

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 27 - No. 43 Monday, December 2, 1963 Price 10c

Dallas Police Flout All Judicial Norms

By Fred Halstead

NOV. 27 — An incredible breakdown of due process of law was climaxed last Sunday when millions of TV viewers saw a prisoner, surrounded by police, murdered in the basement of the city jail in Dallas, Texas.

This slaying of President Kennedy's accused assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald, and the attendant circumstances, has given rise to a number of serious questions and suspicions in the public mind here in the U.S. and throughout the world.

The outstanding fact resulting from this event is that the full story of the President's assassination will now never be known. The man accused of murdering the President and Dallas policeman J. D. Tippitt was killed before he told his own story.

An editorial in the Nov. 25 *New York World Telegram* points up one aspect of this: "It is true that the police were working up seemingly overwhelming circumstantial evidence against Oswald. But the police did not finish the job. They did not produce the evidence and the defendant in open court."

Another Aspect

But there is another aspect. Oswald was slain before he even had a chance to tell his story to a lawyer. Oswald asked for a lawyer. He reportedly was allowed to speak briefly to a member of the Dallas Bar Association about getting a lawyer, and by phone to his wife about getting a lawyer, but he didn't get one before he was silenced forever.

While the prisoner was without counsel the police were releasing a mass of allegations to the press, radio and TV, building up a conception of Oswald's alleged guilt and his alleged pro-Castro sentiments and broadcasting it into the highly-charged ultra-right atmosphere of Dallas. Finally they announced that they had conclusive proof that Oswald was the guilty man. Then they announced the time the prisoner would be moved from the city to the county jail. Thus, the stage was set for lynch law.

What would Oswald have said if he had been allowed private consultation with counsel? What would he have said in court? The country will never know because a crony of the Dallas police si-

lenced Oswald forever. This fact alone has given rise to suspicions by millions of people throughout the world.

Contrast the handling of Oswald with the way the Dallas police have handled Jack Ruby, Oswald's killer. In the first place, within two hours of Ruby's arrest, he had a lawyer, and had consulted privately with him. In the second place, the police refused to comment to the press in detail on Ruby's case on the grounds that this would interfere with the rights of the accused. In the third place, Ruby was carefully protected, and moved quietly and secretly.

Incomprehensible

These are proper procedures. Why then weren't they used in Oswald's case? Foreigners may well find this incomprehensible. Americans familiar with local police practices, especially in the South, will recognize the treatment accorded Oswald as not unusual procedure with prisoners who have no money or connections with lawyers — particularly if the prisoners are known leftists or integrationists. But Oswald was not a usual prisoner.

He was accused of murdering the President. In this case above all, with the eyes of the world on it, the procedures would be expected to be above reproach. The rights of the accused, and of the nation to have the full truth aired in a proper legal and orderly fashion should have been respected to the utmost. But they weren't.

Was this due simply to incompetence and ignorance on the part of Dallas police? Or was it something else? In either case, serious doubt remains about the "evidence" gathered — or possibly overlooked — by the Dallas police. Therefore, doubt remains and will remain about Oswald's guilt and about the real truth of the assassination of President Kennedy.

Other questions and apparent contradictions in the police story about Oswald include:

- 1) Dallas authorities said Oswald was a secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, in Dallas and in New Orleans. But this is denied by V. T. Lee, national director of the Committee, who de-

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Kennedy Assassination Stirs Concern Throughout World

By the Editors

The American people have undergone one of the most traumatic experiences in its history. The staggering news that President Kennedy had been assassinated, followed so quickly by the unexplainable, televised murder of his alleged assassin in the Dallas city jail by a crony of the police, left Americans reeling with bewilderment and shock. A wave of apprehension ran through the world with the news of the Kennedy assassination as people of all lands attempted to decipher the cause and portent of the tragic event.

The question which has already been posed by thinking Americans and which, as hysteria abates, will have to be posed by all Americans who do not wish to allow themselves to be manipulated by the professional witch-burners, is: What was the fundamental cause of this nightmarish weekend of assassinations?

A number of those who have already grappled with this question have pointed to the marked increase of hatred and violence in this country.

This was dwelt on by Chief Justice Warren of the Supreme Court in the eulogy he delivered when the late president's body was taken to the Capitol to lie in state.

Warren knows whereof he speaks because he himself has

been the target of an unprecedented hate campaign calling for his impeachment and even for his lynching.

There is absolutely no evidence that the President's assassination was other than the deranged act of a single individual unassisted by any group. But anyone who soberly and conscientiously examines the course of events of the past two decades in this country cannot but agree that an increase in hatred, violence and threats of violence is the setting in which the assassination took place.

And while this is a nation-wide phenomenon, it is noteworthy that a combination of factors have made Dallas a city where this sickness of the body politic was particularly malevolent.

It was there during the 1960 campaign that conservative, Texas-born Lyndon Johnson, the Democratic vice-presidential candidate, was jeered and assailed as a "Northern socialist" and his wife spat upon by a "respectable" middle-class mob.

Stevenson Incident

It was there, only weeks before Kennedy's murder, that Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the UN, was spat upon and hit on the head by ultra-right demonstrators.

It is the city where the grotesque neo-fascist, General Walker has his headquarters. It is a city whose schools use texts by Fred



Lyndon B. Johnson

Schwarz, the rabid anti-Communist "crusader."

An example of the political climate there was given by Rev. William H. Dickinson, Jr., a Methodist minister, who told reporters: "At a nice respectable dinner party only two nights before the President's visit to our city, a bright young couple with a fine education, with a promising professional future, said to their friends that they hated the President of the United States — and that they would not care a bit if somebody did take a pot-shot at him."

It was there that ultra-right leaflets denouncing Kennedy as a "traitor" were distributed the day before the late president's fatal visit.

But what has caused this frightening rise in hatred and violence, more acute perhaps in Dallas, but noticeable throughout the country?

The Cornerstone

The cornerstone of the hate edifice was laid 20 years ago by government figures and Congressmen with the commencement of the great witch-hunt. This propagated the slander that those with socialist ideas, those who advocated drastic social reforms, those who opposed the dangerous cold-war policies, were not bona fide Americans but foreign agents or dupes, that they were the internal enemy whose constitutional rights could and should be violated officially and unofficially.

The great fear, engendered by the possibility of nuclear destruction found its whipping boys or witches-for-burning in these victims singled out by government leaders and press for persecution.

Hatred, much of it paranoiac, now had official sanction and officially designated targets in the population. People were allowed and encouraged to vent their inner hostilities, fears and frustrations on this "domestic enemy." And behind the haters were sinister, cynical figures who manipulated this blinded mass.

Hatred and suspicion reached such proportions that their chief manipulator — Senator Joseph McCarthy — for a while threatened the whole traditional political structure of the country.

McCarthyism, defeated and its leader dead, nevertheless experienced a rebirth in the past few years with the emergence of the John Birch Society and other irrationally anti-communist and ultra-right groups. Though their influence is felt nationally, they have particularly affected the political climate in Dallas.

The increase of violence and threats of violence in defiance of law and courts stems chiefly from the white-supremacist adamancy

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Socialist Leader Denounces Murder of the President

Almost immediately after news of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy was flashed over radio and television in New York City on Nov. 22, Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, issued a statement, which was at once delivered to newspapers and wire services, condemning the killing as an "inhuman, anti-social and criminal act."

The full text of Dobbs' statement is as follows:

"The Socialist Workers Party condemns the brutal assassination of President Kennedy as an inhuman, anti-social and criminal act. We extend our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy and the children in their personal grief.

"The act springs from the atmosphere created by the inflammatory agitation and deeds of the racists and ultra-conservative forces. Political terrorism, like suppression of political freedom, violates the democratic rights of all Americans and can only strengthen the forces of reaction. Political differences within our society must

be settled in an orderly manner by majority decision after free and open public debate in which all points of view are heard."



Farrell Dobbs

At the Moment of Crisis There Were Voices of Sanity

'If We Really Love This Country We Must Abjure Hatred'

The terrible and shocking events of the last week have produced some penetrating and cogent comments by serious thinkers and writers.

Chief Justice Earl Warren, in his eulogy to President Kennedy delivered in the Capitol rotunda, said:

"What moved some misguided wretch to do this horrible deed may never be known to us, but we do know that such acts are commonly stimulated by forces of hatred and malevolence, such as today are eating their way into the bloodstream of American life....

"If we really love this country, if we truly love justice and mercy, if we fervently want to make this nation better for those who

are to follow us, we can at least abjure the hatred that consumes people, the false accusations that divide us and the bitterness that begets violence."

The roadside murder of civil-rights crusader William Moore, the assassination of Medgar Evers and the bombing of the Birmingham children are part of the national background of the double assassination in Dallas. But in Dallas itself the atmosphere of lawlessness and violence has had a recent growth. On Nov. 26 the nation's most respected political analyst, Walter Lippmann, wrote:

"What happened in Dallas could, to be sure, have happened in another city. But it must be said that the murder of the President was

not the first act of political violence in that city but one in a series. The man who is now the President of the United States was manhandled by his fellow Texans. The man who represents the United States at the United Nations was spat upon.

"In this atmosphere of political violence lived the President's murderer, himself addicted to the fascination of violence in his futile and lonely and brooding existence."

A report in the Nov. 26 *New York Post* gives another view of the political climate in Dallas:

"When did this hate start? 'It started a day after Kennedy was elected,' said Mrs. Lawrence O. Grey, a mother of two and a

Democrat who works for her party. 'They get you on the phone and they curse you. I've been called a Commie and a socialist...'

"My boy,' her husband interrupted, 'is in high school. When the President was shot, the kids in school laughed at him and said, 'Your nigger-loving President was shot by a nigger.' I keep telling my boy not to answer back, not to get into trouble, but that's the kind of viciousness that's bred in Dallas.'"

The Nov. 25 *New York Times* printed one of the best and most thoughtful editorial statements to appear in the press. It said in part:

"The shame all America must bear for the spirit of madness and

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A Cop Says CORE Is Hypocritical

Calls Anti-Brutality Protest 'Hate-Rousing'

By Jay Garnett

NEW YORK — In a choice piece of cynicism, New York Police Commissioner Murphy labeled as "hypocrisy and hate-rousing of the lowest type" the slogans carried by some 75 CORE members as they demonstrated against police brutality outside Police Headquarters on Nov. 19. The previous week CORE had sent a telegram to Mayor Wagner and Commissioner Murphy on the same subject.

Murphy's charge that the slogans were "a complete contradiction of the facts of police behavior at past demonstrations," although itself in contradiction with reality, is in complete harmony with the campaign in the press to gloss over the actual methods of "New York's finest," as this city's cops are called. The Nov. 7 *New York Times*, for example, hailed "the waning" of police brutality in the handling of prisoners.

The cops are "relying on psychological pressures to a greater degree" to obtain information or confessions instead of using physical violence, it claimed.

Anthony F. Marra, chief attorney for the criminal division of the Legal Aid Society, attributed the "change" to the "higher morality and tone of leadership" of the administration of the Police Department. "The patrolmen and detectives of today are more intelligent and of a higher caliber than those of years ago."

The *Times* article recalled how "fourteen years ago" brass knuckles covered with leather strips were used as well as blackjacks in newspapers.

A "modern" method used to obtain confessions was described: A tough detective begins questioning an "uncooperative" prisoner. He is then tied to a pipe with a light



Mayor Wagner

shining in his face and is threatened with immediate electrocution and the tossing of his body out of a window. Then a "good" cop intervenes, restrains the first cop from striking the prisoner, and tells the prisoner he will be saved from the tough cop if he will confess.

This "civilized" method has the virtue of being equally effective in obtaining false confessions as the older, more "barbaric" methods. A poor man's desire to live asserts itself in either manner. And he is not informed that somewhere it is written that he has certain rights.

A deputy police commissioner had this to say recently, "There is no requirement in law that we tell a prisoner what his rights are, and we don't. If we did, we would be throwing an impediment into law enforcement that might well become insurmountable."

New York's civil rights groups

are discovering that they do not have even to refuse to confess before the city cops launch their brutality. And the cops have discovered they do not need a confession in order to obtain a conviction on even the most fantastic charges.

The arrest and beating of Willie Blackmon and Thadd Beebe for "assaulting an officer" when mounted cops rode down a demonstration on the Birmingham bombings and their subsequent conviction (30 days in Blackmon's and 90-day suspended sentence in Beebe's case) attest to this.

Telegram to Wagner

Brooklyn CORE sent a telegram Nov. 12 to New York Mayor Wagner and Police Commissioner Murphy: "Last week the NYC police deliberately injured nine CORE members at 2 separate demonstrations in Manhattan. On Thursday, while picketing Gov. Wallace of Alabama; and on Friday, while demonstrating against Pres. Kennedy, 'New York's Finest' waded into the picket lines on horseback, wielding nightsticks, and stomping on defenceless people."

CORE demanded, among other things, that "horses be kept in their stables where they belong; that police keep their sticks at their sides and their hands in their pockets — not on our women's bodies; . . . that the police stop interfering with our right to peaceful, lawful picketing at the actual sites." CORE declared it did not intend to picket two blocks from its target.

Expressing the feelings of many New Yorkers, CORE declared, "We will not sit idly by while New York's Bull Connors ride roughshod over our members. Time and patience are rapidly running out, Mr. Wagner . . ."

CCNY Students Protest Showing of Files to FBI

NEW YORK — The student council of the City College of New York has condemned the college administration's policy of disclosing information about students to the FBI. Dr. Ames S. Peace, Associate Dean of Students, disclosed that the FBI was given information from college files upon request, according to the Nov. 22 *N. Y. Times*. He also said that other outside organizations might obtain information, although only the FBI was given all data.

The college files contain a report on each student. Besides identification cards and pictures, the files list organizations to which each student belongs — including political organizations. The student council is protesting this use of personal files which converts them, in effect, into police files.

... Kennedy Assassination

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to granting Negroes their constitutional rights. The Jim Crow system and its beneficiaries openly threatened violence when Negroes attempted to assert their rights or when the courts upheld these rights.

The greatest mass defiance of law and the courts since the Civil War began after the Supreme Court's 1954 decision declaring school segregation unconstitutional. Governors, Congressmen, whole state legislatures openly declared their defiance. Sheriffs, city police, state troopers and national guardsmen were utilized in moves defying the high court.

The "solid citizens" of Southern communities formed the White Citizens Councils and other racist action groups. The Ku Klux Klan experienced a rebirth. Working hand-in-glove with local and state officials these groups engaged in mass intimidation of the Negro people. Infuriated when the Negro people, nonetheless, grew more insistent and militant in demanding an end to all Jim Crow, the racists engaged in beatings, lynchings, murders and bombings.

Who cannot see the assassination of Kennedy as an evil flower nurtured by the same climate which produced the roadside assassination of William Moore, the sniper-slaying of Medgar Evers,

the fatal bombing of Negro children in Birmingham?

It was the confluence of the officially-sanctioned hate of the witch-hunt and violence against the Negro people which produced the poisonous atmosphere which today prevails in America and produced the assassinations in Dallas.

A bitter irony is that the Dallas police, the gutter press, and the professional red-baiters are attempting to use those tragic events to launch a witch-hunt on an even more grandiose scale against Marxists and the left. They are endeavoring, in other words, to set into motion an even wider spiral of hate and violence.

Oppose Terrorism

The sinister manipulators who are attempting this know full well that Marxists in this country have always opposed assassination and terrorist acts; that they have always opposed race hatred; that their objective is a society cleansed of violence. Indeed, Marxists, the left and even mild dissenters from the status quo in this country have been not the perpetrators or abettors of hate and violence but among its chief victims.

Before all others, it is the federal government's duty to block the attempt to use the Dallas tragedy for the staging of an even more devastating witch-hunt. Before all others, it is the duty of the federal government to furnish the people with a thoroughgoing analysis of the atmosphere of hate and violence which fostered that tragedy. Before all others, it is the federal government's duty effectively and fully to enforce the civil liberties of Americans of all political views, no matter how critical of those now dominant, and the civil liberties of all Americans, regardless of color. Only then can the cloud of violence and hate overhanging this country begin to be dispelled.

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General Telephone Company, which has been struck since Sept. 18 by several thousand members of the AFL-CIO Communication Workers of America, has run big advertisements for scabs in the classified section of the Santa Monica press. Gen Tel, which claimed it could not afford the union demand to meet the working conditions which prevail in the rival Bell Telephone System, advertised "increased wage rates" as an "equal-opportunity employer."

At the bottom of the ad in small print is found the admission, "Strike Conditions Prevail."

* * *

Work stoppages have tripped up General Motors and Ford in their "race for the auto market." Since September, when production of next year's models began, GM has had three plants shut down by strikes, with two others still threatened. Ford has had two plants closed and two threatened.

It is not that GM and Ford — giants, who practically control the market by themselves — are in such a hurry to beat out one another as that they want to increase profits by cutting costs.

They are aiming to accomplish this 1) by keeping up the same pace immediately after the change-over to the new models, which ordinarily would involve an initial slow-up to allow the workers time to adjust to new methods that come along with new models; and 2) by ignoring the need for more manpower on the lines resulting from this year's stress on cars loaded with accessories.

* * *

A truce was called Nov. 24 by the American Newspaper Guild Local 43 in Cleveland in an eight-day old strike against the *Toledo Blade* and the *Toledo Times*. The newsmen explained that they went back to work temporarily so that the two papers could report the news of President Kennedy's assassination.

The workers had been on strike since Nov. 16 over wages and other issues. Under the truce agreements, the Blade Publishing Company, which owns both papers, has agreed to "proceed with all due speed to accomplish an expeditious settlement."

* * *

The conservative *U.S. News and World Report* announces with tre-

pidation that James R. Hoffa, head of the Teamsters Union, now appears in a position to insist that the trucking industry sign a nation-wide contract with his union.

"Such a contract is accepted as a certainty in the months ahead," it said. "It will give Hoffa the power, if he ever chooses to use it, to paralyze the trucking industry . . . This power would be in Mr. Hoffa's hands because all contracts with trucking companies would expire at the same time and permit the union to call one giant nation-wide strike."

In this case, of course, business is concerned with the organization and coordination which more than 400,000 drivers in some 16,000 trucking lines would have behind their future demands. The *U.S. News* is plainly nervous about the wage and fringe increases of 30 cents an hour per worker in each year of the proposed three-year national contract.

"Most areas," reports the magazine, "now have a minimum rate of \$3.03 an hour for over-the-road drivers. Some are higher. Mr. Hoffa proposes to make the standard minimum of \$3.55 in three years."

* * *

Walter P. Reuther on Nov. 18 told the convention of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department some of the reasons recent unionizing drives, especially in the South, resulted in dismal failure:

- 1) Manufacturers posted lists of "known union workers and fired them without even bothering to find other pretexts."
- 2) Threats at knife point and orders to organizers in the South to get out of town.
- 3) The use of the "free speech" section of the Taft-Hartley Act by manufacturers to call meetings of workers and "openly threaten" them.
- 4) An alliance of community organizations and political leaders in predicting "dire results" from union victories in bargaining votes.
- And 5) use of "racial issues" to divide workers.

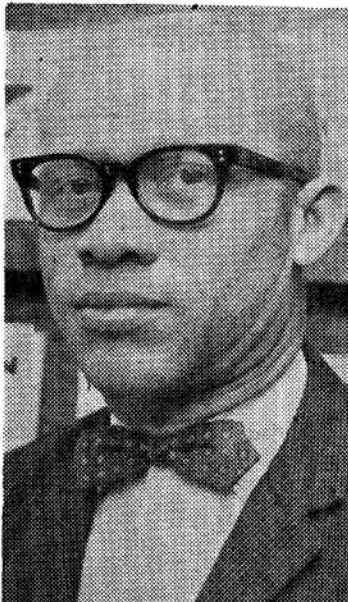
We said Reuther was only telling some of the reasons. He did not, for instance, explain to the convention, which met in Washington, why the Democratic Party has failed nationally to pass and enforce legislation against such practices — not to mention locally, where it runs the South itself.

Chicagoans to Hear DeBerry

CHICAGO — Clifton DeBerry, the only Negro candidate to run for public office in Brooklyn in the recent New York elections, will be in Chicago the first week of December. DeBerry is a New York State organizer for the Socialist Workers Party and a founding delegate of the Negro Labor Congress.

Since his campaign, DeBerry has been touring the country speaking on the Negro Revolution. His talks have dealt with the most important questions under debate in the civil-rights movement: the questions of self-defense versus non-violence, separation versus integration, and the Freedom Now Party versus support to the Democrats.

In Chicago, DeBerry will speak at Roosevelt University, Northwestern University, University of Illinois, and University of Chicago. On Friday, Dec. 6, 8 P.M., he will speak for the Friday Night Socialist Forum, 302 S. Canal Street.



Clifton DeBerry

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

Politics and the Struggle for Black Equality. Speaker, CLIFTON DE BERRY. Fri., Dec. 6, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 South Canal St. Hall 210. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

Labor at the Brink of Oblivion. An analysis of the AFL-CIO convention by Paul Lodico. Fri., Dec. 6, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

U.S.-Soviet Co-existence — A New Stage? Speaker V. R. Dunne. Fri., Dec. 6, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Hall 240. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

The Militant celebrates 35 years. ANNIVERSARY BANQUET. Sat., Dec. 7, at 116 University Place from 5 p.m. Dinner at 7, program at 8 p.m. Contrib. \$2.50. For reservations call AL 5-7852.

N. Y. Freight Handlers Picket To Protest Loss of RR Jobs

By Tom Leonard

The Rank-and-File Committee of New York Central Railway Workers and Freight Handlers, an organization headed by Negro trade unionists, has picketed New York's Grand Central Station on two different occasions.

The committee, which meets weekly, is protesting the railroad's policy of farming out jobs to scab labor at wages far below the union scale. The result is that hundreds of union men, some with 20 and 30 years seniority, have lost their jobs.

At the last demonstration on Nov. 9, Sidney Terry, committee chairman said, "We hope by the demonstration to prevent anymore layoffs because of farming out of work." A committee leaflet circulated a few days later, however, warned of the danger of further layoffs because of the company's greed for super profits and fatter bonuses for rail executives.

This concern of the committee over competition for jobs is worth noting. Some Negro unionists are worried that a new competitor for low paying jobs, formerly doled out to the Negroes and Puerto Ricans, is beginning to emerge as more skilled white workers, displaced by automation and improved technology, seek lower paying jobs.

Another instructive lesson offered by the committee was the criticism of the leadership of their union, the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers and Station Employees. After promising to support the committee's demonstrations, "They didn't lift a finger," the leaflet said, "and didn't send a single person to help. But this didn't stop us and it never will. With union leadership or without it, we will give railroad management the fight of their lives, and we will win."

The committee has appealed to all railroad workers who want to protect their jobs to join the committee.

The program of the Rank-and-File Committee includes the following demands: 1) That Grand President Dennis (union leader) come to New York immediately to discuss the critical situation in the New York area. 2) That the farming-out of work be ended immediately and those jobs that have already been farmed out be returned to New York Central workers. 3) That an agreement be signed immediately granting severance pay before any other jobs are farmed. 4) That our union fight for the six-hour day at eight hours' pay at our next contract talks.

BOOK REVIEW

The Story of a Great Social Reformer

THE LIFE AND IDEAS OF ROBERT OWEN. By A. L. Morton. 187 pp. New York: Monthly Review Press. \$3.50.

This welcome addition to the body of socialist literature consists of a wide selection from the writings of Robert Owen, preceded by a biographical essay, and concludes with comments and criticisms of Owen by some of his contemporaries, among them Frederick Engels.

Morton traces the life of the great social reformer and principal founder of utopian socialism in Great Britain from the time he left home at the age of ten, "with 40 shillings in his pocket," until his death in 1857.

The years between saw Owen rise from an obscure draper's apprentice to part-owner and manager of the New Lanark cotton mills in Scotland. This part of his life is a classic success story of the industrial revolution which transformed Britain from a mercantile to the most advanced industrial country.

Unlike his capitalist contemporaries, who amassed huge fortunes at the expense of their factory hands, however, Owen was appalled at the impoverishment and misery of this growing, exploited, working class. In his rise to wealth he began to examine critically and formulate solutions to their degradation. As a result, when he gained control of the New Lanark mills, he was prepared to put into practice new economic and social

reforms including reduction of working hours, increases in pay, education, better housing, etc. The success of his experiments transformed New Lanark into a model factory community which was at the same time, one of the most skilled and productive cotton mill centers in the world.

Despite the success of his plans, Owen was unable to persuade his fellow-capitalists — who persisted in the more brutal forms of extracting wealth from human labor — to follow his course. However, it was his radical writings — especially on marriage, religion, and private property — which made Owen the target of widespread, abusive attacks. A selection of these writings are included in the present book.

Utopian Experiments

Eventually Owen was compelled to give up his managership of the New Lanark mills. But he refused to abandon his ideas and devoted his life to attempts to set up socialist communities based on his experiments at New Lanark. The most famous was at New Harmony, Indiana, but there were others in Ireland and England. Most of Owen's fortune was spent on these isolated, utopian experiments.

Morton correctly notes the negative side of Owen — his inability to break definitively with capitalism and fuse his ideas with the newly awakening English workers. This is particularly true of his refusal to work with the Chartist movement, one of the first attempts to mobilize the working class into an independent political force capable of combating rapacious British capitalism. Morton then observes that the positive side of Owen — especially his views on a new co-operative society — were absorbed into the later Marxist form of socialism.

The author might have explained that the negative side of Owen's heritage has also survived. To this day there are tendencies calling themselves socialist which continue to embrace Owen's faults, especially the futile effort to reform, rather than to break decisively with capitalism. Living examples in this country are the

Communist Party and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation. Both of these organizations pursue the illusory policy of working within and attempting to reform the capitalist Democratic Party.

A. L. Morton is to be commended for presenting such a lucid and informative study on both the individual and historical role of Owen and Owenism.

Tom Leonard

"The whole history of the progress of human liberty shows that all concessions yet made to her august claims have been born of earnest struggle . . . If there is no struggle, there is no progress." — Frederick Douglass (1817-1895)

Cuban Ambassador Expresses Sorrow At Kennedy's Death

The day after the assassination of President Kennedy, Carlos Lechuga, Cuban Ambassador to the United Nations, issued the following statement:

"In spite of the existing antagonisms between the United States Government and the Cuban Revolution, we have heard with deep sorrow the news of the tragic death of President John F. Kennedy.

"All civilized men will always be saddened by events such as this.

"Our delegation to the Organization of the United Nations wishes to express that this is the sentiment of the people and Government of Cuba."



Carlos Lechuga

THEATER REVIEW

'Chips With Everything'

CHIPS WITH EVERYTHING, a play at the Plymouth Theatre in New York City by Arnold Wesker.

The British new-left playwright, Arnold Wesker, has written a fascinating play in the setting of the Royal Air Force.

It is essentially a play about class pressures as exemplified in military training. By telescoping the time element, the audience is taken through the training of a number of recruits who, at the opening of the play, have just arrived at a training base. All but one of these recruits are working-class. The exception, Pip, is an aristocrat whose sympathies are with the workers. As the airmen make their beds or sit in the hut, Pip tells them that all through English history his forebears have called the tune and the working class has danced to it. He bids them wake up and refuse to be exploited further.

The trainees listen to Pip, but they continue to try their best to follow the stiff military routine and be good soldiers. The officers, up to and including the wing commander, are determined to break two of the men who don't fit into the army mold of unquestioning obedience. The first is Pip. The officers are furious at him for refusing to put his name down for officer school. The second is "Smiler," on whose face a smile

has been imposed by nature — rather like the happy smile on the face of a dolphin. At every drill or review, some officer commands him to wipe that smile off his face. This, of course, he cannot do and he is finally driven to the point of mental breakdown by the persecution that follows.

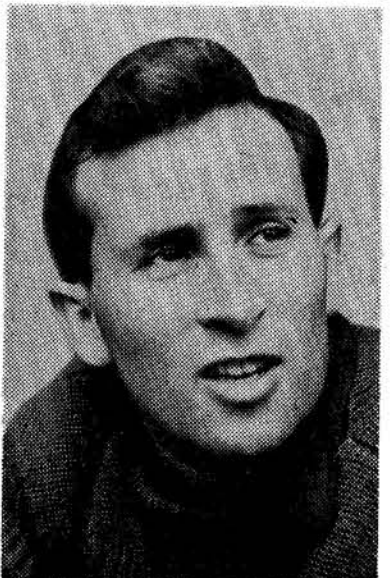
Pip is called into the officers' headquarters where both thundering denunciation and the let's-sit-down-and-talk-this-over-as-officers-and-gentlemen techniques are used on him. All to no avail.

When it comes to bayonet practice, Pip refuses to obey the order to charge and run the dummy through, "yelling and with a fierce expression on your face." Instead of being sent to the guard house, he is talked to once again. The officer accuses him of wanting to stay in the ranks so he can have power over his "inferiors," rather than to compete with his peers. This strikes Pip's guilt feelings and he capitulates, secretly agreeing to become an officer.

Charles, one of his buddies, finds him lying on the barracks floor on New Year's Eve, weeping. He tells Pip that he has been thinking over what he said about his ancestors and asks Pip to teach him about economics. He explains he's not much for reading but he can understand well when Pip talks.

In great distress and anger, Pip yells at him: "Get somebody else, damn you!" When poor Smiler is brought in unconscious, his feet bleeding, Charles won't let Pip help take care of him, sensing that Pip has become an enemy.

There is pace and tension all through this engrossing play. But the last scene is a masterpiece. The commanding officer is shown on a reviewing platform above the pale, almost faceless, recruits — now broken-in airmen. Pip, already in officer's uniform, stands by. An organ plays "God Save the Queen," the British national anthem. But there is no hands-across-the-sea applause from the audience. No applause, because all they can think is "My God, this RAF, so highly romanticized for us by Hollywood, is essentially the same as the old Czarist army or the Prussian Reichswehr." —C.W.



Arnold Wesker



Karl Marx

Socialist Education Fund

It's Urgent That We Catch Up

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

This is the eleventh week of the 13-week campaign to raise a \$16,000 Socialist Education Fund. Our national total percentage should stand, as of Nov. 26, at 85%. Instead it shows actual collections totalling only 54%. Dec. 15 is the deadline, just two weeks away. I call these statistical facts to everyone's attention in order to make clear the necessity of every area fulfilling its quota now.

The need for money right now, in this troublesome period, should be crystal clear.

Several contributions to General have been credited to the cities from which they came — Newark and New York City. H.M. of New York sent in another \$10 which brings his total to \$25! Our friends in Pittsburgh have now contributed \$8. We thank them all.

This week we received a triple contribution from a friend in Ohio — \$5, a letter (quoted below) and a new name for those individual contributions we have been calling Truth Dollars. He says:

"Sirs:
"The Nov. 11 issue of *The Militant* was one of the finest I have ever seen. George Breitman's article was especially important. (I hope to read more like it.)

"I enclose five Freedom Dollars to the Socialist Education Fund."

It seemed to me that this phrase, Freedom Dollars, says even more than Truth Dollars. No freedom is possible without truth and no truth without freedom. Send your contributions to 116 University Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Baltimore	\$ 120	\$ 120	100
Chicago	1,300	1,200	92
Detroit	700	605	87
Minneapolis-St. Paul	850	725	85
Connecticut	200	168	83
St. Louis	100	75	75
General	100	69	69
Allentown	150	95	63
Boston	600	375	63
New York	4,300	2,616	61
Milwaukee	250	150	60
Los Angeles	4,300	2,404	56
San Francisco	650	310	48
Cleveland	650	302	46
Oakland-Berkeley	600	265	44
Newark	200	77	38
Denver	100	34	34
San Diego	300	101	33
Philadelphia	300	91	30
Seattle	500	85	17
Totals through Nov. 26, 1963	\$16,270	\$9,867	54

THE MILITANT

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

Vol. 27 - No. 43 345 Monday, December 2, 1963

Daily News Acts to Fan Hysteria

The New York *Daily News*, vitriolic critic of the late president Kennedy and outspoken champion of the rabid ultra-right lunatic fringe, sees in the assassination of their erstwhile foe a heaven-sent opportunity to hot up the cold war against the Soviet Union and its allies. And at the same time, to whip up a lynch hysteria against all Marxist opponents of the capitalist "free enterprise" system.

They dismiss out-of-hand the criminal responsibility of the right-wing fanatics for creating in Dallas the murderous atmosphere which provided the setting for the slaying of John Fitzgerald Kennedy and his alleged assassin, Lee H. Oswald. One example, among many, of the type of incendiary activity carried on by the hate groups with which the city of Dallas abounds, was reported by columnist Kenneth Crawford, in the Dec. 2 issue of the national magazine *Newsweek*.

"In Dallas," Crawford reports, "the city where he [President Kennedy] was killed, picture placards of him bearing the caption 'Wanted for Treason' had been distributed before his visit."

Marxists, of all shades, reject and condemn the resort to acts of individual terror and political assassination, as anti-social and an aid to political reaction. The Kennedy assassination is no exception. It has emboldened the race-hating, labor-baiting fraternity, for whom the N.Y. *Daily News* speaks, to clamor for reprisals against the "Reds" — a category which includes all those who do not see eye-to-eye with the right-wing reaction.

The *Daily News*, for example, takes to task the conservative Arkansas Senator, William J. Fulbright, for suggesting "that President Johnson and N. S. Khrushchev have an early and cozy get-together so as to understand each other better." With swash-buckling jingoism, it adds: "If the new President doesn't understand the Red Hitler by now, he never will, and is a risky fellow to have in the White House."

The *Daily News* editorial pounces upon what it characterizes as the "frantic disclaimer" issued by the American Communist Party denying any organizational connection with Oswald and disavowing the use of assassination as a political weapon. The newspaper then sums up its "indictment" with the inflammatory peroration:

"The fact remains," it asserts, "that Oswald was a Marxist and proud of it. The fact also remains that the Communist Party continually preaches death to imperialism, capitalism, etc. It is only natural for lame-brains such as Oswald to conclude that this means killing your enemies wherever and whenever you can reach them defenseless. *Ideas have consequences.*" (Our emphasis.)

This is the type of McCarthyite mentality that lies at the base of the entire witch-hunting thought-control structure of political repression that has polluted and poisoned the body politic in this country for lo these many years. The N.Y. *Daily News* is convinced that its brand of capitalist imperialism is ordained to endure for all eternity.

The Marxists view capitalism as a transitory economic and social system which superseded a more backward form of social and economic organization, feudalism, and one that must give way to a superior system of social organization designated as socialism or communism.

This conflict of "ideas," which takes the form of the class struggle, the *Daily News* concludes, makes it "natural for lame-brains" to "conclude that this means killing your enemies." The ineluctable logic of this mode of thought is to consider that any "ideas" other than those held by the *News* are potentially capable of inciting some "lame-brain" to commit murder. If, as the *Daily News* would have it, the "consequences" of the ideas of Marxism led to the slaying of president Kennedy, what were the "ideas" that led to the cold-blooded murder of the manacled Oswald?

Civil libertarians, freedom fighters, class conscious workers, let alone Marxist socialists, find it easy to understand what motivates the capitalist owners of the *Daily News*. More difficult to fathom are the accounts appearing in the American press citing Soviet newspaper attempts to link Kennedy's alleged assassin with the "American Trotskyists" of the Socialist Workers Party. Such reports hark back to the infamous Moscow Trial frameups staged by Stalin in the 1930's and since partially repudiated by Khrushchev.

In its editorial, the *Daily News*, attempting to link the alleged assassin to Moscow through the "guilt-by-ideas" amalgam, asserts that: "Khrushchev's followers can't get off this hook, struggle though they may." What is at stake in this attempted amalgam is to discredit the ideas of Marxism and set the stage for an assault on the American socialist and labor movement.

Any attempt by the Kremlin to divert the attack on it by giving the slightest shred of credence to the "guilt-by-ideas" theory is an act of unmitigated treachery to the world movement of socialist emancipation so indissolubly linked with the names of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

How the "Alliance" Really Works

Give One Dollar and Take Back Two

By Edward Salton

The Second Annual Review Meeting of the Alliance for Progress ended in Sao Paulo, Brazil, on Nov. 16. It was evident from this week-long conference of representatives of the 20 nations involved that the Alliance is a dismal failure.

One of the aims of the Alliance was supposed to be the furthering of democracy and political stability. But, since the Alliance began, no less than five governments have been overthrown and replaced by dictatorships or military juntas. The situation is graphically shown on a map of Latin America printed in the Nov. 17 *New York Times*. On it only Chile, Costa Rica and Uruguay are described as being stable, while the other 16 countries are described as only "relatively" stable or unstable.

What is the reason for the failure of the Alliance? Furthermore, what is behind the current moves in Argentina and Peru to take over the U.S.-owned oil industry?

The average American, kept in ignorance by his daily sources of misinformation — newspapers, magazines, TV, radio and politicians — believes that with all the money the U.S. is sending abroad, the recipients of this "charity" should be more grateful.

A close examination of the facts, however, shows something like a Coney Island shell game where the con man gives a dollar with one hand and takes two from the victim's pocket with the other.

How does it work? Robert M. Hutchins, former president of Chicago University and present head of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, described it in a syndicated column Oct. 27 this way:

"The big myth about aid to the developing countries is that there has been some. There hasn't been any, because the countries that have given the aid with one hand have taken it — and more — with the other," because "the terms of trade have been so much against them as to wipe out the aid they have received."

The reason for this is that the price of the manufactured goods which the underdeveloped countries buy is continually going up, while the price of the raw materials which they sell to the U.S. is constantly going down. Hutchins cites the U.N. commodity index which shows that in the period 1954-1963 there was a rise in the price of manufactured goods of 9.3%, while in the same period the price of goods sold by Latin America, excluding petroleum, has declined by 35%, for a gain by the U.S. of 44% at the expense of these countries!

Hutchins says that the backward countries have to "sell to the industrial countries, and they have to take the price the industrial countries will pay." Consequently, he continues, "The developing countries must put up more and more to get less and less."

Carlos Fuentes, the Mexican writer, points out that in 1962 "the Alliance gave 150 million dollars to Colombia; but in that same year Colombia lost 450 million dollars because of the decrease in coffee prices."

Who, indeed, is aiding whom? Hutchins points out the usually overlooked fact that the aid actually is not donated, but largely loaned. "The relatively picayune sums that have been made available to the underprivileged countries have for the most part been doled out as commercial loans.

"If these loans are paid on time, the repayments will about equal, at the present rate, the new aid extended. The result will be the same as no aid at all."

This is the reality that has finally caught up with Argentina and Peru — that these promissory



A PRODUCT OF THE ALLIANCE. These tanks, made in USA, were marshaled in Quito, Ecuador, during government effort to smash general strike that was provoked by mounting inflation.

notes are due; that the whole aid program is an illusion; and that drastic steps must be taken to forestall bankruptcy. That is why they have been forced to move against the oil companies, in an effort to get for themselves the only raw material that has not gone down in price in the world market.

The grandiose plan of the Alliance for Progress included the hope that private American, European and South American capitalists would invest equally with the U.S. government funds. Fuentes points out that the actuality is that private investors long ago left the scene in a search for safer and more profitable markets. "Between 1950 and 1955, you invested two billion dollars, made three and a half billion, and took back to the States one and a half billion. In a single year, 1959, you made 775 million, only reinvested 200 million and sent 575 million back to the United States. In the last seven years (1955-1962), Latin America lost, because of these shipments of money, \$2,679,000,000."

That is the picture for U.S. capital, but native capital has the same history behind it. "At present, four per cent of the Latin American population receives 50 per cent of the combined national incomes. The higher classes have hoarded more than 14 billion dollars in foreign banks."

What it comes down to is that the Alliance did not further progress, but has acted as a brake on progress. This was recognized, in a way, by the Nov. 25 *Newsweek* when it declared, "Even the Alliance's key economic drive — to increase per capita income 2.5% a year — is a flop; in 1962 the increase ranged from 0.6 to 1 per cent, a drop from the levels of 1961."

Since the Alliance barely got under way until the end of 1961, it is obvious that the Latin Americans were better off before they became the alleged beneficiaries of American aid! And all indications are that even this tiny increase in per capita income has become a minus figure for 1963. For example, Uruguay's gross national product has declined since 1955 while its population has increased. Per capita income actually fell from 1951 to 1961. Raging inflation doubled prices between 1955 and 1959, and doubled them again by 1962. So far this year prices are up 25 per cent.

The same situation exists in Brazil, where the cost of living has risen 100 per cent this year. Brazilian President João Goulart declared Nov. 19, "The inflation threatens to devour us." As for the conditions in the country, he said: "We have passed the limits of the tolerable; we now live moments of expectancy of uncontrollable events."

It is obvious that all the aid in

the world will not help these countries unless they develop their own industries and become independent of the high-priced imports that bleed them dry. It is also obvious that this will not be done under the present leadership in those countries, and the most that can be expected from them are some faltering steps and threats to take action.

The Alliance for Progress is clearly not the road to freedom in Latin America; in actual practice it is the road to ruin via further economic and political strangulation. As Senator Morse (D-Ore.) said on the Senate floor Nov. 13: "Our money has been making the oligarchs richer and the poor poorer in Latin America. It's about time the president faced up to this fact. It's a very ugly fact but it's true."

Victims of Racist Attack Convicted in Lexington

Three young Negroes were given sentences ranging from seven years to six months in Lexington, N.C., in connection with the death of a white man, a member of an anti-Negro mob, last June 6. Joe Poole, 19, was given 4-7 years in prison after he pleaded no contest to a second-degree murder charge. According to the Nov. 23 *Afro American*, Roosevelt N. Smith, 21, and William Chester Johnson, 18, pleaded guilty to charges of engaging in riot on the same night and were given six months each in prison.

Lexington, N.C., is a rural town where last spring a group of about 15 Negroes, some of them children, sought service at a segregated bowling alley, a theater and some cafes. Although near Greensboro, where demonstrations by Negroes against segregation had been going on for a month, this was the first such action in Lexington.

The next night, a mob of white men estimated at 800 to 1,000, arrived at the Negro section of town, where 25 to 30 Negroes were standing outside the church. Most of the 2,000 Negroes in the town were barricaded in their houses. The whites were armed with guns and bottles of kerosene.

According to the June 8 *New York Times*, a shot which was apparently fired from the Negro group, struck Fred Glenn Link, a 26-year-old man, who died on the way to the hospital.

The three Negro defendants were alleged to have fired a sawed-off .22 caliber rifle in the direction of the milling group. However, charges against Smith and Johnson of assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill were not prosecuted.

Cambodia Cancels U.S. Aid, Charges CIA Backed Rebels

The cancellation of U.S. aid by Cambodia highlights the questionable intentions of U.S. foreign policy in Southeast Asia. Cambodian Head of State, Norodom Sihanouk, rejected further U.S. aid and canceled that being received under existing programs. He took this drastic step after a captured member of the so-called Free Khmer (Free Cambodia) movement, which is trying to overthrow Cambodia's existing government, admitted that his group is receiving secret aid from the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Sihanouk, the former king of the little country, has tried to keep Cambodia neutral ever since it became independent of France under the 1954 Geneva agreements. But since then it has been subjected to U.S. attempts to install a right-wing, militarist regime similar to those in South Vietnam, Laos and Thailand — one which would join in a pro-U.S. military alliance aimed against North Vietnam and China.

CIA activity in Laos and South Vietnam backed up such right-

wing militarists but only succeeded in creating crises in those countries. The most recent such crisis was the military overthrow of the corrupt and tyrannical Diem regime in South Vietnam, which the CIA had once helped install. Rumors that the CIA likewise helped in Diem's removal no doubt caused Sihanouk to be more sensitive than ever about threats against himself.

Still Neutral

Sihanouk's call for support from China does not mean he is about to enter the "Communist camp." He has also asked France for support and has proposed a nine-nation conference to guarantee Cambodian neutrality. What is significant is that he fears U.S. pressure as a greater threat to his country's independence than that of China, with its different social system.

That shows the disruptive and dangerous effect of Washington's aggressive, cold-war policy in Southeast Asia. Because of that policy and the turmoil it creates, a poor and needy country like Cambodia renounces U.S. aid.

...Voices of Sanity

(Continued from Page 1)

hate that struck down President John F. Kennedy is multiplied by the monstrous murder of his accused assassin while being transferred from one jail in Dallas to another.

"The primary guilt for this ugly new stain on the integrity of our system of order and respect for individual rights is that of the Dallas police force and the rest of its law-enforcement machinery . . .

"The Dallas authorities, abetted and encouraged by the newspaper, TV and radio press trampled on every principle of justice in their handling of Lee H. Oswald. It is their sworn duty to protect every prisoner, as well as the community, and to afford each accused person full opportunity for his defense before a properly constituted court. The heinousness of the crime Oswald was alleged to have committed made it doubly important that there be no cloud over the establishment of his guilt.

"Yet — before any indictment had been returned or any evidence presented and in the face of continued denials by the prisoner — the chief of police and the district attorney pronounced Oswald guilty. 'Basically, the case is closed,' the chief declared. The prosecutor informed reporters that he would demand the death penalty and was confident 'I'll get it.'

Emotional Atmosphere

"After two days of such prefindings of guilt, in the electrically emotional atmosphere of a city angered by the President's assassination and not too many decades removed from the vigilante tradition of the old frontier, the jail transfer was made at high noon and with the widest possible advance announcement. Television and newsreel cameras were set in place and many onlookers assembled to witness every step of the transfer — and its tragic miscarriage.

"It was an outrageous breach of police responsibility — no matter what the demands of reporters and cameramen may have been — to move Oswald in public under circumstances in which he could so easily have been the victim of attack . . .

"Now there can never be a trial that will determine Oswald's guilt or innocence by the standards of impartial justice that are one of the proudest adornments of our democracy . . ."

Columnist Jimmy Breslin, writing in the Nov. 25 *New York Herald Tribune*, had the following to say:

"Dallas. You started to think

about Dallas. In Dallas they sat and told you that a Communist shot the President of the United States. They sat and told you that, while everybody in the town with any brains knew that John Fitzgerald Kennedy, the President of the United States, was shot because this is a country that has let the art of hating grow so strong that now we kill our President because of it.

"And Dallas does not own hate. Dallas is a collective word and it means Birmingham and Tuscaloosa and, yes, Scarsdale and Bay Ridge and the Bronx, too. Dallas means everywhere where people in this nation stand off with their smugness and their paychecks and their cute little remarks, and run their lives on the basis of hate. Everybody has a piece of this murder. Everybody who ever stood off and said, 'that Jew bastard,' and everybody who ever said, 'I don't want niggers near me' is part of this murder."

Richard Starnes, columnist of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, on Nov. 26 warned against the spread of hysteria:

"The United States, with its unswerving dedication to violence and its cherished tradition of overreacting, can look forward to the next months only with misgivings.

"No man alive can guess how deeply the fabric of the nation has been wounded by the Byzantine horror of assassination compounded by assassination, of murder heaped upon murder . . .

"Our credentials as a civilized people stand suspect before the world, of course, but the real depth of the disaster that has befallen us cannot yet be measured . . . It remains to be seen whether more convulsions will rack us before it is over . . .

"Our initial response to the infant threat of Bolshevism was the disgrace of the Palmer raids, which made a mockery of civil rights and human decency in the winter of 1919-20. And what adult among us cannot remember the sorry episode that we customarily reduce to the convenient historical shorthand of McCarthyism? Joe McCarthy was in the van, and deserves to be memorialized in the name we give that time of trial, but behind him was an army of lip-movers, the get of witch burners and rack manipulators since the dawn of time. Americans were never able to understand the horror with which civilized nations viewed that dismal epoch; Americans knew (or thought they knew) that the hysteria was not typical of us. Other people wondered and worried that it might well be typical."

Vietnam Conflict Deepens

U.S. to Continue Military Role

By Steve Graham

President Lyndon B. Johnson, shortly after his inauguration, re-affirmed administration policy on South Vietnam. This was disclosed after a meeting on Sunday, Nov. 24, between President Johnson and Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam, who had flown to Washington, D.C.

Specifically the policy is to continue all-out aid to the South Vietnamese government in its war against a peasant rebellion within its own borders. That means to continue sending U.S. troops, military equipment and \$1½ million per day into what a *New York Times* reporter describes as "the most vicious war in today's world."

The Nov. 24 meeting also re-affirmed an earlier White House statement that some 1,000 GIs would probably be withdrawn from the undeclared war by the end of this year. There are at least 16,500 U.S. troops in Vietnam now. Supposedly, they are only advising and training Vietnamese troops but it is openly reported that they take an active part in the fighting.

During the Buddhist crisis, many questions were raised in the U.S. about American boys dying in defense of a tyrant. Plans to pull 1,000 GIs out and promises that the "whole job" of "training" will be completed in a year or two are designed to calm any complaints or questions Americans might have about this war.

But that all the troops will come home in the near future is hardly likely. And those that do will probably be replaced by new ones. Because the fighting in South Vietnam, despite optimistic official claims, is getting worse. The new military regime in Saigon is facing a big crisis in the rich, rice-growing Mekong Delta area — an area where the bulk of South Vietnam's peasantry lives and where the peasant guerrillas, the so-called "Vietcong," are especially strong.

Guerrilla strength is reportedly growing even in provinces bordering the capital. The military rulers are apparently planning a big drive to try to offset this growing strength. One of the American complaints against the



WILL THEY OFFER HIM A DEAL? Premier Ho Chi Minh of North Vietnam, is shown here with Marshal Voroshilov, former Soviet military leader. Some American journalists report that South Vietnamese leaders would like to make a deal with Ho Chi Minh to end fighting — if he can — in South Vietnam. U.S. authorities are reportedly opposed to such an offer.

Diem government, overthrown Nov. 1, had been that it did not carry out an aggressive drive in the Delta area.

Heavier fighting, then, seems to be in the offing. And it is doubtful that South Vietnam government troops, with their low morale, can "do the job" by themselves. It is more likely that they will be bolstered with more and more U.S. troops.

David Halberstam, the *New York Times* correspondent in Saigon, reports that the war is not "in its final quarter-hour. Rather in the Delta, it has barely begun." The price this year, says Halberstam, "is likely to be steep in blood." And that will mean American blood, too.

The South Vietnamese armed forces number some 250,000 men. Reinforced by thousands of specially-trained and equipped U.S.

forces, they are still unable to defeat poorly clad and ill-armed peasant guerrillas. There is only one reason for that. The vast majority of South Vietnam's people — landless or nearly landless peasants and rural workers, with no medical care or schools, no voice in government or benefits of modern life — support or participate in the struggle of the guerrillas.

Halberstam quotes a South Vietnamese Catholic priest to this effect. "It is a sad thing," he said, "but to the population the Vietcong are the heroes and the revolutionaries and the government officials corrupt and evil."

Continuation of this undeclared war against the majority of South Vietnam's peasantry will only involve the U.S. in greater difficulties. Even now, the new regime in Saigon faces a growing crisis. Ambassador Lodge, who had flown to Washington from Honolulu and met with President Johnson, was sent back without even waiting over one day to attend President Kennedy's funeral.

Although officials denied this indicated a new crisis, his urgent departure coincided with reports of important Vietcong victories.

...Dallas Police Methods

(Continued from Page 1)

clared that there never were any chapters in New Orleans or Dallas and that Oswald had never been an officer of the organization.

2) Cuban counter-revolutionaries in New Orleans say Oswald contacted them offering his services to train men for an attack on Cuba. What does this indicate? Was Oswald mentally unstable so that he could be both pro and anti-Castro at the same time? Did he have some other motive in contacting these counter-revolutionaries?

3) Did Oswald repeat this erratic political pattern in Dallas where there are many ultra-right organizations? Dallas has a record of violence by its ultra-right groups. In addition, they are said to include well-to-do and powerful people in the city. Do they have connections in the police department or among other authorities?

4) Was Oswald's mental condition such as to affect the possibility of his conviction? According to psychiatric authorities quoted in the Nov. 26 *New York Times*, it was.

5) On Sunday, Nov. 24, after Oswald was killed, Dallas District Attorney Henry Wade held a press conference at which he announced he would present conclusive evidence of Oswald's guilt. A Scripps-Howard dispatch of Nov. 25 reports: "Wade ticked off a long list

of 'hard' evidence against Oswald, but his statement that Oswald's palm print had been found on the foreign made murder rifle was the most conclusive piece of evidence he presented." But, the dispatch declares: "Federal authorities have confided that no readable print was found on the murder weapon when it was flown to Washington for laboratory study."

In other words, Wade's strongest piece of circumstantial evidence was reportedly disputed by the federal authorities. Moreover, Wade was vague about the other pieces of evidence.

Some of the technical questions about the circumstantial evidence produced by Dallas police will probably be cleared up in time. But the evidence against Oswald is still circumstantial. Oswald himself has been silenced, and thereby the possibility of learning his motivation, if he was guilty.

Scripps-Howard reporter R.H. Shackford reported Nov. 26 from Paris: "The general feeling is similar throughout Europe — that Ruby was a police stoolpigeon who could not have done away with Oswald without some skulduggery somewhere . . . The Dallas police's quick statement that with Oswald's death the inquiry into the Kennedy assassination was closed merely confirms the worst suspicions bred by the earlier police statements without giving evidence that Oswald was the man."

The First 10 Years Of American Communism

Report of a Participant

By James P. Cannon

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A Powerful, New Social Force

Algerian Peasant Committees Convene

While the world press played its spotlight on the western borders of Algeria where the attack launched by Morocco's king might open up the possibility of intervention by the United Nations *à la Congo*, another, potentially much more significant event was occurring in Algiers. This was the three-day Congress of Peasants held October 25-27. It became a milestone in the development of political consciousness among the Algerian masses. We will return to this congress and its significance in future issues. For the moment, we wish only to call attention to an article by David Rousset in the current number of *Le Figaro Littéraire* [Nov. 7-13]. His observations at the congress are of considerable interest.

First was the impression made on him by the delegates whom he estimated at 3,000. Coming from all over Algeria, they were genuinely of the soil, "rough" men "who had never in their lives spoken before a microphone or camera."

The first day when they approached the rostrum where government officials sat, they were diffident and a little ill at ease. When they turned toward the audience, they felt at home. By the second day they knew that the congress was really theirs and they showed it in everything they did. "They spoke before the president of the Republic, before the ministers, before the nation, without any attention to manners, in their direct manner, crude, hard, the way they think."

Simple and Direct

Rousset cites as an example of their directness "a simple worker from Tlemcen" who, speaking about the lack of medical facilities in his area, said, "It's necessary to declare the doctors vacant property." [Possessions left by the French settlers when they fled from Algiers were declared "vacant property" as a preliminary step toward nationalization.]

Rousset was impressed by the obvious absence of any attempt to rig the meeting. The organizers had not even thought about heating the place. "No sergeants-at-arms. No parades. No songs. A few flat inscriptions: 'Long live the decrees of March 22!' 'The land to those who till it.' The atmosphere was created by the delegates themselves. And by afternoon they heard the delegate from Aurès" declare: "All the officials must be elected by the workers." And the delegate from Zéralda: "The officials must be chosen in the light of their professional competency; they must remain close to the peasants; they must get rid of the bureaucratic spirit."

On the second day when Ben Bella entered the hall while the delegate from Médéa was delivering an attack "against the new-born bureaucracy of the state," the delegates rose to give the president a tremendous ovation. "But,

with the end of the applause, a number got up to demand that the delegate from Médéa repeat his grievances from the beginning. Which he did and in the same language."

These peasants discovered during the course of the meeting that their problems were the same on a national scale, that they could be solved only on a national scale, and that they themselves represented an extremely powerful social force, likewise on a national scale.

"One of them, moreover, explicitly said the next day during his speech: 'We have been able to get together among the delegations and compare our points of view.' They understood, including in an almost physical way, that the 6,000 self-management committees constitute a national force. The closed circle of their regional experience was broken. This shift in consciousness, which they had not really experienced until they were finally assembled, elbow to elbow, this exhibition of their power, changed everything, transformed everything, made this congress an authentic congress of peasants."

They got right down to business. First of all they talked about the results of their work on the farms and the fact that production had not fallen down. "This was visibly the point of honor among serious workers." They wanted the country to understand their new attitude. A peasant of Milliana said: "Before, we worked without understanding. Now we know the problem." They appeared "sure of themselves" but with great simplicity of manner. Thus the delegate from Tiaret began: "I'm going to say a few words. But if I'm mistaken, excuse me."

Speaking for Selves

"And then they began to talk about the obstacles, all the obstacles. Those concerning technical means. Those arising from administration. Like the conflicts with other peasants from barren lands. Like the difficulty former partisans have of adapting themselves. Like the irritating seasonal unemployment. And each one also explained how, in his sector, they had sought to find solutions, to improvise palliatives. For the first time it had ever occurred, the peasants were speaking. For the first time they were not letting someone else speak for them."

The problems, including those tied in with their relations to the government, were thus placed in the open for the joint consideration of the entire body. Not the slightest attempt was made from the rostrum to shut off discussion. On the contrary, although the officials were raked over the coals, they listened. When someone from the floor became repetitious or took too much time, the other delegates shut him off. They wanted to hear from all sectors.

One of the most significant outcomes was the universal insistence that the only possible solution to the difficulties lies through the management committees. These have now become part of the basic thinking of the working masses of Algeria.

"In one year, the agricultural workers have learned much. The reports of the pre-congress and the resolutions adopted by the national congress are a thousand miles from the generalities of the Tripoli program. The peasants have learned the vital importance of machines and their maintenance. They have recognized the role of bookkeeping and of investments. They have been initiated into the dangerous pitfalls of the commercial circuit.

"It would be an error to believe that they are satisfied with demanding higher wages, family allowances, paid vacations. They

based their demands on a program of management. If many specified that one must not at all wait for the state, it was to grant themselves greater authority, a more genuine independence. Doing this, they ranged themselves as a social force distinct from the state and dealt as equal to equal with the administration. This perhaps appears as the most extraordinary in their one-year apprenticeship — the discovery they have made of the nature of the state."

Rousset deals with this at some length, explaining how these agricultural workers view their situation and their relations with the state in the most palpable way.

Genuine Emancipation

"They have grasped that, to be genuine, their social emancipation requires that they themselves possess the means of production, the machines and the money, and that they, in consequence, control the commercial circuit. They have understood that the state is not at all the people even when it undertakes the defense of the interests of the people, and that they must not let the administration possess the machines and monopolize the funds. And that is why all of them without exception launched violent attacks against the SAP [Sociétés Agricoles de Prévoyance, the government agricultural benefits institution]. They see very well that through the SAP the state could dispossess them. They therefore demanded that the tractors should be taken away from the SAP — those belonging to it from the beginning as well as those seized as vacant property — and made into property of the self-management committees."

Here is the solution discussed by the delegates:

"They proposed that where the tractors are not very numerous they should be rationally divided among the farms, assembled at a single station, but under the control of the self-management committees concerned. And as they have learned the ruses of the administration, they posed the crucial problem of parts that are removed and of repairs, demanding the centralization of the shops and their being placed under the control of the committees, so that the agricultural workers themselves can fix the price of repairs, determine the order of priority in the jobs and know the status of supplies.

Denounce Mismanagement

"They denounced the bad handling of sales of their products because of being placed in charge of incompetent and dilatory officials. They demanded that crops should be sold at the market price or at prices publicly fixed by the state and that the agricultural workers should know, with the least possible delay, the revenue received from products they have delivered. They proposed, in consequence, that the management committees should be authorized to make sales themselves on the local markets or on an area level, that the books should be placed under their control and that co-operatives to handle sales should be set up. They demanded that the state fix as early as possible the rate of levies. Finally, to assure financial autonomy, they advocated that each self-management committee should have a bank account."

In Rousset's opinion, by confronting the administration in this way in the field of the technical administration of the big nationalized domains, the agricultural workers discovered their own social identity. "This first national congress thus provided in a fundamental way the public expression of a new social force, conscious of itself. It follows that the agricultural workers are on the eve of



A VOICE FOR THE DISINHERITED. President Ben Bella speaks to Algerian shoeshine boys, symbol of French colonial rule. Revolution took them off streets and into schools. Same liberating revolution is making Algerian peasants masters of their own land, economy and destiny.

achieving political consciousness."

This is of great significance, in the author's opinion. "The crucial importance of the event relates to the position which these agricultural workers occupy in the national economy. It is a decisive position. They manage the richest and best equipped lands: 2,500,000 hectares [a hectare is approximately 2½ acres]. This gives them not only control of the food supply of the country, but of the principal source for the formation of the national capital.

They return to their villages with a much different outlook from the one they had only days before when they set out for the congress. "In their discussions with the state, their firmness can be based on texts that have the force of law. They therefore return to the villages with increased authority, and, in addition, more effective authority than is wielded elsewhere in the country."

Before the congress, government circles were divided over how best to approach these problems. A "centralist, statist" tendency ar-

gued for direct administration. This was centered around ONRA [National Office of Agrarian Reform]. An opposite tendency, advocating greater autonomy for the peasants on the grounds that productivity cannot be ordered from above but depends on the social interest of the workers, was centered around the BNASS [National Bureau for Animation of the Socialist Sector].

The conflict lasted throughout the spring and summer. When the congress convened, the centralist tendency appeared to have won out. However, in the work panels of the congress which prepared the documents for adoption, the centralist tendency suffered a serious setback. "The motions which its partisans presented were rejected and the resolutions finally adopted essentially favored the self-management delegates. This victory was entirely due to the firmness of the peasants present in the panel commissions. The agricultural workers thus showed their power which is considerable."

WORLD OUTLOOK

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters under 400 words. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

San Francisco Housing

San Francisco, Calif.
Having read several articles in leading San Francisco papers has led me to believe that insofar as housing is concerned, San Francisco is indeed in serious trouble.

In the past several weeks, various organizations have brought to the public's attention the lack of good, low-income housing. What is the solution?

There is none, unless we, the people, the citizens who work and live in and love our city, let the various city agencies concerned know what we want. What will

help us, the human beings who make this city what it is?

For one, I think, a consolidation of all the community councils, church groups, unions, pensioned groups, etc., should work with and help the city agencies to see what the problem is and where it exists.

A public hearing — in the evening, so all could attend, perhaps a Town Hall meeting — would help. A representative from each district would meet with the city officials to act on relocation, re-development, etc., before any plan is approved by the supervisors and the mayor.

In this way, the city (we, the people) would be involved in the serious business of housing.

Lower rents are a must since present planning does not provide this vital need and high land-costs and speculation is driving us out of San Francisco.

After all, it's the city's duty to take care of its people's needs. Maybe this way the human dignity which has been pushed aside will again prevail. We will be able to hold our heads high and take pride in the house or apartment where we can afford to live.

M.L.

Discouraged

Chicago, Ill.
Among factory workers of all kinds, including the better-paid ones, there is much severe, harsh castigation of the employers. There is also, among millions of workers, a general feeling of indifference and futility with regard to the worth of their work and their general situation.

It is painful to social thinkers that none of these dissatisfied workers have any desire to own a factory co-operatively and run it under workers' or people's management.

It is indicative of the feebleness of today's social propaganda that numerous workers never heard of taking their destiny in their own hands for a more agreeable life.

A genuine workers' group in the U.S. is waiting to be born for the old-timers are giving \$7 a plate at Debs' Dinners. Very likely not one genuine worker will be there.

C.P.

Baltimore 'Probers'

Baltimore, Md.
Enclosed is money order for a four-month subscription to *The Militant*. Also I am enclosing a clipping from the *Baltimore Sun* telling how the Welfare Board here has agents invading homes of people on welfare during the night. I hope you will reprint this in your paper.

B.W.

[The clipping said: "The State Board of Welfare is having second thoughts about unannounced pre-dawn searches of Welfare recipients' homes . . .

"One member, Howard Murphy, called the nocturnal inspections unconstitutional invasions of privacy . . .

"The searches are made without warrant, usually between midnight and dawn. Should an employable male be found in the home, welfare is cut off . . .

"Additionally, these investigators spend time on what [is] called surveillance work, hiding outside the homes 'to see who comes in.'"]

Thought for the Week

"Individual acts of terrorism in the last analysis can serve only the forces of reaction who want to repress political and constitutional liberties, because they seize upon the individual terrorist act as a pretext to attack the rights of society as a whole." — Farrell Dobbs, expressing the viewpoint of the Socialist Workers Party on individual terrorism in a statement in the Nov. 27 *New York Times*.

News from Australia

Brisbane, Australia

We are facing a national election on Nov. 30 in which one of the issues is the erection of the very low frequency naval radio communications base being constructed at North West Cape in Western Australia, by the United States. This base will be used for transmitting radio signals to Polaris submarines in the western and southwestern Pacific. Of course, its construction means that this country will have a nuclear target on its soil for the first time.

The present government led by Menzies, which has been in power for 14 years, sees Australia's role in foreign affairs essentially as an American satellite — he frequently refers to "our great and powerful friend" across the sea. The Liberal Party which Menzies leads is the party of the right. The Australian Labor Party, led by Arthur Calwell, is not opposed to the base in principle — it wants Australian participation in the direction of the base and Australian consultation in the event of its use in war. The ALP is the mass party of the working class but it is ridden with opportunism and careerism.

Stuck away in a corner of the

world, Australians are insensitive to the implications of nuclear warfare. We have formed a CND [Committee for Nuclear Disarmament] organisation in Brisbane — it also exists in a few other state capital cities. We will be holding a national conference in Sydney between Christmas and the New Year to set up a national organisation. We have no doubt that Australia's involvement in nuclear strategy will become closer than what it is at the moment. There is a suspicion that the recent purchase of the American TFX bombers (to be delivered in 1967) is intended to give Australia a "nuclear capability."

More thoughtful Australians are also worried by the increasing penetration of American capital into the Australian economy. Much of this capital is not developmental — instead it is buying up established Australian industries. This tendency threatens the balance of payments as the volume of profit remittances is constantly increasing.

The largest American enterprise is General Motors Holden which makes fabulous profits each year. It is now owned completely by the parent company. Some years ago it bought the small parcel of preference shares owned by Aus-

tralian, so that it would not then have to publish its annual profits (there was generally a scream when these were made public); but a change in the company law of Victoria (where the company is registered) has now made it obligatory to publish its profit figures — and these have averaged well over \$20 million annually for some years now.

Reader

Negroes on Right Track

Vashon, Wash.
Just got my paper today and see that the Negro people are organizing politically. That's fine. Through political action they'll accomplish something, and no other way. The union workers of this country will see that some day, too.

I was talking to a relative who has been in New Zealand. He told me about the death tax they have there. The government takes the first bite out of all inheritance amounts and uses the money for socialized medicine purposes. I think he said they take 30 per cent. Boy, what we could do with a law like that! If we could hit our plutocrats with a law like that we could have socialized medicine and then some.

W.S.

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"The CIO has taken some long steps backwards, Negro delegates and observers at the national convention in Cleveland last week told this writer.

"Instead of reflecting the concern of the thousands of Negro workers in the CIO for protection against the growing cutbacks in industry and McCarthyite reaction everywhere, the CIO convention expressed in its composition and program a tendency to adapt to the worsening situation without a real struggle.

"As one reporter commented in a corridor discussion, the number of Negro members of the CIO has not decreased to any significant extent, but instead of increased representation and recognition at the national gatherings, they had less at this one. He was only able to find about ten colored delegates in a convention of about 700; plus a few Negro staff appointees in non-policy making posts . . ." — Nov. 30, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"Shocking reports have come in recent months from India of millions suffering death from sheer starvation. In the streets of Calcutta, in the industrial province of Bengal, lie hundreds of thousands of homeless men, women and children, bodies weakened and shrunken by starvation, grovelling in the gutter for bits of garbage, waiting for death to overtake them.

"The estimated death toll in the single province of Bengal, where the suffering has been most acute, is 2,000 a week, according to the official British government figures. But the estimate of Indians travelling in the country, eye-witnesses to the ravages of the worst famine in 70 years, is — 50,000 deaths weekly.

"The responsibility for the terrible plight of this vast mass of the Indian people rests with British imperialism . . .

"The British . . . place the blame for the famine on the 'bungling' of the Indian provincial assemblies . . . (but) in six of the eleven provinces there are no provincial assemblies, for the British have jailed them in their attempt to crush the independence movement. In addition, none of the provincial assemblies have any real powers.

"Warning signals of the impending famine came in May, 1942, a year and a half ago . . . The profit-drunk British capitalists and their Indian lackey landlords did nothing to avert it." — Dec. 4, 1943.

It Was Reported in the Press

Touche — "When Spain's General Franco went to Switzerland, it is alleged, he met the Swiss Navy Minister. 'Your country is not near the sea at all, and you don't have a single naval vessel,' Franco said. 'So why is it you have a Ministry of the Navy?' The Swiss official answered the question with another question: 'In Spain, why do you have a Minister of Justice?'" — *The CWA News*, voice of the Communications Workers of America.

The World of Fashion — ". . . you can split fashion right down the middle into intellectual and social . . . Naturally, the difference between social and intellectual fashion isn't as simple as it sounds. What makes it complicated is that many women are purely social or intellectual dressers, but others have a foot in each camp . . . You can tell an intellectual from a social dresser by her fur coat. Soon the social dresser will be cuddled in mink and chinchilla. The intellectuals will put on textured stockings and the fur coat, if any, will be Mongolian sheep. Intellectual-socials will be wearing leopard, black mink or sable. Sable over a shirt and pants will be the very epitome of the intellectual-social look." — Eugenia Sheppard in the *New York Herald Tribune*.

True Enough — Queried by newsmen while visiting Singapore, Jesse Unruh, speaker of the California Assembly, said that for every Birmingham, Ala., there were "a dozen Los Angeles." He pointed to alleged progress in California against "open discrimination." Like Los Angeles, where housing is reportedly 95 per cent segregated?

Ads First, Products Later — "Hot shot of the toiletries business is Alberto-Culver . . . When Proctor & Gamble was testing its new dandruff shampoo, Head and Shoulders, Alberto-Culver decided there was no time to lose. As

President Leonard Lavin put it: 'We made the decision then and there to beat P&G to the national marketplace. We created a name: Subdue. We created a package. A marketing plan came alive. We produced an extremely effective commercial. But we didn't have a product. Needless to say, this heightened the tension.' The gamble paid off. Subdue finally came into being and, at last report, was head and shoulders above Head & Shoulders in initial sales." — *Changing Times*.

The Free-Enterprise System — The National Automobile Theft Bureau reports that 29,368 cars, valued at more than \$23 million were stolen in the U.S. last month, eleven per cent more than in October of 1962. Auto thefts now total more than \$400 million a year.

The Judges — A Chicago funeral home and savings and loan outfit sponsor a telephone service which offers callers a "moral evaluation" of current films.

How-to-Win Friends Dept — In a display of deep political thinking, David Halberstam, the *New York Times* correspondent in Saigon, explains that a serious contributing factor to the fall of the Diem dictatorship was that "in recent years relations between President Ngo Dinh Diem and the rural population became increasingly formal" and that "poor communications" existed between the rural population and Diem. The

lesson for the new junta is obvious. Have telephones installed in the "strategic hamlet" concentration camps so the peasants can call the presidential palace and ask for the new head of state by his first name.

Unconstitutional — A Columbus, Ohio, court ruled unconstitutional a local ordinance which requires those who sell goods from "Communist" countries to obtain a special \$100 license and to display a sign at least five inches high with the words, "Communist Manufactured or Processed Goods Sold Here." The court ruled in the case of a local book dealer charged with having books and magazines from the USSR, China and Cuba in his shop without such a license. There are 21 other American towns, primarily in the South and Southwest, with such ordinances.

It Doesn't Register — Dr. William Stephenson, a psychologist who possesses the title of Distinguished Research Professor of Advertising at the University of Missouri, has made a study of the impact of TV and the press. He posed this question: "Do readers and viewers really have any sense of involvement in the articles or ads or programs they witness? Does this material make any lasting impression on them?" The answer, he concluded, is no. He believes that the quality of the material presented may have some bearing on this.

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Defiance of Law Brought On Rights Crisis Says Wilkins

ST. LOUIS — The civil-rights crisis of today was brought on by "the open defiance" of the U.S. Supreme Court anti-segregation ruling of May 17, 1954, Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People told members of the St. Louis Bar Association at a dinner meeting here Nov. 18, just four days before the assassination of President Kennedy.

When that historic decision was handed down, the Negro thought that his "long battle had been won," the NAACP leader said. "His constitutional rights had been reaffirmed . . . but he found he was not yet to move into the mainstream of American life, achieving according to his ability as a free and equal citizen."

Participating in the program with Mr. Wilkins was John C. Satterfield of Yazoo City, Miss., past president of the American Bar Association and adviser to Mississippi Gov. Ross Barnett. Satterfield presented the white Mississippi view of the civil-rights struggle.

Resistance to the Supreme Court ruling, Wilkins charged, was generated in Mississippi and spread to other Southern states. He cited a speech by Satterfield in Greenville, Miss., Aug. 25, 1955, in which the then president of the Mississippi Bar Association asserted that "the gun and torch" was one of three methods by which segregation could be maintained.

As a result of this kind of talk from respected sources, "thousands of persons were intimidated

Chicago Rights Groups: "Don't Buy For Xmas"

CHICAGO — "Don't Buy for Christmas" is the slogan of several civil-rights groups here uniting in an effort to convince the Negro community not to shop for Christmas gifts or decorations. According to the Chicago groups participating in the action — CORE, Direct Action for Equality, Civil Association for Racial Equality, and the Emancipators — the purpose of the boycott is to protest the needless loss of six children's lives in Birmingham.

The organizations involved realize what an impact a total boycott could have on the retailers. They estimate that of the \$22 billion Negroes spend annually, \$5 billion alone is spent for Christmas. They are urging the Negro community: "Don't spend your money where you can't work," and suggest instead that people think of ways of making gifts and decorating without spending money.

The boycotters are distributing leaflets and demonstrating in local shopping centers, and are contacting neighborhood block clubs.

Lena Horne's Hit Disc

A new record by Lena Horne has become a smash hit in spite of the fact that many radio stations throughout the nation have banned it. Her song is called "NOW" and is a demand for immediate equality for the Negro people.

First sung by Miss Horne at a civil-rights benefit concert in October, the record has sold over 185,000 copies in the few weeks since its release. Seven out of eleven stations in Los Angeles reportedly have refused to play it because it is "controversial."



Roy Wilkins

through economic reprisals and direct attacks," the NAACP leader said. "As development piled upon development and legal redress proceeded at a slow pace, the Negro revived and accelerated a direct-action program — a peak point of which was reached during the past summer."

Wilkins outlined three areas in which action by organized bigots "led directly to the civil-rights crisis of 1963," namely, voting, public education and the administration of justice under law.

He cited the denial of the right to vote in Mississippi and other Southern states which enables Southern congressional delegations to delay, block or emasculate civil-rights legislation. Congressmen who got excited about Argentina's cancellation of oil contracts and demanded cutting off of foreign aid to that country, show no such interest in civil-rights legislation, he said.

"No one on Capitol Hill," Wilkins pointed out, "has ever mentioned cutting off federal grants and other funds to Alabama where four little Negro girls were murdered by a bomb tossed into a church. Blood and death on the civil-rights front within the United States is viewed with apathy by our Congress. Some members do want to act, but the powers-that-be forbid it."

On New York's East Side

Glass Can Be Fearful

By Ethel Bloch

An ugly slum neighborhood, like New York's lower East Side, becomes a very dangerous place to live in when you are bringing up a baby. Broken steps, garbage-strewn sidewalks, cracked pavements — which adults can step over — are dangerous obstacles to a child learning to walk. But one of the most frightening aspects is that virtually the whole neighborhood, including the one and only park, is covered with pieces of broken glass.

The park, with its few trees and patchy grass, is the only place in the entire area where a growing child can see a tree and feel the grass. There are swings and seesaws — with glass under the seats. There is an area with outdoor showers for the hot summer days, with broken wine bottles in the entrance. There are two sandboxes crowded with very young children, which are graveyards for jagged pieces of glass.

In the spring the grass looks so inviting and an 18-month-old child yearns to run and roll on the soft green lawn. But that is impossible because hidden in the new blades of grass are big chunks of glass.

FNP Builders Set Sights on Chicago Parley

DETROIT — The Northern Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference (GRLC) which was held here Nov. 9-10 and which supported the current efforts to build a Freedom Now Party is scheduled to meet again in Chicago within six months.

The Detroit conference sparked by Rev. Albert Cleage Jr., was attended by delegates from eight Northern states. The all-black GRLC is a continuing organization of individuals — not groups — and the GRLC members are pledged to carry out GRLC resolutions through the organizations to which they already belong, and by other means. GRLC members will solicit other individual members. The membership fee is five dollars.

Steering Committee

The steering committee of the GRLC is composed of James Boggs, chairman, 3061 Field, Detroit, Michigan; Selma Sparks, executive vice chairman, 499 Park Place, Brooklyn, N.Y.; James M. Russell, executive vice chairman, 14715 Darwin Ave., Cleveland, Ohio; Harold Hill, executive vice chairman, 7442 S. Evans, Chicago, Ill.; Richard Thorne, executive vice chairman, 2816 A. Grove St., Berkeley, Calif.; Joseph L. Constantine Jr., 1220 N. Broadstreet, Philadelphia 30, Pa.; Wilbur V. Grattan, constitutional committee chairman, 2635 E. 48th St., Cleveland, Ohio; Rosetta Fleming, 9810 S. Normal, Chicago, Ill.; Gwendolyn Mallett, treasurer, 3303 Sturtevant, Detroit 6, Michigan.

The GRLC resolution on the Freedom Now Party reads: "Resolved that the Northern Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference adopts a position of wholehearted support to the Freedom Now Party; and that the delegates attending this conference go back to their respective states with the firm position of promoting and propagating the idea of the Freedom Now Party with the goal of getting on the ballot in 1964."

Among other actions, the conference also supported the Christmas boycott and entered the campaign against persecution of Robert F. Williams and Mae Mallory in the infamous "kidnap" frame-up in Monroe, N.C.



Committee for Miners Photo

IN THE LAND OF PLENTY. An unemployed miner's family in Whitesburg, Ky. These are the families that are fighting under the leadership of Berman Gibson's roving-picket movement to win back jobs with decent wages and conditions. A young New Yorker who came to their aid was framed on a "libel" charge.

Student Convicted for Aiding Kentucky Miners' Struggle

The Committee for Miners has announced that in Hazard, Ky., Steve Ashton was sentenced to six months in jail and fined \$3,000 on Nov. 21. The Perry County Circuit Court jury was composed of ten elderly women and two men. Ashton is free on \$3,000 bond pending appeal. Dan Jack Combs, his attorney from Pikeville, Ky., along with Joseph Freeland, a Kentucky civil-liberties lawyer from Paducah, and Ephraim London, a director of the New York Civil Liberties Union, will appeal the conviction.

Ashton, 21, a former philosophy major at Oberlin College, and now a student at the New School for Social Research in New York, was charged with criminal libel. The conviction was based on a pamphlet, "Notes on a Mountain Strike," written by Ashton last March. A previous trial last September on the same charges resulted in a hung jury.

TV Documentary

The CBS television documentary, "The Hungry Americans," broadcast December 1962, attracted Ashton to Hazard early in 1963. The documentary, broadcast on a national hook-up, exposed the plight of the unemployed Kentucky miners and their struggle to restore union wages and conditions to the area. Featured in the program was Berman Gibson and the miner's movement he was leading. Returning to Oberlin, Ashton organized a campaign to collect food and clothing for Gibson's mine pickets. "Notes on a Mountain Strike" was written on his second visit, when he returned with the food and clothing and stayed for a month with a miner's family. The pamphlet alleged certain violations of the miners' political, economic and legal rights by the coal operators and police authorities in conjunction with the local newspaper.

Mrs. Nolan, editor of the Hazard Herald, Sheriff Combs, a coal operator, and Hazard Police Chief Sam L. "Bud" Luttrell, the main target

for Ashton's criticism in the pamphlet, obtained the original warrant for his arrest. Some of the items in the article considered libelous included the report that Sheriff Combs had handcuffed a young prisoner and partially blinded him with tear gas; that Mrs. Nolan, when asked by CBS to organize the distribution of food, money and clothing raised by an appeal on their program, had discriminated against the pickets; and, finally, that Ashton had witnessed a plot to kill the only picket policeman on the Hazard city police force.

Conviction Unwarranted

"Concerning these incidents and others," defense attorney London said after the trial, "we feel that the prosecution has failed to produce all the elements which would warrant a criminal libel conviction. In addition we will appeal on the grounds that we don't believe there can be such a crime as common-law criminal libel, particularly when common law depends as it does on a series of decisions by the court rather than by an enactment of the legislature. There have only been two rather vague decisions on the subject of criminal common-law libel in Kentucky. What the common law is in this case then is difficult to determine."

"What is not difficult to determine," a reporter at the trial commented, "is the motivation of the prosecution." He quoted from a verbatim report taken during the prosecution summation and added, "This is an attempt to intimidate others from bringing aid to the miners and to prevent news of conditions here getting out."

Talbert Combs, the county prosecutor, had said, "Our hospitality is extended to people with clean hands, not to rats and rascals like this."

The Committee for Miners is raising funds for the legal defense of Eastern Kentucky miners and is sending relief supplies to their impoverished families. Contributions can be sent to the committee at 96 Greenwich Avenue, New York 11, N.Y.