

Sino-Soviet Breach Widens

By William F. Warde

The tenth anniversary of Stalin's death coincides with a new phase in the prolonged international crisis of Stalinism. This is being brought to a head by the sharpening of the Sino-Soviet dispute.

The present differences between Moscow and Peking date back to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party held in 1956. They first came into the open during 1959 and 1960. In the three years since, their disagreements have deepened to such an extent that the contending parties have edged close to the breaking point.

Every major collision in world politics involving the workers' states pulls the two sides farther apart. The tension between them has been most acute over the Cuban affair and the India-China border dispute.

After withdrawing the Soviet missiles from Cuba, Khrushchev felt obliged to take the offensive in defending his policies against his Chinese critics. The Chinese suggested that the Kremlin had been "adventurous" in

placing the rockets in Cuba and "cowardly opportunistic" for removing them under Kennedy's ultimatum.

The platforms of the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Czechoslovakian and Italian Communist Party congresses were used to assail the Chinese positions. This concerted campaign culminated in the booing of the head of the Chinese CP delegation at the East German Communist congress in January and the refusal of the directors of that congress to permit the North Korean and Indonesian CP representatives sympathetic to China to speak there.

The Peking *People's Daily* declared on Dec. 15, 1962: "The minimum demand that can be made of a communist is that he should make a clear distinction between the enemy and his own comrades."

The Kremlin certainly failed to do this in the boundary clash between India and China. The majority of the Indian CP backed Nehru. Moscow took an equivocal diplomatic posture which was tantamount to supporting capitalist India against Communist China. Its followers joined Nehru in the anti-China chorus. The Peking press

correctly characterized this line of conduct as a betrayal of proletarian internationalism.

On several occasions both sides have called for a cessation of the polemics. According to a Peking report, the central committees of the Communist parties in both countries have "affirmed the necessity" of exploratory talks. This restriction of negotiations over the controversial issues to bilateral talks indicates that Khrushchev is most reluctant to consent to another gathering of all the Communist parties. He wishes to defer that as long as possible.

As matters stand, such a conference would be more likely to deepen and hasten a split than to ease the differences. The Communist parties have already held three such conferences, one at Moscow in 1957, another at Bucharest in 1959, and a third at Moscow in 1960. Although the statements issued from the two Moscow meetings were unanimously adopted, they did dispose of

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Rank-and-File Printers Take Dim View of Wagner Pact

By Jack Katz

NEW YORK, March 13 — While leaders of organized labor hailed Mayor Wagner's March 8 recommendations for settlement of the 96-day printers' strike and the mayor received President Kennedy's congratulations, the printers on the picket lines, whom no one has consulted so far, are talking about rejecting the mayor's contract. A combined chapel meeting of the *Journal-American* and *Daily Mirror* on March 12, voted 450 to 2 against the contract. At the *World-Telegram* the vote was 208 to 2 against and at the *Long Island Press*, 100 to 0 against.

Pickets in their overwhelming majority are seething and furious at the mayor's recommendations. They agree with the initial response of Big-Six President Bertram Powers and the Scale Committee who had unanimously turned down the mayor's proposals as "unsatisfactory." The local union's leadership reversed itself after it learned that International Typographical Union President Elmer Brown, independently of them had accepted Mayor Wagner's settlement terms.

Proposed Contract

- An economic package worth \$6.51 for the first year and an additional \$5.76 in the second year. This is broken down to a wage increase of \$4 each year with the major share of the balance going for increased differential pay for the night and lobster (past midnight) shifts and, in the second year, for two additional days of sick leave.

- Common contract expiration date for all ten newspaper unions. The exact date would be two years from the date on which work is resumed.

- A reduction of 15 minutes in the working day in the second year of the contract, with the understanding that the workers give up their traditional 15-minute wash-up time. The sole effect of the reduction of hours would be to increase the overtime rate.

- Incorporation of the principle that the workers should share in the benefits of increased productivity resulting from the introduction of automation in the form of

punched tape from outside for setting stock-exchange quotations without linotype operators. This section would be arbitrated later if there was no agreement on the union's share of the resulting benefits.

It is the serious inadequacies of the economic sections of the contract that have angered the workers most. After a grueling 14-week battle, the pickets feel that they have won the fight and lost the purse.

They felt that they were in the 14th round of a championship 15-round and that they were close to a KO. The *Post's* resumption of publication put the publishers under increasing pressure. Strike benefits were ample while the publishers faced the loss of Easter

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Right-to-Speak Fight Is Won by Seattle Socialist

SEATTLE — An attempt by the John Birch Society to prevent Frank Krasnowsky, a spokesman of the Socialist Workers Party, from appearing before a high-school forum held the attention of this city's news media for a week. When school officials surrendered to the ultra right and cancelled Krasnowsky's scheduled appearance before the Ballard High School Forum on Feb. 27, the volume of protests became so great that on March 6 the principal of Ballard High announced that the SWP representative was being re-scheduled to address the student forum.

The Ballard Forum is an after-school-hours student group which has presented speakers of widely divergent viewpoints. It recently attempted to arrange a debate between Krasnowsky of the SWP, and Don Flynn, organizer of the local John Birch Society. Flynn begged off debating and the students then arranged separate meetings. But this did not satisfy the Birchites who began a campaign to prevent the students from hearing the SWP viewpoint.

Flynn visited the school to demand that spokesman of any party on the "subversive" list be barred. This was followed by a Birchite-organized telephone campaign to pressure Principal Peter Schneller, who — at the last minute — "in-

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Kennedy Woos Tyrants To Help Strangle Cuba

By Fred Halstead

MARCH 13 — President John F. Kennedy flies to San José, Costa Rica next week as a step in the preparations of "collective action" against Cuba. One of his chief goals there is the imposition of a rigid thought control on Latin America, and the drawing of a tight iron curtain around Cuba in an attempt to prevent the spread of its revolutionary ideas. This attempt is doomed to failure, however, for revolution is an idea whose time has come in Latin America.

Kennedy will be attending a conference of the five countries in the Central American Common Market and Panama. All these countries are in severe economic difficulties, and a number are ruled by dictatorships, with large sections of their populations illiterate, hungry and near revolt. As in most of the rest of Latin America, a good part of the difficulty — from the point of view of the U.S. State Department — stems from the fact that conditions which the masses of the people have lived under for years, have now become intolerable. The example of Cuba, where hunger and illiteracy have been eliminated, demonstrates that such conditions are unnecessary.

Roa Letter

Therefore Kennedy hopes to cut off news of that example and, if possible, destroy it. Cuban Foreign Minister Raúl Roa sent a letter to UN Secretary General U Thant March 4 detailing the new preparations for aggression against Cuba made by the U.S. since Jan. 7. That is the date the UN negotiations over the October Cuban crisis came to an end. These preparations have for the most part been reported in the U.S. press. They include the creation of a special office to co-ordinate anti-Cuba actions, and the appointment of Sterling J. Cottrell to head that office. Cottrell, an assistant under-secretary of state for inter-American affairs, is an expert in guerilla warfare with experience in Vietnam and Laos.

Roa pointed out that testimony given to the Special Security Commission of the Organization of American States by representatives of Venezuela, Guatemala and Argentina is designed to provide the cover for "collective aggression" against Cuba. "May this denunciation," said Roa, "serve as a cry of alarm in view of the incontrovertible facts I have outlined and as a warning of the aggression that is being prepared against Cuba, with unusual disregard for international public opinion. May it also serve as a categorical restatement of the fact that the socialist path of national development, chosen by the Cuban people, represents an inalienable right which that people and the

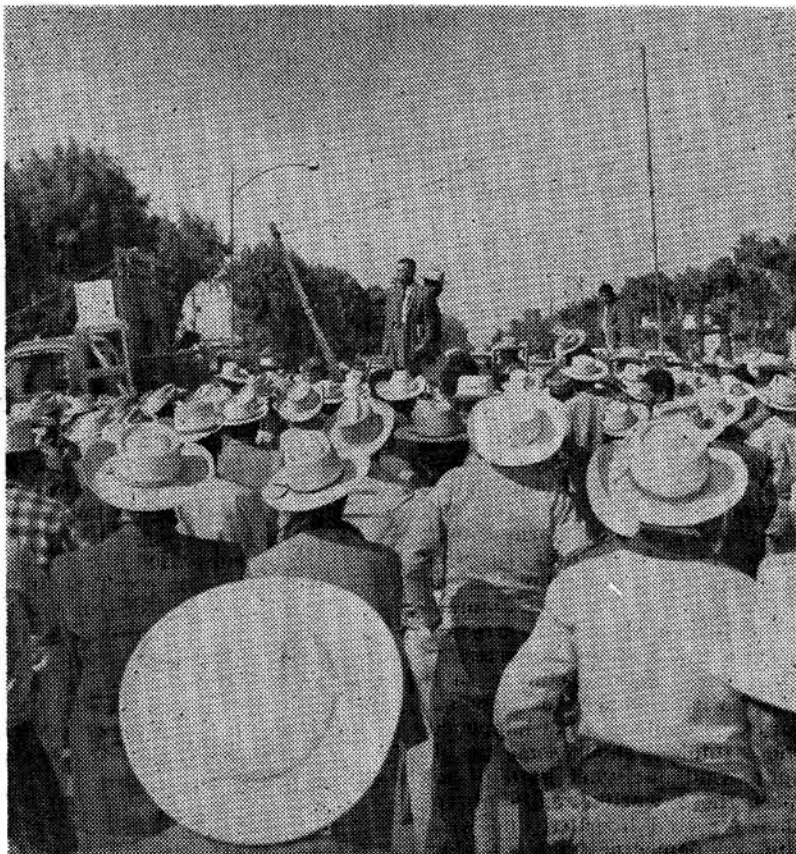


Raúl Roa

Revolutionary Government are prepared to defend to the last drop of blood."

The main line of defense for the Cuban Revolution and for the revolutionary rights of the rest of the people of Latin America against the attack being organized by Kennedy has already been outlined by Castro. He reiterated it in unmistakable terms in his Jan. 16 speech (published in the Feb. 4 *Militant*). The main line of defense is the making of the rev-

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PROTESTING HIGH COST OF WATER. Leader of Mexican peasant union addresses rally in Mexicali during fight against move to raise price of irrigation water. See story on page 8.

To Keep Hemisphere 'Free'

"Prohibit travel to Cuba . . . Limit all activities (lectures, festivals, art and sports missions, congresses, dramas, exhibitions, etc.) that tend to favor communist propaganda . . . exercise strict control over the broadcasts of the legally established radio stations for the purpose of severely punishing those guilty of carrying on propaganda activities of a communist nature . . ."

"Establish a postal control of printed matter entering or leaving a country . . . Circulation of any publication containing subversive propaganda of a communist nature should be prohibited . . . prohibit the showing of films produced in the countries of the communist bloc and those others produced in other countries which, in the judgment of the governments, favor communist propaganda . . . exercise control over television programs that favor communist propaganda." — Report released Feb. 20 by the Special Consultative Committee on Security of the Organization of American States, as reported in the March 4 I. F. Stone's Bi-Weekly.

Spreading the Truth

Wide Cleveland Audience Hears Worthy

CLEVELAND, March 11 — Thousands of listeners in this area last week heard provocative discussions of national, international and local implications of the freedom-to-travel issue involved in the current government prosecution of William Worthy.

In a four-day visit here, the noted newsman spoke at two public meetings and a private reception, was interviewed by two television and four radio stations, and by the local strike-born daily newspaper, the *Cleveland Record*.

The Negro community demonstrated its appreciation of the significance of Worthy's challenge of government travel bans. A welcoming committee from the United Negro Executive Council greeted him on arrival and sponsored a meeting at which some 150 people heard him speak on "The Plight of Black America — Where Do We Go From Here?"

Platform Speakers

This subject had been selected by young, grass-roots organizations which had united to sponsor the meeting. On the platform, representing them, were Don Freeman, chairman of the Afro-American Institute; Louis Robinson, president of the Freedom Fighters of Ohio; Jack Johnson, chairman of the Central Civic Club; and Robert Dumas, co-chairman of the East Side Federation of Ordinary People, an organization of unemployed. Ruth Turner, president of Cleveland CORE, also contrib-

Mallory Bail Set

The full bench of the Ohio Supreme Court on March 8 set bail for Mrs. Mae Mallory, political fugitive from a racist frame-up in Monroe, North Carolina. This reaffirmed the action two weeks earlier of Chief Justice Kingsley Taft which had been immediately challenged. In upholding the setting of bail, however, the high court tripled the sum to be posted from \$5,000 to \$15,000.

uted to the brief introductory remarks.

Worthy's hard-hitting speech on the plight of black America won numerous ovations. Summing up the "Where Do We Go From Here" part of his talk, the speaker admonished:

1) Stop believing lies of the mass media and government-managed news outlets (about the struggles for liberation and independence abroad and for civil rights at home).

2) Unify nationally all the new, young organizations, the new Negro leadership springing up in communities all over the country in search for solutions of the problems of black America. Develop committees of correspondence.

3) Break with the corrupt, two-party political structure and begin thinking in terms of independent political alternatives.

4) Define the issues, then take them to the street — demonstrate, protest, embarrass the power structure that maintains the intolerable status quo.

The impact of Worthy's visit on the Negro community was immediately evident. Steps have already been taken to form delegations to visit Congressmen in this area to ask their intervention against the government prosecution of Worthy on the spurious and discriminatory charge of "illegal return" to his native land. Communication with civil-rights, action and discussion groups in other Negro communities is being initiated. United action projects in Cleveland are being strengthened and others planned.

Civil Liberties Meeting

But the impact of Worthy's visit was by no means limited to the Negro community. His meeting on "Censorship by Passport" at the Unitarian Society Sunday night was attended by over 200, the largest meeting on a civil-liberties issue held in this area in a long time.

Attorney Jack G. Day, Ohio's "Mr. Civil Liberties," sketched the legal history of freedom to travel and of growing government restrictions on this freedom. Both Worthy and the audience paid tribute to the "devotion to freedom of thought" of Mrs. Valena M. Williams, radio news commentator and interviewer, who chaired the meeting. When he stated that "my only regret is that she is tucked away here in Cleveland instead of being on a national network," the audience responded with an ovation.

Guantanamo Is Goal Of Trip by Pacifists

A march from Canada to Cuba through the United States is being planned to protest the threat of war over Cuba. The march is being organized by Bradford Lytle, a prominent member of the Committee for Non-Violent Action. Lytle has announced that the marchers will start in June from a Canadian city, possibly Montreal, proceed to Florida over a period of several months, and go to Cuba in a small boat.

Other CNVA members last month distributed leaflets opposing a warlike policy toward Cuba door to door in Miami, Florida. On Feb. 21, four pickets, including CNVA activists, picketed the headquarters of a Cuban counter-revolutionary group, the Cuban Revolutionary Council which is headed by José Miro Cardona. A mob of over 200 counter-revolutionaries attacked the pickets when they arrived near the headquarters carrying signs with such slogans as: "We Oppose Military Solutions."

The pickets, Jerry Lehman, Bob Cooper, Bill Henry, and Pearl Ewald were quickly put in protective custody by Miami police, hustled away and later released. The counter-revolutionaries fought police for 20 minutes shouting "Let us kill the Communists," and "Why do you protect Communists?" Ten rioters were arrested.

Back at CNVA headquarters in New York, Jerry Lehman said: "The Miami papers carried accurate accounts of what happened, and I think it shook some people up to find out what kind of respect these warlike exile groups have for civil liberties, and what kind of democracy their leaders want to restore to Cuba." Lehman said the police told him the leaders of the rioters were known supporters of Batista.



A resolution calling for the immediate mobilization "of caravans and motorcades of rank-and-file members and their wives to Washington" to oppose anti-labor bills now pending was adopted at a rally of 7,000 unionists in Detroit March 10. Teamster President James R. Hoffa addressed the rally which was sponsored by Michigan's Committee for an Open Labor Forum.

The committee was organized by building-trades unions in Michigan after delegates to a state building-trades council meeting last month heard a speech by Hoffa in which he called for a March on Washington. Organizers of the rally hope it will "cause the founding of similar rallies throughout every state in the Nation," according to the Michigan *Building Tradesman*. The committee's address is Michigan's Committee for an Open Labor Forum, c/o Stan Arnold, Chairman, 508 Michigan National Tower, Lansing, Michigan.

Besides Hoffa, speakers at the rally were Myra Wolfgang, vice-president of the Hotel and Restaurant Union; Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union, and Congressman James Roosevelt (D-Cal.).

Officials of the United Auto Workers, headed by Walter Reuther, gave no support to the rally. They even stopped workers from placing rally notices on bulletin boards in UAW shops.

Automation in elevators in Manhattan has cut the number of operators in half in the last ten years. Membership of westside Local 32-B of the Building Service Employees Union has been cut from 10,000 to 5,000. There are in Manhattan some 11,400 automatic elevators, which if hand operated would employ 16,000 persons. Since 1954, no new building on Manhattan Island, whether residential or commercial, has been built with hand-operated elevators.

Some 200 social service workers at the Borough Hall Welfare Center in Brooklyn, N.Y., staged an all-day sit-in Feb. 28 and followed up the next day with a full-scale picket line outside the center. The action began at a meeting called by workers on the center's premises to present grievances to the management.

A raise previously negotiated had not been paid and on Feb. 26 the mayor had made a speech in which he said the city was in the red and couldn't afford salary increases. The welfare workers wanted to know if they were going to get their raise. In addition they wanted reduced case loads. Instead of talking it over, management ordered the workers back to work and summarily suspended two of them. That started the sit-in.

The bargaining agent, Local 371 of the State County and Municipal Workers, opposed the sit-in. A "dissident" union, the Social Service Employees, disclaimed responsibility, but supported the action once it began. Joseph Tepedino, an SSE official, was one of those suspended. An additional 119 workers received suspension notices following the picketing, but all, including the original two, were reinstated the next week. It was announced that the raise will be paid.

Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Central Labor Council, had the following to say on a radio program last month while explaining his support of the

shorter-work-week demand. "Well, our labor movement, in this country accepts and supports the free enterprise capitalistic system... However, unless it's recognized that people cannot be given such little consideration when they are displaced in large numbers for long periods, we will have a problem in continuing support of that system. It's natural for workers to hold someone or something responsible when they have worked at an industry most of their lives and realize they will never again be employed in that industry."

The basic steel industry now employs some 300,000 fewer workers in plants than it did ten years ago. Productive capacity has risen in the same period of time by 50 per cent. The country's basic steel ingot-making capacity is now estimated at about 165 million tons a year.

Aerospace manufacturing firms yielded very little to unions in recent contract disputes, but missile workers employed at test sites and operational bases operated by the Martin-Marietta Company have recently received substantial wage increases. Settlements just concluded with the company covering sites at Vandenberg Airforce Base, Tucson, Wichita and Little Rock, call for immediate increases of between 20 and 34 cents an hour, plus significant fringe improvements.

In announcing the settlements March 4, Leonard Woodcock, director of the UAW's aerospace department also said negotiations with Bell Helicopter had been "refreshing" compared to those at other aerospace manufacturers in recent months. The market for helicopters is said to be virtually unlimited now as a result of the U.S.'s direct involvement in the civil war in South Vietnam and Pentagon plans for anti-guerrilla warfare in Latin America.

A pay cut, estimated at about 10 per cent, has been accepted by United Rubber Workers Local 135 for 1,000 workers at the Dunlop Tire and Rubber Corp. in Tonawanda, N. Y. The company, which manufactures tires, tubes and other products, said it needed the pay cuts to "remain competitive" in the tire business. URW officials and the Local 135 executive board urged acceptance of the cut on the local's membership.

"We don't see how anyone interested in a healthy newspaper industry can be greatly cheered by this kind of settlement." — *Wall Street Journal* commenting editorially March 11 on the settlement of the great printers' strike in New York City.

Auto Workers Lose on Hours In New Budd Corp. Contract

By Jim Campbell

DETROIT, March 8 — How Walter Reuther, the United Auto Workers leaders and the union bureaucracy in general "fight" for a shorter work week came out in yesterday's announcement by the Budd Corporation that UAW Local 306 has accepted a rather big increase in the work week, as a condition for modernizing the company's plant facilities here.

What did the workers give up at this plant in the very heart of the UAW stronghold? The majority of the employes have surrendered a paid 15-minute lunch period and the foundry workers have accepted a reduction of their 30-minute paid shower-time at the end of the shift to 20 minutes. These conditions have been enjoyed by Budd workers as part of their contract since World War II.

Yet a mere "letter of understanding" during the life of the

present contract, duly signed by UAW Director George Merelli and the local's president, sufficed to increase the daily worktime of a majority of the 3,500 workers at Budd by 25 minutes. A bare 50 per cent of the local's membership at the meeting to put over this deal were bulldozed into ratifying the agreement, on the plea that the company's "competitive" position was at stake.

While the press touted the company's plans as an "expansion," Thomas Ault, Budd president, was much more cautious. He defined it simply as a continuation of a modernization program that began in 1960. His chief interest in the contract change was that it would reduce costs.

True Enough

And this is true enough. At 25 minutes a day per worker the company, the largest supplier of body components in the industry, stands to save in excess of \$600,000 a year in "employment costs," sufficient in itself to finance their extended "improvement" of plant facilities.

To add insult to injury, both Detroit's Mayor Cavanaugh and UAW Director Merelli expressed confidence that this shady deal will "create new employment" and "achieve long-term job security." The facts belie this propaganda. A large portion of the \$7 million already spent by Budd has gone into a third automatic line in the foundry. Company officials themselves hastened to state the plans will not result in an increase in jobs. In the past ten years employment at the Budd plant has decreased 50 per cent to the present 3,500 production workers.

Over 900 of these workers are older than 55, with 25 years seniority. Out of their hides will be squeezed an additional two hours of work a week, at the same pay. Fear of losing their jobs no doubt induced many of them to vote for this penalty. But the young workers who replace them will now be saddled with increased exploitation.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

The Common Market — Savior of Europe? — Speaker, John Pederson, Marxist lecturer. Fri., March 22, 8:30 p.m. 302 S. Canal St., Hall 210. Discussion, refreshments. Contrib. 50c (students, 25c). Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

The Offensive Against Labor. Speaker, Richard Tussey. Fri., March 22, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

Kennedy's Trip to Costa Rica. Speaker, Carl Feingold, 1962 Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate. Fri., March 22, 8 p.m. 116 University Place, Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

SEATTLE

Frank Krasnowsky's socialist news commentary will be heard on KRAB-FM (107.7) on March 22, 7:30 p.m., and on following alternate Fridays.

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Report on Algeria

Visit to Workers' Cooperative

By Pierre Frank

In order to prepare for the socialist future of Algeria it is essential to establish a number of strongholds today which can serve in the struggle against the capitalist sectors, both foreign and domestic. The installation and organization of such strongholds take as their point of departure the "biens vacants" — the property, grounds and buildings, both industrial and agricultural — abandoned on a massive scale by the "pieds noirs" (European colonialists born in Algeria).

Among the experiments under way, I should like to present a brief appreciation of a co-operative in the town of Blida named The Worker's Co-operative of Aissat Idir, which is probably the furthest advanced although it was established only a little more than three months ago.

The region is one of the most favorable for such an experiment — the fertile plain of the Mitidja, far enough away from Algiers to avoid the difficulties entailed by stiff competition, close enough to enjoy maximum aid from the government.

Boudissa Safi

The inspirer of the operation, Boudissa Safi, is one of the leaders of the Algerian trade unions. He named the enterprise after the Algerian trade-union leader Aissat Idir, who was murdered by French imperialism.

The most striking feature of the work of the co-operative is that it is not governed by a narrow concept. Boudissa Safi began with a sweeping view of the future that he would like to assure Algeria. The co-operative includes a whole series of enterprises which, in Blida and its surroundings and even farther, were abandoned by the *pieds noirs*. All these enterprises have been brought under a single control and a single aim.

The co-operative covers an impressive number of projects. Here is a by no means inclusive list: 20 farms, covering 12,500 acres, a quarry, a clay pit, a brickyard, a construction firm, a cloth manufacturing, a soft-drink plant, retail food stores — including butcher shops, a printing plant, a hotel and restaurant, various shops (hardware, etc.), all the movie houses of Blida, and a co-operative of fishermen at Castiglione about 30 kilometers from Blida.

This is not a blueprint, existing only on paper; everything I have mentioned is *already functioning*. Moreover, the directors of the co-operative hope to widen their operations as needs and opportunities arise.

The combining of all these various enterprises which formerly belonged to individual proprietors, enables the co-operative to operate to a great extent on its own resources. The clay pit provides materials for the brickyard; it in turn supplies the construction business; the farms provide prod-



ON THE OFFENSIVE. During civil war against French colons, Algerian independence fighters suddenly descended on French sectors in demonstration of strength and determination to continue battle. Scene here is Algiers at end of 1960.

ucts needed by the retail stores, etc. The co-operative, of course, must buy some raw materials; such products, for example, as cement, yarn for the textile plant, etc.

Each distinct enterprise, each farm, has a management committee ("comité de gestion"). The project as a whole is directed by a kind of central management committee — an administration committee ("comité d'administration") of some 20 members. It would not be truthful, of course, to assert that everything runs smoothly, that every single management committee functions normally.

Wages are set in accordance with officially established norms. The ceiling is 650 francs (\$130) a month. It is scarcely necessary to say that the men who created this co-operative are not personally interested in financial gain and do not keep track of the hours they put in.

Moreover, from the very beginning they were faced with the problem of making things run in a profitable way, all the more so since the *pieds noirs*, here as everywhere in Algeria, stopped necessary up-keep work as soon as

they realized that defeat was inevitable. Consequently the problem of re-equipment was acute.

That the co-operative, in which more than 500 people now have permanent employment, has begun to prove itself can be seen from two facts which happen to have no relationship. First, thanks to the co-operative's stores, food prices have dropped appreciably in Blida. Secondly, shortly after it was launched, the co-operative was granted bank credits.

The operation that was begun is moving ahead; each day sees new undertakings. Difficulties are not lacking, of course. Among these, one of the worst is the shortage of trained personnel. But friends of New Algeria are joining the Worker's Co-operative of Aissat Idir.

In the city of Blida, this co-operative is already a force. It will not fail to make its influence felt as its activities widen, passing from the sphere of production and distribution to culture, as its organizers intend shall soon be the case.

Aissat Idir can even become an important school for the education of personnel to manage the numerous "vacated properties."

... Seattle Free-Speech Fight

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definitely postponed" the scheduled talk.

The vigorous public outcry against this blow to freedom of speech came as a welcome surprise to civil-liberties advocates here, where — it should be remembered — only a year ago Communist Party Speaker Gus Hall was barred from appearing at the University of Washington and even had difficulty renting a hall.

The *Seattle Times* featured the ban on its front page. It quoted Brock Adams, the U.S. Attorney here, to the effect that the so called subversive list was out of date, originally intended only for use in the hiring of federal employees, and "has no official status under the new Subversive Activities Control Act."

Even the Hearst *Post-Intelligencer* (March 1) felt called upon to run an editorial about Krasnowsky, entitled "Let Him Be Heard," which declared its confidence "in the ability of Seattle

youth to separate the wheat from the chaff, to divide truth from propaganda."

But these and other surprising "liberal" newspaper statements by no means expressed full devotion to civil liberties. The U.S. Attorney said some true things about the non-applicability of the "subversive" list but he then held up the equally infamous findings of the Subversive Activities Control Board as a current guide. The *Post-Intelligencer* editors, while supporting Krasnowsky's right to speak, declared against permitting Communist Party representatives to speak.

Full support of civil liberties was voiced, however, in the statements of John Darrah, executive secretary of the state American Civil Liberties Union, and in the votes of the Ballard Forum students. At the meeting where Krasnowsky was prevented from speaking, they voted 53-1 for the right of the SWP to be heard, 51-3 for the right of the CP, and 51-3 for the right of the Birchites.

New Military Regime in Iraq Rules By Wholesale Terror

PARIS — The massive "anti-Communist" witch-hunt continues in Iraq. Reports reaching here from various sources put the number of arrested at about 5,000, the number of dead 2,500. Among those now held in the overflowing prisons or concentration camps are well-known political figures, including Abdel Kader Ismail El Boustani, editor of the main Communist Party newspaper.

In working-class districts many people were killed in their homes or in the streets by gangs of youths wearing green arm-bands and armed by the new regime in the first days of the coup.

The international Communist movement has protested the savage repression. In London, Iraqi students, who at first hailed the overthrow of Kassem, organized a protest demonstration against the witch-hunt. Some 500 marched on the Iraqi embassy and entered it by force.

Stiff Resistance

In various parts of the country, resistance is reported to be stiff, especially near the Iran border. Underground radio stations, broadcasting in Arabic and Kurdish, are declaring: "Resist everywhere. Your life is at stake."

Besides members of the Communist Party, it is reported that parts of the army, still holding allegiance to Kassem have joined the resistance under the leadership of generals Chauoui and Madjid.

In *Le Figaro*, in which he reports that the new regime is "without any real popular support," special correspondent Jean-Francois Chauvel writes vividly of the situation:

"The announcer on the government radio has asked all citizens who know any Communists to write their names on slips of paper and send them to military headquarters. One can imagine the effect this official encouragement of denunciations is producing in a country as divided as Iraq."

Chauvel describes popular feeling in Baghdad as being quite different from the wild enthusiasm that swept the city when the monarchy was overthrown in 1958:

Leaders Unknown

"This time there is no crowd; and the leaders, who have not yet directly addressed the population, remain for the most part unknown."

"To the single radio appeal asking the citizens to go out into the streets to demonstrate their joy after the death of Kassem Saturday, eight days ago, no one responded. Very much to the contrary. The next day, Sunday, Feb. 11, three days after the insurrection was launched, a big popular demonstration formed in the poverty-stricken districts of the east bank of the Tigris. The demonstrators, brandishing immense portraits of Kassem, shouted, according to a foreign diplomat who was present, 'We want no other chief than Abd el Karim (the first name of Kassem). Return Abd el Karim to us dead or alive.' Tanks intervened again and with cannon and machine-gun fire dispersed the crowd. Since then no one has asked the population to demonstrate and the regime is taking care not to run the risk."

Tanks remain in the streets throughout the city. The city under curfew law, seems "sick," says Chauvel. "It is particularly evident in the workers' world where the trade unions were filled with Communists. At Basorah, it was the trade unionists who first opened fire . . . three days after the putsch, against the militia of the National Guard . . ."

The fundamental orientation of the new regime still remains unclear. Not even the names of the members of "National Council of the Revolutionary Command," which claims to lead the movement are known. Guarantees have been given to the foreign oil in-



Nasser

terests who own the Iraq Petroleum Company; and the "anti-Communist" witch-hunt has pleased American imperialism. "Good Omens in Iraq," is the title of the lead editorial in Feb. 13 edition of the European Edition of the New York *Herald Tribune*.

As yet no political party in Iraq has come out openly in favor of the new regime, not even the Baath (Socialist party of the Arab Renaissance, a left petty-bourgeois party with branches in several countries of the Middle East) although the new government includes many members of the pro-Nasser wing of this party (inspired by Michel Aflek in Syria.)

If the new regime expects to hold on, its first problem is to win popular support or at least offer an answer to some of the preoccupations of the Iraqi masses. These are the key issues:

Agrarian reform: The Kassem regime initiated moderate reforms, limiting land holdings to 625 acres of irrigated land and 1,250 acres of unirrigated land. Compensation was promised the big landowners and the land was to be distributed to poor and landless peasants within five years. On the eve of the Feb. 8 coup; that is, four and a half years after the agrarian reform was announced, only one-fourth of the land had actually been distributed. The poor peasants who got the land were given neither tools nor credit and rapidly became indebted. When discontent mounted in the countryside, Kassem repressed the peasant leaders. The new regime has promised to extend the land reform and has reportedly jailed some big landowners.

Arab unity: Strong feeling in favor of Arab unity exist among the Iraqi masses. The Communist Party lost a big part of its mass basis because of opposition to this popular and progressive sentiment. While giving lip service to the cause of Arab unity, it is improbable that the Aref regime will share oil royalties with Nasser by permitting Iraq to join the United Arab Republic.

Anti-imperialism: The fact that the world imperialist press has hailed the downfall of Kassem, is no credit to the new regime in the eyes of the masses. It remains to be seen what steps Aref and his partners will take to carry out their promises of "neutralism" in foreign policy and adherence to the so-called principles of the Bandung conference.

Kurds: For eighteen months, the Kassem regime sought to put down an insurrection of the Kurdish people in North Iraq who demand national autonomy within the Iraq Republic. As reported above, the Kurdish leaders appeared to have stiffened their demands in view of the savage witch-hunt with which the Aref regime launched its rule.

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Monday, March 18, 1963

Let the Canadians Decide

The key issue in Canada's national elections to be held April 8 is whether or not Canada will accept U.S. nuclear warheads. There have been two instances recently of U.S. pressure to influence the outcome of the elections in a manner favorable to Washington's designs.

The National Planning Association of Washington, D.C. has warned the Canadians that the U.S. could cut trade between the United States and Canada. The warning came in the form of a "report," drawn up in the Library of Congress, which pointedly reminded the Canadians that two-thirds of their trade is with the U.S.

Under the new Trade Expansion Act passed by Congress in 1962, the president is given powers to control trade restrictions with the purpose of expanding international trade. But, the report warns, the same powers can be used to restrict trade. Much will depend on "the degree to which interested groups and their representatives in Congress will allow or encourage him [the president] to move."

A more direct approach was taken by U.S. labor leader O. A. Knight, international president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic International Union. Knight made a trip to Canada and, as Kennedy's faithful lieutenant, tried to convince Canadian workers that they need atom bombs to defend themselves.

OCAW Local 9-601 in British Columbia, Canada, blasted Knight for interfering in Canadian politics and said of the bombs: "They cannot defend us in any way. The U.S. wants nuclear weapons here only so that we will be the first target. U.S. generals consider Canada expendable!" The Canadian labor movement, and the labor-supported New Democratic Party, are opposed to nuclear weapons.

Let the Canadian people themselves, without threats or pressure from U.S. business circles or from U.S. labor leaders stooging for the State Department, decide whether or not Canada should have nuclear warheads or participate in U.S. "defense" strategy.

News About 'Subversive' List

A good many people may well have said, "Now you tell us," on learning that, according to U.S. Attorney Brock Adams, the federal "subversive" list was never intended as anything more than a guide for the government in determining qualifications of prospective employees. (See Seattle free-speech fight story on page 1.) Adams also noted the fact that the list has no legal status under the Subversive Activities Control Act.

Even if what Adams said was the reality, things would be bad enough. The several hundred organizations placed on the list as "subversive" were never even notified in advance, no less given a hearing. They each simply found out from news reports that one or another attorney general had arbitrarily decided they were proscribed as "subversive."

Further, people were fired from government jobs for real or alleged membership in listed organizations. And, to compound the felony, the list became — as its sponsors intended — a guide for witch hunters in every sphere of American life. People have been fired in private industry, professors driven off campuses, artists blacklisted from stage, screen, radio and television.

Regardless of what Attorney Adams now says, the list has been used as a club to beat America into conformity. His admission simply underscores the illegality of the list and, equally, the need to fight for repeal of the Subversive Activities Control Act which is but an unconstitutional "legal" cloak for the same illegal government policy.

Death Penalty — A Class Injustice

A man who is condemned to die in the state of Pennsylvania is less likely to escape electrocution if he is Negro or poor than if he is white or can afford his own lawyer. Such is the conclusion reached by University of Pennsylvania sociologist Marvin Wolfgang after a study of the 439 persons condemned to death in his state between 1914 and 1958.

A white man is twice as likely to have his death sentence commuted as a black man. And a condemned Negro who can hire a lawyer is three times as likely to be spared as a Negro represented by a court-appointed lawyer. The chances for a commutation for a condemned white increase by 25 per cent if he has the money for counsel.

This obvious racial and class injustice occurs in the "enlightened" Northern state of Pennsylvania. How much worse is the situation, for example, in bloodthirsty Georgia, which executes more people than any other state. The findings of sociologist Wolfgang are, if anything, a toned-down reflection of the use to which the death penalty is put in the nation as a whole.

The actual reality of capital punishment in the United States is that it is part of the oppression of the poor and of racial minorities. What possible moral arguments can apologize for the barbarism of the death sentence in the face of this reality?

LONDON LETTER

Tory Mud-Slingers Let Fly at Wilson

LONDON — Harold Wilson, the new leader of the Labor Party, has been subjected to a sustained campaign of attack from the ruling class here through all the mass media under its control. From the press handouts of the Conservative Party central office, through the daily newspapers to commercial television, a large-scale effort to blacken him has been under way. In these days of the synthetic personalization of politics, the campaign's aim is clearly to strike through him at the growing popularity of a socialist solution to the economic and social crisis, to stem the tide that is rising for a Labor government to replace Macmillan's discredited and tattered Tory administration.

Clause 4

At first they took the tack that the new man was shifty, without principles. That was quickly consigned to the waste basket when Wilson in parliament parried a Tory "provocation" by placing himself and his party four-square behind the famous "Clause 4" (Nationalization) provision of the constitution. Then there was a short-lived attempt to paint him up as a devil out to nationalize the corner drugstore, etc. That boomeranged so quickly after a television speech where Wilson outlined the party's solution to the crying economic, social-security and educational needs of the country, that the slicksters had to drop it like overheated fish and chips.

Nor were the Tories helped any this week by the revelations that: 1) investment in industry is continuing to fall despite all the Conservative "incentives"; 2) the country is seriously being drained of scientists — many trained at great public expense being attracted to the fleshpots of U.S. trust-financed jobs; 3) unemploy-



Macmillan

ment is continuing its runaway growth; 4) government interference with a pay settlement arrived at between teachers and local educational authorities, was aimed at dividing the teachers — as their union says — reducing their public "esteem" and harnessing the political support of the upper brackets of principals, heads of department, etc.

Altogether, nearly every item of domestic news of importance reinforced the picture of disarray caused the economy by private en-

terprise and its Tory agents. By contrast, all this emphasized the need for planning, for socialist measures, for nationalization of the economy's "commanding heights" (a term borrowed by Aneurin Bevan once, quite frankly, from Lenin, which has now entered the Labor vocabulary). Under these circumstances, Wilson more than held his own on the home front.

The Tory publicists started needling him on foreign policy, when Wilson came up with a bland TV proposal to help towards a settlement of the Berlin hot potato by *de facto* recognition of East Germany. This started a sizzle not only here, but in Bonn and Washington. West German cartoonists showed the Labor leader scaling the notorious "Wall."

Poor Tack

However, this did not prove to be a profitable tack for the Tories either. For one thing, there are many differences among the allied capitalist governments on the issue. For another, in British eyes — no matter what one may think of the Wall or the Ulbricht regime — the unrestrained drain of skill and talent trained at public expense towards the free-enterprise bonanzas, whether in West Germany or the U.S., could not just then be regarded as something popular. On the contrary. So here, too, Wilson held his own, even giving a fillip to the growing agitation for more trade with the Soviet bloc — a prospect that the Anglo-American oil cartels are particularly worried about.

In brief, Wilson has started off his tenure by steering his party hard leftward, but on the expected social-democratic course. There is no doubt that in this he has serried the ranks behind him and built up more steam for the organization. The Laborite general secretary has just announced that 10,000 new members have joined in recent weeks. It looks as though the current wind will aid and even speed the direction taken.

Needless to say, the Tories — the most experienced and accomplished in the world — will not rest. Nor will they spare "clever" tricks to reverse the trend, if possible. The "Zinoviev Letter" ruse of the 1924 elections — when the Tories smeared Labor with a forged letter of instructions from the head of the Communist International — set an example to remember.

—T. J. Peters

... New York Printers' Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

advertising. The strikers had even gained a new ally as the stereotypers joined the strike last week.

The only thing that could save the publishers was the intervention of a third party via some form of arbitration. They had clamored for this all through the strike. But this, the printers had adamantly refused.

With the publishers on the ropes, President Kennedy jumped into the ring and hit the union from behind. He blamed the union for the strike but kept silent about the publishers' lock-out. And Kennedy called for arbitration, using the words "independent determination" because, as he explained, the printers were traditionally opposed to arbitration.

Dirty Work

President Kennedy set the stage and thus Mayor Wagner was able to carry out the dirty work. Big Six President Bertram Powers, under severe pressure, agreed to listen to Wagner's proposals instead of adhering to the union's traditional policy of rejecting any and all forms of third-party substitutes for direct bargaining with the publishers. But they were waiting for it, knowing they would do better this way with the third man in the ring on their side.

It remained for ITU President Elmer Brown, who is more subject to Democratic Party and top AFL-CIO pressure, to accept the mayor's settlement. Thus did a 113-year-old local union, Big Six, finally breach one of its most sacred principles.

Meanwhile the publishers have had to reopen the Newspaper Guild's contract in order to change its contract-expiration date to a common one with the craft unions.

Big Six has scheduled a membership meeting for Sunday, March 17, at Manhattan Center. This is nine and a half days after the mayor's contract terms were proposed. This long period with little communication between the union leaders and the membership has caused resentment and anger in the ranks.

Despite their bitter disappointment with the proposed contract, the printers have nonetheless made the following gains: They did strike. They maintained the unity of the ten newspaper unions for over three months against an implacable foe who had allies up to and including President Kennedy. The unity of the publishers was broken by the Post's defection. By achieving a single contract-expiration date for the contracts of all newspaper unions, never again will the printers be confronted with a Boulevard take-it-or-leave-it offer of a contract patterned on that previously negotiated with a weaker union. Most of all, the publishers will look upon the union entirely differently from now on. Now they know it is a fighting union. The sleeping giant has awakened.

New York Peace Meeting

NEW YORK — The first community meeting of the newly-formed Chelsea group of Women Strike for Peace will be held Tuesday, March 19, at General Theological Seminary, 175 Ninth Ave., at 8 p.m. The meeting will hear Mrs. Joseph Papp, who attended the Geneva Peace Conference, and former assemblyman Mark Lane. A film portraying the activities of Women Strike for Peace will be shown. Women of Chelsea and nearby communities are invited to attend and to bring husbands and friends.

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... Sino-Soviet Breach Widens

(Continued from Page 1)
the differences. On the contrary, these flared up more fiercely afterwards.

Today each side keeps citing passages from the Moscow Declarations of 1957 and 1960 to justify its course and views. Obviously, these documents, as was noted at the time, merely papered over the underlying disagreements and unsuccessfully attempted to combine two divergent and irreconcilable lines.

These developments signify that the Great Debate now going on is irrepressible and cannot be arbitrarily suspended or suppressed. Issues of immense magnitude regarding the interests and policies of great states, of entrenched bureaucratic formations, of powerful parties and of revolutionary mass movements throughout the globe are involved. The dispute has raised for consideration many of the most fundamental questions confronting the world struggle for socialism. Every partisan of socialism has a stake in this historic controversy and should carefully weigh the arguments presented from all sources.

Discuss Freely

It would be most beneficial if this discussion could be conducted freely, openly, and democratically without disrupting the unity of the workers' states against the imperialist coalition and without reprisals on either a state or party level against any of the participants. The Cuban revolutionists have tried to steer such a course.

Moscow, however, has severed all relations with Albania and even called for the overthrow of Hoxha's regime, although Khrushchev modified this intransigence in his East Berlin speech two months ago. China, in turn, has said that Yugoslavia has reverted to capitalism, is carrying on "subversive work against the socialist camp," and should be excluded from the fraternity of socialist nations.

Now the Chinese spokesmen have bitterly attacked Khrushchev for causing disunity in the Communist world as far back as 1959 by condemning China in its border dispute with India shortly before he talked with Eisenhower at Camp David. This was taken as evidence that, to implement the aims of its "peaceful co-existence" with imperialism, the Kremlin was willing to bargain away without consultation not only the international revolution but even the immediate national interests of the other workers' states. This suspicion has been hardened into mistrust by Moscow's disregard for Cuba in the negotiations with Washington last October and by its attitude in the Indian affair.

Peking has chosen this moment to divulge that Moscow "perfidiously and unilaterally" tore up

hundreds of its economic agreements with China. It was known that the Soviet government had withdrawn its technicians and reduced aid to a minimum. But this is the first official confirmation of the full scope of the economic and political pressure it has been applying against China while that country has been undergoing grave economic difficulties.

Apart from intermittent expressions of the need for maintaining unity, neither side shows any sign of conciliating the other or yielding its ground. For the first time Peking is appealing over the

tiations and splits within, as well as between, the Communist parties.

* * *

As the heads of giant states representing hundreds of millions of people, the Russian and Chinese Communist Party leaders are the principal protagonists in the Great Debate. They have regulated its unfolding to date and their decisions will shape the main lines of its next stage.

But they are not the only participants in the discussion. In fact, five distinct political and ideological tendencies have already been drawn into the dispute. In addition to the positions advocated by Khrushchev's and Mao's regimes, there are those put forward by the Yugoslav Communists, the Fidelista Cubans and the Trotskyists.

The issue of Trotskyism was first introduced into the debate by the Yugoslavs early in 1960 when Vice-President Kardelj, their leading theoretician, wrote a pamphlet entitled *Socialism and War* in which he charged the Chinese with "Trotskyist" adventurism and ultra-leftism for their refusal to accept the consequences of Moscow's concept of "peaceful co-existence." Recently Khrushchev and *Pravda* have echoed these accusations in connection with the Brest-Litovsk Treaty of March 1918.

Cuban Crisis

Not to be outdone, the Chinese publication *Red Flag* has just accused Khrushchev of playing a role like Trotsky's in the Cuban crisis. In all three cases the term "Trotskyist" is banded about as an epithet designed for abuse rather than enlightenment, in the still living tradition of Stalin. The actual ideas and positions held by Trotsky in the past are misrepresented and distorted. The present views of world Trotskyism on the questions under dispute are ignored.

It is no accident that Trotskyism, even though in falsified shape, has appeared from the first on the arena of the debate. Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin at the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the Russian CP and the de-Stalinization processes have already opened the eyes of many Communists to the correctness of the Trotskyist analysis of Stalinism and broken down the ban upon the ideas of the Fourth International.

This interest in Trotskyist views will receive another powerful impetus from the progress of the Sino-Soviet dispute and the vital issues it has posed to the world Communist movement.

After Lenin

An editorial in the Jan. 6, 1963 *Red Flag* recalled that "shortly after Lenin's death a serious struggle between Marxist-Leninists and anti-Marxist-Leninists arose in the international Communist movement. That was the struggle between, on the one hand, the Leninists headed by Stalin and, on the other hand, Trotsky, Bukharin and other 'left' adventurists and right opportunists. In conjunction with that struggle was the protracted struggle in the Chinese Communist Party, which the Marxist-Leninists led by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung waged against the 'left' adventurists and right opportunists. Now another serious struggle lies before us, the struggle of the Marxist-Leninists against the anti-Marxist-Leninists, i.e. the modern revisionists."

Red Flag errs in placing Stalin along with Mao at the head of the Marxist-Leninists, and in lumping the Trotskyist Left Opposition with the right-wing Bukharin faction, in the struggles of the post-Lenin period. The reverse was the case. But it is correct in pointing out the linkage between



PRESENTED DEMANDS. Fidel Castro and UN General Secretary U Thant during Havana meeting last October when Castro rejected proposal for UN inspection of Cuba and presented Cuba's five points for settlement of crisis. Chinese leaders charge Soviet Union has given only lip service to the five points and has done nothing to help wrest them from U.S.

the fateful struggle within international Communism during the 1920s and the current conflict.

These are not only comparable in political importance but present many of the same issues: conservative bureaucratic nationalism versus socialist internationalism; a policy of accommodation to imperialism or class struggle against it; the attitude toward the colonial revolution and the colonial bourgeoisie; the problem of war and peace; workers' democracy.

The Stalin faction broke with the Bolshevik line on all these questions after 1923 and conducted a vindictive and victorious struggle for power against all those who would not budge from the Marxist-Leninist positions, Trotsky foremost among them. Now the issues, which were thereafter considered forever settled, have again come to the fore under different world conditions and at a far more advanced stage.

Both Moscow and Peking have raised the slogan: "Back to Lenin." This is an excellent goal. Still the question remains to be answered: "In what respects and to what degree do they, and others, still adhere to the positions and policies of Stalinism and where are they breaking away from these and moving toward a Leninist line?"

As the debate continues, the Trotskyist movement will put forward its own views on these and other questions. The voice of Trotskyism deserves to be heard in this multi-sided argument, not only to set the historical record straight, but because it has a special contribution to make toward clarifying the controversial issues in accord with the methods of Marx and Lenin.

Next week: An appraisal of the Chinese positions in the Sino-Soviet dispute.

... Cuba and Latin America

(Continued from Page 1)

olution in other Latin American countries.

There is still great resistance to this among some circles in the leftist movement. A prime example is the leader of the Brazilian Communist Party, Luis Carlos Prestes, who has taken issue with peasant leader Francisco Juliao. Juliao has broken with the Brazilian government and the ruling "Labor Party," because "in it one finds holders of large tracts of land."

Revolution Necessary

Juliao says revolution is necessary in Brazil, that it must be organized now and that "I wish there were ways other than force, but against the landholder and the imperialist, it is only force."

Prestes, however, is quoted by the Havana newspaper *Hoy* as saying: "There are persons who erroneously think that the best support to Cuba would be the initiation of armed struggle in Brazil to depose the government. In the current Brazilian situation that would be completely false." Prestes declared earlier that Brazil's government was the only one in Latin America maintaining a policy favorable to Cuba. The line of reasoning in these statements is that in return for the Brazilian government's friendly diplomatic relations with Cuba, the needs of the Brazilian workers and peasants for revolutionary change should

be subordinated. But this is precisely the road to the isolation of the revolution.

A case in point is the role of the Communist Party leaders of the Brazilian port workers union during Kennedy's blockade of Cuba. "Brazilian workers decided, as a retaliation," reported the Feb. 27 *Christian Science Monitor*, "to boycott United States shipping in Brazil. The Goulart government was barely able to convince the union to hold off the boycott." The duty of revolutionists is to make the revolution, not find themselves being used by a capitalist government to maintain things as they are.

Cuban-Americans Grilled

NEW YORK — The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has discovered that the Immigration Service has sent letters calling over 200 Cuban-Americans in for questioning. The purpose seems to be to grill these about possible pro-Castro sympathies.

Naturalized citizens are not under the jurisdiction of the Immigration Service and should ignore any such letter. A non-citizen's appearance before the Immigration Service is voluntary, but upon receipt of such a letter should contact a lawyer and should be accompanied by a lawyer when appearing before the Service.

Don't Miss Our Next Issue

The next issue of *The Militant* will feature two pieces of exceptional importance on the Sino-Soviet dispute.

One will be an appraisal of the Chinese positions on the main controversial questions from the standpoint of revolutionary socialist politics. It is the second article in the series started by William F. Warde in this issue.

The second will be the complete text of the Peking People's Daily editorial of March 8th replying to the January 9 statement by the U.S. Communist party attacking the Chinese C.P. This document accuses the American C.P. leaders of following the revisionist course of outcast Earl Browder.

heads of the Communist leaderships to their ranks, seeking support for its views against Moscow. Except for Albania, the Chinese have met with hostility within the official circles of the European Communist parties. The U.S. and the Canadian CPs have also come out for Khrushchev.

Colonial Revolutions

But on the other continents, in Asia, Africa and Latin America where the colonial revolution is at full flood, Communist China's views are finding a most responsive audience. In Asia only the Ceylonese CP, the majority of the split Indian Communists, and the ruling party of Outer Mongolia speak for the Russians. All the other Communist parties are either aligned with Peking or maintain an uneasy neutral stance which actually conceals sympathy for the Chinese.

The latest developments in the dispute are bound to accentuate the divisions between the pro-Moscow and the pro-Peking forces which can lead to new differen-

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BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044. If no answer, call HU 6-7025.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 23, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California. Main 3-0993. For labor and socialist books, International Book Exchange 1227 1/2 California. Open 5:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Mon. through Fri.

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LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

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MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Labor Book Shop and Socialist Workers Party, 563 16th St., Oakland 12, Calif. TE 6-2077. If no answer call 261-5642.

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The Bureaucratic Mind

Why Bulgaria Suppressed African Student Organization

By Charles Gardner

On Feb. 12 several hundred African students marched down the main street of Sofia, Bulgaria, to protest the arrest by Bulgarian authorities of seven of their leaders. The demonstration was attacked by Bulgarian police, the demonstrators were packed into buses and driven off to police headquarters. Students charge that many were beaten by the police.

Since then a number of the Africans, who were studying on Bulgarian scholarships, have been leaving that East European country. All 26 of the Ghanaian students departed with their ambassador, the only African envoy in Sofia. The six Ethiopian students went to Yugoslavia to consult the Ethiopian ambassador there. Questioned by reporters in Vienna, the Ghanaians said that students from other African countries were trying to leave Bulgaria but were held up by lack of funds.

Behind the whole affair seem to be the following facts: the Bulgarian government refused to permit an All-African Student Union to function. The official excuse given was that the organization did not "express the opinion of students from different African countries who have national organizations of their own in Bulgaria."

Rejected Proscription

But the students did not accept the Bulgarian government's proscription. They cited the fact that an All-Arab Student Union existed in Sofia; that in Czechoslovakia an All-African Student Union was permitted; and that the government party of Bulgaria supports the concept of Pan-African unity.

The students set up their organization in defiance of the government's wishes on Jan. 15. Two of its leaders were ordered expelled from the country on Feb. 9. They gathered their supporters and marched to demand a hearing from Todor Zhivkov, Bulgarian Premier.

Zhivkov refused to see the students but another official said they could see him on Feb. 11 and that in the meantime the expulsion order would be stayed. But on Feb. 11, instead of giving them a hearing, the Bulgarian government arrested the union's seven top leaders. It was not known whether they were detained or immediately deported. They later turned up in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

That is what touched off the demonstration of Feb. 12.

Bulgarian officials must already be regretting their high handed methods. Little more than a week after the demonstration was broken up, Premier Zhivkov was reported making a special trip to Moscow. Whether his trip concerns the crisis with the African students or some other matter — such as his recent dispute with a pro-



FOUNDING CONFERENCE. The strong spirit of Pan-Africanism which pervades continent received first major organized expression at this All-African People's Conference in Accra, Ghana, December 1958. Since then African students abroad have formed Pan-African unions in many countries. Formation of one in Bulgaria recently brought wrath of government.

Chinese faction in the Bulgarian CP — the crisis would certainly be discussed with the Soviet leaders.

In recent years, the Soviet Union has led the Soviet bloc in a program offering paid education to students from "uncommitted" countries. This is part of the Soviet program to line up the former colonial nations behind Soviet international diplomacy. (There is certainly no "training of revolutionary cadres" for the future struggle in Asia, Africa, and Latin America involved.)

In 1961 the formation of an All-African Student Union was prevented in Moscow. There, too, the aim had been to keep the Africans in many different national organizations. The Bulgarian bureaucrats, apparently, were only blindly adhering to Kremlin policy.

Don't Hold Water

The Bulgarian authorities' explanations for their actions do not hold water. On the one hand, they say that the sole responsibility lies on the organizer and president of the Pan-African Union, one Tata Tawia from Ghana. The Bulgarian Mission to the United Nations is reported in the Feb. 26 *Midweek Worker* as "revealing" that Tawia never attended classes but spend all his time setting up the Union.

This is reminiscent of the kind of charge made by reactionary university officials in this country against radical students or by employers who blame the unrest among their workers on one or two "troublemakers." If the African students had not wanted it, one "agitator" could not have set up such an organization.

The *Worker* also explains that Tawia was violating Bulgarian laws prohibiting formation of political organizations by foreign nationals temporarily in the country. Not only did the dangerous Tawia defy this important law, the students did not even notify the authorities as required by Bulgarian law when they demonstrated in Sofia's streets. By such legalisms the bureaucrats try to justify police reprisals against demonstrators and deportation of seven of the student union's leaders.

The *Worker* also presents some non-"legal" arguments. The purpose of the union was "questionable," it says, "since the African students already belong to their own cultural organizations."

And the final, weak justification the *Worker* presents is the claim that only 40 of the 370 African students in Sofia demonstrated. This implies that since only a small number supported the Pan-African Union the action against it did not hurt anyone important. It even suggests that it was good to drive out the Pan-African leaders since most of their own people did not like them anyway.

Let us pass over the question of who is right on the facts: the *Worker* or those who report that

most African students were with the Union. If it were true that only a small number wanted such an organization, why did the Bulgarian government treat it as such a serious threat? Could not a tiny organization have been tolerated or handled so as to avoid a clash and scandal which hurt the Soviet bloc's reputation and give the imperialists propaganda material?

An All-African student organization would at most hold meetings at which the students discussed politics as they desired and set up procedures to present grievances and negotiate conditions with the officials. Why were the Bulgarian leaders so adamant against that? Because in Bulgaria and the other nations of the Soviet bloc, the ruling bureaucracy is unwilling to permit the existence of any organization which it does not control.

It is not merely a question of what the African students might have been able to gain through such an organization rather than by dealing with the officials through their 20 or so tiny national groups. It is a matter of the example an independent organization would set for the Bulgarian students. They might take up the same idea and from them it might spread to the workers who also have no independent representatives to express their interests and deal with the government.

This also explains the harshness with which the government treated the students' defiance. It could not permit a successful public protest against a government action. A demonstration is a challenge to the very concept of official infallibility and if not clubbed down, would set a dangerous precedent. It had to be stopped at any cost.

And the cost was considerable. The capitalist press opened an at-

tack on Bulgaria for racism, basing the charge on statements made by some of the Ghanaian students who said that racial epithets had been used against them and that backward stereotypes about Africans were common among Bulgarians. There have been similar reports by some African students who have been in other Soviet-bloc countries. Their possible truth cannot be dismissed. Anti-Semitism, for example, still exists in the Soviet Union and the East European countries. Some racism may also. After all Bulgaria was one of Europe's most backward countries. And being a "People's Democracy" doesn't change that overnight nor the corollaries of backwardness — provincialism, national chauvinism, and xenophobia or hatred of foreigners.

Unfortunately, there was no real revolution involving the masses in Bulgaria or the other East European countries (except Yugoslavia). The post-war overturn of property forms was carried out by military-bureaucratic means. But a true revolution is marked by a tremendous purging of the psychology of a people of backward ideas, replacing them with sentiments of solidarity with all other peoples and internationalism — as the present consciousness of the Cuban masses shows.

So it may well be that backward ideas and feelings about Africans linger on among the Bulgarians and that, exasperated by the stubborn African students, the bureaucrats and police might even voice them. Whether this is so or not, it should not be mistaken for the cause. The Bulgarian bureaucrats forbade the formation of the All-African Student Union, deported its leaders and arrested the demonstrators, not because they were Africans — but because they were Africans setting dangerous examples for Bulgarians.

World Events

Rockefeller's Pipes Cut

Two major oil pipelines belonging to Rockefeller's Creole Petroleum Corp. were dynamited in Venezuela on March 11. The blasts knocked out one-sixth of Venezuela's oil production and triggered a vast fire which raged out of control. Police blamed pro-Castro revolutionaries for the explosions aimed at the world's largest single oil producing company. \$1.1 million worth of crude oil flows daily through the two pipelines. Venezuela's President Betancourt, whose government has been the target of revolutionary activity by workers, peasants, and students, paid homage to Rockefeller with a special trip to Rockefeller's home in Tarrytown, N.Y., during his U.S. visit last month.

Fight in Australian CP

Leaflets distributed by a "rank-and-file committee of the CPA" to party members favor Peking as against Moscow and attack Lance Sharkey, CP general secretary, for having ousted the secretary of the victoria area (2nd largest in Australia), following the national leadership's switch from a pro-Peking to a pro-Moscow position. Besides those two tendencies there is a third grouping within the CPA. It stands strongly for inner party democracy, supports peaceful co-existence pretty much along the Khrushchev line, and has a number of positions on other issues which come close to those of Trotskyism.

Leans Toward Peking Line

The leadership of the Communist Party of New Zealand is moving closer to support of Peking's position in the dispute with Mos-

cow. This is evidenced by a statement of the New Zealand party's national secretary in the Jan. 23 issue of *People's Voice*.

Loophole Provided

Mexico passed a law that foreign mining companies must sell a majority of their stock to Mexicans or lose their concessions. When the companies balked, the government provided a way out by ruling that it would consider the law complied with if the companies merely turned a majority of their stock over to a Mexican bank with instructions to sell it even though it remained for years in the bank without actually being sold. Eduardo Bustamante, Minister of National Patrimony, said he was making this clarification on the law's working because of "misinterpretations and confusion" over earlier statements.

Preparedness

The *Associated Press* reports: "Britain will print a supply of food-ration books this year to be held in reserve in case of war. Disclosing this in the House of Commons, a spokesman for the Ministry of Food said: 'We regard it as a necessary adjunct of long-term planning for food defense.'"

Puddle of Poverty

The National University in Nicaragua is described as a "puddle of poverty and frustration" by an article in the Feb. 13 *Philadelphia Inquirer*. "Broadly speaking, the students cannot understand why the U.S. 'supports pro-military governments, as in Argentina and Peru,' or why it adopts policies so 'mild' toward such dictatorships as the one right here in Nica-

ragua . . . Student resentment stems from what they claim was a refusal by the U.S. Embassy in Managua to honor a university request for aid because 'the faculty had never made any public declaration against Fidel Castro.'"

Integrated Strike

The Mufulira Copper Mine in Northern Rhodesia, one of the biggest underground copper mines in the world, began closing down Feb. 14 after a series of strikes for the previous two weeks by both black and white workers who refused to sign bonus forms and were laid off. The mine has 1,700 white and 8,000 Negro workers.

A Symposium: The Future Of The Negro Struggle

Transcript of a Detroit symposium on the new trends in the struggle for Negro equality and their meaning for the future political and social developments in this country are discussed by George Breitman, contributor to THE MILITANT, Reginald Wilson, managing editor, CORRESPONDENCE, and Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr., contributing editor, ILLUSTRATED NEWS.

This stimulating exchange of views is featured in the spring issue of INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW.

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Letters From Our Readers

Venezuelan Underground

Maracaibo, Venezuela
The underground FALN (Armed Forces of National Liberation) which is fighting to overthrow the dictator Betancourt distributed a leaflet to the people explaining why the freighter *Anzoategui* was commandeered. It reads:

"ARMED FORCES OF NATIONAL LIBERATION. National Guerrilla Command. The National Guerrilla Command of the Armed Forces for National Liberation wishes to inform the public on this 13th of February, 1963, and as a demonstration of repudiation of the four years of dictatorial rule by Betancourt-Copey-Briceno-Linares that two sections of the urban guerrilla units "*Rudos Menzones*" have accomplished their mission of capturing the ship *Anzoategui* which belongs to the company *Venezuelana De Navegacion*.

"This operation is being led by

the commanders, Simon and Raphael, soldiers of the FALN. The National Guerrilla Command guarantees the families of the passengers and crew that lives and security are not in danger since the purpose of this operation is solely to call attention on a world scale to the fight which at this moment the Venezuelan people are carrying out. We will continue to keep the people informed of the situation on the *Anzoategui* through our information sections. Liberty for Venezuela or death!"

The FALN is now operating underground in various parts of the country. It is publishing, despite illegality, a paper, *People and Revolution*, and differentiate themselves from the class-conciliatory policies of the leadership of the Communist Party of Venezuela.

J.M.P.

Ask and Ye Shall Receive

Toronto, Canada
Having just recently returned from a trip to Cuba I am more than ever conscious of the importance of Latin America. Glad to see your coverage of Mexico and Peru in recent issues.

How about an intensive analysis of the Sino-Soviet dispute in a detailed exposition if you are in a position to do so?

J.R.F.

[See the first of a series of articles by William F. Warde on page 1.]

Nazis and W. Germany

New York, N.Y.
I've just finished reading the first of a series of articles in the *New Yorker* entitled "Eichman in Jerusalem." The author, Hannah Arendt, presents a wealth of material on the workings of the Nazi regime, particularly as related to the "Jewish Problem."

One of the most shocking facts brought to light by this article is the large number of Nazis, many of them directly responsible for the murder of thousands of Jews, who were still living and working in West Germany under their real names at the time of Eichman's capture in 1960. Some of them have since been tried and given light sentences.

Hannah Arendt says: "Richard Baer, successor to Rudolf Hess, as commandant of Auschwitz, was finally arrested . . . Franz Novak, Eichman's transportation officer, who had been living as a printer in Austria; Dr. Otto Hunsche, his legal expert . . . who had settled as a lawyer in West Germany . . . who was personally responsible for a last-minute deportation of 1,200 Hungarian Jews, of whom at least 600 were killed, received a sentence of five years . . . Dr. Otto Bradfisch, of the *Einsatzgruppen*, the mobile killing unit of the S.S., was sentenced to ten years of hard labor for the killing of 15,000 Jews; and Joseph Lechthaler, who had 'liquidated' the Jewish inhabitants of Slutsk and Smolevich, in Russia, was sentenced to three years and six months."

Still awaiting trial is Karl Wolff, former chief of Himmler's personal staff and Wilhelm Koppe who managed the gassing of Jews in Cheimme and then, as a high S.S. official, had the assignment of making Poland *judenrein* (Jew-Clean). In post-war West Germany he was director of a chocolate factory.

Of the 11,000 judges in West Germany, it is estimated that 5,000 were active in the Nazi courts, which may explain why Martin

Fellenz, prominent member of the Free Democratic Party, who was accused of participating in and held partially responsible for the murder of 40,000 Jews in Poland received a sentence of four years.

Eichman's lawyer brought out in the trial that Dr. Hans Globke, today one of Adenauer's closest advisers, was the author of well-known anti-Semitic writings during the Hitler regime.

The author also reminds us that the present minister of culture and education in Bavaria was one of the legal experts of the Third Reich.

E.B.L.

The Bloomington Fight

New York, N.Y.
The articles in *The Militant* about the witch hunt against the Young Socialist Alliance and Fair Play for Cuba Committee in Bloomington, Ind., have been excellent.

As a recent Indiana resident perhaps I can add a few facts about the political background of this reactionary attack.

Thomas Hoadley, the prosecutor demanding the "anti-communist" indictment of the YSA, recently graduated from Indiana U Law School and immediately set up law practice in Bloomington. His father is a millionaire stone quarry owner with quarries in Bloomington and Southern Indiana. Hoadley has political ambitions in Indiana and obviously hopes to gather political capital from this witch hunt.

Generally politically quiet, Indiana U felt the impact of the Cuban revolution whose social accomplishments resulted in the birth on the campus of both a Fair Play chapter and a YSA group. The right-wing pressure

evoked by the existence of pro-Cuba, pro-socialist sentiment on the campus brought about the chain of events culminating in Hoadley's attack on the two groups.

Indiana is a "right-to-work" state and the students there lack the protection of a strong labor movement concerned with civil liberties and academic freedom. In Bloomington there are only a few rather weak unions. Generally, the town and Southern Indiana are run by a few big businessmen.

This is the reactionary setting for the witch hunt now going on. I think the Bloomington Defense Committee should have the support of all those in this country who believe in civil liberties.

J.M.

Detroit Labor Officials

Detroit, Mich.
"How the mighty are fallen, and the weapons of war perished!" said Samuel (Chapter 1, verse 27). This could well be the epitaph to the once proud tradition of labor militancy in this industrial metropolis.

Last month the top brass of organized labor met in the first of a series of conferences with the barons of big business to discuss ways and means to spur "economic growth" and to put an end to Detroit's "reputation for antagonism between labor and management."

The invitations were issued by the Employers Association of Detroit, representing such dominant capitalist interests as American Motors Corp., Parke Davis, Bell Telephone and National Bank of Detroit. The UAW, the Building Trades Council and the Wayne County AFL-CIO responded to the

invitation with alacrity. The manager of the employer's association chortled, "We were very impressed with their willingness to approach the meeting with an open mind." From the conference emerged the Detroit Labor-Management Committee for Community Progress.

This high-sounding enterprise is but a thin veneer for the real intent of the industrialists. Lucas Miel, speaking for the employers, indicated the purpose when he said, "Essentially our task will be to pinpoint the basic obstacles to further economic growth." That can be translated into the ever-present boss perspective — removal of obstacles toward achieving lower costs, higher production.

How the mighty have fallen! The loyalty of the great body of workers is betrayed by the crass class-collaboration of a handful of union officials who come running at the bidding of big business.

And this betrayal comes at a time when Congress is preparing to launch an offensive against labor. It stands, in its folly, in sharp contrast to Teamsters' President Hoffa's call for labor to organize to fight this assault on union rights.

J. C.

Fan Mail Dep't

New York, N.Y.
Congratulations on your publication. Reading *The Militant* during the N.Y.C. newspaper strike, I find myself better informed than by any possible combination of several major N.Y.C. dailies. This is not to say that we shouldn't wish all the best for a quick solution to the courageous printers.

T. S.

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"Stalin was the man who most fully incarnated the rise of the bureaucracy to power, thanks to his past (and prestige) as an Old Bolshevik, his experience in the party apparatus, and thanks also to his qualities or faults (according to the class point of view from which they are examined) — willness, tenacity, cruelty, opportunism.

"He was created in this form by the rising bureaucracy; correspondingly, he understood how, later on, to adapt himself completely to the functions the bureaucracy expected and demanded of him — supreme arbiter of its internal conflict, incarnation of its permanent and universal interests as a social caste caught between the proletariat and imperialism.

"Stalin personified the collective unity, conscience and prestige of the bureaucracy. The scope and characteristics of his personality (as of every historical personality) were determined above all by the fundamental social forces which made him their instrument. His method of struggle, his political opportunism, in a word his characteristics in action and thought, were those of the bureaucracy, of a specific bureaucracy, of the Soviet Bureaucracy. For this reason they would be unthinkable as characteristics in a personality representing, not the bureaucracy, but the proletariat." — March 16, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"Last week the Michigan State convention of the Communist Party complained bitterly that leaflets attacking the Stalinists for sponsoring the notoriously anti-labor 'Bedaux piece-work system,' were being distributed to war plants in the Detroit area.

"The convention even voted to send a letter to the FBI, demanding that it 'discover and expose' those who were guilty of issuing this unpatriotic leaflet . . .

"But before the FBI even got the letter, Paul Ste. Marie, president of Ford Local 600 of the CIO United Auto Workers, issued a statement publicly taking responsibility for issuing and circulating the leaflet.

"In his statement he once again denounced the Stalinists for their efforts 'to bring back the stretch-out and speedup which the UAW has eliminated from most organized plants.' And he correctly branded the Stalinist attempt to reintroduce the Bedaux speedup bonus system as 'a blow at all that labor has gained in the last ten years.'" — March 13, 1943

It Was Reported in the Press

Un-Americanism on Rise — A significant number of college students take a dim view of American business and businessmen, according to the *Michigan Business Review*. It reported that fewer than 25 per cent of students questioned at Purdue University said they were interested in becoming businessmen and at least 79 per cent of the students said they believed that "business leaders use illegal means of gaining money and power."

Friends of the Working Man — For those who hustled labor votes for the Democratic ticket we offer these thoughts from the March 8 *Wall Street Journal*: "Unemployment fades as a prime concern for Congress and the administration. Yesterday's report of a bigger-than-expected February rise in joblessness arouses no real alarm. Few complaints arise in Congress. There's little steam behind plans for extra jobless pay. Administration leaders find the nation gets used to an increased rate. A White House report due Monday stressing unemployment perils is largely for the record." And, "Added administration balm for depressed West Virginia: Kennedy presents an autographed copy of *Profiles in Courage* to a new library in St. Albans."

Tough Situation Dep't — Addressing the National Cannery Association, Charles Brower, president of the advertising firm of Batten, Barton, Durstine & Os-

borne, complained: "What is really needed around this place is a department at Cabinet level to protect the manufacturer from the consumer. It's a crime what consumers do to new products. In 1960, 7,000 new products were introduced in the food and drug field. Only 1,000 survived."

Situation Normal — The Army is holding Frank Borders, a Brainerd, Minn., father of five, on charge of being absent without leave for eleven years. He was picked up at his home on the outskirts of the town from where he is supposed to have gone AWOL. He has lived there, under his own name, for the past eight years. Anyone AWOL from three to six months is presumed to have deserted and the case turned over to the FBI. The FBI has no file on Borders. He was picked up by military police Feb. 25 to "check his papers." Instead he was taken

to Fort Sheridan, Ill., where he is being held in the stockade.

Surplus Suggestions — Says an *Outsider's Newsletter* from Detroit: "Suggestions for settling strikes include declaring New York City a disaster area and sending surplus news."

The Wild West — The Southern California town of Fountain Valley adopted an ordinance requiring shops carrying goods from Soviet-bloc countries to pay a \$1,000 annual license fee and to display a large sign declaring: "This place of business sells merchandise, wares, or goods produced in Communist countries." A town spokesman explained: ". . . a good percentage of the population are in organizations that are quite interested in anti-Communist movements. We felt that if any Communist-made goods were offered for sale it could pose a problem of law and order."

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Thought for the Week

"I cannot believe that it is without profound corruption and profound alienation that our culture, our peace, and our lives rest on such an inferno." — Dr. Robert Oppenheimer, distinguished scientist, speaking of the growth of weapons and war plans.

Rights Workers In Miss. Target Of New Gunfire

GREENWOOD, Miss., March 7 — Workers for the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee and Greenwood citizens were shot at again here last night. Samuel Block and Willie Peacock, two SNCC field secretaries, and two young women from Greenwood, were leaving a church here last night when white men in a 1958 Dodge station wagon — with no license tags — shot at their car.

James Forman, SNCC executive secretary, who is in Greenwood, reported that window glass had been shattered, but no one was injured. Forman added that 28 Greenwood Negroes had gone to the county courthouse yesterday to register and 22 had actually registered.

Last night's shooting followed almost exactly one week on the heels of the shooting of James Travis, a 20-year-old Negro SNCC field secretary, in Greenwood. Travis was shot in the shoulder and neck, with a bullet lodged behind his spine at the base of his skull. Doctors in University Hospital in Jackson removed the bullet in an operation March 1 and reported that if the bullet had penetrated with a little more force, Travis would have died. Travis is recovering satisfactorily at his parents' home in Jackson.

According to SNCC workers in the area, the attack on Travis, and now on Block and Peacock, was precipitated by almost 200 Negroes in the past week attempting to vote in Greenwood. SNCC officials have urged the federal government to send in marshals and/or troops to protect voter registration workers in the state.

The Atlanta-based Voter Education Project announced a concentrated campaign in Leflore County, of which Greenwood is the county seat, the day after Travis' injury, and said that many civil rights organizations — primarily SNCC — would send workers into the area to step up the voter-registration campaign.

ATLANTA, Ga., March 7 — The Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee announced today that it will hold its third annual conference of student anti-segregation participants here on Easter weekend. Officials of the Atlanta-

Mass Action Wins a Victory For Mexican Peasant Union

MARCH 11 — Mexico's new left-wing peasant union, the *Central Campesino Independiente* (CCI) has scored an important victory by mass action in Mexicali, the capital of the state of Baja California del Norte. Eighteen days of "protest camping" by 6,000 peasants in front of the government irrigation offices forced the government to agree not to raise the price of irrigation water.

The protest was organized and led by the *Liga Agraria Estatal* headed by Alfonso Garzón, who is also one of the top officers of the CCI. The CCI was formed last December to unite peasant movements throughout Mexico. These movements have been increasing in militancy recently but were kept from united action by the government-controlled peasant union. The CCI has adopted a far reaching, practical land-reform program and is allied with the pro-Fidelista Movement of National Liberation, headed by Cuauhtemoc Cárdenas, son of the former president.

Of significance in the Mexicali action is that the CCI forces proved far more powerful than



Negroes arrested in Albany, Ga., last summer for demonstrating against segregation sing freedom songs as they wait outside jail for their turn to be booked. Over 1,200 arrests have been made for desegregation demonstrations in Albany since Oct. 1961.

based student group said "over 300" students from every Southern state are expected to meet here April 12-14 on the campus of Gammon Theological Center.

Workshops on "Negro Protests: A History"; "Nonviolence: Past and Present"; "Technique of Community Mobilization"; and "The Hidden Structure and Social Action" will be held.

ALBANY, Ga., March 7 — The Albany City Commission decided by a six-to-one vote this morning to repeal all city segregation ordinances. At least 1,200 persons had been arrested since November, 1961, in demonstrations against segregation in the city. Ministers from throughout the country were included in the numbers of arrested. Until today the Albany City Commission had remained adamant in its refusal to open the way to negotiation. According to AP reports, the decision to repeal all segregation ordinances would "get the city out of the business" of enforcing segregation, and would leave such decisions up to individual citizens.

Charles Sherrod, director of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee's Southwest Georgia voter-registration project, hailed the decision and said: "We expect our voter-registration projects in Lee, Terrell and Sumter counties to mushroom. We have a meeting

the government peasant union and forced the latter to join the demonstration. It also means that a militant union is now strong among peasants and farm workers in an area bordering California's Imperial Valley. Through this area passes much of the Mexican migratory labor used in California's agriculture.

For some time the Mexicali Valley, which gets water through canals from the Colorado River, has been receiving salty water. This causes a salt build-up in the irrigated soil and eventually makes it useless. The problem originates in Arizona where drainage water is now being pumped back into the river in such a way as to pollute only the Mexican irrigation systems, not those on the U.S. side. In addition, U.S. financial interests, which control most of Mexicali's crops through loans and outlets, have been setting unfavorable prices. The irrigation-water price rise was simply the last straw. Signs carried during the demonstrations read: "The Capitalists Live Off the Fields, The Fields Don't Live Off the Capitalists."

tonight in Sumter county and expect an overflow crowd. Now the people can see that it can be done."

Four Negro girls were arrested in Albany, Georgia when they sat at a lunch counter of a white-owned drug store after the city commission's repeal of segregation ordinances. The girls were arrested for not leaving at the proprietor's request.

Minn. Farmers Act To Defend Co-ops

By Gordon Dunbar

MINNEAPOLIS — When the Albion French Lake Co-operative Creamery in West Albion signed a contract with the National Farmers Organization, the militant new farm movement, Land O' Lakes Creamery here in Minneapolis refused to process its milk.

Something had to be done with the milk that had accumulated at the creamery. So the NFO scheduled a rally for 1 p.m. the next day, March 7, to witness the dumping of this milk into a pot-hole.

Automobile convoys entered West Albion shortly before the scheduled demonstration. Cars were lined up for three-quarters of a mile in both directions on the highway going through the tiny town. Some 2,000 farmers from at least 16 counties had congregated.

Because West Albion was that day on the front lines of the battle of the family farmer for a fair return on his labor and investment, NFO President Oren Lee Staley came up from Corning, Iowa, to address the rally.

Emphasize Unity

In the 25 degree weather, Staley gave an excellent ten-minute speech emphasizing the unity of purpose of all farmers within the NFO. "The eyes of the entire agricultural area are on you here today," Staley said. "This should serve notice to everyone that they're not going to fight an individual co-op, that they're not going to pick us off one by one. When they attack one small section of the NFO, they're taking on the entire organization."

After Staley's speech, Martin Lampi, president of the West Albion co-op, announced that another processor had been found to process the milk but because of possible reprisals he had promised not to reveal the name of this processor.

In an attempt to force the big meat packers to enter into a collective bargaining contract with them last summer the NFO tried to organize the withholding of livestock from the market.

Striking Miners Spur Solidarity Of French Labor

PARIS — In face of steadily rising prices, the wages of state employes have remained stationary for some time. France's miners felt the squeeze particularly acutely. At the end of the worst winter since 1880, during which they saw reserves of coal sink to the vanishing point, they asked the government to bring their wages back into line with living costs. This required an increase of 11 per cent. The de Gaulle regime responded by offering 5.77 per cent — not at once but spread over the next year. This irritated the miners.

Talk about the need for strike action spread rapidly through the coal fields. The union bureaucracies felt the pressure and began to respond in an uneven way. The big Communist-dominated CGT (*Confédération Générale de Travailleurs*) was even more cautious than the smaller Social-Democratic FO (*Force Ouvrière*) and Catholic CFTC (*Confédération Française des Travailleurs Chrétiens*), the CGT calling for a 48-hour strike, the other two demanding that it be made "indefinite."

Government Decree

The response of the government was to announce a decree "requisitioning" the miners; that is, making it obligatory to show up on the job and to work as usual under threat of heavy fines and jail sentences. The government has been able to get away with this kind of decree with smaller and weaker sections of the labor movement. It brought the anger of the miners to a boiling point.

Strike action began in the Lorraine area and spread to the Nord and Pas-de-Calais.

The government warned the strikers that not only must they turn to as ordered in the official decree; they've also got to dig coal. This order did not win de Gaulle any new friends among the miners. In fact it seems to have aroused still wider sympathy for them among other sectors.

The mine engineers decided unanimously to donate two days' pay as a token of solidarity and to refuse to put any pressure on the miners to go back into the pits.

In the Pas-de-Calais, general sentiment among the public can be gauged from a statement made by the bishop of Arras: "This strike concerns all of us; we must show solidarity . . . What can we do to help make the voice of the

miners not only heard but listened to?"

Throughout France this appears to be the feeling of the working people. The entire labor movement decided to indicate its attitude by a 15-minute nation-wide work stoppage March 5.

Whatever the government decides to do, the fact is that the miners have already taken a most significant step. The last big mine strike occurred in 1947. It was marred by opposition between Communist and reformist Socialists. After the defeat, the CGT was split by the reformists who set up the rival FO.

During the parliamentary elections last November signs of a possible new united front appeared. Mainly in the Nord and Pas-de-Calais, Socialists and Communists voted for each other's candidates in the run-off elections.

Renewed unity of action has not yet appeared among the top leaders but a fresh wind of unity and confidence is blowing. The movement is primarily for wage demands, but the government by issuing its decree has begun to give this question a political meaning.

Travel-to-Cuba Ban Being Challenged

NEW YORK, March 6 — The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has announced an important legal action to test the ban on travel to Cuba. Professor Alan MacEwan of Lincoln University of Pennsylvania and his wife have brought suit against the State Department and the Department of Justice because they were denied permission to travel to Cuba.

Naming Dean Rusk and Attorney General Kennedy as co-defendants, Mr. and Mrs. MacEwan seek an injunction forbidding the State Department to cancel their passports and prohibiting the Justice Department from taking any adverse action against them should they go to Cuba at some future time without passports.

Rights Denied

Their claim also states that denial of the right to travel is an infringement of the rights of free speech, assembly and association under the First Amendment, in addition to being a violation of their rights to travel guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment. It is further stated that the travel ban is so unreasonable as to constitute a denial of due process under the Fifth Amendment.

On Dec. 21, 1962 Professor MacEwan wrote the Secretary of State asking for validation of his and his wife's passports for travel to Cuba. On Feb. 27 he received a letter from the Passport Department stating that his reasons for wanting to go to Cuba "did not meet the criteria established." Specifically opposing this one case of the use of the travel ban, the case will become a test of the ban itself.

Clark Foreman, director of the ECLC, said, "In a democracy, it is essential that the citizens have an opportunity to check on the bureaucrats . . . Our State Department, in arbitrarily prohibiting travel to various proscribed areas of the world, is unconstitutionally interfering with our basic right to travel. We feel that once this issue is submitted to the courts, they will uphold the Constitution."



De Gaulle