

# THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 27 - No. 7 Monday, February 18, 1963 Price 10c

## Printers Vote 4-1 To Aid N.Y. Strike

By Jack Katz

NEW YORK, Feb. 13 — In a superb display of solidarity, printers from coast to coast voted four to one to increase their dues an extra three per cent of their wages so that their union can continue to pay adequate benefits to their striking and locked-out brothers in New York.

The vote was held on the eve of Lincoln's Birthday. It was the

For latest developments on the Cleveland newspaper strike see story on page 8.

workers' way of commemorating the true spirit of the Lincoln who said: "The strongest bond of human sympathy outside of the family relation should be one uniting all working people . . ."

The decision to hold the nationwide referendum of International Typographical Union members on Feb. 6 was made last December at the outset of the now ten-week-old strike. As the date grew nearer, the vote's importance was apparent to all — to the workers and to the newspaper publishers.

A strike is an economic test of strength. And in this test, the



Wagner

workers now have superior resources. The publishers must now fight not just New York's 3,000 newspaper printers, but the 110,000-strong ITU membership.

The significance of this vote can best be understood when translated from percentages to dollars. An additional three per cent assessment means that ITU dues will be increased an additional \$4 to \$5 a week. ITU dues were already the highest in the American labor movement, averaging about \$9 a week in New York. Now they will be in the \$13-to-\$15 a week range. Workers who are prepared to sacrifice this much for their union cannot be defeated.

Mediation efforts by Mayor Wagner ended Feb. 11 after 17 days of continuous sessions. The publishers then forecast a "long test of economic strength."

The only thing that the mayor's intervention succeeded in doing was to separate Typographical Union No. 6 leader, Bertram Powers, from the strikers. Wagner accomplished this by binding the participants to a news blackout until the sessions should end.

In the negotiating lineup were the publishers, all seven of them, and the union's negotiators.

(Continued on Page 6)

## Paraguay Tyrant Wins Another 'Election'

Dictator Alfredo Stroessner won Paraguay's presidential "election" held Feb. 10. *Associated Press* dispatches the next day from Asuncion, the nation's capital, said the dictator's lead was running as high as 9 to 1. The final official count will not be in for some time, nor does it particularly matter since it will be whatever Stroessner's fancy fixes on.

Stroessner has repeatedly denied that he is a dictator and at regular intervals holds "elections" to prove his point. This time under the coaxing of Washington, whose firm ally he is—especially on all moves against Cuba — he arranged for an extra-special liberal election. He appointed an opposition to run against him. Regardless of what vote the "opposition" polled or was declared by the tellers to have polled, it was guaranteed among other rewards 20 seats (well-paid posts) in the parliament. This was the first time in 33 years that an op-

# Kennedy Set to Use GIs To Crush Latin Revolts

By Fred Halstead

Frustrated for the moment in his attempts to crush the Cuban Revolution, President John F. Kennedy admitted in his Feb. 7 news conference that Cuba is not a military threat to the U.S., but a political threat to the social system prevailing in the rest of Latin America. This threat, said Kennedy, must be met directly in Latin America itself.

Washington is preparing to do this by committing U.S. troops to South Vietnam-type counter-revolutionary warfare in Central and South America. The Feb. 9 *Christian Science Monitor* reports that "the United States soon will be sending a new group of anti-guerrilla experts to the Panama Canal Zone so it will be in a position to help Latin-American nations cope promptly with Castro-Communist sabotage." That is, with any revolutionary uprisings inspired by the Cuban example.

"Four such groups of more than 1,200 highly trained personnel," continues the *Monitor*, "already have been detailed to the Canal Zone and have worked in several Latin American countries . . . Guatemala and Colombia are understood to have had such assistance. Now a fifth such counter-guerrilla group will depart shortly for the Canal Zone."

"It is not beyond the realm of possibility," says the *Monitor*, "that such anti-guerrilla teams



Kennedy

may at some time be introduced into some countries just as in South Vietnam, where special United States forces . . . have sometimes found themselves engaged in battle with Communist guerrillas."

In addition to Guatemala and Colombia, guerrilla warfare by peasants and students is now taking place against corrupt, U.S.-backed regimes in Venezuela, Peru and Paraguay.

Kennedy, himself, in his press conference described the causes of such unrest. In answer to a question about Cuba being a military threat to the U.S., Kennedy said

that it was obviously not. But, he continued:

"I think the big dangers to Latin America, if I may say so, are the very difficult and in some cases, desperate, conditions in the countries themselves, unrelated to Cuba. Illiteracy, or bad housing, or maldistribution of wealth, or political or social instability — these are all problems we find, a diminishing exchange, balance of payments difficulty, drop in the price of their raw materials upon which their income depends . . . So what I think we should concern ourselves with — quite obviously is Cuba, but Cuba as a center of propaganda and possibly subversion, the training of agents — these are the things which we must watch about Cuba.

"But in the larger sense, it is the desperate and in some cases internal problems in Latin America, themselves unrelated to Fidel Castro whose image was greatly tarnished over a year ago, which caused me the concern and why I regard Latin America as the most critical area in the world today . . ."

### Cuba's Impact

Before Castro, no U.S. president ever made such a candid statement about the conditions in the continent which U.S. corporations control. Not until the Cuban Revolution did they feel it necessary. Now, however, the exploited workers and peasants of Latin America have the example of Cuba: the only country in Latin America where there is no hunger among the poor, despite the U.S. blockade; the only country in Latin America where every child gets a quart of milk a day, even if adults with plenty of money have to do without; the only country in Latin America where illiteracy has been eliminated.

That example spreads the revolution and Kennedy is still making plans to crush that example out of existence. He is, however, not sure when, how, or if that can be accomplished. So in the meantime, U.S. troops are readied for counter-revolution on the continent.

At the same time, Washington is still attempting to strangle the Cuban economy by closing U.S. ports to ships engaged in the Cuba trade. Kennedy is also attempting to weaken Cuban defenses by pressuring the Soviet Union — he sent a personal letter to Khrushchev on the question — to remove its several thousand military personnel from the island. Such a removal would be necessary before Kennedy could launch an invasion of Cuba without risking automatic involvement of the Soviet Union in the fighting.

## Aid Victims of Miss. Racists

GREENVILLE, Miss. — Famed comedian Dick Gregory personally escorted a cargo of food and clothing collected in Chicago for distribution to dispossessed Negro families here. Gregory rented space for 6,000 pounds of food-stuffs on a cargo plane which arrived in Memphis Feb. 11, and then he accompanied the food and clothing to Clarksdale, Miss. Clarksdale is the headquarters of the national food drive for Delta Negroes who have been forced off their land because they tried to vote. The drive is directed by Dr. Aaron Henry.

The Chicago comedian is contributing to a "Food For Freedom" drive sponsored by the Chicago Friends of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee. SNCC field secretaries, who have been conducting voter-registration drives in Mississippi since October, 1961, estimate that 20,000 Negroes have been dispossessed and

cut off welfare and surplus food rolls since the voter-registration drive began.

Two Michigan State University students, Ivanhoe Donaldson and Ben Taylor, were arrested Dec. 28 after driving a truckload of food, medicines and clothing to Clarksdale. Police seized and searched their truck and charged them with "illegal possession of barbiturates" but the Grand Jury refused to indict. Since then, SNCC workers Donaldson and Taylor have been back twice, each time bringing with them two tons of food.

Student groups in Louisville, Atlanta, Iowa City, Los Angeles and Chicago, as well as local groups of CORE and the Southern Conference Educational Fund are sending supplies. Collected food-stuffs and clothing may be sent to Dr. Aaron Henry, 4th Street Drug Store, Clarksdale, Miss., or to SNCC, 6 Raymond Street, Atlanta, Ga.

## Wake for Lumumba Slated in Harlem

NEW YORK — The anniversary of the murder of Congolese Premier Patrice Lumumba will be commemorated by the Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee and the Pan-African Students Organization of the Americas in an all-night wake Friday, Feb. 15. A vigil will be held at the Hotel Theresa, Skyline Room, from 11 p.m. Friday to 4:30 a.m. Saturday. At 5 a.m. there will be a procession to the UN.

The Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee declared: "Black people all over the world have vowed there will be no rest until the murderers of Lumumba are brought to justice. We join with our African brothers and sisters in this wake and march in protest against the fact that these murderers have not been brought to justice."

## Test-Ban Is Urged By Women Pickets

NEW YORK, Feb. 12 — Two hundred women picketed at the United Nations today for a ban on nuclear testing. The picketing supported the test-ban negotiations which resumed today in Geneva. Organized by the Women's Strike for Peace, the demonstration drew women from New York City, New Jersey, and Long Island.

After picketing for an hour at the UN, the women marched through midtown Manhattan in the cold rain to a Western Union office on Broadway. Telegrams urging support to the negotiations to end nuclear testing, were sent by the women, as individuals, to President Kennedy and New York's Senators Keating and Javits. In a letter to Kennedy, they said that now is no time for militaristic talk and urged that the moratorium on testing be reinstated.

The demonstrators especially demanded that all testing cease while the negotiations are going on. Two days before the Geneva Conference resumed, the United States began its new series of tests with an underground explosion in Nevada. Kennedy ordered the resumption of testing on Feb. 1.

The Soviet news agency, *Tass*, said that the U.S. tests "undoubtedly are complicating the talks in Geneva and are hindering reaching of an agreement on the prohibition of nuclear weapon tests, as well as the work of the 18-nation committee . . . The renewal of tests by the United States throws light on why the United States and other Western powers did not support the resolution of the United Nations." The resolution referred to would have prohibited all tests as of Jan. 1.



**THE BLACK MUSLIMS**

**Victims, Not "Merchants," of Hate**

[The Jan. 26 *Saturday Evening Post* featured a scurrilous attack on the Black Muslims. The Feb. 2 *Afro-American* published a reply to the *Post* article by its assistant managing editor, Chester M. Hampton. The following are excerpts from Mr. Hampton's article.]

\* \* \*

The most talked-about organization in present-day America is not the John Birch Society, nor the White Citizens Council, nor even Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

It is the Black Muslim movement headed by Elijah Muhammad.

For about two years now, white writers have almost gasped in print over the fierce, proud, anti-white preachments of Muslim leaders. Colored writers have been a shade more understanding.

Typical of the kind of thing the white American public reads about the movement is the piece in the Jan. 26 *Saturday Evening Post*. In it, a colored and a white writers teamed up for an essay titled: "Black Merchants of Hate."

If they had used the word "victims" instead of "merchants," I might have been more confident that they were trying to do something more informative than to merely manufacture another "shocker."

**Muslim Clubbed**

They start out telling how some New York cops clubbed a Muslim over the head and took him to jail where he was cursed and beaten still more. A steadily-growing crowd of Muslims gathered. Seeing that control of the situation had slipped from their hands, the cops called for a parley with someone who could handle the crowd.

But when Malcolm X dispersed the crowd of nearly 1,000 by merely flicking his hands, one policeman complained, "No man should have that much power."

The illogic of the remark must have escaped the writers — at least they didn't comment on it. I, however, was faintly amused. Here the cops blunder themselves into a bad situation; call on New York's top Muslim to get them out of it; then seem surprised and dissatisfied when he is able to do so.

Of course, it must have been an awesome thing for the cops to



**PROTEST PERSECUTION.** Black Muslims picket New York's Manhattan Criminal Court, Jan. 11 as two members of faith are convicted of assault and disorderly conduct. While selling the Muslim paper, Muhammad Speaks, in Times Square on Christmas day they were arrested at gun point for protesting when cops ordered them to move on.

realize there was more discipline in the Muslim movement than there is in the police department.

This is a good point to ask: What real harm has been done by the Muslims? What are they blamed for?

Elijah Muhammad and his subchiefs preach hatred of whites. They demand also that a certain portion of the United States be set aside as an independent nation of colored persons.

They recruit followers in the lower socio-economic groups and in jails. They also preach the doctrine of self-defense: "Don't take nothin' off of nobody."

We are generally agreed that it is a bad thing to preach race hate. We are also agreed that it is unrealistic to expect that the United States is going to give up any territory to Elijah Muhammad or anyone else.

**All Not Ready**

We are also generally agreed that the doctrine of Dr. Martin Luther King and the student protest movement — passive resistance — are very powerful, morally and intellectually. (That "don't take nothing off nobody" idea does, however, have a certain appeal. All of us aren't "ready" for the emotional discipline of Dr. King's doctrine.)

But while we disagree generally with the Muslim tenets, we may also judge them as we judge others — by what they do, not by what they say.

If we use this yardstick, the Muslims come up smelling like a rose — or at least in comparison with some of our fellow Americans.

For despite the "hatchet jobs" by the *Sat Eve Post* writers and others the record stands that the Muslims have not bombed, burned or lynched anyone; nor have they shuttered the vote-registration offices or "stood in the schoolhouse door" to keep someone from going to a public university.

They say flatly they believe

neither in Christianity nor the U.S. Constitution. Therefore, they are not guilty of swearing on the Holy Bible to defend the Constitution and then fomenting strife, bloodshed and denial of Constitutional rights.

At one point, the *Post* writers admit that Muslims preach non-violence and have regulations against carrying arms. However, they strongly imply that Muslims are responsible for fomenting violence. They point out that "they are often in the thick of it" and cite riots in Los Angeles, several prisons and other points to prove it. From this method of presentation, the reader gets the idea that the Muslims are actually the trouble-makers. This is not true. They are more often the victims of attack.

One could say with equal truth that Dr. King and Mrs. Daisy Bates were "in the thick" of violence when their homes were bombed. One could say that but he would, if truthful, have to admit that they didn't do the bombing.

In Monroe, La., Muslims were having a church service when local law enforcement officials broke in and started beating heads. Those Muslims were certainly "in the thick of violence."

**Why the Excitement?**

If all this is true, if the Muslims haven't done anything, then what is everybody so excited about?

As brilliant James Baldwin pointed out in his article in the Nov. 17, 1962 *New Yorker* magazine, "... the power of the white world is threatened whenever a black man refuses to accept the white world's definitions." The Muslims are such black men so the white world views them with alarm...

Relax, white folks. Colored Americans aren't going to turn *en masse* to the East, bow thrice and arise from their knees to launch a 20th-Century "holy war" against the "infidels."

But I'm glad there is an Elijah Muhammad. First, I'm glad there is someone to care about the uncared-about. Then I'm glad there is someone to keep the guilty reminded of their guilt. Then, I'm glad there is another organization making a contribution to civil rights for colored Americans.

Yes, that's right. Because all the Constitutional rights and privileges America has been withholding might come flowing forth if the "powers that be" are sufficiently scared we might turn Muslim...



The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People filed a brief in Washington Feb. 11 with the National Labor Relations Board for a ruling clarifying qualifications for certification of unions. This is not the same as a decertification petition, but it grows out of such a petition filed last Oct. 24 by the NAACP and the all-Negro Local No. 2 of the Independent Metal Workers Union in Houston, Texas.

That petition had requested the decertification of all-white Local No. 1, which had a contract with the Hughes Tool Co. excluding Negroes from all but the lowest job categories. The plant is organized by both locals. Subsequent to the filing of the petition and the obtaining of a government contract which includes a non-discrimination provision, Local No. 1 proposed a merger of the two locals and signed a contract without the discriminatory clauses. The Negro local agreed, providing that the non-discrimination procedure be incorporated into an NLRB ruling. The white local balked.

The NAACP brief notes that Local No. 2 favors the merger as a solution, but insists that the obligation of a merged union to represent all employes "without prejudice or discrimination" be spelled out in a formal NLRB order or opinion which would make certification contingent on that point.

The railroads employed 1.3 million workers and 15,000 executives in 1947. By 1962 the number of workers had dropped to 720,000. But there are still 15,000 executives, all of whom, no doubt, scream loudly about "featherbedding."

Richard T. Gosser, one of the three vice-presidents of the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO, was convicted Feb. 11 of "conspiracy to defraud" the U.S. government in an income tax case. He was charged with paying \$150 to an Internal Revenue clerk to get copies of confidential documents about his tax returns.

Gosser, 62, has been relieved of UAW duties since he was indicted last November. The UAW executive board will meet on the situation.

Foreign farm workers unions are giving advice to unionists in the U.S. trying to organize farm workers. U.S. agriculture is the most efficient in the world, yet the several million wage workers in the industry — employed in large part by corporation farms — are the lowest paid in the nation, are ineligible for virtually all "welfare state" benefits, and are almost entirely unorganized. The International Federation of Plantation, Agricultural and Allied Workers, with headquarters in Geneva, is sending its general secretary, T. S. Bavin, to the U.S. this year to discuss experiences gained in organizing farm workers in England and the Far East. He will meet with leaders of the Agricultural and Allied Workers Union, a division of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, which claims 10,000 members in U.S. agriculture.

The meat-packing industry is not depressed and Swift, Armour, and Wilson are not exactly the marginal corporations in the field. Yet all three of these giants have recently threatened to close plants unless union workers employed in them take substantial wage cuts. At Swift's packing plant in Fort Worth, Texas, the union recently agreed to a 21½-cent an hour pay cut. The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen's local

in Memphis, Tenn., agreed to a 15-cent-an-hour wage cut and reduced fringe benefits at the Armour plant there.

The United Packinghouse Workers local at the Wilson & Co. plant in Memphis refused a drastic pay cut and the company shut the plant. The UPWA local in Atlanta refused a demand by Swift to slash wages and the company has announced the plant will close in March.

Why this trend in a booming industry? The companies are using automation and unemployment as weapons against the workers. In effect they say to the unions: "Make it cheaper for us or we'll switch to an automated operation and you'll be out on the street."

The Cleveland Federation of Labor has recommended to the national AFL-CIO that it lobby for a \$1,000-per-dependent exemption as the basis for a federal income tax cut.

The United Steelworkers has set up a warehouse at Flat River, Mo., where donations are received and distributed to union members striking the 12 mines and four mills of the St. Joseph Lead Co. The strike by members of Steelworkers Local 6242 began last July 26 over a new contract. Steelworkers, shoeworkers, brewery workers and other unionists throughout the southern midwest have sent food, clothing and other relief supplies, with Teamster locals furnishing the drivers and often the trucks.

Unemployment figures, released by the Labor Department, show the jobless rate to be the same for Jan. 1963 as it was a year before. The official January figure is 4.7 million or 5.8 per cent. The "only really significant development," in the figures was the failure of the unemployment picture to improve over the year, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics Assistant Commissioner Harold Goldstein. A year ago, the economy was just pulling out of the 1960-61 recession. Unemployment-wise it never pulled out, so far at least, repeating the pattern of the previous three post World War II recessions, each of which left a bigger residue of "structural unemployment" than the previous one had.

**Weekly Calendar**

**CHICAGO**

William F. Warde, Marxist author and lecturer, speaks on: *The Thirties and the Sixties — What Can the Two Generations Learn from Each Other?* Sat., Feb. 23, 8 p.m. Reynolds Club, 5706 South University. Contrib. \$1, Students 25c. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

**DETROIT**

Noted author Clancy Sigal speaks on *The Labor Party and the British Left*. Fri., Feb. 22, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**NEW YORK**

Views in the Struggle for Freedom — A symposium with author Harold Cruse, Militant contributor Claude DeBruce, Southern Freedom Fighter William Mahoney and a representative of CORE. Fri., Feb. 22, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1, Students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**SAN FRANCISCO**

Peru in Crisis. An analysis by Joan Jordan. Fri., Feb. 22, 8 p.m. 1488 Fulton St. Contrib. 50c, students 25c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Leroy McRae, nat'l org. sec'y, Young Socialist Alliance, speaks on *The Black Revolt in America*. Sat., March 2, 8 p.m. 1488 Fulton St. Ausp. YSA.

**News Commentary By Seattle Socialist**

SEATTLE — A socialist commentary on news and events by Frank Krasnowsky may be heard every other Friday evening at 7:30 p.m. on Station KPFC-FM.

Krasnowsky's next broadcast will be on Friday evening, Feb. 22.

**Pioneer Recommended Paperbacks**

- Black Bourgeoisie \$ .95  
By E. Franklin Frazier
- Eugene V. Debs \$1.50  
By Ray Ginger
- 100 Years of Lynchings \$ .75  
By Ralph Ginzburg
- The Souls of Black Folk \$ .50  
By W. E. B. DuBois
- The Slave States \$1.25  
By Frederick Olmstead
- Life and Times of Frederick Douglass \$1.50  
Autobiography
- Stalin School of Falisification \$3.00  
By Leon Trotsky
- 3rd International After Lenin \$2.50  
By Leon Trotsky
- Both of the above: \$5.00

15c handling & postage

Order from:

**PIONEER PUBLISHERS**  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.



# 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. 27 - No. 7



Monday, February 18, 1963

## Dominican Dilemma

On Feb. 27 Juan Bosch takes office as president of the Dominican Republic. The Feb. 11 National Observer says the following about the Caribbean country: "The nation's present uneasiness stems from Mr. Bosch's election campaign, in which he promised just about everything to just about everybody . . . 'Boch,' says a friendly but worried member of the present caretaker government, 'will have it made if he lasts two months. What I'm afraid of is the mob that will begin congregating around the National Palace the day after inauguration, yelling for the payoff.'"

"In the U.S.," the article accurately notes, "campaign platforms often are filed away after the campaigns are done. But the 3,000,000 Dominicans are inconveniently literal-minded folk."

"Santo Domingo residents proved this soon after elections by grabbing at one of Mr. Bosch's biggest campaign promises: A house and land for every Dominican. Many people promptly picked out choice pieces of vacant (but owned) ground, squatted thereon, and had to be ordered off when they began digging foundations."

"Mr. Bosch and his Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) promised the people TV sets, electric refrigerators, decent housing, a job for everyone willing to work, and a farm for everyone prepared to operate it. He also promised transfer of many private enterprises to worker ownership."

The promises which Bosch has made — and which the aroused Dominican people expect him to keep — cannot be kept without alienating, not only the U.S. State Department, but the foreign capitalists, the big landowners and the military machine — all of which are still entrenched in spite of Trujillo's demise. Far from ending the question of revolution, the Dominican election has merely posed it.

## Right-to-Scab Law in 20 States

There are now 20 states with "right-to-work" laws on their books. Wyoming became the 20th state to outlaw the union shop when Gov. Cliff Hansen signed the bill Feb. 8, the day after it passed the legislature. This is but the latest example of the labor movement's political impotence under the present policy of supporting Democrats and Republicans. Every year, another state or two bans the union shop, and the labor movement seems powerless to stop the trend. The labor leaders don't even try to get labor legislation through Congress anymore; they hope merely to keep anti-labor legislation to a minimum.

The fact is that labor's vast potential political power is virtually ignored by the capitalist politicians. They don't have to worry about it because they know its sewed up in the Democratic Party anyway. Labor's rank and file is uninspired by the present policy, and the middle classes — which look to labor when labor is crusading — have no cause to look there now.

The present policy can only lead to more and more political defeats for labor. The labor movement needs its own political party. Only a party responsible to labor, which runs labor men and women as its candidates, can stand up for the rights of labor, for civil rights, for social progress and for peaceful international relations. The unions need a labor party to turn the tide.

## Ceylon Given Lesson on U.S. 'Aid'

The United States Government has abruptly cut off its \$3.8 millions in foreign aid to Ceylon because that island's government has not compensated with sufficient speed two oil companies for properties which have been nationalized. This is the first application of an amendment to the foreign-aid law adopted last year, originally designed to force Brazil to compensate the International Telephone and Telegraph trust for the nationalization of the telephones and telegraph in one state in Brazil.

Ceylon decided to nationalize the gas stations and other oil-products outlets belonging to Shell, Caltex, and Stanvac oil companies because they were overcharging for their products. An agreement was then reached between Ceylon and the Soviet Union whereby Ceylon's new national petroleum authority can buy its oil products cheaper from the Soviet Union than from the Western oil companies.

The U.S. Government did not cut off its aid because Ceylon touched U.S. government property. Two of the companies, Caltex and Stanvac, are international outfits, based in the U.S. and owned by a few U.S. citizens, and it's their property and their interests that Washington is concerned about.

The underdeveloped nations are being taught an important lesson about the real nature of U.S. foreign "aid." The arrogant and crude action of the Kennedy administration in cutting off all help to Ceylon — paltry enough to begin with — because Ceylon took certain domestic economic steps in the interests of the Ceylonese people, exposes the real purpose of such "help." The politicians in Washington use the aid program to help maintain the economic control of a few U.S. capitalists over the underdeveloped countries. That and securing diplomatic and military advantages in the cold war are their only considerations. They have no real interest in helping the people of those countries achieve a better life.

# Situation of American Indians

By Evelyn Sell

*It's better to die free in the mountains,  
Than take the white man's crumbs!*

"American Indians still sing that song, written by Geronimo. Sure, I sing it, too." The speaker was Robert Thomas, telling a recent Friday Night Socialist Forum in Detroit about "The American Indian: A Case of Internal Colonialism."

Professor Thomas, a full-blooded Cherokee, teaches at Wayne State University in Detroit. He received his Doctor of Philosophy degree in anthropology from the University of Chicago where he will soon become director of the Carnegie Foundation Pilot Project on Literacy Among Indians. He has written numerous articles for scientific journals and a book on the American Indian soon to be published by the University of Oklahoma Press.

In his Jan. 25 talk, Prof. Thomas gave the forum audience some insight into the psychology, attitudes and goals of the American Indian. These are so different from ordinary American ideas that the Indian has found it almost impossible to communicate with the invaders who took over his homeland.

### Separate and Distinct Peoples

Although most Americans think of Indians as one people spread across this nation, the fact is that Indians regard themselves as separate and distinct peoples — somewhat the way European peoples distinguish between each other. Each Indian nationality had its own language and customs. What was common was that they lived mainly by hunting and they lived in small groups.

"Hunters are a special kind of people," Thomas explained. "You work in short spurts. You find that planning is useless, you have to trust in luck. Living in small groups meant that everyone was either a relative or a close friend. The world was divided into friends (your own group) and enemies (any other group). Family obligations were all-important — coming before material interests. Whatever you had you shared with your family."

This way of life and these attitudes came into sharp conflict with the ideas and the demands of the white invaders. The speaker compared the American "make-a-fast-buck" philosophy with the Indians' idea that human beings are more important than material possessions.

He described a typical situation in which the U.S. government would institute a cattle program on a reservation. Money would be lent to an individual Indian so that he could start raising cattle. Immediately that Indian's relatives were after him for some of that money. "The Indian was faced with a terrible choice. Was he going to be a 'responsible citizen' and refuse his family so that he could make a profit raising cattle or was he going to be a 'good Indian' and share with his family? Most chose to be 'good Indians' and so they were branded as 'irresponsible' by the government and the white population."

The basic problem of the Indian today is "to learn how to cope with this society that has surrounded us . . . All whites learn with their mother's milk. 'How to make a buck in the good old USA.' We are taught completely different attitudes when we are children. We have to learn these commercial things as adults. That's why Indians are sitting pigeons for anyone who wants to fleece them . . . We're not hep to this white man's world. We're morally good people — that's the reason we're not hep."

A major problem of the Indian today is shared by other groups throughout the world. "Americans have a facility for deciding what's good for other people . . . The

government wheels in programs for the Indian every year . . . We have tribal councils but they have no power, they are a fiction, a dummy government — like any colonial government. Their aim is to get as much money from the U.S. bureaucracy as possible . . . Experience in handling our affairs is cut off systematically by pre-emption of the decision-making powers. How can people learn and develop if they can't make their own decisions and learn by their own successes and failures? . . . Working-class people don't have any political power anymore. There, too, the decision-making powers have been taken away."

The government has tried very hard to get the Indians off the reservations and to integrate them into the American community as a whole. Eighty per cent of the Indians live in overcrowded conditions on reservations. But most of those Indians who do go to the cities return to the reservation to live. "You have to live among aliens. Indians get lonely, we want to be with our families and there are no Indian communities in the city . . . Sure, I speak English but Cherokee is my language. That's the language I like to speak."

Prof. Thomas described how the government tried to "educate" the Indian into becoming an assimilated part of American life. "They had these boarding schools from about 1880-1933; we called them 'white-man factories' . . . The cops would come on the reservation and all the children they could catch they would send away to these boarding schools . . . The children lived there 10-12 years, never seeing their families. We had to speak English. If you spoke your own language you got the bejassus beat out of you. I didn't speak English very much and I got beat up every week. They hired thugs and they called them 'disciplinarians' . . ."

"We had to go to Protestant churches every Sunday so that we would forget our 'superstitions' . . . The majority of Indians came out of those schools irrational white-haters. Some were influenced strongly by the white authorities. When these Indians

returned to their families on the reservations, sharp divisions arose. Different attitudes towards the white man tore families apart, set brother against brother." (Some of these boarding schools still exist but now there are federally-operated schools on the reservations as well.)

Since World War II a kind of "Pan-Indianism" has grown. "Common experiences in these boarding schools, in the armed forces and in our treatment as a minority has brought Indians of different nationalities together . . . There is now a kind of 'up-and-at-them' feeling as a result of seeing colonial peoples rise up in other parts of the world . . . Nationalism has grown up among Indians, especially those — like me — who have lived and worked in the cities. We have an organization now."

The discussion period was extremely lively. When Prof. Thomas was asked about Indian-Negro relations and the chances of these two groups getting together, he replied: "Attempts at Negro-Indian unity have collapsed time and again . . . There are misunderstandings on both sides. The Negroes say the Indians are pro-segregation and the Indians say the Negroes try to be too much like white men . . . I have been a part of some of these discussions and I have hopes that such unified efforts may come about yet."

A member of the audience asked about the much-publicized attempts of Indians to get hearings at the United Nations. "Several times Indians have gone to the UN minority hearings and some Indian chiefs went to Cuba and talked to Castro," Prof. Thomas related. "These efforts to bring pressure from outside on the U.S. government have not been too successful."

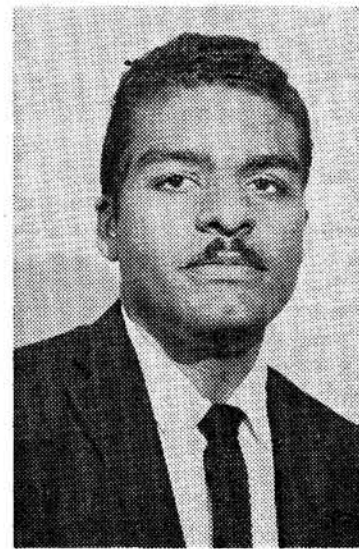
What did he think was the solution to the problems of the Indian today? "There must be decision-making powers in the hands of the Indian community. This would take legal revisions; it would take Congressional action . . . There are fewer and fewer local level institutions with decision-making powers in the white community as well."

## Young Socialist Opens Speaking Tour

Leroy McRae, National Organizational Secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, has begun a national speaking tour of college campuses. The three-month tour will cover 28 cities.

McRae will speak on "The Black Revolt in America," relating the American Negro struggle for equality to the Cuban Revolution and to the coming socialist revolution in the United States.

Although he is in his early twenties, McRae has had extensive experience in the civil-rights movement. In 1958 he served on the National Executive Committee of the Youth March on Washington, which brought 10,000 young people to the nation's capital. In 1960 he was secretary of the Philadelphia Youth Committee Against Segregation, which organized the picketing of Woolworth stores in that city in support of the sit-ins being conducted by the southern Negro students.



Leroy McRae

Philadelphia police for participating in a demonstration against the invasion of Cuba.

The Socialist Workers Party nominated McRae for the post of Attorney General of New York during the 1962 election campaign. He received 21,000 votes running on a socialist platform in defense of the working people, the minority peoples, and the Cuban Revolution. He was elected National Organizational Secretary of the YSA at its last National Conference.



# In Land-Hungry Mexico: Governme

By George Lavan

Thanks to a popular movie of a few years ago, in which Marlon Brando starred, the American public has come to know something about the life and death of Emiliano Zapata, the heroic, incorruptible, peasant leader of the Mexican Revolution. But this public, which depends on the daily press for news, is unaware of the virtual re-enactment south of the Rio Grande during the past year of the same story of revolutionary heroism and assassination.

A peasant leader, described by some Mexican newspapers as a "Robin Hood" and by others as a "Fidel Castro," a man who as a youth had ridden with Zapata and had devoted his life thereafter to the cause of Mexico's downtrodden *campesinos*, was assassinated in a brutal and cowardly fashion. The government of Mexican President Lopez Mateos is morally compromised by this murder — in which many national and local officials are implicated — all the more since nine months have now passed with apparently no efforts made to find and prosecute the killers.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, May 23, 1962, a military convoy consisting of two armored vehicles, two jeeps and a lead-colored sedan or staff car drove into the village of Tlaquiltenango in the Mexican state of Morelos and stopped before the house of peasant leader Rubén F. Jaramillo. A group of about 60 men, some in uniform, others in civilian clothes, jumped out of the vehicles and surrounded the house, setting up machine guns covering the front and rear doors.

Jaramillo, who was inside sawing wood, was ordered to come out because "the general" was waiting for him. This command not having produced the desired result, the soldiers and their civilian helpers broke in and kidnapped Jaramillo, his pregnant wife, Epifania, and his three stepsons, Enrique, Filemón and Ri-

cardo. They were forced into the vehicles which then drove off. Raquel, a stepdaughter, managed to evade the abductors and ran off into the village.

Two hours later, in the remote wooded area near the pre-Colum-

## Met Jaramillo

The author of this article met Rubén Jaramillo and his two oldest stepsons in the winter of 1949. At that time the Jaramillos were living clandestinely outside of the state of Morelos and working in the oil fields. They journeyed to Mexico City to attend a farewell social gathering which the Mexican Section of the Fourth International had arranged for the writer and three other representatives of The Militant who were then concluding a visit to Mexico.

bian pyramid of Xochicalco, Jaramillo, his wife and stepsons were shot. Since the driving time from Tlaquiltenango to the archaeological ruins at Xochicalco is almost precisely two hours, it is apparent that the murderers were under precise orders what to do and had carried out these orders without any delay.

There had not even been any attempts to make it appear as a case of *ley fuga* (a common practice in which prisoners, of whom officials wish to dispose without trial, are shot in the back allegedly "trying to escape"). All five bodies were found together, machinegunned from the front and close up. Each had, moreover, in the formal pattern of execution by firing squad, been given a *coup de grace* (a pistol shot in the head).

Mexico's leftist, pro-Cuba, weekly news magazine, *Política*, which has carried the most infor-

mation about this massacre (government pressure soon brought a news blackout on the case in most of the Mexican press), reported a statement made by Capt. Gustavo Ortega Rojas, chief of police for the state of Morelos, a few hours after the finding of the bodies. He declared that the previous night he had received a phone call from the Federal Judicial Police, requesting his assistance in arresting "some dangerous individuals." The assistance asked was to consist of the loan of a jeep and a sub-machinegun. Capt. Ortega consented. However, when 24 hours passed and no one arrived to pick them up, he phoned back. The Federal Judicial Police now told him the assistance "was no longer necessary, because everything is OK." A few minutes after this phone conversation, the police chief said, he received news that five bodies had been found near Xochicalco.

Capt. Ortega later retracted the above story and denied that any authority had asked for his help in an arrest.

A group of newspaper reporters, examining the scene of the murders, found five .45-caliber cartridge cases. All had stamped on them the initials of the *Fábrica Nacional de Municiones* (National Munitions Factory) and the years of manufacture — 1953 and 1954. The *Fábrica Nacional de Municiones* is a military arsenal which manufactures munitions exclusively for the Mexican army and some branches of the police — including the Federal Judicial Police. Cartridges of .45 caliber are used in the army's regulation automatic pistols and in Thompson sub-machineguns. Arms of this caliber by law may not be used in Mexico by private citizens.

## Smearred Victim

Immediately after the killings became known, the Attorney General's office, of which the Federal Judicial Police is a subordinate agency, hastily issued a press release which imputed all sorts of crimes to the murdered peasant leader. It accused him of armed robbery, trafficking in drugs, holding up tourists on the highways, deceiving and demanding money from the peasants, and of having amassed 100,000 pesos in recent robberies.

For all his fame, Jaramillo was a poor man. His house in Tlaquiltenango, which his abductors sacked not for valuables but for papers and documents, was very modest. When he was murdered, Jaramillo had only 90 centavos in his pockets. His and the others' coffins had to be paid for by donations from neighbors and *campesinos* of the area.

Though troops blocked the roads into Tlaquiltenango on May 25, the day of the burial, there were over 5,000 in the funeral procession — not only *campesinos* from Morelos, but some from the states of Puebla and Guerrero. They draped Jaramillo's coffin in a Mexican flag carried by Zapatista forces during the Revolution.

Who was Rubén Jaramillo? Why did some people hate or fear him enough to go to such lengths to murder him and members of his family? Why should a government agency spread lies about him after his death? Why did thousands of peasants circumvent an army blockade to attend his funeral?

At the time of his assassination, this strong, handsome man, with flashing eyes, was 62 years old. From adolescence he had been a fighter for the rights of his people — the peasants of Mexico.

At 15 or 16 he had joined the guerrilla army of Emiliano Zapata, the indomitable leader of the peasants of Morelos. Under Zapata's leadership, Morelos, a state of vast sugar-cane plantations and dispossessed and exploited

*campesinos*, became the stronghold of Mexico's agrarian revolution in that stormy decade which opened with the overthrow of dictator Porfirio Díaz. The Zapatistas' battlecry was *Tierra y Libertad* — Land and Liberty — and their intransigence on winning the land for the peasants, their insistence to every regime that took power in Mexico City that land reform be written into the law and carried out, made Morelos an island of revolutionary principle in a revolutionary decade of shifting programs, opportunism and betrayals.

Politically naive at the beginning of the Revolution, the Zapatistas learned much and quickly as a result of their sticking to their basic demand for land. The end of the decade saw them in fraternal realtions with the Bolsheviks who had come to power in Russia. In towns and villages where the Zapatista forces held sway, May Day saw fiestas in which the Indian *campesinos* paraded with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky and the Virgin of Guadalupe (the Indian virgin) and shouted slogans of solidarity be-



Rubén Jaramillo

tween "the Zapatistas of Mexico and the Zapatistas of Russia."

The years 1915-1919 were the years of Rubén Jaramillo's basic education. He never forgot the lessons learned nor abandoned the aims for which Zapata died. With the end of the military phase of the Revolution, young Jaramillo slowly distinguished himself in his native district as a leader in seeking justice and enforcement of the agrarian reform laws which had been written into Mexican law.

Though all politicians now gave lip service to the aims of the Revolution and to agrarian reform, the passage of the years saw more and more corruption, circumvention and violation of the agrarian laws. Many *latifundia* or huge estates escaped nationalization and transfer to the peasants, others merely passed into the hands of politicians or high military figures. Others were nationalized but, instead of going to the *campesinos*, were rented as public lands to some entrepreneur with the right political connections.

## Cárdenas Acted

Only with the accession to the presidency in 1934 of Lázaro Cárdenas was there any substantial resumption of the land reform supposedly won by the Revolution. But the end of his administration in 1940 was followed by a reaction and once again land reform became a dead letter.

It was in this period that Jaramillo, seeking redress for the grievances of the peasants of Morelos, sought allies outside his state and came into contact with the Mexican Section of the Fourth International (Trotskyists). He

knew about Trotsky's role in the Russian Revolution from his own guerrilla-warfare days. The degeneration and bureaucratization of the Mexican Revolution had given him insight into what had happened in the USSR. He had followed with interest and approval President Cárdenas' granting of asylum to the great Bolshevik leader and had mourned when Trotsky was assassinated. Yet Jaramillo did not come to the Trotskyist movement primarily on theoretical grounds.

For him practice came first, theory second. His motivating force was always the desire to advance the peasants' fight. He realized that his peasant movement needed the aid of forces outside Morelos, forces in the Mexican proletariat. But precisely during those years of World War II and immediately thereafter, the really powerful force in the Mexican working class, the Communist Party and its many subsidiary organizations had abandoned the class struggle, including the peasant struggle which Jaramillo was waging. These were the Communists' years of Popular Frontism and support of the Mexican government which was allied with the U.S. in the war. The only socialist movement in Mexico militantly pursuing the class struggle and fighting imperialism then was the Mexican Section of the Fourth International. Jaramillo became a member of it in 1946. Though small, this active group, gave Jaramillo and his supporters in Morelos unstinting aid. He made frequent trips to Mexico City for meetings. The proletarians and intellectuals of the Mexican Trotskyist party learned much from him and he learned much from them.

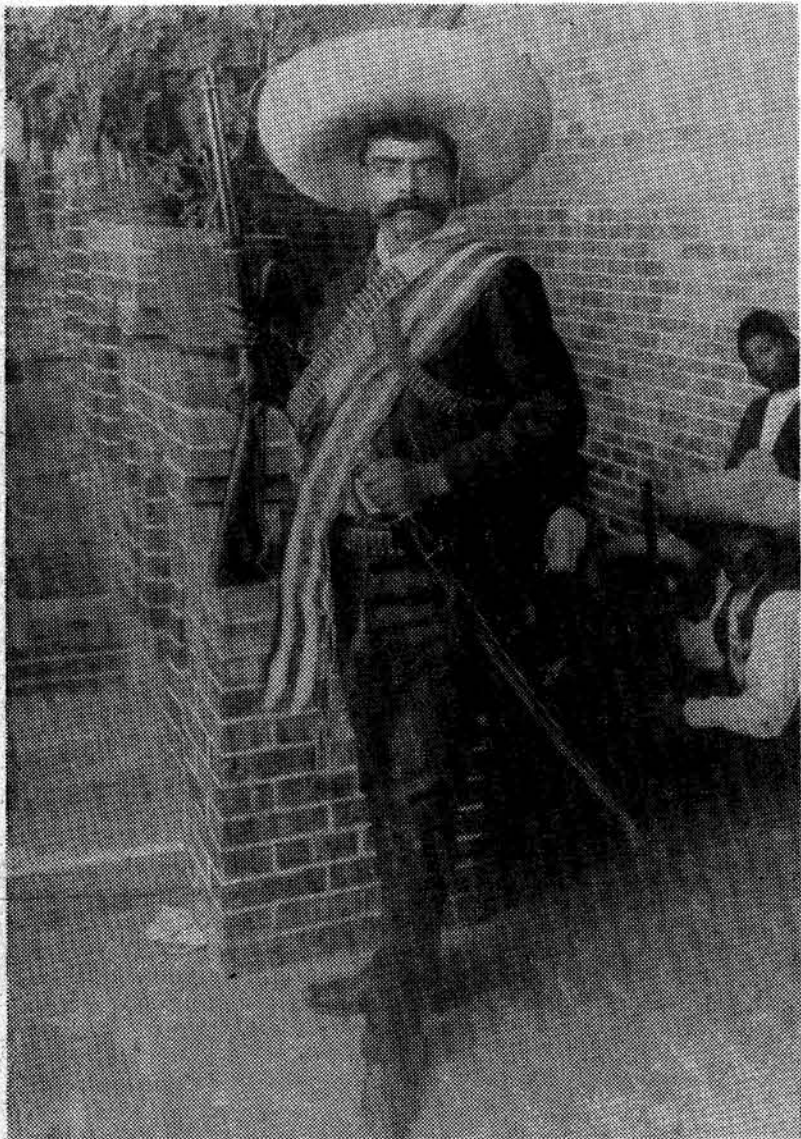
## Nominated for Office

In 1948 it was decided that he would run for governor of Morelos as the candidate of the Mexican Section of the Fourth International. All the legal formalities were complied with and Jaramillo appeared on the ballot under that party designation. He conducted an active campaign and met an enthusiastic response from the *campesinos* and workers of the state. Particularly effective was a memorable campaign poster portraying the face of Emiliano Zapata and, in the shadow cast by it, Jaramillo's face. Underneath were the words: "Zapata is back to fight in defense of agrarian reform."

Election fraud is a commonplace or rather a regular practice in Mexico. This is especially true of state elections. Mexico has a one-party system with the government party simply not tolerating the existence of any significant opposition. Where falsifying the ballot count doesn't suffice, recourse is had to violence.

The day after the election, the first Sunday of July, 1948, Jaramillo denounced the official tabulation, giving victory to the government party's candidate, as fraudulent and refused to accept it. This immediately put him beyond the law and he and a group of followers took to the Sierra. Since he had the backing of the people, the new governor's forces were unable to catch him. Federal forces were sent in, but with no more success. He was involved in many skirmishes and had narrow escapes. Once, while he was making a speech to villagers assembled in the local school, a federal detachment arrived and opened fire. They were driven off. On another occasion when Jaramillo was wounded, his wife, Epifania, also an expert with a rifle, saved his life by killing an officer and three soldiers of the attacking force.

Finally, however, he was forced to flee his beloved Morelos and live clandestinely elsewhere in Mexico. Nonetheless, during this



Emiliano Zapata

Born 1877 (approx.) — Assassinated April 10, 1919



# nt Abets Killing of Peasant Leader

time he often slipped into Mexico City to keep in touch with his comrades of the Mexican Trotskyist movement.

In 1953 Mexican President Ruiz Cortines, in answer to questions by Jaramillo's friends, stated that he had instructed federal agencies that Jaramillo was no longer to be considered a concern of the federal government but a local (i.e., state) problem. With this assurance, Jaramillo renounced guerrilla activity, and returned to Morelos announcing he would resume the struggle for peasants' rights by utilizing legal procedures. The new state administration decided to overlook his past offenses and his legality was thus established.

## National Figure

His reputation and activities extended far beyond Morelos, making him a national figure, the most prominent of the fighters for peasants' rights. In his 1958 election campaign, for example, the current president of Mexico, Lopez Mateos, arranged to meet Jaramillo and be photographed giving him the *abrazo* (most cordial form of greeting among Mexican men in which they embrace and pound one another on the back). Lopez Mateos then spoke about Mexico's need to carry out agrarian reform, adding that he was glad that Zapata still lived in Jaramillo's person who should keep on fighting for the peasants who needed true emancipation.

Indeed, not too long after his inauguration, President Lopez Mateos summoned Jaramillo to Mexico City and offered him the post of General Inspector of Markets. Friends, to whom Jaramillo described this incident, quote him as replying: "Mr. President I am grateful you called me and that you have an appreciation of my problem of living and supporting my family. But that job is not for me. To collect a few pennies from poor devils who are as poor as I am — that is not for me. Thanks just the same."

Jaramillo's refusal of a government job signified his refusal to be bought off, to give up the struggle and accommodate himself to the government party, the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) which despite its name and demagogic holiday invocations has nothing revolutionary about it but is the upholder of the status quo. Lopez Mateos apparently felt that the offer and its rejection had also paid off whatever political obligation he had to the peasant leader for that campaign photo of the *abrazo*.

The following incident related by *Politica* shows how inaccessible President Lopez Mateos had become to the man he had hailed during the election campaign as the incarnation of the peasant struggle.

On March 28, 1962, Jaramillo, as a last resort to secure Presidential intervention on behalf of

the peasants' claim to the lands of Michapa and El Guarín in Morelos, led a deputation to Mexico City where it was known the President would dedicate some public works of the Tenochtitlan development.

The police kept the peasant leader and his followers from speaking to the President. But Jaramillo's wife, carrying a bouquet of flowers, managed to station herself in a strategic spot and hand the bouquet to Lopez Mateos along with a petition about the lands. The President greeted her in friendly fashion and exchanged a few words, even calling her "Pifa" (the familiar, diminutive form of her first name, Epifania).

But no Presidential intervention resulted. On the contrary, the contrary, the police began arresting Jaramillo's companions. Some were beat up; one's home was wrecked and documents there belonging to Jaramillo were stolen.

Certainly Jaramillo had many enemies. In their general number can be reckoned all the latifundists, corrupt officials and other defrauders of the peasants.

Moreover, he was very bold in his actions. Mexico is a country where ex-presidents are as powerful as the great feudal lords of old. They have their own private armies of *pistoleros* (gunmen) and important followings in the government, the official party (PRI) and the army. Yet Jaramillo, for example, dared lead peasants in the northern part of Vera Cruz on a sit-down on a big estate belonging to ex-President Camacho.

## From Sky?

The Mexicans have dubbed these peasant sit-downers *paracaidistas* or parachutists — because they appear so suddenly — as if they had dropped from the sky — to occupy lands which they consider by right and the agrarian reforms laws to be theirs. Jaramillo helped develop the technique and led many such land occupations. They were all within the law, for, after he laid down his arms, he took pains to operate with due observance for the legalities. Nonetheless they undoubtedly made him mortal enemies among the rich and powerful.

He also repeatedly denounced and exposed the management of the Emiliano Zapata sugar mill at Zacatepec. This huge enterprise was supposed to be a co-operative but its control had been usurped from the sugar-cane raising peasants of Morelos. Jaramillo was likewise a scourge of those politicians who praise the aims of the Mexican Revolution, which the PRI, the government party, claims it is still carrying on, while in daily practice they betrayed all the revolution hoped for. He had been especially scornful of the governor of Morelos, whom he accused of having taken part in the assassination of Zapata.

The magazine *Politica*, however, which has pursued the investigation with great zeal, believes that the key to the assassination is to be found in the struggle for the lands of Michapa and El Guarín.

In February, 1961, at the head of 5,000 landless but armed *campesinos*, Jaramillo staged the first occupation of the lands of Michapa and El Guarín in Morelos. The front pages of Mexican newspapers announced: "Jaramillo Invades Public Lands," "Jaramillo Rebels Again," "Jaramillo Returns to his Old Ways," etc. But when the commander of the military zone, arrived from Cuernavaca with federal troops, Jaramillo and his parachutists dispersed peaceably, though under protest.

Carrying arms is not illegal in Mexico and Jaramillo could show that, as was printed in the official gazette of April 20, 1960, they had duly applied for allocation of those lands for the formation of the Otilio Montaño settlement. Thus, the at-



A CONTINGENT of Zapata's Revolutionary Army of the South which twice — once in conjunction with Pancho Villa's Army of the North — took Mexico City. For nine years they fought for "Land and Liberty." During the last four years of their guerrilla warfare there was a young man in their ranks named Rubén Jarimillo.

tempt to secure these public lands for the peasants though not immediately successful were perfectly legal.

Indeed, these lands had been "ceded" to the *campesinos* of the region twice by presidential decree — once in 1922, again in 1929. While this made them "public" lands, they were not in the hands of the *campesinos* but were rented out to a rich cattleman, a friend of the governor.

*Politica* claims to have found out that secret plans existed for a big government project to irrigate these lands. Once that project was finished the lands would be very fertile and extremely valuable. *Politica* states: "In fact, the zone of Michapa and El Guarín, once the work is completed will become the grain-producing area for the state of Morelos and for the Federal District. Naturally, there are many people who are interested in taking over those lands through 'colonization,' which in Mexico is a big business for influential politicians and neo-latifundists."

This also explains why the police and then his abductors were so eager to seize Jaramillo's documents. For he had duly complied with all the forms for securing these lands for the landless *campesinos* of the region and they had been approved by a governmental agency, not "in the know" about the impending irrigation project.

Jaramillo's stepdaughter, Raquel, it will be recalled, had escaped from the abductors. She had run into the village to ask the municipal authorities to protect her father. There she was told that "all was in order and that the soldiers and civilians carried orders of arrest from the office of the Attorney General of the Republic."

Immediately after the news of the massacre of her family she fled, making her way to the home of ex-President Cárdenas in Jiquilpan in the state of Michoacan. Cárdenas gave her refuge. On June 11 she presented the Attorney General with a detailed deposition of the facts in the case and asked that they be investigated. She named a Captain José Martínez and a civilian informer, Heriberto Espinosa, as members of the murder gang. She also told how her mother and brothers had chosen to accompany Jaramillo

"to protect him or die with him."

But no official investigation or action followed. To believe the various government agencies no one ever arrested Jaramillo. The Attorney General of Morelos declared that neither his office nor any district judge had ever issued an order of arrest for the peasant leader. The Defense Department denied that federal troops took part in the kidnapping and murders. The Federal Judicial Police denies any connection with the arrests. The federal Attorney General's office stated in an official communique that federal authorities had not arrested him and that the murders were in the jurisdiction of the authorities in the State of Morelos. But the Attorney General of Morelos declared that since the crime had been committed by members of the army it was outside his jurisdiction.

## Bodies Found

In September the bullet-riddled bodies of Capt. José Martínez and Heriberto Espinosa were found near Telloapan in the state of Guerrero. Both had been identified by Raquel Jaramillo and others as leading participants in the military-civilian kidnap gang. Two theories exist about their deaths. One has it that the *campesinos* have avenged their leader. The other is that higher-ups in the assassination plot have disposed of two tools who were no longer useful and had become a source of danger.

Despite the government's efforts to achieve a press blackout on the case, there has been great public indignation. Many organizations have made public protests. These include not only organizations which supported Jaramillo's recent struggles — for example, the Communist Party and the Movement for National Liberation (which is headed by Cárdenas' son, Cuahuatemoc) but even organizations of the right. Only the government party, the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI) remained silent.

It can be said with certainty that Jaramillo expected assassins. Before the first occupation of the Michapa and El Guarín plains, he, his wife, and the other principals leaders of the action all made their wills.

Moreover, Mexico is a country where revolutionary leaders often are assassinated. President Medero, President Obregon, Pancho

Villa and Zapata are but the most famous of those who met such deaths. Jaramillo's brother, Porfirio, leader of the *campesinos* of the sugar co-operative of Atencingo, was murdered in 1954, at the order, it is said, of a latifundist who is in addition a banker, movie magnate and "philanthropist."

Former comrades of Jaramillo in the Trotskyist movement vividly recall him speaking at several of the annual memorial meetings of the Mexican Section of the Fourth International held for Leon Trotsky, assassinated by Stalin's GPU in 1940. The peasant leader's remarks ran along these lines: "The previous speakers have told you that Trotsky was a good man, that he was always for the working people. That's obvious — why else would they have killed him? That's what happens to leaders who stay true to the Revolution. That's what happened to Zapata, that's what happened to Trotsky and that's what will happen to others till the working people have won completely."

Can one doubt that when he uttered those words, the speaker fully realized that that was what would also happen to himself?

Almost every week now brings new reports of peasant struggles in Mexico. In one state after another there are clashes with the police or army. Parachutists are driven off lands they have occupied during the night. Peasants march to Mexico City with grievances and demands for land. Another great storm is brewing. The wind that swept Mexico from 1910 to 1919 is beginning to rise again.

No doubt high government officials breathe easier now that Jaramillo is not on the scene to lead the impending struggles. But the lessons he taught are still fresh in the *campesinos'* memories; his spirit inspires many.

When the assassins killed Zapata, they were unaware of, and consequently overlooked, a young man in the Zapatista ranks named Rubén Jaramillo. The assassins of 1962 corrected that costly oversight. But among Jaramillo's followers how many young *campesinos* were overlooked — whose names mean nothing to the latifundists and government officials today — who tomorrow will avenge their murdered leader and carry on his work?

## Want the Truth?

What is Cuba really like today? Read an honest, illuminating eye-witness report by one of America's top journalists.

*A Visit to Cuba*  
By I. F. Stone

25 cents a copy

Order from

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



# A Message to the Unions

We think our readers will be interested in the following editorial from the Jan. 18 *Carolina Times*, a leading Southern Negro weekly published in Durham, N.C. It points up a fundamental fact of economic life that the officialdom of the trade-union movement will continue to ignore only at its own expense and, more important, at the expense of the entire working class.

A recent *Associated Press* report discloses that North Carolina during the month of November was tied with Mississippi for last place in the nation in factory wages paid. Now, when any state ties with Mississippi for anything, it holds a most unenviable position in the United States. Without trying to put our finger exactly on the reason for the disgraceful position held by North Carolina, we only say that whatever it takes to rise above Mississippi should be resorted to.

If there are those among the citizens of North Carolina who feel a bit of shame because their state has tied for last place with Mississippi, we say to them, take courage. The previous month North Carolina was actually on the bottom with Mississippi being a cent above it. It might also be of further concern to those of this state to learn that South Carolina workers were four cents above the hourly wages paid workers in this state and that Alabama topped all states of the Southeast with an average hourly wage of \$2.05.

Whatever the actual reasons, we are of the opinion that at the bottom of the low hourly wage to be found in North Carolina is the fact that it is one of the few Southern states in which Negroes are used to a great extent as factory laborers. A close check on the wages paid Negro factory workers in comparison with those paid white factory workers might disclose that the latter are better paid and overall hourly rate is therefore pulled down by the low wages paid the Negro workers. It is also a well-known fact that North Carolina is one of the few Southern states in which Negro workers are not confined almost entirely to the farm and other menial work where the wages are the very lowest and consequently not figured in the hourly pay of factory workers.

We think organized labor has a job to do in the South that cannot be done under its present practice of having segregated unions, especially where Negro and white workers work side by side and are doing the same work. Such a policy always tends to weaken the overall program of labor and in the end is certain to result in a low wage scale, especially here in North Carolina, for both the white and Negro worker.

# ... New York Printers Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

Throughout these negotiations the publishers knew what was going on. They were there. The union representatives participating also knew what was happening. Only the workers were left in the dark.

The news vacuum surrounding the workers was filled with speculation. Being vitally concerned with the negotiations they were prey to the rumors and confusion that were rife.

ITU President Elmer Brown took part in the last three days of these negotiations. After the sessions ended he charged the publishers with not being interested in a settlement now. February is the slowest month of the year for newspaper advertising and it is thought that the publishers do not want a February settlement very much.

Before returning to ITU headquarters in Colorado, President Brown said that there was a division in the publishers' ranks which was delaying a settlement.

This difference is thought to be the desire of the "weaker" papers to settle now before they are unable to reopen at all. This theme was first introduced by Post publisher Dorothy Schiff. Under pressure from the Publishers' Association, she locked out her employees and then declared that the Post might not be able to survive a long shutdown.

President Kennedy echoed this same theme at his press conference last week when he said the strike "may end up with two or three papers closing down." Kennedy knows that it is not the printers' limited and restricted strike of only four papers that "may end up with two or three papers closing down," but the publishers' lock-out on the "weaker" papers that could lead to their demise. Kennedy is well informed and he knows that the union offered and still offers to return to work on these "weaker" papers. He knows the union offered, and still offers, to negotiate separate contracts with these "weaker" papers at scale "to fit their needs." This was no small concession on the union's part.

He does not speak of this approach to bargaining which would prevent any paper from folding. Instead he piously asserts that he does not "think the bargaining has been particularly responsible." At the same press conference he claimed to be a strong believer in free collective bargaining but he deplored this strike as a "trial by force."

A principal feature of this strike has been the assertive nature of government interference both as to procedure as well as issues. Along with the familiar mediation, has come Labor Secretary Wirtz's strike-breaking brainchild, the so-called Board of Public Accountability, and Gov. Rockefeller's proposed Commission of Public Concern.

Though aimed at the printers specifically, that commission would have been a permanent body — and a permanent threat to the whole labor movement in New York state. But for their own reasons — believed to be mainly fear of having to open their books to investigators with subpoena powers, the publishers opposed creation of this commission. So Rockefeller stopped pressing for it. He lamely explained that his real purpose was to provoke discussion and stimulate an exchange of views.

## PAMPHLET REVIEW

# A Crusading Writer Tells Monroe Story

PEOPLE WITH STRENGTH. By Truman Nelson. 37 pp., 35 cents. Distributed by Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants, 168 W. 23 St., New York 11, N. Y.

This booklet, in which Truman Nelson tells the story of Monroe, N. C., is an important contribution to the defense in the framed-up Monroe "kidnap" case and a worthy addition to the literature of the civil-rights movement.

Truman Nelson is a novelist and a scholar of the abolitionist movement. His first two works, *The Sin of the Prophet* and *The Passion By the Brook* dealt with Boston's stirring abolitionist and transcendentalist days. His recent novel, *The Surveyor*, is the first of a cycle on John Brown. Nelson is also chairman of the Boston chapter of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants. By joining this struggle of his fellow men for justice, he sets an example for American artists and scholars, so often isolated in their ivory towers.

To open his pamphlet, Nelson combines reports of participants with his own feeling for Monroe, which he has visited, to reconstruct with a novelist's skill the riot that took place there August 17, 1961. At that time some 5,000 Klan-minded racists with police condonance broke up a picket line of Freedom Riders and local civil-rights activists.

This riot was the immediate background to an incident for which four people are still facing trial and possible life sentences. But for a real understanding of what happened, the more general background of the Monroe story has to be filled in, and this inevitably revolves around the figure of Robert F. Williams.

If you have never heard the story of Rob Williams, here is the complete account. If you have, it loses nothing in this retelling. In fact, it gains by the revelation of its broader significance.

Here is the account of how Wil-



Robert F. Williams

liams built the NAACP in Monroe with a difference; how a Negro defense guard stymied KKK night-riding; how the Klan turned to legal terrorism instead.

A number of incidents are used to show the typical interpenetration of racism and the state in Dixie: such as the frameup of Dr. Albert Perry, NAACP leader in Monroe and now chairman of CAMD; the Kissing Case, which brought Monroe international notoriety; the series of legal crimes which provoked Williams to tell the press "Negroes must meet violence with violence."

Nelson further shows from the Monroe story how racism blights not only our social life and Southern politics but penetrates even to the core of our national government. The FBI's legalized manhunt for Williams, which forced him to seek exile in Cuba, and Attorney General Kennedy's refusal to prosecute in a documented case of police complicity, in the brutal beating of a Freedom Rider in the Monroe jail, are the

clearest demonstrations of this fact.

Nelson effectively uses his familiarity with the history of abolitionism, Civil War and Reconstruction. His contrasting of Williams' Unitarian 'friends' — who abandoned him when he built a defense guard, with the fighting anti-slavery minister of old, Theodore Parker, has an important message for whites today who wish to render real assistance to the Negro struggle.

The background of the Monroe story develops into an account of the so-called "kidnap" incident. At the height of tension, while the racists still rioted downtown, a white couple, the Stegalls, drove into Monroe's armed Negro district. A map of Monroe in the pamphlet helps one to visualize the events.

The details of who the Stegalls were and how they were treated for the two hours they remained in the Negro community are very important since the legalities of the case turn on them. Any fair-minded person, after reading Nelson's account, will condemn this unjust and absurd prosecution.

Nelson reports that Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who would like to get Rob Williams as much as he would William Worthy, said of this case, "I would hope and expect that persons responsible for the violence, including the holding of a man and his wife as hostages [sic], will be prosecuted to the full extent of the law."

We reply to the voice of legalized terror in the words of this honest pamphleteering novelist: "... enough, enough, enough of this wicked revenge! The Stegalls had a bad two hours, but they went free, unhurt, and this unceasing and procrastinating torture of five people is legal sadism. Quash the indictments and let Williams come home."

—George Bailey

# World Events

## Nigerian Strike

Four policemen were injured and 25 workers arrested on Feb. 7 when striking dockworkers clashed with cops on the Lagos waterfront. The clash was caused by an order from the Nigerian Port Authority, directing labor contractors to get the 6,000 striking dock workers back to work within 48 hours.

## Soviet Protest to Japan

The Soviet Union charged Japan with preparing to accept U.S. nuclear weapons and said that this would force the USSR to take counteraction. The Soviet based its charge on what it said was a U.S.-Japan agreement to have U.S. nuclear subs call at Japanese ports. The Soviet memorandum said that this accord is "intended to pave the way for the introduction of U.S. nuclear weapons into Japan." Premier Ikeda rejected the memorandum, but told parliament that U.S. nuclear subs would not be allowed to enter Japanese ports if they carried polaris missiles.

## New Argentine Crackdown

A UPI dispatch reported that the Argentine military dictatorship cracked down on "extremists, subversives and followers of former dictator Juan D. Peron" after a union meeting at which a tape-recorded speech by Peron called for a revolt. At the same time deposed President Arturo Frondizi was moved to a new place of imprisonment 1,100 miles south of Buenos Aires.

## Japan's Best Customer

The U.S. is Japan's only one-billion-dollar customer, according to the U.S. Dept. of Commerce.

## Students Back Teachers

A thousand Greek students demonstrated in front of the university in Athens, protesting the return-to-work ultimatum of the government to 30,000 schoolteachers in the 20th day of their strike for higher wages.

## Italian CP Press Declines

The Rome correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor* reports that the press of the Italian Communist Party is declining rapidly. Two papers have folded and more closings are expected. The decline, he states, is due not only to loss of circulation and party membership, but to the new party line and to open conflict "where, for instance, one Communist paper will deny what has appeared in another..." "Though finances," he continues, "are the main cause of the slaughter in the Communist press there is also the fact that the party has ceased to propagate a 'revolutionary aim' and has settled down to a more tranquil position of collaboration... with the present left-of-center Italian government. Co-existence is in the air, and this does not require such a weight of journalistic propaganda."

## More U.S. Casualties

A U.S. Army captain killed in a skirmish with guerrillas on Jan. 31 raised the number of U.S. servicemen killed in South Vietnam in the last 14 months to 55. The Kennedy administration calls these U.S. troops military "advisers."

## Japanese Unions Grow

The Japanese Labor Ministry reported that trade-union mem-

bership grew by 6 per cent in 1962 to 8,790,000 members, this amounts to 35 per cent of the entire labor force.

## North Korean Production Up

North Korea's gross industrial output in 1962 increased in value by 20 per cent over the preceding year, the *New China News Agency* said. Quoting a report issued by the Central Statistical Board of North Korea's State Planning Commission, it said national income last year also increased about 10 per cent.

## One-Way Street

On Jan. 1 the Spanish Government reduced excise taxes on a variety of consumer items in an attempt to curb run-away inflation. The *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent reports, "In theory, prices should have dropped appreciably with regard to a variety of foodstuffs, beverages, electricity, etc." To shopkeepers who said that they had not reduced prices "because we never got official orders to do so," shoppers angrily retorted that when "taxes are raised, we don't recall that the merchants waited for official orders to pass on the cost to the consumer."

## Spiegel Editor Released

Rudolf Angstein, editor of *Der Spiegel*, was released from prison on Feb. 8, Angstein and 10 members of his staff had been arrested on Oct. 27 and charged with treason because of articles critical of the West German armed forces. Many of them were arrested in the middle of the night in procedures reminiscent of Nazi methods.

## FIDEL CASTRO

on

## Marxism-Leninism

(Speech of Dec. 2, 1961)

84 pages

\$1

## PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place

Ask for our new literature list



# Letters From Our Readers

## Striker's View

New York, N.Y.

As a striking printer I have more time these days — after my daily tour of duty on the picket line — to catch up on my reading. Thus, one of the unexpected results of the strike has been my very rewarding renewal of acquaintance with *The Militant*.

First, I'd like to say that *The Militant's* reports on the strike and lockout are the most thorough I've seen, especially in explaining the struggle of the printers to preserve their union as a fighting instrument and to compel the powerful publishers' association to sit down and bargain across the table in good faith.

For over ten years, by following a "divide-and-rule" strategy, they have been able to whittle away at the once proud position of the typographical union in the front ranks of organized labor.

The last two years have seen the publishers' arrogance expand to the point where they arbitrarily fired a chapel (shop) chairman at one newspaper and once more succeeded, after dragging out negotiations for over seven months past contract expiration, in forcing down our throats another "package" deal swindle. The dollars-and-cents clause in this last contract was so bad we had to give up medical benefits already secured in past contracts — or else settle without any increase at all for the first year of the contract!

*The Militant* has correctly put its finger on one weak spot in the printers' armor — the lack of publicity in the form of our own paper to get our side of the story to the rest of the laboring public. Undoubtedly the strike leaders have had to concentrate on the main problem of maintaining unity of the ten crafts involved against the continuous attempts by the publishers' association to find a weak link. In fact, one great gain already achieved by the strike has been the forging of this fighting unity of all the printing crafts for the first time!

But the lack of our own paper has handicapped us in our efforts to break through the curtain of lies rung down by the publishers on big-business-dominated TV, radio and all the other media of publicity. They have also suppressed any mention of the threat of automation to the livelihood of hundreds of skilled men with years of service on the newspapers. The publishers feel that these veteran printers have no right to demand a share in the benefits they will reap from greatly increased productivity. That helped to explain why they refused to negotiate in good faith.

I would like to also say that I have found most inspiring *The Militant's* coverage of the Cuban events, especially the complete translation of Castro's speech to the women's conference in the Feb. 4 issue. The striking printers, who continue to man their picket lines with excellent morale, would understand Castro's message without any trouble when he says, "And there will be no division here! There will be unity here! . . . Because the imperialist enemy is before us, waiting to destroy us, and we need unity in order to be able to resist! We need unity to win!" Just substitute "arrogant lords of the press" for "imperialist enemy."

### Striking Printer

### Rebel to Rebel

East Aurora, N.Y.

I am a high school student so my ideas still aren't backed up by a great deal of experience but it is a challenge to me to comment on the letter from "Black Rebel" in the Feb. 4 issue of *The Militant*.

It is right for the Black Rebel to unite with his own kind for the common purpose of fighting for their equality. He should fight for his natural right to equality, even if it means with those who oppose him politically.

But if the Negro looks to the past, which has not freed him yet, he will continue to live as if he was still in it. The answer, therefore, must be a new idea.

The politician will arrive at the inevitable conclusion sooner or later that he will have to support the Negro in order to stay in office. When he comes to this conclusion, and when other whites come to the same conclusion, the Negro will have the trust worthy allies that he needs so much.

### Thought for the Week

"No legislative body cherishes the right to debate more than the United States Senate, but none employs its prerogative less. Senators talk a great deal, listen less often, and only rarely engage in the give-and-take of reasoned argument." — From a Washington dispatch to the Feb. 7 *Wall Street Journal*.

The Negro and white will arrive at the same basic and mutually suitable philosophy. These people will be the most precious weapon in his war that he could hope for. They will multiply, and the final goal that they both desire will be near.

### White Rebel

### Capitalist Hanky-Panky?

Oakland, Calif.

In the Jan. 28 *Militant* "Jobless Worker" calls capitalist statistics a sham. In particular he disbelieves the unemployment statistics, based on only those presently drawing insurance benefits. He gets help for this thesis from the following in the February issue of *Holiday* magazine in an article on the Department of Labor:

"We couldn't juggle the figures if we wanted to; we operate in a goldfish bowl," a BLS (Bureau of Labor Statistics) statistician said a year or so ago in answering irresponsible charges that unemployment figures are being manipulated to promote welfare legislation.

"More than a score of angry business leaders rushed immediately to the bureau's defense. The unemployment figures, collected for BLS by the Census Bureau, are tabulated and analyzed by methods worked out in regular meetings with the Business Research Advisory Council appointed by the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers. The Council would hardly countenance any Socialistic hanky-panky with the statistics."

B.A.B.

## Myrdal on Class Lines

Columbia, Mo.

Last week in an address before the Fund for the Republic, the bourgeois economist and sociologist, Gunnar Myrdal, made several points which should be of interest to radicals, coming as they do from a man who has functioned as a semi-official spokesman for the "liberal establishment" since publication 19 years ago of his highly influential study of the Negro struggle, *An American Dilemma*. This last address, however, dealt more with economics.

Discussing the present stagnation of the American economy and the probable effects of this on foreign policy, Myrdal states, "Internally it is apt to create rigid class chasms and, in particular, to cause the growth of an underprivileged class not sharing in the nation's opportunities."

Presumably Mr. Myrdal is unaware that such a class has existed, and remained relatively static since the formation of an urban American proletariat in the two decades following the Civil War. Seemingly blind to the contradiction with his previous statement about an underprivileged class developing in the future, Myrdal went on the point out that more than two-fifths of the American people right now "do not share to an substantial extent in the abundance commonly assumed to characterize American society." And, Myrdal concludes, "The affluent society is largely a myth, except for a privileged upper strata."

What Myrdal is really saying is that as the American empire shrinks, the contradictions within capitalism are becoming more clearly apparent — and along rigidly stratified class lines at that. Which underscores exactly what Marx and Lenin delineated in their investigations of capitalism and imperialism.

Set into the context of the 1960's all this is related in this way: The American capitalist class has found a new source of super-profits in automated industry and the temporary gains from this are so immense that they will use every organ of their state apparatus to secure them. Consequently, Kennedy's "hard" line to secure the empire abroad will be paralleled at home by an all-out attack against civil rights, civil liberties (the outlawing of workers' organizations and parties, notably the Communist Party) and anything else pertaining to freedom. Any political organization that fails to recognize the class interconnection of all forms of reactions is dooming itself to ineffectuality and is ultimately doing a grave disservice to the working class.

Dave Cunningham

## Our Large-Size Thanks

Romulus, Mich.

Although your publication is small in size it carries more objective reporting than ever I have ever read.

T.H.

## 10 YEARS AGO

"Several . . . widely publicized incidents have occurred recently which indicate the mounting disgust with the Korean war . . .

"The courts-martial and conviction, with heavy prison sentences at hard labor, of 87 men and one officer of the famed 65th Regiment, made up mainly of Puerto Ricans, was very revealing. These men were accused of breaking and running, refusing to counter-attack and disobeying orders in an attack on Kelly Hill. A 'large portion' of those who refused to fight, according to Maj. Walton McMullen of the 3rd Infantry Division, were not raw replacements but veterans being returned to the lines. They had some of the best combat records of the war." — Feb. 16, 1953

## 20 YEARS AGO

"Soviet propaganda leaflets which were showered upon Hitler's soldiers at Stalingrad have been reprinted in this country by the Stalinists . . .

"The entire emphasis of the leaflets is upon the horror of war and the military reverses Hitler has suffered. The cover of one consists of a photograph of two German soldiers horribly mangled by an explosion, and the superimposed picture of a German child crying, 'Papa ist tot' (Father is dead).

"Such horror propaganda can have an effect upon an army in which demoralization has already appeared, but it is only the limited propaganda weapon used by any imperialist army against its faltering rival. Stalin refuses to use the greatest propaganda weapon in the world, the weapon that only the Soviet Union could use, that of revolutionary appeal to the worker-soldier in the opposing army . . .

"But Stalin's propaganda follows the reactionary capitalist pattern. It has nothing in common with Lenin's methods. Stalin offers the German workers no aid in throwing off the shackles of fascism and imperialism and no promise of support in their struggle to create a German workers' state . . .

"No hand of fraternity here — no common cause against the capitalist oppressors and for the establishment of the Socialist United States of Europe . . .

"The Red Army is delivering defeats to Hitler's army the hard way. They are deprived of revolutionary propaganda which could have disintegrated the German forces months ago and saved thousands upon thousands of Soviet lives." — Feb. 13, 1943

# It Was Reported in the Press

**Memo from Gen. Swivelhead** — "Army recruiters are trying a new twist — 'the Army Enlistment Twist.' A spokesman said the best way to reach teenagers is through their kind of music. So a song aimed at the younger set was recorded . . . An Army plug distributed with the record says 'This spin should make lots of instant infantry. Let's fire one, bend our knees, swivel our hips and twist on down and enlist.' From a Jan. 25 AP dispatch.

**Wonder Why?** — "The American Medical Association is truly an amazing group. Its officials can spew millions of words from their plush offices in Chicago on subjects outside their competence — such as the economic problems of retired people. But, on subjects which they have competence to speak — such as how to protect American mothers against untried drugs like thalidomide — they seem to have a muzzle over their mouths." — Aime J. Forand, president of the National Council of Senior Citizens in the Jan. 27 *Record*, voice of the AFL-CIO Wholesale, Retail & Department Store Union.

**Attention Chemical Workers** — The *Wall Street Journal* reports that doctors at the Union Carbide Corp. "encourage key employees who are showing signs of strain and tension to take four-day weekends" — key executive employees, that is.

**A Suggestion** — A newsletter from Senator Stephen Young (D-Ohio) includes these points: The U.S. has stockpiled enough feathers to last 2,000 years; Fidel Castro, "who appears to be a dope addict," must be overthrown by

the U.S.; The U.S. "should eradicate Marxist thinking from the minds of Cuban children." Why not give Senator Young a supply of those surplus feathers and ship him to Cuba where he can try dusting that pernicious Marxism from the minds of the children?

**Our Rational Society** — At the end of 1962 the federal government had a record surplus of 300 million pounds of butter stored away to keep the price up.

**Warning to China** — The Daisy Manufacturing Company of Dallas, Texas, is considering an Indian government offer to buy 50,000 air rifles and an appropriate amount of BB shot. The proposed contract would also include building of a factory in India to turn out air rifles. "It's part of the country's national defense program against Communist China," explained Daisy president C. S. Hough.

**Modern Times** — Working on the problem of how to turn out leaner hogs without increasing food costs, University of California researchers have developed an

elevated feed trough which compels the pig to stand on his hind legs to eat. The exercise trims the rear end by about five per cent.

**Time Schedule** — A new portable disaster kit includes a stove and enough fuel to cook 42 meals. That means that if you sleep late and limit yourself to brunch and dinner you're good for 21 days.

**An Awfully Misunderstood Word** — Republican national chairman William E. Miller says: "An awful lot of people are thinking an awful lot of Nelson Rockefeller."

**News of the Week** — A press release from the National Bureau of Economic Research describes its new book, *Aspects of Labor Economics*. The release states: "One paper, by Jacob Mincer of Columbia University . . . deals with 'Labor Force Participation of Married Women.' The more husbands earn, says Mincer, the less likely it is that wives will seek a job . . . Another of Mincer's findings is that women are even more apt to seek jobs . . . if their husbands currently earn less than their normal long-run earnings."

## 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.**





## Unrequited Love

ALICE REPORTS



## No Tax Dough for Jim Crow, Urges Roy Wilkins of NAACP

NEW YORK — Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, has called on the association's members and supporters to pay their federal income tax this year under protest against the use of tax funds for segregated institutions, facilities and services.

The action is intended to demonstrate to President Kennedy the need to "issue a single, sweeping Executive Order which will stop, once and for all, any and all grants, loans, subsidies and supports to states which refuse to obey the Constitution and which use this money for segregated and discriminatory activity."

Every year, Wilkins pointed out, "hundreds of millions of dollars — your tax dollars — are given to defiant Southern states by the federal government." This tax money, he said, "is used to build or support Jim Crow schools, Jim Crow colleges, Jim Crow research projects, Jim Crow hospitals, Jim Crow farm programs, housing, job training and employment service."

Wilkins said everybody should pay their taxes, "but every taxpayer has the right to make known his objection to the use of his taxes in ways that undermine the Constitution."

Federal monies account for over 20 per cent of the total expenditures of some Southern states.

Mississippi, for example, got \$71 million in federal money in 1960, the NAACP leader said.

He advised every person paying his income tax between now and April 15 to enclose a statement protesting "the expenditure of any of his payments on programs in states which segregate and discriminate."

## U.S. Court Rejects Clemency for Sobell

Ten years ago when Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were electrocuted they died protesting their innocence to the end. Today, Morton Sobell languishes in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary still claiming his innocence.

The Rosenbergs and Sobell were accused of giving the "secret" of the atom bomb to the Soviet Union. Helen Sobell, wife of the prisoner, said, "Today the idea that Russia could have obtained her atomic bomb from the Rosenbergs is recognized as absurd. I have heard many people agree, but add that surely the Rosenbergs must have been guilty of something. But of what if not that for which they were put to death?"

"Throughout the years more and more people have exposed the unreliable witnesses whose word was then accepted. (There was no documentary evidence.) Lies and inconsistencies in the testimony have been shown."

Nevertheless, Morton Sobell remains in prison. On Feb. 6 his latest appeal for clemency was turned down by the U.S. Court of Appeals. The entire Rosenberg-Sobell case is so sordid that no one in Washington wants to chance its reopening. They would prefer to keep an innocent man in prison than to shed light on this shameful episode in our history.

"How Do You, the Jury, Find? — The Rosenberg-Sobell Case After Ten Years" will be the topic of a meeting to review the case, on Wed., Feb. 27, 8:15 P.M. at Community Church, 40 East 35th St., New York City. Speakers will include Rowland Watts and Helen Sobell. A highlight will be a showing of a new documentary film, "Morton Sobell — A Plea for Justice."



Roy Wilkins

## Publisher Peddles Hogwash in Debate On Cleveland Strike

CLEVELAND, Feb. 11 — A widely televised and broadcast debate last Wednesday night between a publisher and a union leader in the Cleveland newspaper strike had no bearing on the real issues that concern the overwhelming majority of the workers involved.

Louis B. Seltzer, publisher of the *Cleveland Press*, however, did underscore one lesson for all the workers listening. His implied threat that Noel Wical, his opponent in the debate, might not have a job after the strike, made it clear that the only protection workers have is their union.

They got the message. The steering policy committee of the Cleveland Newspaper Guild voted unanimously to recommend to the Press unit that continued employment of Noel Wical, chairman of the Guild unit at Seltzer's paper, be made a condition of contract acceptance.

More significant strike developments than the "great debate" and all the attendant hoopla were the addition of another union's pickets to the line and ratification of a contract by the Pressmen's union.

Charles Thomson, chairman of the Printcraft Unity Council and secretary of Photoengravers Local 24, congratulated the Pressmen, the first of the eleven unions negotiating with the two dailies to secure an acceptable contract. Thomson made it clear, however, that the Pressmen's \$10 wage increase over two years, plus other benefits, including improved manning on some printing jobs, do not necessarily provide a pattern for settlement of the strike.

The Photoengravers authorized strike action at the discretion of their bargaining committee, by a vote of 267 to 15 on Feb. 3. The next day, Machinists Local 439 posted pickets in front of the *Press* and *Plain Dealer*, joining four other unions on strike — the Guild, Teamsters, Typographical union, and Mailers.

The almost hysterical charges of *Press* publisher Seltzer that the strike was precipitated by the Guild leaders' "deceit and trickery" and his cries that a union-security clause would endanger "free speech, a free press, a free country" are thus regarded by the newspaper workers as so much hogwash. The basic issue in the strike for all of the newspaper workers is protection of their standard of living and maintenance of unions through which to do it.

## Pickets at Harvard Tell Barnett: Racist Go Home

When Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett spoke to a less than sympathetic Harvard audience on Feb. 4, he was countered by a picket line called by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance. A group of Negroes from the Roxbury section of Boston and the Cambridge Ward 4 Republican Club joined the line in front of Sanders Theater on the Harvard campus.

The pickets carried signs, reading: "We Support Free Speech, We Oppose Segregation," "Racists Go Home," "Negroes Don't Vote in Mississippi — Whose Governor is Barnett?"

Inside, Barnett studiously avoided a direct discussion of segregation and the oppression of the Negro people in his state. Rather, he camouflaged his racism with talk of "state's rights" by which he means the "rights" of the ruling circles in Mississippi to oppress both the Negroes and poor whites.

## New Mexican Peasant Union Evokes Storm of Controversy

By William Bundy

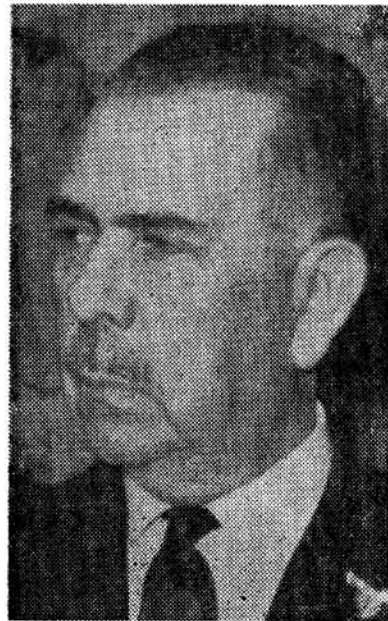
An unprecedented storm of controversy has broken out in Mexico over a new peasant union which was formed last Dec. 26. Ex-President Lázaro Cárdenas is the target of a torrent of criticism from right-wing, government, center, and even some left-wing newspapers and spokesmen for having given his support to the founding of the group. The new organization, the *Central Campesina Independiente* (CCI) calls for the enforcement of the 48-year-old land reform law which has never been carried out on the bulk of the good land.

All recent Mexican governments have promised implementation of the law but exceptions are always made for favorites of the administration, powerful landowners and wealthy U.S. ranchers. During his administration (1934-40) Cárdenas distributed more land than all other Mexican presidents, before or since, but there are now more landless peasants than at the end of his term of office.

The CCI demands nationalization of private banks and other measures to ensure credit, fertilizers, machinery and processing facilities to co-operatives and small farmers. Under present conditions they cannot operate as efficiently as the large capitalist holdings.

Formation of the CCI is being attacked as a "communist plot" by various right-wing groups. The government-backed peasant union considers it a rival and blasts it as "divisionist." The *Partido Socialista Popular*, lead by Vincente Lombardo Toledano, has declared that the CCI's criticism of the government's agrarian policy breaks the "patriotic, national, democratic front" behind President Adolfo López Mateos. Lombardo Toledano, who headed the Communist Party in the 1930's and 1940's, denounces the CCI as "neo-Trotskyist."

The Movement of National Liberation and the Communist Party have issued statements supporting the CCI. Most major political figures in the country have ex-



Lázaro Cárdenas

pressed alarm at Cárdenas' appearance at the founding meeting of the CCI. Cárdenas declared Jan. 21 that the storm of criticism reveals once again that the agrarian problem remains to be solved.

The CCI says that, while poverty and even starvation are common in the countryside, some 200 million acres of land are owned by 9,600 large landowners. President Kennedy, meeting with López Mateos last year declared that Mexico's land reform was the oldest and most successful in the world.

Squatters' movements, in which landless peasants occupy large landholdings have been growing recently and many of their leaders helped form the CCI which claims one million members. One of the three CCI general secretaries is Alfonso Garzón, leader of the peasants and migrant laborers in the Mexicali Valley of Baja California. He was arrested last November in a demonstration against the U.S.-owned corporation that controls much of Mexico's cotton crop.

See background story on page 4

## CORE: Don't Buy Sealtest Until Jim-Crow Hiring Stops

A consumer boycott of products of the Sealtest Dairy Company in the New York City area is being actively pressed by the Congress of Racial Equality and has been endorsed by a large number of community and labor leaders. The purpose of the boycott is to force the company to cease its discrimination against Negro and Puerto Rican workers.

Sealtest operates under the brand names Sealtest, Sheffield Dairies and Breyer's Ice Cream in New York City. The company is a division of National Dairy Products Corporation, the world's largest dairy corporation with plants in every state in the union. It is hoped that a change in the New York hiring policies will lay the groundwork for significant results elsewhere.

### Four Plants

The company maintains four plants and a headquarters in New York City, employs over 900 persons, only 12 of whom were Negro or Puerto Rican at the time of a survey last August. The situation was brought to the attention of the management which declared it was "already doing everything in our power to employ qualified Negroes and Spanish-Americans." CORE estimates that at the present time there are only 25

Negroes and Puerto Ricans at Sealtest in a work force of 946.

A CORE negotiating team demanded that Sealtest: 1) hire at least 10 Negroes or Puerto Ricans within 30 days; 2) hire a minimum of 50 during the coming year. The company refused. Subsequently the New York area chapters of CORE called for a boycott of the three brand names: Sealtest, Sheffield Dairy and Breyer's Ice Cream.

Among those endorsing the boycott are: Dr. C. Asapansa-Johnson, president of the Interdenominational Ministers of Greater New York; Warren Bunn, president of Brooklyn NAACP; Morris Iushevit, secretary of the N.Y. AFL-CIO Central Labor Council; Juan Mas, of the Federation of Hispanic Societies; Jerry Wurf, district director of the State County and Municipal Employees Union; Charles Zimmerman, vice-president of the ILGWU; and A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

## Travel-to-Cuba Party

NEW YORK — The Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba is giving a party Friday evening Feb. 23, at 325 W. 93rd St., Apt. 23. The committee plans to continue actions against the travel ban.