

Map Plans to Win Equality, Social Justice

By Albert Cook

"We shall overcome
"We shall overcome
"We shall overcome some day
"O, deep in my heart
"I know I do believe
"We shall overcome some day."

With the emotion-packed singing of this — the movement's anthem — and other Freedom Songs, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the most dynamic civil-rights movement in the South, on Nov. 23 opened its two-day Leadership Training Institute and Conference at Fisk University in Nashville, Tenn. The 225 participants in the parley also joined with local SNCC members in demonstrations against Nashville Jim Crow.

The conference's first discussions were: *Why Voter Registration?* and *Why Direct Action?* These were led by Robert Moses, director of the Mississippi Voting Project, and Marion Barry, SNCC's former chairman, respectively.

At the evening session, SNCC Executive Secretary James Forman introduced a number of people including Samuel Block, who had been almost killed while working on voter registration in Mississippi.

In a brief speech, Charles McDew, SNCC's chairman, told about his recent trip to the United Nations. There he had spoken both with the Assistant Soviet Ambassador and Ralph Bunche. He discovered that while the Soviet

diplomat was surprisingly well informed about SNCC's activity in the South, Bunche knew practically nothing about it.

McDew cited Cuban President Dorticos' speech at the UN and related some parts of it to the problems of Negroes in the United States.

The keynote address was delivered by Slater King, executive vice president of the Albany Movement. The Georgia civil-rights crusader was eloquently introduced by Charles Sherrod and received a standing ovation. In his introduction, Sherrod had told how Mrs. Slater King had been kicked while visiting the Albany jail and had subsequently lost the unborn child she was carrying.

Referring to this brutal deed, King told the conference that had he been present he would have been forced to lay down his life in her defense.

Discussing SNCC's functioning upon entering a community, the Albany Movement leader suggested more enlightenment of the people about the system's economic and political aspects. Such enlightenment, he stressed, was necessary if the needed changes were to become a reality. He also advocated including in the struggle all willing elements "from the left to the right." In closing, he emphasized that the masses may be more ready for radical reforms than the leadership realizes.

King received another standing

ovation. Mrs. King then said a few words. Announcements were made about the next day's demonstrations and, with the singing of *We Shall Overcome*, the first day's sessions adjourned.

The demonstrations, conducted next day by the Nashville Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee with SNCC's backing, marked the resumption of protests which had been in a lull during the summer. The two-hour demonstrations at downtown eating establishments were successful though violence flared in a number of places. The worst incident was at the Wilson-Quick Pharmacy on Church St. where Bobby Talbert, a Fisk stu-

(Continued on page 7)

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 26 - No. 45 Monday, December 10, 1962 Price 10c

Lockheed Made Very Happy By Kennedy's Use of T-H Act

By Tom Kerry

NEW YORK, Dec. 4 — When the Taft-Hartley Act was first introduced in Congress it was characterized by the labor movement as a Slave Labor Law. That it is! Thus it will remain — so long as the leaders of labor meekly bow to this most flagrant piece of class legislation ever devised to straightjacket, undermine and crush the organized union movement.

Yesterday, the so-called "friend of labor" in the White House, instructed his brother, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, to ask for a Federal Court injunction barring for 80 days a resumption of the strike by the AFL-CIO International Association of Machinists against the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation.

Last week, after the IAM had been compelled to strike following six months of fruitless negotiations with the corporation, President Kennedy invoked the Taft-Hartley Act and set up a three-man board to "investigate" the dispute. Recognizing that Kennedy was just going through the routine motions required by the Taft-Hartley farce, the union leaders had already sent their members back to work.

The corporation executives expressed great satisfaction at Kennedy's action. Forcing the workers back into the plants by government edict was just their dish of tea.

The union heads were not at all pleased. Their proposal for temporary government seizure of the Lockheed plants until the dispute was resolved had been brushed aside as unworthy of consideration.

The policy of relying on the Kennedy administration to defend the interests of the organized workers has led the unions into a booby trap. This is nowhere so apparent as in the heavily subsidized aerospace industry.

Some time ago, A. J. Hayes, president of the IAM and Walter Reuther, head of the United Automobile Workers, announced, with great fanfare, the conclusion of a pact for joint action between the auto workers and machinists to lift the wages and working condi-



A. J. Hayes

tions of their members in the aircraft and missile plants to a level approximating that of other unionized industry.

Given the violently anti-union character of the corporation heads, it was recognized that the unions would have to prepare for strike

(Continued on Page 3)

— Jim Crow — No Show —

Comic Integrates Prison

Dick Gregory, the popular television and night-club comedian, struck a blow at segregation in the Maryland Penitentiary on Nov. 17. The Negro entertainer had been invited to perform there by the prison's chaplain.

Before his act began, however, Gregory noticed that Negro and white inmates were seated in separate sections of the auditorium and refused to perform. "I don't play for segregated audiences anywhere," he told the warden. Gregory then asked for an opportunity to explain his refusal to the prisoners themselves and took the stage. "I've turned down \$500,000 worth of contracts in the South because of this sort of

thing," he said, "I feel sorry for you fellows, but I can't compromise — even here."

"Now if some of you will exchange seats," he continued, "the show will go on."

His demand was greeted by applause from the audience and the inmates began exchanging seats, integrating the hall. When this had been accomplished, Gregory went into his act.

Warden Vernon L. Peppersack told reporters that slow integration is taking place in other sections of prison, but no effort had been made to eliminate segregated seating in the auditorium. "It's very possible this might help bring an end to the practice," he said.

Women's Peace Group Activists Face Inquisition

The House Un-American Activities Committee has subpoenaed a number of active participants in the New York area Women Strike for Peace movement. Reportedly over 12 women active in WSP and at least one man active in the Greenwich Village Peace Center have been subpoenaed to appear before committee hearings in Washington Dec. 12 and 13.

Women in the WSP movement were the first persons in the New York area to respond to the recent Cuban crisis with a large demonstration opposing the blockade. Several hundred WSP demonstrators appeared outside the United Nations the day after President Kennedy's threat-of-nuclear-war speech Oct. 22. The Women Strike for Peace movement came to national prominence last year in actions opposed to nuclear testing.

No 'Loyalty' Oaths

Commenting on HUAC's action, Mrs. Dagmar Wilson, the movement's initiator, declared: "We recognize this investigation as an attempt to divert our attention from the most important issue women have ever faced — the preservation of our families in a world armed with nuclear weapons." She said women of "all races, creeds and political persuasions" were welcome to participate in the movement.

A statement issued Dec 3 by the New York WSP said that the movement does not ask an oath of loyalty to any set of political beliefs, but "loyalty to humanity" and opposition to the threat of nuclear war.

This attack by the notorious witch-hunting committee points up the fact that the defense of civil liberties is a prime concern to all movements of social protest, including the peace movement.



It's Really Not Hard To Climb on Board A Mushroom Cloud

By Herman Chauka

Could a shook-up GI commit suicide and take his officers along with him by the unusual means of exploding an A-bomb?

For a long time the Pentagon assured us things like that couldn't happen because: a) the bombs are accident proof; b) even if the bombs aren't, the GIs are because they (the GIs) are subjected to psychiatric tests for emotional stability.

Last week both claims were abruptly exploded with an account in the daily press of a series of unusually close shaves at atomic installations. The story was originally broken Nov. 28 by Jules Witcover, Washington correspondent for the *Newark Star-Ledger*.

These are some excerpts from his account:

"Several near-accidents — including a hair-raising threat by a U.S. airman to commit suicide with an armed nuclear bomb — have prompted a new Pentagon directive on handling the awesome weapons . . .

"The suicide incident, believed to be the first concerning a nuclear weapon ever admitted by the Pentagon, occurred in 1958. The man's name and the site of the incident are classified information.

"The airman was a nuclear weapons maintenance technician who is said to have methodically armed the weapon, then climbed the rafters over it and threatened to pump bullets into the device with a .45 caliber pistol. He finally was talked out of it.

"Other incidents include:

"The accidental explosion of an

(Continued on Page 4)

Kennedy Seeks To Disarm Cuba 'Step-by-Step'

By Fred Halstead

The Kennedy administration, having failed to get its foot into Cuba's door through unilateral UN inspection of that island's defenses, is now talking about a step-by-step "solution" of the "Cuban crisis." Reports from Washington make clear that by this is meant a process of removing more weapons from Cuba — including those admitted by the U.S. to be "defensive" — until the revolutionary government is more vulnerable to attack.

Since the Cubans' tit-for-tat statement of Nov. 25, demanding inspection of bases from which Washington is preparing aggression against them, Kennedy has not emphasized his inspection demand. That statement was so effective in exposing Kennedy's position that it was suppressed in this country to an even greater degree than usual. It was omitted from the daily transcript of foreign broadcasts made available by the CIA to U.S. newspapers, according to the Dec. 3 issue of *I. F. Stone's Weekly*. (The statement, broadcast over short wave from Havana, was printed in full in the Dec. 3 *Militant*, but in no other U.S. newspaper.)

The initial phase of the step-by-step "solution" now being attempted by Kennedy was described by Tad Szulc in a Washington dispatch in the Dec. 4 *New York Times*:

"It was believed that when all the bombers have been withdrawn by Dec. 20, the United States will begin to remind Soviet negotiators of Mr. Khrushchev's promise to pull his combat troops out of Cuba as well . . . Washington's special interest lies in the rocket units that man the ground-to-air missile emplacements that ring the island."

Szulc admits that "they fall in the category of 'defensive' weapons which the United States does not officially consider objectionable, but it is known here that they cannot be operated at present without Soviet personnel."

"Since the United States has decided to continue its surveillance fights over Cuba . . . there is some concern here that once Cuban troops are trained in the anti-aircraft missile's operation they may become a danger to the patrolling aircraft."

The disregard for international law and another nation's sovereignty, involved in the "surveillance" overflights, was arrogantly flaunted when Kennedy publicly presented medals to the pilots engaged in these operations. Such publicity is not normally given to military espionage.

It can only be designed to condition the American people for further aggressions against the Cuban revolution.

Poetry, Politics and Khrushchev

By George Saunders

Recently a short novel was published in the USSR describing life in a Stalin concentration camp. The past weeks have seen a rash of anti-Stalin poems in the Soviet press such as Yevtushenko's *Stalin's Heirs*, translated on this page.

A further stage in the "thaw" in Soviet arts, which has been going on more or less steadily since Stalin's death, seemed to have been reached. Abstract painters, twelve-tone composers, *avant-garde* literary stylists — most of them young people — began taking their works out into public view.

Then suddenly last week the news from Moscow told of Khrushchev's boorish attack on some works of abstract art currently on exhibition there and the Dec. 3 *Pravda* printed a front-page editorial denouncing *avant-garde* cultural trends, following through with two articles on the same theme and a cartoon of a donkey splashing paint on a canvas with its tail.

What Does It Mean?

A number of questions arise. Why was the new relaxation of government controls in cultural fields allowed in the first place? Why the crackdown on some art forms while allowing others publication? What is the political significance of it all?

I shall attempt to retrace the history of the latest Soviet cultural developments and answer some questions raised by them.

Yevgeny Yevtushenko's poem, *Stalin's Heirs*, has significance beyond its content. Harrison Salisbury writes in the *New York Times* (Oct. 30, 1962) that the poem was written a year before publication and repeatedly recited in public.

The Nov. 29 *N.Y. Times* reports that Yevtushenko wrote Khrushchev, complaining that the poem had been edited out of a collection of his poetry. This volume, however, did include another poem, entitled *The Fate of Names*, which commemorated the demotion of Stalin at the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, though much less explicitly and without the bitter, morbid imagery.

Manuscript Circulated

The Fate of Names asserts that history, in the long run, bestows honor on those names deserving it and removes from the marble on which they are engraved names unworthy of such a place.

Stalin's Heirs began circulating in Moscow in manuscript form apparently after it had been refused publication in the poetry collection.

The appearance of *Stalin's Heirs* in the Soviet press seems to be part of a general development of possibly great importance in Soviet literature and art fields. That *Pravda* printed the poem on Khrushchev's order is reportedly revealed in a new "secret speech" he delivered Nov. 23 at the closing session of the plenum of the CPSU Central Committee. But

Stalin's Heirs

By Yevgeny Yevtushenko

The marble held silent. Silently shimmered the glass.
The guard, as it stood growing bronze in the wind, held its silence.
But the coffin smoked slightly. Breath seeped through the cracks
as they carried it out of the doors of the Mausoleum.
Slowly the coffin floated, its sides brushing bayonets.
It too held its silence — it too! — but ominous silence.
Within it, embalmed hands gloomily clenched into fists,
pressing his eye to a crack, was a man playing dead.
He wanted to memorize all who were bearing him out,
the youthful, the newly-elected from Kursk and Ryazan,
so that later in some way he'd gather his strength for the onslaught,
and rise from the earth and show these unwise ones what's what.
He had thought up a scheme. He had just nestled down for a nap.
And I address myself with a request to our government:
To double, still better to triple the guard by his gravestone,
so that Stalin won't rise from the earth and with Stalin, the past.
Not of that cherished and valorous past am I speaking,
Of the Turksib and Magnitogorsk and the flag o'er Berlin.
In the given instance, I have in mind by the past —
unconcern for the welfare of people, arrests of the innocent, slanders.
Our grain we sowed honestly, honestly welded our metal
and forming ourselves in soldierly files, marched with honor.
He feared us, though. Serving a great end, he never considered
that means should be worthy of the great good of their end.
Far-sighted he was. And steeped in the laws of battle.
Behind him he left many heirs all over the globe.
It strikes me as though a phone had been placed in his coffin.
To Enver Hoxha, Stalin transmits his instructions.
Where else does the telephone wire from that coffin lead?
No, Stalin has not given up. He thinks death is correctible.
Yes, we have moved him out of the Mausoleum.
But how are we to remove Stalin from Stalin's heirs?
Some of his heirs clip roses in retirement
but in secret consider their leave to be temporary.
Others may even curse Stalin himself from the tribunes
while at night by themselves they long for the times of old.
For good reasons, it's obvious, Stalin's heirs suffer today
from dying tissues. To onetime supporters of the throne
these times are not pleasing when prison camps lie empty
and halls where the people hear poetry are overflowing.
The Party has ordered me not to be at my ease.
Even if someone affirmed, "Take it easy!" I will not know how to
be easy.
As long as on earth there exist any heirs of Stalin,
it will seem to me Stalin is still in the Mausoleum.

[Written about the removal of Stalin's body from the Mausoleum in Red Square on Oct. 30, 1961, during the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, this poem by Yevtushenko was finally printed for the first time in the Oct. 21, 1962 issue of *Pravda*. The above translation was done for *The Militant* by George Saunders.]

Soviet officials have refused to comment on this speech "pending publication of the edited version."

In his "secret speech" Khrushchev supposedly disclosed his lifting of the long-standing censorship restrictions on Soviet literary works. This apparently was the go-ahead signal for attacks on Stalin, the Stalin era and current "Stalinists" in the Soviet CP. Khrushchev's remarks on de-Stalinization in literature were reportedly related to the subject of introducing greater democracy into the CPSU and into Soviet life — a theme taken up also at last year's 22nd Congress.

The recent plenum of the Central Committee dealt mainly with the question of improving economic management, which faces serious problems both in industry and agriculture. What are these? Such crises as the labor turnover of 14,000 workers in six months

at one badly managed construction site in Siberia. This was reported in the Soviet press.

Moreover, there have been rumors in the European and American press of strikes and protests against high prices and poor conditions in a number of Soviet cities, particularly in Siberia. In one instance, these unverified reports claim that youths tore up their party cards with shouts of "Back to Lenin" and "Down with the Deceiver." The CPSU's new program, replacing Lenin's 1920 program, was proclaimed a year ago amid rosy promises of improved living conditions — which must have made the price increases for meat and butter this summer all the more disappointing.

Check-up on Efficiency

It should be noted that a measure to be introduced as a result of the recent plenum's decisions will be a check-up on management efficiency by a council or committee of the factory's workers. Khrushchev may intend the new de-Stalinization in literature to provide a whip of public opinion against those managers, often harsh bureaucrats in the Stalin tradition, who are reluctant to introduce or accept more efficient management methods. Certainly he is calling upon the anti-Stalinist writers for support against his neo-Stalinist political foes.

Khrushchev's attempted balancing of one force against another may get out of control. There is an indication this may have already begun. But before going into that, more detail about the kind of literary and art work, which suddenly flooded through the opened Soviet sluices, is in order.

(First of a series)

THE NATIONAL

PICKET LINE

Over 100,000 jobs may be at stake, according to rail union leaders, in the ruling by the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals dismissing a union suit against work-rule changes. The changes were recommended by a fact-finding board appointed by President Kennedy, but five railroad brotherhoods brought suit and obtained an injunction against immediate implementation.

Union attorneys plan to take the case to the Supreme Court, keeping the dispute in the courts for about another year. The rules changes would abolish outright the jobs of 13,000 locomotive firemen. About 27,000 more firemen's jobs would be eliminated over a period of time. Other crafts would be cut down by train crew runs being lengthened, road service employees being required to do switching and terminal work, and more automation being introduced.

* * *

The membership of Steelworkers Local 1104 in Lorain, Ohio, has dropped from 10,000 a few years ago to around 5,200 at present and it is still decreasing. Writes J. C. Holloway in the Nov. 22 issue of the local's paper: "When you sit across the table from the great mahatma and hear him arbitrarily say that 'the company has a perfect right to eliminate this job or that job or those jobs,' you can almost fancy him breaking into a reptilian leer as he slithers away on his belly to the damp warmth of his favorite rock."

* * *

Three militant union delegates have been fired for their part in the rank-and-file revolt of workers at New York City's Waldorf-Astoria luxury hotel last May. The three, David Shachar, Angelo Cruz and Robert Bruce, were among eight delegates management attempted unsuccessfully to fire in May because waiters stopped work during a banquet.

The waiters had objected to having to pass a collection plate for tips. They demanded instead the usual arrangement — a flat percentage on the hotel's charge for the dinner. They finished serving the dinner when their demands were granted. But the eight delegates were fired the next day despite a signed agreement by management that there would be no reprisals.

The union tops refused to back up the eight, just as they had for years refused to lead a struggle on the unsolved grievances such as the "collection party" issue. But the banquet waiters all stayed out again and the wildcat spread to other sections of the hotel — where grievances had also piled up — disrupting operations for four days.

Jay Rubin, head of Hotel and Club Local 6 finally got the workers to return by having the eight delegates reinstated pending a ruling on the case by the industry's arbitrator.

The ruling, permitting the firing of the three, was handed down last month. The leadership of Local 6 — in a shameful but not unexpected action — went along. Throughout hearings on the case, Rubin had condemned the "unauthorized walkout" but claimed to be fighting for the delegates' jobs. The May walkout forced the union leadership — which sometimes talks "leftist" but values above all things its cordial relations with the employers — into authorizing some militant job actions for the first time since the industry was organized in the 1930's.

The wildcat also strengthened the union's bargaining position and resulted in significant gains in the contract as well as elimination of "collection parties" for banquet waiters. But the recent firings are

designed to put militant delegates on notice not to stick their necks out by standing up for the rights of their fellow workers.

* * *

Airline unions have consistently campaigned against "economy" measures at the expense of safety. Edward J. Bechtold, a safety specialist for the Airline Pilots Association, AFL-CIO, wrote an article to be published in the Jan., 1963 issue of *Airlift*, a trade publication, in which he declared runway 4-22 at New York's Idlewild Airport to be unsafe. In bad weather, he wrote, the "operational safety margin shrinks uncomfortably close." In urging new safety instruments, he implored: if statistics aren't enough proof, "just ask any pilot operating into Idlewild."

On Nov. 30, Captain Bechtold was killed along with 24 other persons when the DC-7 he was landing in foggy weather crashed on runway 4-22 at Idlewild.

* * *

The 19 states which have adopted "right-to-work" laws outlawing the union shop were below the national average in wages ten years ago and are further below today, according to a study by Prof. Milton J. Nadworny of the University of Vermont.

The study, released by the National Council for Industrial Peace, shows an average hourly rate for the 19 states 21 cents an hour below the national average in 1950 and 23 cents below in 1961. Per capita income in the 19 averaged \$281 below the national level in 1950 and \$379 below in 1961.

The study, says the council, "constitutes a direct refutation" of the claims of the National Right to Work Committee that "right-to-work" laws bring general economic benefits.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

Peter Valdez, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, speaks in Defense of the Cuban Revolution. Fri., Dec. 14, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Detroit Young Socialist Alliance.

NEW YORK

The Fight for Academic Freedom. Hear Wendell Phillips, California teacher fired for his socialist views, report on his fight against political screening. Fri., Dec. 14, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 75c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

* * *

Wendell Phillips will be guest of honor at a party Sat., Dec. 15, 9 p.m. at the Taplin-Dorritty Studio, 44 W. 22nd St. Contrib. 99c.

* * *

PLAN AHEAD. You're certain of a good time if you decide to celebrate New Year's Eve at the Militant Labor Forum's gala party, at 116 University Place.

LOS ANGELES

A Banquet

Honoring the author of
"The First Ten Years of
American Communism"
and other pioneer Communists and
founders of American Trotskyism

James P. Cannon
Rose Karsner
Arne Swaback

Toastmaster, Wm. F. Warde

Saturday, December 15
at 1702 E. 4th St.

Reception at 6 p.m. - Dinner at 7

Program at 8:15

Contrib. \$2.50 - Meeting only \$1
(Students \$1.75 and 75c)

Ausp. The Militant

INTRODUCTORY OFFER!



A Four-Month Subscription
To The Militant for only \$1

Name

Street Zone

City State

Send to The Militant, 116 University Place,
New York 3, N.Y.

VISITING THE LOCKHEED STRIKERS

Young Missile Workers on the Picket Line

By Joyce Cowley

SUNNYVALE, Calif., Nov. 28 — The Lockheed machinists, District 508 of the International Association of Machinists, walked out at 12:01 this morning and immediately set up a 24-hour picketline at the huge plant here which produces missiles for Polaris submarines.

When a big plant is struck it seems at first to be strangely quiet — a few pickets standing at each entrance to the buildings and parking lots which sprawl for miles across the flat land. You see nothing unusual as you approach except the cops — sometimes outnumbering the pickets — who stand around quietly, too.

Pickets, honoring a press card from *The Militant*, let us through the lines to park. As we walked over to talk to them, I wondered if there would be any hostility or

suspicion. But their initial hesitation vanished when I introduced myself as a former IAM member, a Boeing worker who walked the picketline for five months during the machinists strike in Seattle.

"Sure, we expect an injunction," one picket said. "As if we need to cool off for 80 days. We've already had five months to cool off, ever since July!"

"There was trouble here early this morning, at this gate. A woman ran down one of the pickets, hit him with her car. She was probably a clerical worker. I don't know if she meant to do it or she panicked. His back got hurt and he's in the hospital now."

"One of the cars hit Tiny, too, but he's not so badly hurt. You'd think the police would try to stop things like that."

The police did take prompt ac-

tion — they arrested two strikers for obstructing traffic.

A picket on a motor scooter stopped at the gate. "I'm checking all the entrances. Everything is covered except two warehouses." There are so many gates, so many buildings, it takes hundreds of pickets to maintain even token lines — varying from six to twelve men — at every entrance.

A car pulled up. "Anybody hungry? We got doughnuts, sandwiches, coffee."

We moved on, circling the plant, stopping at several gates to talk to pickets. A great many of them were young, they looked about 20 and it was obviously their first time on picket duty. They all seemed to be in high spirits, and optimistic about the outcome of the strike.

"If they get Taft-Hartley on us, we'll go out again in eighty days."

Although it was still very quiet — eight or nine pickets at the gate and a dozen cops (the press calls them "public safety officers") standing in a cluster, watching — you began to feel the tension, like a coiled spring. There were reports that a great many of the cars passing through this morning have bent fenders and tail-lights smashed by picket signs.

Strike headquarters, a few miles away in Sunnyvale, was a crowded and busy spot. Everything appeared to be well organized. They were ready for it and the strike routine was working out smoothly. Here I felt sure it would be difficult to get through to an official, but "Boeing striker" opened the doors.

Strike Policy

IAM Vice President Arthur Downes had just flown in from Los Angeles and was on his way to a KPIX on-the-scene television broadcast. He stopped to talk to me about strike policy, the number of men out and the negotiations that led to the strike. He said the company was complaining because the union did not take sufficient time to consider its final offer, made last Saturday. Although negotiations have been going on since July, it took an overwhelming strike vote to get an offer at all and that did not include any concession on voting for

a union shop, which is the central issue in the strike.

Even a *New York Times* editorial (Nov. 22) — a reprint of which was being distributed on the picket line — called this a "strike by management." Union officials admit they are not at all sure they would get the two-thirds vote necessary for the union shop, but they are fighting for the right to hold an election. Lockheed has arrogantly refused, and in full-page newspaper advertisements they explain that it is a matter of principle — they must defend the rights of minorities.

A District 508 bulletin comments on the "freedom to dissent" and the company's concern that there should be no compulsory conditions of employment. Will the company extend this — as it should if it wants to be consistent — to all conditions of employment? Isn't an employee compelled to stop and start work at arbitrarily established times? Isn't he compelled to meet certain predetermined minimum standards of productivity? To obey an order given by his superior?

Ask Grievance Procedure

The union suggests that if it must give up its request for a union shop, then Lockheed management should set up special machinery for "the convenience of workers to meet individually with Lockheed and negotiate individually for their own individual conditions of employment . . . Any non-union employee with a grievance against the company shall individually seek redress on whatever terms he may be able to arrange with the corporation."

Downes said that no attempt was being made to stop the thousands of engineers and clerical workers — not part of the IAM bargaining unit — from entering the plant, although many engineers are respecting picket lines. I said I was indignant because the welders are working, and Downes told me they are in a separate union, stuck with a no-strike contract, but they have promised to do no work except welding and there would be very little welding to do if the machinists stayed out. He hoped there would be no Taft-Hartley intervention and felt it would be better for the government to seize the plant than to

force the men into another long period of waiting.

I talked to a woman in charge of the coffee and refreshment detail — my job for many months during the Boeing strike. She was busy setting up a chart of each entrance and each building and getting volunteers on a round-the-clock basis. It is easy in the daytime, not quite so easy from midnight to 8 a.m., but that is when it counts. During the day, while pickets are glad to see the coffee car arrive, it is a pleasant extra. At 3 a.m., hunched up against the wind and walking fast to keep warm, you are looking for that car hours before it is due. The phone kept ringing — there were plenty of volunteers and she knew how and where to dispatch them.

War of Statistics

In every big strike there is a war of statistics, which goes on mainly in the press. Right now the union claims the strike is 97 per cent effective, the company says that thousands of hourly workers are crossing the lines. The figures differ by as much as several thousand, even on the number of workers covered by the IAM bargaining unit. If you want to know how a strike is going, instead of juggling numbers, you should check with the pickets, because they can see what is happening and who is crossing the line.

Are they confident, joking a bit, walking with the assurance of men who have shut the place down? At the union hall, can you feel something like jubilation, the pushing, infectious energy of men who are getting things done. At first it is almost festive, like an extra day off. Then you become aware of a growing consciousness of power, a realization that we can do it. We can bring production to a halt, and even with engineers and clerks, they won't build any missiles.

On this subjective basis, at least as reliable as the figures they throw around, I think the Lockheed strikers got off to a good start.

By the time my report reaches *The Militant*, the Taft-Hartley injunction will undoubtedly be in effect. Lockheed strikers assured us:

"If we don't get what we want, we will strike again."

... Use of T-H at Lockheed

(Continued from Page 1)

action to enforce their demands. However, at every critical point in the struggle, the unions came up against the resistance of the Kennedy administration. When the IAM sought to strike Lockheed last summer, for example, Kennedy intervened.

The strike was called off at his insistence. In return, Kennedy established a special board to "investigate" the dispute in the aerospace industry and recommend a solution. The central issue in the demands of both the UAW and IAM was union security — the union-shop clause which requires all employees in the bargaining unit to join the union after 60 days.

The Kennedy board finally came up with the proposal that a separate vote be taken on the union-shop provision after the economic terms of the contract had been negotiated and accepted. While the economic demands would require only a simple majority, the Kennedy shysters proposed that a two-thirds majority be required to win the union-shop demand. Upon what "democratic" principle they arrived at this formula is not explained.

Accept Board's Formula

The union leaders, eager to prove they were "reasonable" men, accepted the loaded formula of the Kennedy board. It is ironical when you consider that the original Taft-Hartley Act required only a majority vote under a mandatory provision for a referendum on the union-shop issue. This mandatory provision was later dropped when it was found that the union-shop clause carried in the overwhelming majority of cases.

In the recent period, three union-shop referendums were held at aerospace corporations under contract to the UAW and IAM. The unions lost in all three, getting a majority in each, but failing to muster the required two-thirds. The figures are instructive:

At North American Aviation, Inc., under contract to the UAW, the workers voted 19,232 (59.8%) for the union shop and 12,899 (40.2%) against. All employees in the bargaining unit are eligible to vote whether or not they belong to the union. The UAW claims 21,718 members or 62% of the work force.

At Ryan Aeronautical Co., UAW, the vote was 833 (60.5%) for the union shop and 544 (39.5%) against. At Ryan the UAW claims 1,239 members or 85%. Despite the fact of better than two-thirds enrolled as members, the union failed to get the required majority. Many union members did not vote or voted against!

At the Convair Division of Gen-

eral Dynamics Corp., under contract to the IAM, in San Diego and Pomona, Calif., the vote was 9,268 (54.2%) for the union shop and 7,822 (45.8%) against. The IAM claims 10,698 members or 55% of those eligible to vote.

The result of the union-shop vote, under the two-thirds formula of the Kennedy board, was disastrous. Even worse, it now establishes a precedent which other employers will be quick to seize upon. Yet, despite all this, Lockheed has refused to accede to a union-shop election, declaring it a matter of "democratic principle" not to force any employee to join the union, even — as they have been saying in their full-page newspaper ads throughout the country — "even if only one person is involved."

"Right-to-Work" Principle

It is this same "principle" that animates the union-hating promoters of "Right-to-Work" laws which seek to outlaw the union shop by legal fiat. These sanctimonious hypocrites have found a real champion now in the Lockheed Corporation which cloaks its union-busting aim in the holy mantle of "democratic principle."

The arrogance of Lockheed has grown in proportion to the war hysteria whipped up by the Kennedy administration around the Cuban crisis. Lockheed has defied Kennedy and Company with impunity. They have laughed at the hints emanating from Washington that their lush war contracts would be rescinded unless they went along with the Kennedy board proposal for a union-shop election. And well they might.

For according to the latest figures, Lockheed heads the list of 100 prime military contractors in this country, with \$1.4 billion in new orders. Second is General Dynamic, third Boeing and fourth, North American Aviation. All four recipients of billions in war contracts can be numbered among the most determined of the open-shop, anti-union, labor-hating fraternity in all the land. With their snouts buried deep in the public trough they have learned that patriotism pays — and pays and pays.

The top brass in the Pentagon are cheek and jowl with the Lockheeds of this country. Does Lockheed stand in arrogant defiance of Washington? The solution is obvious — crack down on the unions. Are the workers forced to strike as a last alternative? Drive them back to their jobs with a Taft-Hartley injunction. It's all a matter of "democratic principle," you see. And if you don't see, then you are obviously a "red" who should be sent back to Cuba where you belong.

World Events

Chilean Workers Strike

Four thousand workers went on strike Nov. 1 at Chile's Andes Copper Company, a subsidiary of the U.S. Anaconda Company. The Copper Workers Confederation, representing the workers, was demanding a 25 per cent increase in miners' pay and a 30 per cent increase for white-collar workers. When government controls were removed last October, the value of Chile's currency, the *escudo*, dropped from about 95 cents to 37½ cents on Nov. 14 — in one month, the copper workers' pay in dollars has been cut by more than 60 per cent. Meanwhile prices are rising. Government price ceilings have been raised from 7 to 40 per cent, with a few consumer items going up 60 per cent and wine 100 per cent.

Mansfield Quiet on Vietnam

Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield left Vietnam Dec. 2 after giving an unusually reserved statement about the U.S. position in that civil war. Mansfield was said to have been given a prepared statement to read by the U.S. Embassy saying that he was "encouraged" by the progress being made against the guerrillas. However, he refused to read it and made his own statement in which

he simply praised Dictator Ngo Dinh Diem as "a man of great integrity, complete honesty and devotion to duty." The *N.Y. Times* commented, "Senator Mansfield thus became the first high ranking American official in a year who did not go out of his way to assert that considerable progress was being made against the guerrillas, or Vietcong."

U.S. Anti-Cuba Propaganda

According to the Mexican magazine *Política*, the U.S. Embassy in Mexico has been conducting a propaganda campaign against Cuba in different cities of San Luis Potosí. Grotesque movies are being shown, *Política* reports, in which Fidel Castro is pictured, machine gun in hand, forcing campesinos to work, taking their crops to give to the Soviet Union and killing all who resist. The magazine points out that the conduct of such propaganda activities represents a violation of the fundamental norms of diplomatic activity.

British Loan Had Strings

The Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Dr. Eric Williams, announced Nov. 25 that he had rejected a British loan on the grounds that it was inadequate. The British offer was tied to goods

and services providing jobs for British workers rather than the people of Trinidad and Tobago, according to a member of Dr. Williams' staff. "I asked for a loan to put the people of Trinidad and Tobago in jobs," the Prime Minister said, "not to provide jobs for British workers."

India Arrests 700 Chinese

About 700 Chinese arrested by the Indian government in West Bengal have been taken to a detention center in Rajasthan State. They are charged with anti-Indian activities. The Chinese government has repeatedly protested such widespread arrests of Chinese nationals and persons of Chinese ancestry living in India since the current border conflict began.

Urge Boycott of Portugal

Representatives of rebel forces struggling against Portuguese colonial rule in Angola spoke before the U.N. General Assembly Trusteeship Committee demanding that greater "moral pressure" be put upon Portugal to end its military repressions against Africans. The two rebel spokesmen, Holden Roberto and Emmanuel Kounzika of the Angolan National Liberation Front, called for an economic and military boycott of Portugal by the U.S. and Western powers.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN

Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except from July 11 to Sept. 5 when published bi-weekly, 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. 45

345

Monday, December 10, 1962

The Profits of War

The management of the Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, one of the world's leading merchants of death, is getting away with murder — in more ways than one.

It heads the list of prime war contractors into whose corporate maw the government pours billions to produce the most refined weapons of mass destruction — together with a huge and growing mass of profits.

"The justification for private profit," Franklin D. Roosevelt once said, "is private risk." But with Lockheed it is all profit and no risk! The same is true of the whole mammoth complex of war industry which absorbs a major part of the national budget.

To keep the golden stream flowing the merchants of death maintain a powerful lobby in Washington whose influence is made felt at the highest policy levels. Their corporate rosters are weighted down with "retired" military brass. Every cold-war crisis is grist to their mill.

Grown fat and arrogant by feeding at the public trough, Lockheed is now spearheading the anti-labor offensive of the big business tycoons who see in the war hysteria an opportunity of "settling accounts" with the organized labor movement.

For its own survival and the survival of humanity at large the unions should demand the confiscation of all war profits, the expropriation of the war industries and their operation under workers control. So long as the merchants of death remain at the helm, the world will be kept teetering on the brink of nuclear destruction.

...Aboard a Mushroom Cloud

(Continued from Page 1)

unarmed Titan intercontinental ballistic missile at Vandenberg Air Force Base, Calif., last April when an emotionally distraught airman failed to connect a ground-ing wire.

"The discovery of an airman working on an Atlas site at the same base shortly afterward who was so disturbed . . . that he had to be transferred away from the missile base.

"The voluntary withdrawal from missile guard duty of an air police airman who confessed to an uncontrollable compulsion to fire bullets into an air-compressed Atlas . . .

"The near-victim of nuclear suicide is said to have been suffering from paranoia, or delusions of persecution, at the time.

Lines up Officers

"Accordingly, he demanded that all his immediate commanding officers be assembled next to the nuclear weapon so that he could destroy them as well as himself in the explosion. His superiors were in fact assembled but the airman was finally talked out of his plot and taken into custody.

"According to Lt. Col. John Richards . . . the state of nuclear safeguards was such at the time that bullets could have set off the weapon.

"A total-yield explosion would not have resulted, he said, but the blast would have obliterated a good part of the site at which the weapon was stored.

* * *

But don't worry. All such risks are now about to be eliminated. Secretary of Defense McNamara is expected to issue a directive authorizing immediate commanding officers in all services to require psychiatric examinations for any personnel handling nuclear weapons who show any signs of "emotional instability." On the basis of previous performance we can be assured the new procedure won't have any bugs in it. Or can we? When you go to sleep tonight, take along this point from the *Star-Ledger* account:

"In the case of the threatened

nuclear suicide, the man later was found to have had two previous psychotic evaluations, but the doctors who examined him did not know the sensitive nature of his work and therefore made no attempt to have his job changed."

The report doesn't say what kind of jobs psychotics are changed to in the Air Force but it does explain:

"Because the man was doing sensitive work . . . he could not tell the doctors what he was doing and he thus was permitted to handle nuclear weapons right up to his breaking point."

* * *

So now the commanding officers will keep an eye peeled for potential psychotics. But who's going to keep an eye on the officers? Officers like General Edwin Walker for example. They finally forced him out of the army after his "orientation" lectures began to sound like he was going to ask his men to lay an H-bomb on Washington to clean out the "Communists" he seemed to feel had taken over there.

It's true that after he commanded the charge on "Ole Miss" campus a Southern court declared him legally sane. But how many people who saw him on TV would make book on it?

* * *

Or take a man like the late Secretary of Defense James V. Forrestal, a principal architect of U.S. "tough" policies in the cold war. He finally cracked completely and committed suicide. Unlike the GI in the *Star-Ledger* story he didn't try to take any one with him but Washington correspondents did report that at one point during his breakdown he went racing down the street screaming that the Russians were coming.

But, it might be argued, there's the man who runs the whole show, the one with the red telephone. He's a sound young fella'. Of course he did bring the world to the brink of nuclear destruction last month for the sacred honor of the United Fruit Corporation. But he doesn't suffer from any delusions. He only thinks he should have the right to run the world.

An American in Peru

[We reprint the following article which appeared in the Oct. 29 Milwaukee Sentinel for its interesting content and as an example of how a Latin American country appears to an observant young American of good will. The only part open to serious objection is Mr. Nelson's closing remark. Indeed, if he knew the answer, the U.S. State Department is the last place he would be — for the simple reason that it would regard him with suspicion and hostility. He would, in our opinion, be in the socialist movement.—Ed.]

Carnot Nelson, American, said he was "embarrassed" by fellow Americans in Lima, Peru.

Nelson, 21, of 4525 N. Marlbrough Dr., Shorewood, a senior at the University of Wisconsin, was one of 19 college students from 11 states selected to spend the summer in South America as members of YMCA "work camps" in Lima.

The students were divided into four work teams. Nelson and five other students comprised one team, which worked throughout July alongside Peruvian youths to build a six-room elementary school in a slum area adjoining Lima's Pueblo Libre YMCA branch.

On July 4, Nelson said, he attended an Independence Day fete sponsored by the American Society of Lima at a private club. He said he found these expatriated Americans "snobbish" and "felt embarrassed" when a member of the United States embassy "made fun of Peruvian elections" in a talk.

Nelson said Americans in Lima

apparently had "little social contact" with Peruvians, preferring to send their children "to their own schools and attending their own church." He said he was told by the Americans "not to expect to be invited into Peruvian homes."

The prophesy proved wrong, Nelson learned. He said that the work teams "received invitations to 86 parties in 23 days . . . We could not possibly accept all these invitations."

Nelson found Peruvian students eager to talk, but "hard to sell" on democracy as it is understood in America.

"In Peru and other South American countries, you have a few people who own the land and the industry. At the other extreme is great poverty. There is not a strong middle class," said Nelson.

Youth Want Change

"The young people are anxious for change — social, economic, political — and many of them think that communism is the answer," he added.

"It doesn't mean they like Russia. They dislike it. They're talking theoretical communism, as it was heard here in the 1930's.

"To them, communism is something new, dynamic, guaranteeing a change. That's why they approved of Castro. He signified change. Who else could they turn to?"

Nelson said his team worked from July 4 to July 27 on the

school to replace a one-room building for 300 children in the San José "barriada" — barriada is Spanish for slum. He said the children had little to wear and eat. The families had moved in from the mountains because they heard "the streets of Lima were gold."

The American students helped to put on a roof, hang the doors, put up windows and make furniture for the classrooms.

Nelson said Communist students were surprised to see the young Americans willing to get their hands dirty, in contrast to other Americans living comfortably in Lima. They joined in to help with the work.

During August, the American group toured YMCAs and talked with students in Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Venezuela and Puerto Rico.

Nelson recalled one five-hour session in Caracas where young Communists and Social Democrats "shouted constantly at each other." In these and other discussions, students were critical of the United States, had many "misconceptions about us and regarded the Alliance for Progress as another piece of United States propaganda — at least until they see some results."

How can United States-South American relations be improved?

"If I knew the answer, I would be in the State Department," said Nelson.

Total Jumps 10% in Week For Socialist Education Fund

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Drive Director

This week the fund scoreboard jumped ten per cent, the largest single increase in any week since the Socialist Education Fund was launched. With this kind of response it is certain that we will arrive at the 15th of December with the full \$15,000!

San Diego joined Chicago in the 100 per cent category. Congratulations! B.K. writes: "Here is the \$17 which completes our quota of \$250. We only hope this keeps us right under The General. More money to come."

The group of youths in Bloomington came through with the \$20 they had pledged. It, together with a \$25 contribution from another close friend and a wonderful response to a letter which was sent to a limited number of *Militant* readers, swelled The General's total to \$446, or 149%.

We wish to express special thanks to J.S., Milwaukee, and J.V.H., Tomahawk, Wisconsin; H. W., Prospect, Ky.; the S. family of Red Bank, N.J.; A. & M.G. of Sarasota, Fla.; A.W.D., Columbus, and M.M. of Yellow Springs,

Ohio; W.L.F., of North Carolina; and N.M.H. of New Haven, Conn.

R.P.M. of Frankfurt, Ind., writes "I look forward to receiving the *Militant* each week and I think you do a fine job of printing the truth." N.P. of Puerto Rico says, "I am enclosing a student's contribution of \$1 to your Socialist Education Fund. I know I am also helping with it the Struggle for the Independence of Puerto Rico. Good luck!"

One of the most heartening letters of all contained no money but this message: "Being a high school student, I am in no position to make a useful donation. However, I encourage you to keep up the good work of printing the truth."

All these contributions came in as a result of that one letter mailed last week. Significantly, several of the donations came from new subscribers! The letter itself has brought in a total of \$101 to date.

You can send your Truth Dollars to 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. It will be an investment you will always be glad you made.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Per Cent
The General	\$ 300	\$ 446	149
San Diego	250	250	100
Chicago	700	700	100
Detroit	625	595	95
St. Louis	75	67	90
San Francisco	560	488	87
Connecticut	150	130	87
Twin Cities	850	700	82
Milwaukee	225	159	70
Oakland-Berkeley	525	370	70
Seattle	475	324	68
New York	4,300	2,712	63
Philadelphia	225	133	60
Newark	125	74	59
Cleveland	500	258	55
Los Angeles	4,300	2,200	51
Boston	600	302	50
Allentown	115	55	48
Denver	100	27	27
Totals through December 3, 1962	\$15,000	\$9,990	67

Twist Detroit Workers' Arms for Charity

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — This year's united fund campaign was the most highly successful in the 14-year history of the United Foundation's Torch Drive. The goal was \$18,900,000 — but more than \$20 million was collected by the end of the three-week campaign. No other community can match that success. Chicago came close last year when it raised \$15 million, but other cities usually fall far short of their more modest goals. Baltimore reached only 78 per cent of its \$5,706,927 goal and Cleveland came through with 99.7 per cent of its goal of \$13 million.

So Detroit is crowing. Detroit pioneered the idea of united fund-raising campaigns back in 1949 when community leaders got together to figure out a way to eliminate the wasteful duplication in the hundreds of charity drives held each year. Today, over 1,400 communities in the nation have similar united appeals but Detroit still leads all the rest. What is the secret of this success? The usual answers are:

1) All the community leaders are behind the campaign. The board of the United Foundation is composed of leaders from labor and industry. Walter Reuther is one of the original organizers. The present executive vice president is Walter Laidlaw, a former banker. He gleefully pointed out during the campaign, "Where else can we get our industry and union people to set out without an argument in a joint objective? It adds up to tremendous enthusiasm."

Joint Enthusiasm

An example of this joint enthusiasm was given when Chrysler Corporation Vice President John D. Leary announced his company's donation and lauded Douglas Fraser, director of the United Auto Workers' national Chrysler department, for his efforts on behalf of the fund drive throughout Chrysler union locals.

2) Detroiters have hearts as big as Grand Canyon — and so do Detroit corporations. Take Chrysler as an example. Total contributions from Chrysler over the past 14 years amount to more than \$18 million. This year a little over 93 per cent of the company's 57,000 Detroit-area employees raised \$1,342,501 and the company's Chrysler Fund donated \$415,000. Over 6,000 employees, ranging from big executives to

shop stewards, worked as volunteer solicitors. The average contribution was \$25.26 per employee — an increase of \$2.54 over last year's figure.

3) Detroit know-how can organize a fund drive as successfully as it built its world famous auto industry. As a matter of fact the two projects have similar needs: Workers — more than 135,000 volunteers, from housewives to industrialists, were active in the campaign; Publicity — lots of free articles in the newspapers every day, lots of free speeches by important figures; Cheap operating costs — campaign costs run less than five per cent; Efficiency — contributions are deducted from the workers' paychecks just like social security and income taxes.

There's one more answer to Detroit's great successes but it doesn't make the newspapers: Coercion! Force! Fear!

Sure, 93 per cent of the Chrysler employees contributed. A friend who works in a Chrysler plant told me of three workers who were called into the offices of the plant manager and plant engineer when they refused to give. Community participation? Sure! A friend who works in a big office tells me how each person there is asked in front of the others,

how each employee is told what the company wants her to give based on her salary, how she was publicly called into the boss' office and put on the carpet for not meeting the minimum requirements for donations.

The usual speech by the boss under these circumstances runs something like this: "We'd have 100 per cent if only you'd do your part. What's the matter with you? Anti-social? Cheapskate? Think of all the sick little kiddies you're depriving of medical help, you louse!"

Public Speeches

The public speeches are more like that delivered by Chrysler's vice-president when he announced his company's gifts "This is not a gift at all. It is an investment in Detroit's future — an investment that fights disease, alleviates suffering and enables more and more citizens to lead happy productive lives — an investment that helps make Detroit the kind of city we can be proud of."

Compare all that sweetness and light with the following short article which appeared in the Oct. 20 issue of *Ford Facts*, newspaper of Ford Local 600.

"ON U.F. STELLATO SAID — YOU DECIDE WHAT IS A FAIR SHARE IF THEY DON'T LIKE IT THEY CAN GO TO HELL!"

"It was brought to our attention on Tuesday, Oct. 16, 1962, that certain company officials were using Harry Bennett [old head of the Ford Service or strongarm squad] tactics in attempting to solicit funds for the United Foundation Torch Drive.

"We made our position clear that, although we support the Torch Drive, our first and foremost concern is the individual rights of our members to decide what is a fair share. We will not allow company officials to pressure our members into making contributions they cannot afford.

"On Wednesday, Oct. 17, we distributed a bulletin reiterating our position in this matter. We will not condone pressure and we will not tolerate retaliation.

"Give from your heart. Give what you think is a Fair Share!

"We warn the company that a continuation of these tactics will cause the Labor Movement to withdraw its support of and co-operation with company payroll deductions to the United Foundation."

Those other cities like Chicago and Cleveland just don't know how to raise money successfully. The poor suckers there probably depended on asking people to give. Let Detroit show the way — make them give.

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"Unless clemency is granted, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg will be electrocuted the week of Jan. 12...

"The Rosenbergs were not even accused of aiding an enemy nation. Their alleged espionage took place at the height of the alliance between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

"Furthermore, the prosecution never showed that the information they allegedly transmitted was of vital importance. And to cap it all, the trial had the atmosphere of the arena in ancient Rome with the judge going all-out to demonstrate his patriotism and hatred for the defendants...

"As the execution date approaches, many people, opposed in general to the barbarity of capital punishment, feel the particular savagery of this sentence. Humanitarian instincts, as well as opposition to the witch-burners, call for full support to the movement for clemency for Ethel and Julius Rosenberg." — Dec. 8, 1952.

20 YEARS AGO

"Sweeping dictatorial authority to control the destinies of America's millions of workers was granted to War Manpower Commissioner Paul V. McNutt, in an executive order signed by President Roosevelt on Dec. 5...

"By the provisions of the Presidential decree McNutt has the power to shift workers from job to job, to force workers to migrate from one area to another, and to send workers from the cities into the country to perform agricultural labor.

"The executive order states: 'No employer shall retain in his employ any worker whose services are more urgently needed in any plant, facility, or area designated by the chairman (McNutt)'...

"In addition to the broad powers to shift manpower and to utilize the selective service as a weapon of enforcement, McNutt has been given control over the U.S. Employment Service, which by the executive order is now to become the clearing house for all hiring, rehiring, solicitation and recruitment of workers'...

"These sweeping powers have been conferred by Roosevelt upon a man who gained a reputation as the 'Hoosier Hitler' while he was governor of Indiana. McNutt's administration during his governorship was one of the most notorious anti-labor regimes in history." — Dec. 12, 1942.

Letters From Our Readers

Why Not a Discussion?

Brooklyn, N.Y.
After reading Debbie Weinstein's letter in your Nov. 26 issue I began to think about the idea of a meeting in which a speaker from *The Militant* and one from *The Worker* would discuss the question of "co-existence."

Why should not we in New York have such an affair? Surely, together, about 2,000 people could be attracted and both papers would greatly benefit. Instead of *The Worker* and *The Militant* using their press to argue, why not an open debate?

Surely this question that Debbie Weinstein raises — support of peace candidates, co-existence — all center around a difference in Marxist interpretation of present-day society. And someone is wrong and someone correct. Which?

Cannot this letter be the beginning of such a debate? Would New York readers of *The Militant* support such a debate? Cannot we begin the ball rolling?

Arthur A. Stone

[We agree entirely that discussions of differing views within the radical movement would be healthy and beneficial. And we, too, think there is an audience for such discussion. On Nov. 18, 1961, the Young Socialist Alliance in Chicago sponsored a discussion between William F. Warde, contributor to *The Militant*, and Herbert Aptheker, editor of *Political Affairs*, a monthly magazine reflecting the viewpoint of the Communist Party. More than 400 attended. *The Militant* would certainly cooperate in arranging similar discussions in New York. —EDITOR.]

A Persian Proverb

Cleveland, Ohio
A special news bulletin was flashed over radio and television telling of President J. F. Kennedy and his clan of 26 sitting down to a luxurious feast on Thanksgiving. This dinner took place on the Massachusetts coast just a few miles from where the Pilgrims ate their first Thanksgiving dinner 341 years ago.

I couldn't help but wonder after hearing this newscast if President Kennedy didn't choke on his words

when he bowed his head to say grace.

Did his mind happen to stray to a tiny island by the name of Cuba where he and his unscrupulous advisers have been doing their utmost to starve the Cuban people into surrender? Did President Kennedy think of the Cuban children when he glanced across the full-laden table to his little daughter Caroline?

I wonder if President Kennedy has ever read the old Persian proverb that says: "When a child to whom harm has been done cries in the shadows, the Throne of God is moved from one end of the earth to the other."

President Kennedy may forget his crimes of economic pressure, sabotage and subversion against the heroic Cuban people but the honest people of the world will never forget them.

The vast majority of the people of the world know of the skullduggery that has been cooking for three years against Cuba even if the citizens of the U.S. are kept in complete ignorance of the facts.

Long Live the great Cuban Revolution.

G.C.

Labor Action for Peace

New York, N. Y.

Your news story in the Dec. 3 edition, regarding the labor Action for Peace appeal to the International Longshoremen's Association to call a halt to their current boycott of cargos to Cuba and the USSR and its allies, was well said and much needed; but it contained a few slight errors of fact.

When we passed out our leaflet in front of Manhattan Center where the National Maritime Union was holding its regular monthly meeting Nov. 26, it was not the officials of the union (so far as we know) who attempted to prevent us. The leaflet was confiscated rather roughly by a small, angry group of seamen who may very well have been acting on their own. A pleasant and courteous union organizer then emerged from the building, took us aside, expressed understanding and sympathy, and said that for our own sakes we had better go further down the block if we intended to distribute more leaflets; otherwise,

he said, he was afraid there might be some violent attack on us.

We readily acceded. We had already covered the men going into the meeting very well.

Your story is also slightly incorrect in saying that LAP is sending "protests" concerning this incident to union officials and civil liberties organizations. We have not as yet contemplated writing to civil liberties organizations and will not do so unless we find that we cannot leaflet these groups of workers without taking a stand on our rights. Rather than to call in "observers" or defenders — at this point, at any rate — we will try to be as co-operative and tractable as is consistent with getting our word out, and will avoid the antagonistic or altercative stances.

We are writing to the NMU regarding the incident, but our letter will not be a "protest." It will be an invitation to NMU members and officials to attend our Dec. 16 meeting. It will tell the union of our plan for continued leafleting; make it clear we are not going to force our message on anyone, nor give leaflets to any who do not willingly accept them; and that our approach is one of empathy and fraternal identification. We will ask that the word be passed along, so that we will be expected and treated without discourtesy. Similar letters are being sent to the ILA, to the Seafarers International Union, and to those locals of the Brotherhood of Teamsters whose members we will cover.

Our open meeting on this subject is directly addressed to longshoremen, and to seamen and teamsters as related workers affected by the boycott. It will be Dec. 16 at 8:30 p.m. at Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Ave. and the speakers are: Gus Sedares of the Federation of Union Representatives; Jim Peck of the War Resisters League; and Paul Alexander. The invitation is to all people con-

cerned with this issue and its potential effect on war or peace.

Frances Witlin (Secretary)
Labor Action for Peace

Appreciative Neighbor

Alberta, Canada
I enjoy your paper very much because of its truthful reporting of the news. The analysis of events by the various writers is very good. Increasing *The Militant* to eight pages was a welcome improvement. Keep up the good work.

B.P.

Grafters

Fredericksburg, Va.
Give 'em hell where it hurts the most. Write something about the Congressmen taking world junkets that us taxpayers have to pay for, the grafters.

E.O.

Cuba Coverage

Valley Stream, N.Y.
Congratulations for your complete coverage in the Nov. 26 issue of Fidel Castro's letter to U Thant. *The Militant* is the only newspaper that I know of that even bothered to publish the complete text of this important letter. How long can the capitalist press keep the American public ignorant of the truth and sincerity of the Cuban revolution?

It's ironic that the *New York Times* which claims to publish "all the news that's fit to print" should completely ignore Dr. Castro's speeches or, when they are compelled to, produce ridiculously abridged and censored contexts which misinform the general public. Keep up the good work!

M.P.

The Facts

Flint, Mich.
I appreciate the facts that your paper prints which you can't get out of the Wall Street-dominated papers.

E.B.

Thought for the Week

"What fashion designer Oleg Cassini wants most for Christmas is a solid gold telephone... 'since I have to live with a telephone I want it good, so at least when I pick it up I know I have real 24-carat value in my hands.'" — Women's Feature Editor Eugenia Sheppard in the Dec. 2 *New York Herald Tribune*.

Lumumba Aide Describes Events in Congo

[The following is a translation of an interview granted by Anicet Kashamura, former minister in Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba's government, to Belgian journalist W. Bosch. The interview appeared in the Aug. 31 issue of *La Gauche*, a left socialist newspaper in Belgium.]

W.B. — Comrade Kashamura, we know you as a sympathizer of *La Gauche* and as a former Minister in the Lumumba government. We remember that your intervention at the meeting of Nguvulu and Georges Housiaux, at Ixelles, at the time that the Congo was about to become independent, caused a great deal of ink to flow.

With Lumumba and Gizenga, you were not only one of the artisans of Independence, but also one of the rare leaders who remained faithful to their people. Now that Lumumba has been assassinated and Gizenga imprisoned, now that there remains in the Congo hardly anything to call us back except the shadow of what we hoped for together, it is a particularly moving experience for us to meet you again in your exile. Before we ask your opinions on the Congolese problem itself, would you give us some biographical information about yourself?

A.K. — I was born in 1928 at Idjwi, in Kivu [east central province of the Congo]. My parents were in comfortable circumstances. My dedication to progressive ideas stems much more from intellect than from emotion. Educated by the priests... Studied journalism in Paris. Contributed to several African newspapers. From 1954, active in the FGTC-Kivu [Congolese Trade Union Federation]. Diploma in political economy and law. Creator of the nationalist party, with socialist tendencies, CERE (Centre de Regroupement Africain), in Kivu. Arrested by the colonial authorities, then released. My first meeting with Lumumba took place in 1959, but, like most of the future leaders of the Congo, I had already known him for a long time via correspondence. Round Table [conference] at Brussels. Alderman, then deputy of Bukavu.

In the General Executive Council, I was in charge of Information, Social Affairs (see my past as a militant unionist), and of National Defense. At this time, I was considered, with reason, as a moderate element between Lumumba and Kasavubu. Since the differences between these two leaders became stronger and stronger, I definitely chose the side of Patrice Lumumba. At this, Kasavubu recalled me and Mobutu twice arrested me. I left Leopoldville unexpectedly two days before Lumumba. We thought at first that we would flee together, but finally Lumumba decided that, if we left separately, the chances that at least one of us would make it were better. Fate willed that it was I.

It took me a month to get to Stanleyville, during which the press in Leopoldville (and, to some extent, everywhere) thought I was dead. Gizenga instructed me to reorganize the administration of the provincial government of Kivu, an important member of which had been arrested. Announcement of the horrible death of Patrice Lumumba. In Kivu, the military was master of the situation. I returned to Stanleyville, where Gizenga put me in charge of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Planning. Reconciliation between Leopoldville and Stanleyville. The entire nationalist bloc voted for setting up the Adoula government. Personally, I was resolutely opposed to it. We'll come back to that soon.

From November 1961 on, I was more and more opposed to the clearly reactionary character of the government at Leopoldville.

Threatened with the same fate as Gizenga, if not that of Lumumba, I left the Congo last March. And here I am.

W.B. — How would you characterize the present government at Leopoldville?

A.K. — The African government most subject to the power of world capitalism. In no other African country is the number of "counselors" so great and their "counsel" so binding. Do you know that the son of M. Ganshof van der Meersch [Belgian Minister for African Affairs], naturalized American and executive of the large American banking firm of Dillon, works in Adoula's very office? No effort is made to hide such facts, to preserve at least the outward trappings of Independence. Among the politicians and the military people, some obey only the Americans, some obey only the Belgians, and others combine several foreign interests. The head of State, my former friend Kasavubu, can't say anything without being accountable to these financial interests.

W.B. — How did so many Congolese nationalists, even of the left, even of the extreme left, come to that?

A.K. — Lack of political organization, as much on the part of the leaders as on the part of the people. That is the sequel to colonialization. Almost all the leaders started out with the best intentions. They had principles: nationalist, progressive, socialist, Marxist, etc. They believed in them. They had faith, hope. But not one had really assimilated a doctrine. Not one was capable of adapting theory to African conditions, of translating theory to practice. There were sincere anti-capitalists, but purely on an emotional level. Confronted with concrete problems, almost all of them foundered and sank into opportunism, then into treason, objective or subjective. What is more, the great mass of the Congolese people, without political maturity — they too, it must be said — were not there as a controlling element, an element of orientation, a stimulating force. Instead of trying to overthrow the basis of the colonialist system, that is, capitalism, the leaders only modified the methods of exploitation, meanwhile creating a system favorable to their own particular personal situation, against the interests of the people.

W.B. — Did you have any serious differences of opinion with Lumumba? And — a supplementary question — just how much self-criticism do you think has to be made by the Lumumbists?

A.K. — In connection with practical planning, I did have some differences with Lumumba, only before Independence. My party, the CERE, had been hurt by his, the MNC [Mouvement National Congolais], at the time of the elections. If there had not been certain pressures, even some cheating, the CERE would have had more than one deputy in the Maniema. This isn't a terribly serious thing, as you can see. As for the big problems, yes, surely, the Lumumbists — since it is convenient to call them that — have a good many errors to reproach themselves with.

There was first of all the error of having accepted Kasavubu as chief of State. That was a bad compromise that we accepted, following the advice of certain friendly African leaders, in whose countries a reconciliation with their leading opponents on the eve of Independence had given good results. These friends said to us: "It is better to have Kasavubu as chief of State than Kasavubu in the opposition." This was sorry advice for the Congo. But our friends could not foresee this. We should have, there too, re-examined the problems ourselves,



The Late Patrice Lumumba

in the specific framework of Congolese conditions. We should have formed a homogeneous, nationalist government, consisting of the MNC, PSA [Parti Solidaire Africain], Balubakat [an amalgam of three tribally-based parties] and CERE. It was possible. These parties had the majority in Parliament. In this affair, as in so many others, the friends who were advising us acted in complete good faith. Sometimes, however, their advice was contradictory, reflecting rivalries or differences of opinion.

Another error, due to the same causes. Certain circles of ambassadors, accredited to Stanleyville, advised a reconciliation between Leopoldville and Stanleyville, without a definite program, permitting the institutions to exercise their prerogatives freely, without calling for explanations from Kasavubu concerning the assassination of Patrice Lumumba. Then, it should have been foreseen that the military plot of Sept. 5 would have continued to weigh on the decisions of Parliament and on the government. Without this pressure from the army, neither the arrest of Gizenga nor the reluctant approval of federalism would have taken place.

Another error: When the Force Publique mutinied, on the eve of Independence, at various places at the same time, we saw the game of General Janssens and his Congolese accomplices perfectly. In order to find a pretext for intervention and reconquest (at least partially, and especially in Katanga), they advanced the slogan of the immediate Africanization of the army cadres. Certainly, this corresponded to the wishes of our soldiers, but the slogan was premature and disruptive. We understood, I say, this diabolical plan, but committed the error of wanting to "channelize the movement" instead of smashing it outright. Firmness here would have raised difficulties infinitely less serious than those which did arise — namely the secession of Katanga, the cancer which has rotted the rest of the Congo.

These are, in my opinion, some of the most deplorable errors committed by the Lumumbist forces. There are others. The framework of this interview is too restricted for me to enumerate all of them. Assuredly, we precipitated a certain number of problems there whose solutions we should have been able to postpone to a more opportune time, a time when we would have been stronger.

W.B. — To what degree did Kasavubu violate the Constitution?

A.K. — He is recognized as one of those guilty of the assassination of his Prime Minister, Lumumba. The UN is explicit on this subject:

See, for example, the 942nd session of the Security Council (2/20/61). The Conference of Tananarive was also unconstitutional. Normally, Kasavubu would have been brought to trial. Legally speaking, the government of Lumumba still exists! Unconstitutional also was the cancelling of Gizenga's parliamentary immunity and his arrest, because these actions rested on obviously false evidence. To cite only a few examples: First, that Gizenga received money from Guinea, when everybody knows that not a cent could leave Guinea (the case of Mali is the same); second, that Gizenga received guns "from Eastern countries," in which case it would be necessary to state precisely from which countries in order for the accusation to have legal validity.

W.B. — Do you think that Gizenga can be accused of being a Communist?

A.K. — Neither he nor I can be accused of being Communist. For example, they reproach Gizenga for having made several trips to Eastern Europe. But I assure you if Gizenga was in Eastern Europe — and what kind of crime is that? — it was because Kasavubu sent him there. That we believe in the socialization of the means of production, in economic planning, in popular rule, that's another matter: it is because we believe that that corresponds best to the interests of the Congolese people. One more point, and that is all. As for me, I declare once and for all that I refuse to be a pawn in the international chess game, of no matter what power. I am a Congolese nationalist, looking for the best practical solutions, without any dogmatism. Moreover, in Kivu, there are people who haven't neglected to intrigue against me with Bisukiro who, at present, is clearly playing the colonialist game!...

W.B. — What do you think of the future of the Katangese secession?

A.K. — Despite appearances, there is at bottom an understanding between Tshombe and Kasavubu. The two have this, among other things, in common to defend — a certain number of the very same foreign capitalist interests. Besides, from the point of view of an "alliance of necessity," Kasavubu understands perfectly that if Tshombe falls, he falls too. He fears Lumumbism more than the secession of Katanga!

I do not deny that certain men in power in Leopoldville seriously desire the end of the Katangese secession. They are the ones who represent other foreign capitalist interests. But the first group I was speaking of — that of Kasavubu, among others — holds them back. The international aspect of the affair presents itself in somewhat the same fashion: I am convinced that President Kennedy would like to resolve the secession, but that other forces in the U.S., as well as his Western allies, prevent this. Others claim that Kennedy himself has become more conciliatory in regard to Tshombe under the pressure of economic and strategic fluctuations (cobalt, uranium...). We are not well enough informed on this subject to make any judgments. Whatever the case may be, I insist: if some day the Katangese secession is resolved, it will not be thanks to the present gang in Leopoldville.

W.B. — What do you think of the problem of tribalism in the Congo?

A.K. — We have all underestimated the power of tribalism. It is explainable of course, by the lack of maturity of the masses, by the diversity of languages, by the huge distances, by the lack of interior communications. All these factors militate against the progress of the idea of national unity. In my opinion, however, we must make no concession to tribalism

which, furthermore, is on the wane. Let us not forget that a few years ago when Kasavubu passed by, it was a god who was passing by. Now, people simply say, "Look, there's Kasavubu," if not something worse! Tomorrow, have no doubt, all the sacrosanct tribal chieftains will fall from their pedestals. In proportion as the situation worsens in all regards, the spirit of Lumumba — which has never died — will again come to the fore. That will be the day of a united Congo, a truly decolonized Congo. Then it will no longer be possible to proclaim Lumumba a national hero while trampling underfoot his corpse and his program.

W.B. — In your opinion, what would have to happen in the near future for the Congolese opposition to take a concrete form?

A.K. — An expanded trade-union struggle would be a good start in getting out of this blind alley. With that, a new party, on the wreckage of all that has gone before. A great mass party based on the program of complete decolonization and of socialization. Because in the Congo what belongs to foreign capitalist powers should not be taken back by individual Congolese but should be expropriated by the entire Congolese people. Nuclei of this great mass party should be organized everywhere, from Leopoldville with its proletarian forces to Kivu with its peasant forces. With the harsh repressive measures that such a party can expect, it will take various forms, according to the circumstances.

W.B. — Comrade Kashamura, what are your present activities that you can tell us a little about?

A.K. — I am working on a book dealing with the Congo that will appear in France and which, I hope, will have some impact...

W.B. — What aspects of the situation will you pinpoint?

A.K. — It will cover some of every aspect: former history, recent history, causes of the Congolese crisis, tribalism, leaders of Independence, education before and after Independence, the Katangese affair, the assassination of Lumumba (this chapter will contain some surprising revelations), the army, the church, world capitalism in the Congo, social problems, etc.

W.B. — Do you have any criticism regarding the Belgian socialist left?

A.K. — Yes, for some time you have neglected the Congo a little, while doing very well by Algeria, Angola, etc. All the same, why should a Swiss newspaper, the *Journal de Genève*, speak more about the Congo, especially since so many plots are hatched right in Brussels? I have heard that in a great many African countries the impression is that not one Belgian supports Lumumbism. Of course, I have always defended you. But please try to do better.

W.B. — Certainly. That's a promise. Especially since we have common enemies: international capitalism, and Belgian capitalism in particular.

A.K. — Yes, and fascism which is taking root again everywhere in the "free world," including the countries of the Third Camp. Not enough attention is paid to them: in the newly-independent countries, too often it is the forces of the extreme right that take power, under various forms — counselors, technicians, professors... Their native puppets in office undertake the complete annihilation of all the left forces, as long as the latter remain incorruptible. To this end, they do not recoil at all from physical liquidation. The Congo is the best example. The inquisition, McCarthyism, reigns there. The country is on the brink of fascism.

American Way of Life

"That's Your Funeral"

You sometimes meet people who do not take pride in certain achievements of the American Way of Life. To put them in their place, a loyal citizen says, "If you don't like it here, why don't you go back to Russia?"

A long time ago, before it became so necessary to stress the anti-Communist values of our paradise, a simple personal reference was thought sufficient: "If you don't like it, that's your funeral."

This less pro-American attitude of the old days still survives, of course, here and there. The absence of anti-Communist connotation is apparent, for instance, in the modern salutation, "Will you drop dead?"

Located in the superstructure of American society, at the remote level of manners, do such forms of address have an economic underpinning? That the answer is probably "yes" may be gathered from some illuminating facts, compiled surprisingly enough, by *The Economist* (Sept. 15), a solid British magazine devoted to reporting how profits are doing throughout the world. The title of the research job is "The High Cost of Dying."

Pays to Stay Alive

Their Special Correspondent, writing an eyewitness account of explorations on the scene, reports that each year 1,600,000 Americans die and that it costs about \$1,500,000,000 to bury them. This makes the average cost of a funeral \$940.

He holds that this is an "excessive" amount. "For the price of an average funeral in the United States it is possible to buy a television set, a washing machine, a clothes dryer, a dishwasher and a refrigerator."

When *The Economist* prints an unrealistic comparison like that, it tends, of course, to play into the hands of Communist propagandists. The fact is that Americans are not free to choose. Even if they need a new television set, refrigerator, etc., they cannot go into debt for them instead of a funeral. The reason is that they would still have to dispose of the body.

"Contrary to the teachings of economic theory," the Special Correspondent observes, "the number of funeral directors (the title 'undertaker' is abjured passionately) has increased as steadily as have the prices charged. The latest official total for the country is 20,767." The explanation, we are told, "is that the market is inelastic and fixed while the social customs attaching to death prevent price competition."

Having noted this dialectical interrelationship between economics and sociology in America's booming funeral business, our British anthropologist tells about the social customs that prevent price competition. To him, approaching America from an alien background, these customs appear weird.

As Seen in Life

"One reason why costs have risen so rapidly is the widespread habit of embalming, a process not commonly used outside of the United States and Canada . . ." Here the author betrays a gap in knowledge and perhaps lack of historical outlook. Preservation of the corpse has been practised elsewhere. In Egypt, for instance, the process was brought to high perfection thousands of years ago.

"Embalming," he continues, "has led to other American funeral practices, such as cosmetology, a process designed to give the corpse a life-like appearance by means of various make-up techniques." We must enter another

quibble. Where are moral values infringed in fixing up the dead so that they are presentable and sometimes even more attractive than in life? Such triumphs of the mortician's art deserve more appreciation from *The Economist*. In the United States, some of the most substantial figures of the Republican and Democratic parties have paid their tribute to cosmetology when running for office by using it to come across on TV with more of that life-like look so much in demand among American voters.

Lie in Luxury

"From cosmetology," we learn, "came the custom of 'viewing the remains' and this in turn required an expensive plush casket so that everyone could pay their respects with due admiration. After that a concrete vault became standard housing for the fine coffin. All of this was a 'shot in the arm' for the industry and it looks down contemptuously on the simple, inexpensive funerals common in many other countries."

While it is the social custom in the United States to shoot the works at least once in a person's life — when he dies — our Special Correspondent reports observing a contrary attitude.

For instance, at the time of the 1947 Centralia, Ill., coal-mine disaster when 111 miners were killed, "some funeral directors charged the grief-stricken widows as much as \$1,178.50 for burial services." Popular indignation over this incident rose high.

As a result the United States Senate conducted an investigation. The august tribunes of the people "were amazed to learn from the head of the largest undertaking concern in the Washington area that he could embalm an elephant for \$1.50." The senators took no action, naturally, since there is nothing un-American about spending only \$1.50 to embalm an elephant.

Collective Action Does It

Certain church groups, trade unions and consumer co-operatives appear to be sufficiently dissatisfied with the social customs attaching to death in America to want to do something about it. They have sought to obtain reasonably priced funerals on an organized basis.

"In California the East Bay Area Funeral Society reduced burial costs 70 per cent by bargaining collectively with three local morticians. The oldest such organization is the People's Memorial Association in Seattle, organized in 1939; it now has a membership of more than 7,000 families in Seattle and 78 nearby communities." Other cities have similar societies. When a member joins he chooses a funeral out of the many types available and pays for it on the installment plan. In Chicago, members have been able to reduce funeral costs to about one quarter of the average.

As for cremation, this is opposed by the funeral industry. There are in fact only some 200 crematoria in the entire United States and "it usually costs as much as 80 cents a mile to take a body to one."

"But," this informative British field study concludes, "the co-operative associations usually recommend it and they are growing in size and importance as the American citizen seeks a less expensive way of taking his leave of this earth — even though one mortician is reported to have condemned such societies as 'alien to the American way of life.'"

—Paul Abbott

Lighthouses are more helpful than churches.
—Benjamin Franklin.

... Report on the SNCC Conference

(Continued from Page 1)
dent from Mississippi, was severely beaten.

The police did little or nothing to stay the white assailant, allowing him to beat Talbert even inside the police car. Both the assailant and his non-resistant victim were arrested for disorderly conduct and later released on \$25 bail each.

Talbert's bond was posted by the demonstrators, who marched to the jail where they sang Freedom Songs till his release. Thereupon they took him to the hospital for examination. Talbert reported that he had also been beaten while in the jail.

Workshops had been held in the morning before the demonstrations and the evening session was devoted to reports and discussions about them.

Bob Zellner, an executive committee member, had led the Civil Liberties Workshop and gave the report on it. It took a position against red-baiting, pointing to SANE (Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy) as an example of what happened to an organization which permitted such practices. The line set down by SNCC stated, in effect, that no matter what a person's political affiliations might be, if he or she was sincerely devoted to the civil-rights movement, that person's participation would be welcomed.

The workshop on Communications had concerned itself with SNCC's paper, *Student Voice*, as well as with ways and means of obtaining a wider arena for the distribution of news of SNCC's activities. It also gave complete instructions on how to put out press releases.

In addition to the workshop on Non-Violence, there was considerable informal discussion of this subject among the delegates in their free time. Differences in viewpoint seem to center about non-violence as an effective technique or tactic and non-violence as a philosophical principle. Perhaps the prevailing opinion was expressed by Chairman McDew in his closing speech when he said that the principal point was that SNCC's experience showed that non-violence worked.

It was reported that the Economics Workshop had considered such questions as: How can SNCC



ONE OF THE HISTORIC MOMENTS in the student sit-in movement. Pictured are some of the 500 visitors on Lincoln's Birthday, 1961, who went to see eleven students jailed at York County Prison Camp near Rock Hill, South Carolina.

intervene economically in the Southern Negro community?; How can direct action alter unemployment?; What are the possibilities of co-ops in the South?

A dozen recommendations were made: 1) political action 2) boycotts 3) selective buying 4) land acquisition 5) credit unions and conservation of money 6) picketing of discriminatory firms and unions 7) working within existing unions on apprenticeships 8) organizing Negro workers 9) filing complaints through federal agencies 10) organizing co-operatives 11) a domestic Peace Corps and 12) negotiations. It was suggested that one or more of these be used, depending upon the prevailing situation in a community.

The workshop which had drawn the largest attendance was that on Political Action. There was considerable discussion about how a third party or a real second party could be created in the South.

Immediately after the reports and discussions on the workshops came the conference's closing speech by SNCC Chairman Charles McDew. He declared that the most important problem in the U.S. was that of racial injustice.

Commenting on the debate cur-

rently stimulated by the rise of nationalism among American Negroes, McDew said: "The goal for us is not integration or separation but freedom, equality and social justice."

Referring again to his recent visit to New York, he told of visiting the Statue of Liberty and quoted its famous inscription:

*Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning
to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your
teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tem-
pest-tossed, to me;
I lift my lamp beside the golden
door.*

He then looked up dramatically and said, "Well, baby, here we are!"

McDew cited the daily atrocities committed against Negroes in this country which "aren't considered lynchings" and, referring to the title of a recent book, *100 Years of Lynchings*, posed the question: "How many lynchings could we list?"

"That's why," he recounted, "I felt like telling Mr. Bunche, 'We charge genocide.'"

It Was Reported in the Press

Earthly — British Field Marshal Montgomery says he objects to people who are always singing, "Oh paradise, oh paradise, how I long for thee." He said, "We don't long for thee. We want to stay here as long as we can." He suggested a new version of the hymn: "Oh paradise, oh paradise, I have a little shop. And just as long as profits last, here I mean to stop."

What We're Fighting For — Mrs. Ngo Dinh Nhu, sister-in-law of South Vietnamese dictator Diem and author of a recently adopted law banning social dancing, charged that Americans in South Vietnam were not only dancing illegally but had even invited South Vietnamese secret police to a reception and danced in front of them. A high U.S. Embassy official promised an immediate investigation. Meanwhile Mrs. Nhu also said that U.S. newsmen were not Communists but were worse than Communists. She said they are "intoxicated by Communists. They believe whatever the Communists say."

For the Record — An outraged letter-writer in the December 1 *New York Herald Tribune* expressed shock at the "base canard" of a previous letter writer who said the Puritans had burned so-called witches at the stake. This simply isn't so, he replied. They were hanged.

A Few Defects — Luis Betancourt, a Cuban businessman in exile, told the Dallas Council on

World Affairs that they almost had it made before Castro came in. "Batista wanted to be a democrat," he said, "but he was only a weak dictator and a big thief."

Once There Was a Santa Claus — Wally Bates, 82, was employed as a Santa Claus at a co-operative store in Nottingham, England. Throughout the day he listened to the whispered wishes of children. "I couldn't bear to see them go away disappointed," he said. "There were a lot of toys on the shelves nearby that no one seemed to be buying. So I started to hand them to some of the children as an extra present." Mr. Bates is no longer employed as Santa Claus.

Note to Harry Truman — The New York Appellate Court decided Nov. 29 that the Korean conflict was a war, not merely a "police action" as officially claimed. The ruling was made in behalf of an insurance company that refused to pay double indemnity to a woman whose son was killed in an accident in Korea. The fine print in the policy said the double indemnity for accidental death did not apply in time of war.

Tough Assignment — The Baltimore City Council is considering hiring a press agent at \$10,000 a year to improve the image of the police department.

Primitive Accumulation — Third grade pupils at Brooklyn Avenue school in Valley Stream, Long Island, will no longer have

those pointy old gold stars foisted on them as a reward for academic excellence. Instead, for each A on their report card they will receive 20 trading stamps. Meanwhile Princeton University officially disavowed a statement that had been posted on a bulletin board announcing that trading stamps would be issued on tuition fees.

Plain Talk Dep't — A Dec. 1 *New York Times* editorial announced: "Put in its simplest form, our policy toward the Castro regime for a long time has been to destroy it."

Off-Limits for the Lord — Evangelist Billy Graham told a Nov. 14 Dallas press conference that he favored prayers at football games "as an acknowledgement of God in our public life." But, he added, he is opposed to such prayers at race tracks and burlesque shows.

Mass Orientation — At a post-election press conference, Los Angeles County Republican Chairman Julius Leetham said the Republican Party "must broaden its base" to include "middle-class people."

White House Shake-Up — Mrs. Kennedy has promoted the White House housekeeper to a newly created post of "furniture researcher." An acting housekeeper was appointed who was formerly secretary to Mrs. Kennedy's social secretary.

Wm. Worthy Tells 3 Los Angeles Rallies Passport Case Rigged Up to Silence Him

LOS ANGELES — William Worthy, foreign correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American who is appealing his conviction for returning to the U.S. from Cuba "without a valid passport," began a speaking tour of the West Coast here Nov. 30. On that day some 300 students heard Worthy discuss the issues of his case at a meeting sponsored by an honorary journalism society at the University of California.

Worthy was convicted on the passport charge and sentenced on Sept. 17 to three months in federal prison and nine months on probation by a Miami court. His passport had been revoked in 1956 when he visited China as a journalist in defiance of the State Department travel ban. He is presently free on a \$1,000 appeal bond.

At a city-wide press conference at UCLA, Worthy said, "You can't prove in court that color is an issue in my passport case, but it is true that white newsmen made similar moves without being prosecuted." Worthy pointed out that charges against him were filed



William Worthy

more than six months after his return from Cuba and after he had reported about Cuba's elimination of racial discrimination. Everything indicated, he said, that he was singled out for prosecution because he "reported the many positive achievements of the Cuban Revolution, including the

rapid elimination of all racial barriers."

On Dec. 2 Worthy addressed a meeting sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. His subject was "Forbidden Cuba." Worthy praised the work of FPCC as well as that of the Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee, which, he said, opposes not only the external colonialism in Africa and that in Cuba before the revolution, "but the internal colonialism which we call the race question."

A Criticism

Worthy was critical of the peace groups in this country which, during the Cuban crisis, buckled under pressure to place equal blame on both the U.S. and Cuba. On the other hand, he quoted with admiration the position taken by David Dellinger of *Liberation* magazine, who said that equating U.S. arms with those of Cuba would be like equating the guns of a Southern lynch mob to those of a Negro farmer defending himself.

Earlier on the same day, Worthy spoke at a rally under the auspices of the Committee for the Freedom of William Worthy. The meeting, held at the Golden State Auditorium in the Negro community, had as its theme, "The Truth Shall Not Be Jailed." The rally was chaired by noted civil-rights attorney Loren Miller, who mentioned that he had first met Worthy in 1948 when they worked together against discrimination in the armed forces. A Los Angeles Civil Liberties Union official who addressed the rally said he was "surprised at Worthy's prosecution on the flimsy passport case and flabbergasted at the sentence." The meeting also heard remarks by Earl Walters, a local leader of the Congress of Racial Equality.

The Committee for the Freedom of William Worthy, suite 301, 217 W. 125 St., N. Y., N. Y., needs funds to help fight the case. Co-chairmen of the committee are A. Philip Randolph and Bishop D. Ward Nichols.

An Eye-Witness Report on Cuba During the Crisis

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 3 — A recent visitor to Cuba relates that during the period of President Kennedy's blockade and threatened invasion, the people of that island mobilized to defend their Revolution with tremendous determination and surprising calm and efficiency.

This is the report brought back by Helen Travis, secretary of the Medical Aid for Cuba Committee of Los Angeles, who was in Havana during the crisis.

"Just ten minutes before Kennedy's speech," she said, "a general mobilization was called in Cuba because it was already apparent something very bad was cooking."

Lived With Danger

"The Cuban people have lived with danger for almost three years. They are not inured to it. But they have told themselves so often that it is 'Patria o Muerte' — Fatherland or Death, they have lived with the idea so long that if it is necessary to fight to the death for their sovereignty, they are ready to. It is not just a slogan, it is a way of life with them."

Miss Travis, who speaks Spanish, has been to Cuba a number of times, twice in the past year. In the interview which she granted *The Militant*, she observed, "Kennedy's threat of invasion wasn't a shock. They have lived with it. It was intensified and when action was called for they acted with calm and efficiency."

"You wouldn't expect this of Cubans during ordinary times," she added. "Usually the Cubans seem excitable, a bit argumentative, late to appointments. But comes an emergency, and they are transformed — they are so calm, so well organized."

"The mobilization was called and in a very short time every

man was at his post and the women joined in doing guard duty. Everyone knew just what to do. There was not any confusion at all."

"In a factory of, say, 600, perhaps 200 had been mobilized but those remaining volunteered to do extra work. Wives took their husbands' places in the factories. High-school students did the same. And, surprisingly, production didn't suffer."

Each time she visits Cuba, Miss Travis feels that the Cuban revolutionists have matured more. "The enthusiasm is not diminished. The slogans are still on every lip. But they're putting in more work, with less dependence on foreign aid."

They are going more thoroughly, she notes, into planning on a democratic basis, seeking the ideas and participation of the worker on just how much can be produced and how production can be improved.

Plans From Above

Cuban revolutionists, she went on, attempted to make plans from above and found that they were not realistic. A new economic plan will be put into effect in January based on what the workers feel they can achieve. "They call this plan 'socialist emulation,' in the sense of the term 'socialist competition' used in other workers' states, and monetary awards will be offered for the best work."

One effect of the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba, she said, is that medicines and medical equipment are in short supply. This is the reason for the existence of her medical aid committee, which has offices at 6324 Primrose Ave., Los Angeles.

The recent investigation of the Medical Aid Committee by the House Un-American Activities Committee was labeled by Miss Travis as an attempt to smear and discredit the medical aid group. She pointed out that in so doing HUAC was acting contrary to Washington's professed policy "which has specifically exempted medicines and food from the embargo on Cuba."



Chicago, that wonderful town, has just increased its subscription quota from 90 to 120. To show that it really means business this office received 17 new subscriptions from the Windy City this week. That's not hot air but a fresh cool wind. Most of these new subs came from colleges around Chicago.

Chicago joins the Twin Cities and Oakland-Berkeley in having met its quota before the deadline. Twin Cities sent in 28 new subscriptions to exceed their quota by seven. While the young people have played an important part in this campaign, Paul, the champion sub-getter in Twin Cities has 20 years of sub campaigns behind him. His secret of success is simple, don't take no for an answer.

The names of the top *Militant* salesmen have been sent in by some of the cities. As we suspected, Detroit naturally has two of the highest scorers. From the start of this drive for 1,200 new subscribers Detroit set the pace for all other cities. It now has 150 new *Militant* readers and we congratulate it for its serious and sustained effort throughout this whole campaign.

Here are the names of those who "cared enough to sell the most" *Militant* subscriptions: Detroit — Art F., 25 subs, Harriet T. 25; Connecticut — Bill, 25; Chicago — Beverly, 22; Twin Cities — Paul, 21; Bloomington, Ind. — Jim, 18.

Scoreboard

Area	Quota	Subs	Pct.
Bloomington	10	39	390
Detroit	100	155	155
Connecticut	30	39	133
Baltimore	10	13	130
Chicago	90	100	111
Boston	25	27	108
New York	150	169	108
Twin Cities	100	107	107
Oakland-Berkeley	75	77	102
San Diego	30	27	90
Milwaukee	25	22	88
St. Louis	10	8	80
Newark	15	10	67
San Francisco	75	37	49
Philadelphia	75	31	41
Akron-Cleveland	75	25	33
Los Angeles	150	37	25
Seattle	75	15	20
Denver	50	2	4
General	30	58	193
Total through Dec. 4th	1,200	993	83%

The First 10 Years Of American Communism

Report of a Participant

By James P. Cannon

The author is a founder of American Trotskyism and the only top leader of the early years of the U.S. Communist Party who has not repudiated communism.

The book contains:

Sketches of Foster, Ruthenberg, Browder, Lovestone and others, as well as of leading figures in the Communist International.

Essays on the Industrial Workers of the World, Eugene V. Debs and the socialist movement of his time, and the effect of the Russian Revolution on the U. S. Negro struggle.

344 pp. — \$6.00

Order through:

Pioneer Publishers

116 University Place, N. Y. 3, N. Y.

Xmas Book Bargains

THE WEST INDIES AND THEIR FUTURE by Daniel Guerin, noted French Marxist scholar. Cloth, \$3.00.
THE REVOLT OF THE MIND by Tamas Azcel and Tibor Meray. Gripping account of the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and the events that brought it about. Cloth, regularly \$5.00, special price \$1.49.

THE INTERNATIONAL by Alfred Maund. Noteworthy novel about contemporary union officialdom. Cloth, \$5.95.

THE COOL WORLD by Warren Miller. Remarkable novel about a juvenile gang in Harlem by the author of *90 Miles From Home*. Cloth, special price \$1.25.

THADDEUS STEVENS by Ralph Korngold. Magnificent biography of the great figure of Radical Reconstruction. Only a limited quantity on hand, so order now. Cloth, regularly \$6.00, special price \$4.00.

HISTORY OF THE HAYMARKET AFFAIR by Henry David. Another classic, long out of print, now available. The celebrated frame-up and the origin of May Day. Cloth, regularly \$6.75, special price \$5.50.

ISLAND IN THE CITY by Dan Wakefield. The Puerto Rican community in New York. Paperback, \$1.75.

SAM ADAMS — Pioneer in Propaganda — by John C. Miller. Only a limited quantity on hand, so order now. Cloth, regularly \$7.50, special price \$6.00.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION by A. Mathiez. Cloth, \$10.00.

THE GREAT TRADITION IN ENGLISH LITERATURE from Shakespeare to Jane Austen by Annette T. Rubinstein. Paper, \$1.95.

FIVE FAMILIES by Oscar Lewis. Paper, \$1.95.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON CUBA

M-26: BIOGRAPHY OF A REVOLUTION by Robert Taber. Cloth, regularly \$4.95, special price \$3.00.

THE TRUTH ABOUT CUBA by Joseph Hansen. Pamphlet, 25c.

THE THEORY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION by Joseph Hansen. Pamphlet, 25c.

IN DEFENSE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION by Joseph Hansen. Pamphlet, 25c.

HOW CUBA UPROOTED RACE DISCRIMINATION by Harry Ring. Pamphlet, 15c.

COMBINATION OFFER OF FIDEL CASTRO'S SPEECHES—All for \$3.00

History Will Absolve Me! Oct. 16, 1953 \$1.00

To The Children Sept. 14, 1960 .25

On Unemployment Feb. 11, 1961 .25

Cuba's Socialist Destiny July 26, 1961 .25

United Nations Speech Sept. 26, 1961 .25

On Marxism-Leninism Dec. 2, 1961 1.00

The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought Mar. 13, 1962 .15

Fidel Castro Denounces Bureaucracy and Sectarianism Mar. 26, 1962 .35

CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES

NEGROES ON THE MARCH by Daniel Guerin. A Frenchman's report of the American Negro struggle, based on an extensive tour of the South. Cloth, \$1.00; paperback, 50c.

REVOLT IN THE SOUTH by Dan Wakefield. A report on the rising struggle of Southern Negroes. Paperback, 95c.

BLACK MOSES — THE STORY OF MARCUS GARVEY by E. D. Cronon. Paperback, \$1.95.

BLACK BOURGEOISIE by E. Franklin Frazier. Cloth, \$4.00; paperback, 95c.

100 YEARS OF LYNCHING by Ralph Ginzburg. Paperback, 75c.

BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA by C. Eric Lincoln. Cloth, \$4.95; paperback, \$1.75.

THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW by C. Vann Woodward. Cloth, Xmas price, \$1.19.

THE UN-AMERICANS by Frank J. Donner. A leading civil-liberties attorney provides devastating documentation of the House witch hunters' activities. Paperback, 60c.

GRAND INQUEST by Telford Taylor. A fact-filled companion volume to the Un-Americans by a constitutional lawyer. Paperback, 75c.

BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY

Combination Offer: **THE STALIN SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION** and **THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN**. Paperback, both for \$5.00.

TROTSKY'S DIARY IN EXILE: 1935. Cloth, Xmas price, \$3.50.

TERRORISM & COMMUNISM. A classic work of Marxist theory, out of print for three decades. Paperback, \$1.95.

WHITHER FRANCE? The French social crisis in the mid-1930's analyzed. Paperback, Xmas price \$1.45.

WHERE IS BRITAIN GOING? An analysis of the British general strike of 1926 and the perspectives of British Imperialism. Paperback, \$1.50.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS BY JAMES P. CANNON

FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM. Cloth, \$6.00.

THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. Cloth, \$2.75; paperback special price \$1.50.

THE STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY. Cloth, \$2.75.

SOCIALISM ON TRIAL. Paperback, 50c.

SOCIALISM & DEMOCRACY. Paperback, 15c.

MARXIST CLASSICS

FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, regularly \$3.00, Xmas price \$2.00.

LETTERS TO AMERICANS by Marx & Engels. Paperback, \$1.85.

ECONOMIC AND PHILOSOPHIC MANUSCRIPTS OF 1844 by Marx. Cloth, \$1.50.

KARL MARX by Franz Mehring. The definitive biography. Paperback, \$2.95.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MONIST VIEW OF HISTORY by George Plekhanov. Cloth, Xmas price \$1.95.

THE CIVIL WAR IN THE U.S. by Marx & Engels. Paperback, \$1.95.

THOMAS MORE & HIS UTOPIA by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, \$3.95.

COMMUNISM IN CENTRAL EUROPE IN THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION by Karl Kautsky. Cloth, \$4.95.

THE CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASS IN ENGLAND by Engels. Now back in print. Cloth, reduced to \$1.95.

(Include 15c postage for hard-cover books, 10c for paperbacks.)

For Orders or Catalogue

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.