

Kennedy Line Shifts to Right

The first anniversary of Kennedy's "New Frontier" — marked by his Jan. 11 State of the Union message to Congress — signifies that nothing can be expected from him in terms of legislation that will advance the interests of labor, the Negro people or the quest for peace. Stripped of its vote-catching demagoguery, the message makes plain that the administration is shifting further to the right and intends to press ever more openly for the interests of big business.

When you look at the actual commitments contained in the message, the Madison Avenue "image" of a fighting young liberal dedicated to a resurgence of social progress dwindles down to the reality of a callous, double-talking capitalist politician on the make.

Few people had any serious hope that his speech would be directed in any way toward slowing down the dangerous drift toward war. So there was little surprise created by his proposal for a staggering \$55 billion arms budget.

But there were many people who took his campaign oratory seriously, waited patiently through



ROY WILKINS, executive secretary of the NAACP, was "sorely disappointed" at Kennedy's failure to take a firm civil-rights stand.

the first year of "settling down to business" and hoped that in its second year the new administration would really act to redeem its campaign pledges — particularly in the field of social welfare and civil rights.

Richard L. Strout, in the Jan. 12 *Christian Science Monitor*, explained the facts of life about the message this way: "Those accustomed to evaluating such ceremonies put the Kennedy address down as a middle-of-the-road speech, delivered in a firm, resonant voice, that sounded better than it read . . . and containing a greater number of legislative proposals than the executive has much expectation of seeing pass. The observer might suspect that an election was in the wind and the observer would be right."

He'll Survive

And Kennedy won't be broken up by Congressional failure to adopt all his proposals. The Jan. 14 *New York Times* reported: "Within the budget the president also found room for several social welfare programs. These are essentially the ones the president put forward last year — medical care for the aged, expanded health programs and aid to education. But in restating them last week he did not appear bent on all-out battle with a recalcitrant Congress."

On civil rights, the same paper explained: "A conciliatory gesture of potentially great effectiveness, particularly in winning Southern Democratic support for controversial administration measures, is the president's current policy on civil-rights legislation. No civil-rights bill was submitted on behalf of the Administration last year and none is expected this year."

Philadelphia Unions Fight Scab-Herding At Yale & Towne

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 16. — An attempt of the Yale and Towne Manufacturing Co. to break a strike by scab-herding at the company's fork-lift plant here shook up the entire Philadelphia labor movement last week and resulted in an official call by the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council for a mass picket line manned by all major unions in the area.

The mere threat of the labor mobilization forced a halt in the company's recruitment of additional scabs. The terms of a two-week "cooling off period" agreed to by the AFL-CIO Council and the company, however, leave the local union at the plant in a difficult position.

The local, Lodge 1717 of the International Association of Machinists, AFL-CIO, has traditionally maintained good conditions and strong in-plant representation among the 1,200 production workers at the factory. It struck last Sept. 1 when the company insisted that a new contract reduce the number of stewards from 100 to 35, eliminate certain seniority provisions, and make other serious cuts in conditions.

After 19 relatively quiet weeks, the company began running adver-

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40 Students in Ga. Fight Suspension

ALBANY, Georgia — Forty Albany State College students were recently given indefinite suspensions for their participation in anti-segregation demonstrations here last month. Charles McDew, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), called the college's action "a violation of academic freedom and civil liberties."

The suspended students and hundreds of other Albany Negroes had been arrested for taking part in mass civil-rights demonstrations following the Dec. 10 arrest of eleven Freedom Riders outside the Albany railroad terminal. Two additional students, SNCC volunteer workers, had also been suspended after they were arrested for trying to use interstate facilities at the Albany Trailways bus station on Nov. 22.

Albany State Dean of Students, Charles Minor, was at the bus depot at that time. The students said Minor had tried to dissuade them from using the "white" waiting room. During the trial, Minor testified for the city against the students.

Ten of the suspended students attempted on Jan. 9 to take out cards at the city's Carnegie Library. They were refused and told to go to the Negro library which, they said, did not have the books they wanted. The students, all local Negroes, are demanding the use of the main library in line with continuing their studies on their own during their suspension. Three additional groups of

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THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 26 - No. 4

Monday, January 22, 1962

Price 10c



AGAINST THE BOMB. While 2,000 women marched in front of the White House Jan. 15 in a "Strike for Peace," these women backed them with a picket line at the UN. More than 500 jammed behind the police barricades to demonstrate their opposition to war.

Threat of Civil War Develops in France

By John Thayer

The fear of civil war hangs over France today. The "strongman" government of Gen. de Gaulle is totally unable to suppress the assassinations and daily bombings by the fascist OAS — Secret Army Organization. That is in France itself. In the main cities of Algeria, the OAS, not the French government, is the actual power. Its members honeycomb the government, army and police who are supposed to be trying to suppress them.

That this movement of the French colonial ultras (who insist that no concessions be made to the independence-seeking Moslem 90% majority) and the French fascists, whom de Gaulle supposedly smashed last April, has arisen again to such menacing proportions, is renewed historical evidence that a bonapartist regime is no real barrier to fascism.

A bonapartist regime does not depend on popular support or parliamentary majorities. In the

name of "saving the country" and claiming to be above classes and parties, it bases itself on authoritarian control of the government bureaucracy, especially of the army and police.

But bonapartist de Gaulle is unable to control the army and police. Most of the army — 600,000 — is in Algeria where in rapid succession commanding generals have sided with the colonialist ultras in frustrating attempts to bring the Algerian war to a negotiated end. Indeed the generals and the ultras threaten to use their troops to invade France to overthrow the government in Paris. Those sections of the army stationed in metropolitan France are commanded by officers whose loyalty often appears stronger towards their fellow militarists in Algeria than to the Paris government. Similarly with the police. They have long been notorious for their connections with the fascist organizations which have now united or entered into working agreements with the ultras.

Public knowledge that the secret negotiations of de Gaulle's government with representatives of the Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria have reached the point where a cease-fire agreement may be announced next month, has spurred the OAS to redoubled activity. Its campaign of mass murders of Moslems in Algeria and increased assassinations and bombings in France may intimidate de Gaulle into again postponing settlement of the seven-year-old Algerian war. And, if not, it may set the stage for a fascist putsch both in Algeria and France.

During the first 15 days of January an unofficial count of terrorism and rioting in Algeria

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New Group to Send Medicine to Cuba

NEW YORK, Jan. 16 — A new relief committee to send drugs and medicines to Cuba has been formed, it was announced today. Despite President Kennedy's statement last November that there was no embargo on medicine to Cuba, drug manufacturers in the U.S. and Europe are in unofficial agreement to boycott such shipments.

The new organization, known as Medical Aid to Cuba, with headquarters at 147 W. 33rd St., New York City, has already forwarded more than \$5,000 in medical supplies.

Miss Melitta del Villar, who founded the New York group, is acting chairman. The sponsoring committee, now in the process of formation, includes Freda Kirchwey, former editor and publisher of *The Nation*; Warren Miller, author; James O'Connor, teacher at Barnard College; and William Worthy, correspondent for the *Afro-American* newspapers.

Jesse Gordon, who is handling information concerning the committee, said: "Medical Aid to Cuba is on the level of a person-to-person program. It surmounts political and ideological differences between governments. The wall comes down once people are sick and hungry and we come to their aid. Americans are second to none in their readiness to help the sick and hungry regardless of nationality or ideology."

"30" in the A.M.—And Again in the P.M.!

[Los Angeles had four daily newspapers, now it has two. The four papers were owned by two powerful publishing companies, Hearst and Chandler, each of which had a morning and evening paper. Chandler's evening *Mirror* closed down on Jan. 5, Hearst's morning *Examiner* did the same on Jan. 7. As a result, Chandler now has a monopoly in the morning field and Hearst, a monopoly in the evening field. The numerical symbol —30— is used in the news industry to indicate the end.—Ed.]

By Lee Stephens

LOS ANGELES — Months before that sad —30— filled the up-

stairs window of the Los Angeles (morning) *Examiner* newspaper offices last week, rumors had swirled sickeningly through the composing room, so thick they gave birth to a pale joke: "Did you hear? Hearst bought the Case Hotel across the street!" Straight line: "What does Hearst want with the Case Hotel?" "To put all the rumors in!"

It would have taken Hilton's biggest to hold all the rumors: 1) Chandler (scab publisher of the *L.A. Times* and *Mirror-News*) was buying out Hearst to scuttle the only union newspaper in town; 2) Hearst and Chandler made a deal to close down the *Examiner*

to give Chandler exclusive morning field, in return for which Chandler would kill off his *Mirror-News* so Hearst could dominate the afternoon field with his *Herald-Express*; 3) President Kennedy's family was buying out Hearst so the administration would have an opposition voice to Chandler's anti-Kennedy *Times*; 4) The *New York Times* was buying the Hearst plant for its West Coast edition; 5) Don't worry, there's nothing to any of it. The Justice Department is investigating the anti-trust collusion between Hearst and Chandler, they can't get away with it. And so on.

Contract negotiations had been

Colo. Unionist Resists Drive By Red-Baiters to Oust Him

By Tom Leonard

DENVER, Jan. 14 — Last Monday, leaders of the Colorado Springs Typographical Union submitted, and had adopted, a resolution to the Area Labor Council (AFL-CIO) accusing Sam Gadd, secretary-treasurer of the council, of expressing opinions favorable to a pro-communist foreign government.

The action of the ITU leaders was based on Gadd's public protest against the decision of Orion C. Shockly, superintendent of School District 12, who last month refused attorney Harry Nier, chairman of The Colorado Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the right to show color slides of Cuba to local high school students. Members of the Cheyenne Mountain High School Spanish Club had invited Nier to appear. Gadd subsequently made his home available for a public meeting for Nier. He has maintained that this action was a private act of conscience in the interest of freedom of speech.

In addition to submitting the resolution, ITU leaders also with-

drew their per capita payments until Gadd is removed from his post. Despite this economic boycott of the Area Labor Council by local union leaders, Gadd refuses to resign, and insists upon a trial as provided for in the constitutions of the Council and the AFL-CIO. Though the boycott has forced him to accept an out-of-state job, Gadd has voiced his willingness to return to the Springs if he is granted a trial.

The capitulation of ITU and other local union leaders to the ultra right-wing political forces that dominate Colorado Springs, is particularly ominous, since it comes at a time when the Denver Chamber of Commerce is discussing plans for bringing the rabid Christian Anti-Communist Crusade to Colorado.

Several weeks ago the weekly *Colorado Labor Advocate* exposed these plans in a front-page story. On Dec. 29, the *Advocate* also reported the facts concerning Sam Gadd, and observed: "The Colorado Springs chapter of the American Civil Liberties commended Gadd for providing a rostrum for the banned speaker [Nier]."

Some labor leaders in this area are expressing concern because of the effect of reactionary forces on the labor movement. Lawrence C. Farnan, business manager and financial secretary of Local 68, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and one of the candidates for president of the statewide Colorado Labor Council, reported to the local press that "Right-wing, reactionary and more subtle groups and individuals seek to rob organized labor of its strength, even to the point of questioning the patriotism of union members."

Before leaving the Springs, Gadd had reported in the CSALC December newsletter that, "a well-known group within the unions in Colorado Springs asked my resignation on the grounds of 'adverse publicity'. Four or five men spoke up in defense of an individual's right to express his beliefs; but the meeting had been so obviously packed — as attendance records will show — that I refused to speak in a 'kangaroo-court' atmosphere. Nor did I resign, because to do so, would condemn the Labor Movement itself, as being against freedom of speech."

"I am entitled to trial, under the provisions of our Central Body and AFL-CIO constitutions, as President Pledger pointed out. Instead the group which hopes to control or destroy our Central Body, has taken the undemocratic route of (a) arbitrarily removing me as a delegate, and (b) withholding per-capita tax. Both devices are clearly calculated to deprive a person of the right of trial, where the fundamental issues would be exposed and decided by all of Labor. These issues boil down to two main questions:

"1. Where does Labor really stand on freedom of speech?

"2. Is an officer of Labor to be punished without trial?

"I stand ready to speak the truth to any man, if I am given a fair hearing. Today that elementary right is being denied, and I must inform you of the fact."

NEW YORK

Fair Play Rally
To Protest
Anti-Cuba Moves at OAS

Speakers:
Carleton Beals
Corliss Lamont
Julio Medina
William Worthy

MON., 8:30 PM, JAN. 29
Palm Gardens 306 W. 52 St.

Contrib. \$1

Ausp. Fair Play for Cuba Comm.

Young Socialists Chalk Up Gains At Nat'l Parley



PETER CAMEJO, national secretary of Young Socialist Alliance, addressing a united protest rally in New York called by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee at the time of the April 1961 invasion.

The Young Socialist Alliance held its second national convention in Chicago New Year's weekend. There were delegates from 16 cities, including students from more than 20 college campuses. The convention discussion and debate centered on the growing civil-rights movement, North and South; the anti-war movement; defense of the Cuban revolution; and how most effectively to spread socialist ideas among students.

After three days jam-packed with discussion and exchange of experiences, a new national committee was elected and national officers selected. New national chairman of the YSA is Barry Sheppard. Peter Camejo is national secretary and Leroy McCrae, national organizational secretary.

The modest but steady expansion of the YSA's activity and influence was indicated in a report by Nora Roberts, editor of the YSA monthly paper, the *Young Socialist*. She said the regular circulation of the paper is now 5,000 with some special issues running double that number in the past year.

Along with the thrashing out of practical problems, one of highlights of the gathering was a day-long theoretical discussion on the Cuban revolution and the class nature of the new Cuban state. While there were differing views on these questions, the delegates were firmly united on the need for militant defense of the Cuban revolution. (For more on this, order the February issue of the *Young Socialist*, ten cents, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y.)

The 91 delegates and visitors left the convention with renewed enthusiasm and optimism about the new opportunities for building an effective socialist youth movement.

The Socialist Vote In New York City

NEW YORK — Official returns made available by the Board of Elections for the mayoralty election credited the Socialist Workers Party and Socialist Labor Party with these votes:

Socialist Workers — Richard Garza, for mayor, 7,037; Sylvia Weinstein, for president of city council, 5,028; Fred Halstead, for controller, 4,962; Clarence Franklin, for Manhattan borough president, 1,545.

Socialist Labor — Eric Haas, for mayor, 3,272; Stephen Emery, for president of city council, 2,189; John Emanuel, for controller, 2,143. (The SLP did not run a candidate for borough president.)

... "30" in the A.M. and P.M.!

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of the bright new year, a season now accepted as the ill-and-dying time for 20th century cash-register newspapers (Christmas advertising over and done with; Easter advertising too far in the unknown future!) uncertainty became shocking fact: On Thursday Hearst confirmed the *Examiner* would die as of the present week; the next day, Chandler, but personally, gave the ax to the *Mirror-News* as of that afternoon. Death for both papers was not only instantaneous but simultaneous!

Pious Denial

Leaving aside the importance of the unholy alliance (piously denied by both parties) between Hearst and Chandler, consider the callousness of their handling of an event so tragically momentous in the economic lives of the workers involved. Neither Hearst nor Chandler permitted a word of the transactions to be printed in their papers until after the summary announcement, and denied access to their buildings to TV and radio reporters. Armed guards were posted in the lobbies of both buildings on the day of the announcements and for several days thereafter.

The Los Angeles *Citizen*, official publication of the L.A. County AFL-CIO unions, carried the following report by the chapel chairman of the *Examiner*:

"The big news . . . last week of course was the demise of the *Examiner* after 59 years . . . When I reported for work on Thursday morning the newsreel boys and TV men were parked all up and down Broadway in front of the building. I called Mr. Mannon (Hearst labor representative) and asked him if the meeting was going to be held as scheduled; he informed me that it would. I asked him if the public announcement was going to be made at the same time, as there were newsmen all over the place. He told me he couldn't tell me anything until the meeting. I

walked over to the building where all the meetings are held and found the door locked. I went to the production office and asked them if I could get someone to let me into the building. Gene Terkill went over and unlocked the door and let me in the building. A few minutes later Mr. Becker, Mr. Griffith and Mr. Mannon came up the back stairs and went into Mr. Mannon's office. The union representatives arrived and the meeting was called to order. Mr. Becker did all the talking for the company. He started to give us a few reasons why it had come about and of course the main one was the two papers had continued to lose money over the years . . . I went to the composing room and typed up a notice and put it on the bulletin board. Little did I realize at the time it was the only source of information the newsmen had been waiting to hear. . . ."

Extinct

The meeting was called for 11:45; at 12:30 it was over. At 5:45 that afternoon, union representatives informed the composing room employees of the *Examiner's* extinction and the following day Chandler did a like service to the employees of the *Mirror-News*.

Affected directly were about 800 editorial and composing room workers from the two dead papers. They are still in a welter of uncertainty concerning their rights to severance pay, vacation credits, unemployment benefits, cut-off of insurance policies and hospitalization coverage. And of course over all hangs the mushroom cloud of unemployment: first and second mortgages, car payments, sending the children to school, family illness — food!

Pay Cuts

Affected less cruelly are those editorial workers who were retained but at salary cuts of up to \$200 a month. But at least these can be comforted by the thought they won't have to suffer what their late boss, William Randolph Hearst, was called upon to endure in the twilight of his life. As reported by W. A. Swanberg, most recent biographer of "Citizen Hearst": at 75 years of age, Hearst had to take a big cut in salary (which was paid him by his own newspapers, naturally) — a blow, says Swanberg, that "would have been fatal" to "an ordinary 75-year-old." His salary was cut from \$500,000 a year, to \$100,000 a year.

A \$400,000 salary cut! At least none of last week's victims will have to face up to a blow like that!

... French Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

totalled 236 killed and 488 wounded (*Christian Science Monitor*, Jan. 15). A typical example of the tactics of the OAS "repression" commandos occurred in Algiers on Jan. 14. Two carloads of Europeans machine-gunned a crowded Moslem cafe and then threw hand grenades. Seven Moslems, including a child, were immediately killed. Many others were wounded.

In France OAS assassins on Jan. 3 murdered a Communist from Algeria who was living in Normandy. A few days later an OAS commando team machine-gunned the Paris headquarters of the French Communist Party, severely wounding a guard.

Break Demonstration

A protest demonstration called by the Communist Party on Jan. 6 was broken up by massive detachments of police. Though de Gaulle is unable to make the state apparatus function when it comes to tracking down fascist terrorists, or guarding army supply dumps from OAS raids, or getting judges to pass heavy sentences on those few caught, he is able to get first-rate service from the police when it comes to suppressing the workers' movement. An earlier demonstration, Dec. 15, called by the Communist Party to "bar the route to fascism" was mercilessly assailed by the police who clubbed people with their rifles, leaving the streets covered with prostrate bodies of men, women and youth.

To cope with the OAS terrorists and in preparation against any attempt at a fascist putsch, a united front of all workers' parties and unions in France and the formation of self-defense guards is urgently needed.

Can a "Free" Country Make Travel a Crime?

"More people are walled behind their national borders today than ever before in history . . . In most cases . . . governments have erected barriers against travel because of differences in political or other opinions. They use 'national security' and 'the interests of the state' to discriminate against citizens whose views fail to meet official approval." — From a Jan. 10 *New York Post* summary of a UN sub-committee report.

The U.S. State Department is now distributing signs to passport offices around the country warning that it is a crime for Communists to apply. Violators of the law are subject to \$10,000 fine, five years in jail, or both. The move results from Supreme Court proval of the Internal Security Act.

Those denied passports because of alleged membership in the Communist Party will be permitted to confront their accusers. This "concession" is designed to make the passport ban more "sound" legally.

A "crime" to apply for a passport because of unorthodox political beliefs. Every American concerned with the preservation of democracy should ponder this.

Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES

Arne Swaback, a founder of the Communist and Socialist Workers Parties, will give a Marxist appraisal of *The European Common Market*, Sat., Jan. 27, 8:30 p.m. at Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

Latin America and the "Alliance for Progress." An appraisal by Stanley Peters, economic consultant on Latin American affairs. Mon., Jan. 22, 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

The Radical Right — Is It Winning America's Youth? Speaker, Allen Taplin. Fri., Jan. 26, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

THE MILITANT

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Published weekly, except for omission of five summer issues, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 26 - No. 4



Monday, January 22, 1962

The Attempt to Strangle Cuba

In preparation for the Jan. 23 conference of the Organization of American States, President Kennedy and the U.S. State Department tried to line up enough Latin American governments behind sanctions against Cuba to provide cover for another U.S. attempt to crush the Cuban Revolution.

Kennedy's attempts to subvert the popular Cuban government, to overthrow it by foreign intervention and force and violence, are proceeding at present through the use of the "yanqui dollar" to bribe other governments.

"During the last few weeks and days," reports Joseph Newman in the Jan. 13 New York *Herald Tribune*, "there has been diplomatic arm-twisting at very high level . . . The U.S. insists (by threatening to withhold sorely needed economic aid), it may succeed in forcing the seven countries to break with Cuba." And again: "Latin Americans resent this kind of reasoning, suggesting a dollar payment for a political position, but their need is great . . ."

The seven governments which prior to the conference resisted the U.S. plans for Cuba are Brazil, Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador and Uruguay. These include the major countries with over three fourths the population of Latin America. The largest, Brazil, proposed Jan. 12 that the OAS conference recognize Cuba's right to her Revolution and work out a plan for co-existence with it.

But that was rejected and Kennedy is trying to force his policy down the throats of Latin American politicians who know that to be associated with the U.S. in an imperialist adventure is to lose what popular support they may have.

... Scab-Herding at Yale & Towne

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tisements for strikebreakers in local papers. An injunction limited effective picketing by Lodge 1717 and the line was breached Monday morning, Jan. 8, by scabs under police escort.

A resolution calling for support to the strikers from the entire labor movement was passed Jan. 8 by the big Westinghouse Local 107 of the independent United Electrical Workers and given wide publicity. Jan. 10 the city's AFL-CIO Central Council met and recommended that Yale and Towne strikers have a "solid" picket line in spite of the injunction.

Joseph T. Kelly, secretary of the council, said union leaders would be asked to send members to back up the strikers and that employers throughout the city could expect "disruption in their plants" as a result, if Yale and Towne kept recruiting scabs.

The next morning, the Yale and Towne strikers ignored the injunction and 30 were arrested. That afternoon, about 100 union leaders — including representatives of the AFL-CIO Council, the Teamsters, the UE, the Longshoremen, and the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Port Council — demonstrated at the office of Mayor Richardson Dilworth, demanding he tell the company to stop recruiting strikebreakers.

After the AFL-CIO Council issued an official call for mass picketing by all unions at the struck plant for Monday morning, Jan. 15, Dilworth appointed a "citizen's advisory committee" to make recommendations for a settlement during a two-week "cooling off period."

The AFL-CIO Council's executive board thereupon called off mass picketing and the company agreed to stop recruiting additional strikebreakers, but it kept the 480 it had already hired.

Lodge 1717, headed by president Sam Luterotty, "reluctantly" agreed to the truce. It raises two problems for the strikers: 1) What happens to the jobs filled by the 480 scabs? and 2) What if the citizens' committee recommends a settlement sacrificing some of the local's hard-won conditions?

Yale and Towne's attempt at outright strikebreaking was stymied by a display of labor solidarity unmatched in Philadelphia since 1946.

The events also impinged on a development within the Teamsters Local 107 (not to be confused with 107 of U.E.), where a campaign has been underway to take the big local out of the Teamsters and into the AFL-CIO.

AFL-CIO advocates had called a mass meeting of local members for Sunday, Jan. 14. The meeting took place after the AFL-CIO Council had accepted the Mayor's plan for Yale and Towne. It was broken up by hecklers loyal to the Teamsters, some of whom shouted: "Look how the AFL-CIO sold out the Yale and Towne strike."

Reinforcements

On Monday, Jan. 15, an official delegation from Teamsters Local 107 appeared at the Yale and Towne picket line as "observers" with seven cars and seven sound trucks. Some of the trucks got stalled in the plant entrances as the scabs — hired before the truce — were entering.

Luterotty has encouraged visits of delegations from other unions. The rank and file of organized labor in Philadelphia awaits the events of the next two weeks with high interest.

Additional light was thrown on the company's motivation in this strikebreaking attempt by an editorial in the Jan. 12 *Philadelphia Bulletin* which said:

"Just about everyone concerned with the future economic health of the nation, from President Kennedy on down, has stressed the necessity to check the rapidly increasing wage-cost spiral, and to at least limit it to increases in productivity because of the rapidly mounting competitive pressures throughout the world . . . The trouble is that the American people and so many public officials have become accustomed to this trend . . . that when a company or industry makes a determined effort to hold the line, many people and too many officials are jolted . . . at the company's 'anti-labor attitude.'"

Italian Communists Discuss Trotsky's Role

By George Lavan

The two largest Communist Parties outside the Soviet-Chinese bloc are those of Italy and France. The French CP remains the most Stalinized of any of the Communist parties in the capitalist countries; the Italian CP is where de-Stalinization has proceeded the most rapidly.

In its Dec. 11 and 18 issues *The Militant* reported the ferment within the Italian CP and the raising by the Italian Young Communists of the question of Trotsky's true role in Soviet history. Further information and details on these developments have now become available.

Of considerable interest is the fact that Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the French CP, at the Nov. 25-27 meeting of his party's central committee launched an attack on *Nuova Generazione*, the newspaper of the Italian Communist youth, for having raised the question of Trotsky and Trotskyism. He berated them for not having waited for the next congress of the Soviet Communist Party before opening such matters. Trotsky, he declared, had been a "Menshevik" and a mere "fellow traveler" of the October Revolution. That Thorez refrained from his former epithets of "spy" and "fascist hireling" and limited himself to belittling terms shows that even he and the French CP have been affected by the 22nd Congress.

Because the CP is the biggest party in Italy and developments within it are national news, the whole Italian press has been giving considerable attention to news about Trotsky. Thus Natalia Trotsky's letter to the Soviet government, requesting an investigation of the Moscow Trials and the subsequent assassination of her husband, and the call of the Fourth International for an international commission of inquiry into the same matters were important news stories throughout Italy.

Paese Sera, Communist Party evening paper, reported the proposal for an international commission in its Nov. 4 issue, summing up in its final paragraph as follows: "Among the workers' movements which would be represented on the commission of inquiry, the Fourth International names — as far as Western Europe is concerned — the PCI [Communist Party of Italy], PSI [Socialist Party of Italy] and the TUS, the British labor federation. On the other hand it asks the presence of the Chinese Communists (but not the Albanians). No reference is made to the French Communist Party."

L'Avanti!, newspaper of the PSI, next day devoted a full page to the same story, Natalia Trotsky's letter to Moscow and a discussion of Khrushchev's statements at the 22nd Congress — all under a big headline which read, "Then Trotsky Was Right."

Il Corriere della Sera, one of Italy's daily papers, on Nov. 12 reported a press conference of Livio Maitan, spokesman for the Italian Trotskyists, as follows:

"We officially ask the Communist Party and the Socialist Party to undertake the initiative of



French Communist leader Maurice Thorez was angered when Italian Communist youth proposed an objective study of Trotsky's views.

an international inquiry which would cast full light on the Moscow Trials of 1935 and 1936 and the assassination of Leon Trotsky; if the two parties accept our proposition the verdict will be that of the workers' movement and it would thus be demonstrated that a new atmosphere exists within the Marxist parties.' It is thus that Livio Maitan, member of the International Secretariat of the Fourth International and director of the magazine *Fourth International*, concluded his press conference on the rehabilitation of Trotsky and the victims of Stalinism this evening at the Palazzo Margnoli press association salon . . . At Livio Maitan's press conference were present numerous young people from the Federation of Communist Youth in Rome, who openly approved by applause the speaker's analyses and demands. That fact holds a certain interest in the sense that it confirms that in the ranks of the Communist Party, in youth circles, there exists an important ferment against the policy of Togliatti and the current PCI leadership. Also present were numerous adherents of the left wing of the young socialist movement, which now constitutes one of the currents with the most weight within the PSI."

Il Messaggero, an important daily paper in Rome, commented (Nov. 12): "It is difficult to say what developments the action of the Trotskyists will be able to bring about. It is in any case significant that in its last issue the weekly paper of the young Communists raised the issue of Trotsky's rehabilitation and that upon being questioned on this point, Togliatti simply replied that he had not read the article in question."

Several days later in Rome there was a public meeting on the 22nd Congress addressed by Basso, a

PSI leader and Ingrao a member of the PCI secretariat. A large audience of Socialist and Communist workers attended. After the speeches of Basso and Ingrao, Livio Maitan asked for the floor. He was granted time under a special point of order after the chairman had consulted Ingrao who immediately gave his assent. While Maitan was speaking some persons in the rear of the hall began to make noise. A member of the audience shouted "Stalinists" at them and immediately silence was re-established and Maitan was able to finish his remarks.

Paese Sera, the Communist Party evening newspaper, next day reported the debate under the following headlines: "Last Night at Headquarters of the Socialist Circle the Basso-Ingrao Debate on 22nd Congress. The Two political Leaders Examined the New Perspectives Opened by the Sessions in Moscow — Participation by a Trotskyist Leader."

The article itself said: "Among the remarks from the audience, we shall mention only for the sake of brevity those of Maitan, leader of the Roman Trotskyist group, *Bandiera Rossa* . . ."

At a Dec. 1 press conference, Pajetta, another member of the PCI secretariat was asked about the possibilities of Trotsky's rehabilitation. He replied:

"Already today in the Soviet Union when Trotsky is discussed no reference is made to those accusations of a criminal character which at a certain point served to justify the condemnation of the Trotskyists. Now, if by rehabilitation you mean establishing that Trotsky was a revolutionist who had no connections with the imperialists for a criminal act against the USSR, I think that this problem is not only posed, but that it is, in fact, already settled."

"But if you raise another problem, namely political rehabilitation, maintaining that Trotsky was correct in his position opposed to the policy of the Soviet and of Stalin, we think that Trotsky was wrong on a whole series of issues on which he was politically defeated — before the imposition of the criminal characterization. For example, he was wrong on the question of building socialism in one country. On the other hand the party and Stalin were right."

"*Nuova Generazione* [weekly paper of the Young Communists] posed the question in a manner which we have criticized for taking up such an important problem in too precipitous and superficial a fashion and in such a way that one can detect a desire to cause a scandal, in the sense of making an impression. In the next issue of that weekly there is an article which poses the problem of the political struggle against Trotskyism, clearly separating the two things."

"To sum up, the struggle against Trotsky in its essential political elements was correct, even if, after a certain time, it was conducted in part with methods which violated socialist legality."

(More next week)

Books and Pamphlets By Leon Trotsky

The Third International After Lenin	Cloth, \$4. Paper, \$2.50
The Revolution Betrayed	Cloth, \$3. Paper, \$2
Stalin, a Biography	Cloth, \$3.50, Paper, \$1.95
The Suppressed Testament of Lenin	25c
The Kirov Assassination	25c
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Kennedy's Shelter Program

Protection Against Model-T Bomb?

By Art Preis

I have just read the Defense Department's new civil-defense booklet, "Fallout Protection, What to Know and Do About Nuclear Attack." The *New York Times* on Dec. 31 published the entire booklet as a New Year's greeting to its readers. After careful study of it and reflection, I have come to the conclusion that the only civilian protection against an H-Bomb attack is: Always manage to be at least 1,000 miles away from the point of explosion of any nuclear burst — and upwind preferably.

Mind you, I am not arguing the correctness of the technical data in the booklet, as far as it goes. There are plenty of competent scientists and experts who will uncover any technical flaws and omissions in the Kennedy administration's program to convince the American people that an H-Bomb war need not be a totally unmitigated horror. May be some people just might be able to save themselves if they dig down deep enough, duck down fast enough, and stay down long enough under the conditions set forth in the booklet. But that's Gimmick No. 1.

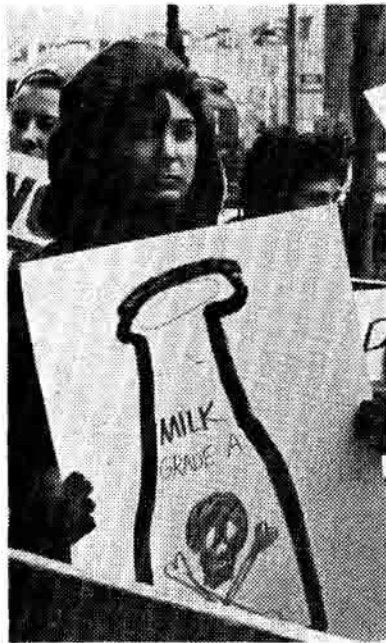
This whole scheme for the construction of fallout shelters to protect the populace from nuclear attack is based on the premise that such an attack will be limited to missiles of not more than five-megaton power — equivalent to a "mere" five million tons of TNT going off in one spot at one time.

Obsolete

But the latest nuclear weapons are to the five-megaton H-bomb what the first atomic bomb that pulverized Hiroshima was to the previous TNT "blockbusters" of World War II. Any nation that wants to wage a five-megaton H-bomb war against the U.S. would probably have to swipe them first from our own Smithsonian Institution. Who uses "Model-T" H-bombs anymore?

I suspect, of course, that even one or two hundred five-megaton nuclear bombs could reduce this nation to a few wandering, straggling bands of thirsty, starving, diseased and naked individuals who would die off in very short order. But the fact is that the very first H-bomb test-exploded by the United States had already outmoded the five-megaton job.

On Dec. 25, 1953, *New York Times* military analyst Hanson W. Baldwin disclosed that the first hydrogen thermonuclear device, exploded by the U.S. on Eniwetok Island back in November 1952, had



President Kennedy says you can beat fallout by digging a hole. This demonstrator at the UN says a surer way is to scrap the bomb.

the explosive power of more than five million tons of TNT. This compared to the 15,000 to 20,000-ton power of the two original A-bombs that had obliterated Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. The latter "primitive" weapons had brought death to 200,000 and injury and radiation sickness to as many more.

On February 17, 1954, Congressman W. Sterling Cole, Chairman of the House-Senate Joint Atomic Energy Committee, confirmed Baldwin's disclosure and further revealed that the hydrogen device detonated 17 months before had "completely obliterated the test island in the Eniwetok atoll" and "tore a cavity in the floor of the ocean — a crater a full mile in diameter and 175 feet in depth at its lowest point."

On March 1, 1954, the Atomic Energy Commission publicly reported an "atomic device" had been exploded in mid-Pacific tests. Only 10 days later did the AEC admit that 28 American Technicians and 236 Marshall Islands inhabitants, believed to be at a safe distance from the Bikini test area, "had been unexpectedly exposed to some radiation." Finally, the Associated Press on March 16 reported that a Japanese fishing boat, the *Lucky Dragon*, had returned to port with 23 men covered

with radiation burns received when "snow white ashes" fell on them 90 minutes after the blast at a spot 80 miles distant from the test point. One fisherman died a week later.

On March 17, "Congressional sources" at last confessed that the thermonuclear blast at Bikini was not of the originally-planned five-megaton force but equivalent to an unexpected power of twelve million to fourteen million tons of TNT. Moreover, the deadly radiations of the Bikini H-bomb had spread 1,600 miles. The fear and shock that spread around the world at these ghastly revelations were not allayed when President Eisenhower on March 24 admitted "that something must have slipped at the recent hydrogen explosion in the Pacific which surprised and astonished scientists." (*Associated Press*.)

The House of Commons in England on March 23, 1954, was then treated to the grotesque spectacle of Prime Minister Winston Churchill blubbering in sheer funk when he spoke of the "stupendous problems and perils" of the new H-bomb. "His voice breaking with emotion and tears welling in his eyes" was how the March 24 *New York Herald Tribune* described the thick-skinned old war-horse of British imperialism who had impetuously sent millions to their death for the glory of the Empire, as he now contemplated the fate of England, including its ruling class, in a thermonuclear war. Understandably, as the *Tribune's* London correspondent reported, Churchill was "rather unstable, and did not have himself well in hand."

The U.S. military authorities since then have boasted of their 20-megaton and 25-megaton H-bombs. Only a few months ago, the U.S. press fearfully reported the explosion of a 57-megaton H-bomb by the Khrushchev regime in the Soviet Union.

To offer any sort of shelter program to save the American people from total disaster in the event of an up-to-date nuclear attack is the cruelest of deceptions. But the shelter program does make sense under one condition: if the U.S. political and military leaders plan to attack first. If that is their scheme then they might be toying with the idea that by an overwhelming initial strike they could so limit another nation's power of retaliation that a shelter program might just barely save a few million persons.

Letters from Our Readers

Plea from Mississippi

Jackson, Miss.

I am running for the Congress of the United States from the Fourth Congressional District of Mississippi.

My campaign workers and I are severely handicapped in this undertaking, but we are determined to free the Mississippi Negro from his political subjugation. We view this as an absolutely necessary prerequisite to solutions of the economic, educational and housing difficulties which afflict our entire people, Negro and white alike.

One tool, vital to our task, is not available; the vote. We must have the vote; we must have it now!

The Civil Rights Commission in its Voting Report's very first recommendation advised the Congress that the enactment of a bill to abolish all poll tax and literacy tests to effectively extend the franchise to every American citizen 21 years of age and older was an absolute and immediate necessity.

We have sent a letter to every Congressman and Senator asking them to initiate and support this recommendation. However, we feel that pressure from Congressional Districts in which the Negro constitutes a heavy percentage of the voting population is needed.

We are asking your paper to alert all the citizens of your area to the urgency of our demand for the right to vote now! We are asking them to petition their Congressman immediately.

R.L.T. Smith

Brightening Our Day

Chicago, Ill.

Many thanks to *The Militant* and its staff for the excellent interpretation of the news — enlightening and refreshing. The facts for a change.

Enclosed is \$3 for an extension of my subscription and a belated \$2 contribution toward the welfare of your fine paper.

F.M.

Kennedy's Speech

San Diego, Calif.

I am a new reader, only two issues so far, and I want to congratulate you on your very fine paper.

The following is my own analysis of certain parts of President Kennedy's State of the Union address.

In the address he brought out very pointedly that the United States, the American worker, our entire economic structure, can expect no loyalty or consideration whatever from our mighty industrialists. He warned that should the Common Market of Europe exclude or greatly cut down our exports by erecting impenetrable tariffs, our factory owners would have no other choice but to pick up and move out of this country for greener pastures and leave millions of workers here stranded and unemployed. It would not simply be a case of a few run-away shops, but of a mass exodus from these shores. And Kennedy is more than right in making that assumption.

But on the other side of the fence, the workers, the unions — what does Kennedy ask of them? He asks loyalty and consideration in placing the needs of the nation above personal needs. What the unions should do, according to the president, is to use the "test of public interest" in all bargaining for wage increases and other benefits that might raise costs or otherwise create inflation. President Kennedy knows the

mind of big business and high finance better than to waste his breath on them in any supplication. He knows full well that they have no loyalty to this country or any other when patriotism interferes with profits. But the workers, those poor confused souls, constantly blinded by flag-waving from above, let them yank in their belts for hard times and sagging exports.

Again and again throughout his speech, Kennedy stressed the iron law of capitalism — our economy must expand, our industries must export. It brings to mind the shrill scream of Adolph Hitler: "We must export or die!"

C.C.

For Left Unity

Hollywood, Calif.

Enclosed please find check for \$2 to cover a six-month subscription to *The Militant*. I find it excellent and informative and look forward to each issue.

In the Dec. 4 issue you had an article by Harry Ring in which he writes about a movement for "left-wing unity." This is surely what we need. By uniting all the liberal and left-wing groups we could carry much more weight in the future decisions of our government. Right now we are ineffectual because we are so splintered, stressing differences rather than a main objective. But how to go about it? I wonder if any of your readers can give us some suggestions?

Best wishes for 1962 and for the cause of real freedom, not the Kennedy administration's idea of freedom.

E.L.

Truth and the Press

Nottingham, England

Marvel Scholl has certainly succeeded, in her recent review of *The Press*, by A. J. Liebling, in whetting one's appetite for the whole book. I hope it will soon be published over here.

The working newspaperman reads such books with special interest. Some of us wonder, for example, if the writers are aware that many journalists are as sincerely devoted to the truth as themselves. I know newspapermen (including one or two editors) who are far more concerned with the objective presentation of news and the fair representation of views than with considerations of profit or political motive. And political motive, as we all know, can be just as conducive to bias as a preoccupation with profit.

But the reader, too, must make an effort. He should try to discriminate, but not confine himself to one newspaper. I look forward to my weekly copy of *The Militant*, but it is one of many newspapers of different views that come into my house. I cannot, however, claim to read everything in every one.

James Brennan

A Nomination for '64

San Francisco, Calif.

How long has it been since the Socialist Workers Party has run a Negro for president or vice president?

For SWP vice-presidential candidate in 1964, I nominate Robert F. Williams, militant Southern Negro leader who has been forced to seek refuge in Cuba from FBI persecution.

His candidacy would dramatize SWP opposition to white supremacy and FBI harassment of radicals, and would emphasize SWP support for the Cuban revolution.

J.C.

Thought for the Week

"We know that anyone who supports, apologize for, condones, rationalizes or winks at colonialism or imperialism in any guise is no friend of the civil-rights movement in the United States, because in the showdown we won't be able to count on him." — Afro-American correspondent William Worthy, speaking at a Dec. 28 Philadelphia Fair Play for Cuba rally.

It Was Reported in the Press

Tell 'Em It's Good for the Crop — "SAIGON, Vietnam, Jan. 11 — A plan by United States officials to 'defoliate' trees and bushes in South Vietnam with a chemical sprayed from planes as a means of combating Communist guerrilla operations has been delayed. The question of how to publicize this form of chemical warfare has held up the program for several weeks." — *The New York Times*.

Progress in Civil Rights — The Defense Department has issued a firm declaration that it will not tolerate "separate but equal" facilities in federally subsidized fallout shelters.

Division on Right — Hate-monger George Lincoln Rockwell has blasted the McCarthyite magazine *National Review*, and says he has secured a block of stock which he'll use to fight for a change of the magazine's policies. He says it's "cowardly about the Jewishness of Communism," it has two Jews on the staff, and "openly boosts the two Jews, George Sokolsky — who helped Marxism in China — and Barry Goldwater — who openly blasts segregation."

The American Way — "Attorney General John J. O'Connor charged today that unscrupulous builders were constructing fallout shelters that were so far from being bomb-proof that they leaked after the first rain." — From a Jan. 11 Olympia, Wash., *UPI* dispatch.

Guam Petition — A resolution introduced in the Guam territorial legislature Jan. 9 called upon President Kennedy and the U.S. Congress to provide for the election of Guam's governor. The resolution said it was "somewhat insulting" that the governor's office was filled by the president of the U.S. "without consulting the will of the people of Guam."

Assimilating Cuban Exiles — Florida politicians have provoked strong controversy with the issuance of a new \$157 million Florida Turnpike bond deal. Financed by the taxpayers, the bonds will give wealthy investors a tax-free return of nearly five per cent annually. The *Miami Herald* reports: "Surprisingly, some of the heaviest individual buying came from wealthy Cubans — non-resident aliens of the Sunshine State and

the U.S. Like many U.S. investors with hefty portfolios, they appreciate the tax-free angle of the turnpike bonds."

Socialized Medicine, Anyone? — A month's supply of 20 oral contraceptive pills sells in New York drug stores at prices ranging from \$2.50 to \$3.75. In Great Britain, under the National Health Service, the 20 pills are sold for 28 cents.

More Carrying Capacity? — According to the *United States Municipal News*, the city of Chicago, after a six-month test, has given up compact cars for police work because "they detract from the image of the police officer as an image of strength and authority." After recent revelations about the organized police burglary ring in Chicago which used patrol cars to haul away the loot, we wonder if there wasn't another reason for getting rid of the compacts.

Fact of the Week — "We have come to realize that introduction of automation . . . in a given industry may result in displacement of some workers." — Robert J. Myers, U.S. Deputy Commissioner of Labor Statistics.