged that letters also be sent to Kennard at the State Penitentiary in Parchman, Mississippi, and that these be by registered mail to ensure their receipt.

"Kennard's imprisonment is a national shame," McDew said, "and every American should work toward his release. It is comforting to think of the might of the Federal Government protecting James Meredith at Ole Miss, but we must not forget Clyde Kennard, like Meredith a veteran, whose reward for trying to enjoy an education in his home state is a seven-year prison term on a trumped-up charge."

The Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, which is conducting a voter-registration drive among Negroes in Mississippi, has recently moved its headquarters to 6 Raymond Street, N.W., Atlanta 14, Ga.

CINCINNATI, Ohio — Operation Freedom, which has assisted Negroes, suffering economic retaliation for registering to vote in Tennessee, is planning to extend its operations to the Mississippi Delta region. The Delta area, which adjoins one of the Tennessee counties, is the cotton-growing alluvial plain in Northwestern Mississippi formed by the wanderings of the Mississippi River between Memphis and Vicksburg.

Oxford, scene of the riots at the University of Mississippi, lies on the eastern edge of the Delta, and the vast plantation of U.S. Senator James O. Eastland is in the heart of the region, south of Ruleville in Sunflower County.

Thousands of Negroes there, as a result of the voter-registration drives, have been denied credit or surplus food, driven off the land, or have been shot at and arrested on trumped-up charges. A news blackout on these events has added to the hardship of the Negroes in the 18-county area.



From Minnesota comes the following message: "We, i.e., the Twin Cities, also finished our quota on time and in full. Your comment in the Dec. 3 *Militant* that only Bloomington, Detroit, Baltimore, Connecticut, Boston and New York had finished on time is erroneous. Our quota was fulfilled on Wednesday night, Nov. 28; I mailed subs and check the next day which was still two days early." Thanks to this protest, and a justified protest it is, we now have the opportunity to express our gratitude to all those who have done such a wonderful job on this campaign for 1,200 new *Militant* readers.

When we first started this drive we knew it would require the efforts of many people. Those who accepted quotas also realized it would mean a lot of energy, time and footwork. It is to their credit that they set their own goals and then fulfilled them. We think the above message from the Twin Cities is an example of the spirit shown throughout this subscription drive.

Let us at this point pay our respects to San Diego which this week made its quota and a little over. Since the sub drive has been extended through December we hope that the other cities on the West Coast will get to work on

the campaign. If New Yorkers can go out in 20 degree weather to sell *The Militant* then surely residents of the "sunshine state" can brave the elements.

Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, Akron-Cleveland, Seattle and Philadelphia — there are new friends in each of your cities just waiting for a paper like *The Militant*. Don't keep them waiting.

Area	Quota	Subs	Pct.
Bloomington	10	39	390
Detroit	100	157	157
Baltimore	10	14	140
Connecticut	50	39	133
New York	150	177	118
Chicago	90	105	117
San Diego	30	35	117
Boston	25	28	112
Twin Cities	100	110	110
Oakland-Berkeley	75	81	108
Milwaukee	25	24	96
St. Louis	10	9	90
Newark	15	11	73
San Francisco	75	42	56
Philadelphia	75	35	47
Akron-Cleveland	55	25	33
Los Angeles	150	45	30
Seattle	75	18	24
Denver	50	8	16
General	30	60	200
Total through Dec. 11	1,200	1,063	89%

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