

# South Vietnam Regime Inflicts Brutal Tortures on Prisoners

## THE MILITANT

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### Cops Couldn't Keep Lamp Out

## Report on a Rights Rally In Indianola, Mississippi

INDIANOLA, Miss. — An hour before the mass meeting people began to gather — an hour after dark, an hour after people had finished their work in the fields — working from sun-up to darkness for three dollars. There was much to fear, but people kept coming.

Some had lost their jobs, some had their welfare cut — all because they wanted the right to vote, the right to a good job, the right for their children to receive a good education and the dignity set forth in the Civil Rights Act.

These people remember a man dragged to death in the streets of their own community, a man hanged in front of their courthouse. They remember a bloody past, a past that was not over this summer when a man was shot by a policeman in Doddsville, just miles away; a past that is not over. Two civil-rights workers were beaten days before in this town, one on the courthouse steps. The Freedom School had been burned, the extensive damages by fire and an excess of water have not yet been repaired.

There is no lighting so this election-eve meeting was held outside. Cars were placed around the area to provide protection from those who might shoot. The car lights were turned on to give some light and a kerosene lamp was lit for the speakers. The meeting began moving with songs of freedom. As the words to *This Little Light of Mine, I'm Going to Let It Shine* faded, Otis Brown spoke of the burnings and bombings that aren't going to stop us anymore.

The meeting applauded this young man, who like so many of the young folk in Mississippi, is leading the struggle for freedom. The meeting turned to the impor-

tant issue. The next day the Freedom Vote was to begin. George Winter, a worker from California, began explaining the Freedom Election. During his talk, the police broke into the meeting.

The fire chief and captain of police ordered the lamp to be put out. They claimed it was explosive and dangerous. But nobody bought their line. They had not worried about Mayor Pitts' maid who burned to death because all she could afford was a kerosene stove. They had never worried about the Negroes living on plantations without electricity. And now a lamp on a table, a safe distance from anybody was supposed to be dangerous. Those present wondered why people were allowed to burn the school, throw bombs, and so on and then the police refuse to let them light one small lamp.

The people voted unanimously to keep the lamp burning. George went on talking about the Freedom Vote, what it contributed to the coming political change in Mississippi, what the political change would mean in jobs, living conditions and civil rights. The police returned. They threatened, they blew out the lamp. Again the meeting voted democratically to keep the lamp burning. George asked the meeting if it wanted him to relight the lamp. There was a shout of "YES!" He relit the lamp and was immediately arrested.

The police took George to one of their cars, and as they passed the headlights where all could see, they shoved him and shouted and cursed to frighten the folk in the meeting. Fred Winn, another worker from California, knowing that it was not good to

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By Barry Sheppard

The Nov. 9 issue of *Newsweek* magazine was banned in South Vietnam because it contained a photograph of a young South Vietnamese, presumably a guerrilla fighter but possibly a peasant "suspect," being tortured with a knife by a government soldier. Obviously, the South Vietnam dictatorship was afraid the effect the *Newsweek* picture would have on a population almost universally hostile to its regime.

The photograph shows a knife being pressed into the belly of the young captive. "Getting the point: South Vietnamese Rangers interrogate a prisoner," was the sadistic and facetious caption the *Newsweek* editors saw fit to put under the picture, which was also printed in the Hearst press.

Recent issues of the *New York Times* have carried similar pictures. One showed a group of peasants in a village tied and bound, with government troops standing around waiting to "interrogate" them. Another picture was of a prisoner being held upside down in a barrel of water. This is the "water cure" used by the French to torture Algerians during the recent Algerian war for independence. Many victims of this torture die from drowning or suffocation.

Chained to Tractor

The American press widely publicized a photograph of a guerrilla captive chained to a tractor which was about to drag him under water along a canal in a rice paddy, as part of his "interrogation."

Reports of the wholesale torture of prisoners, the shooting of prisoners, and the indiscriminate killing of men, women and children by the U.S.-directed and led troops of the South Vietnam tyranny (and by the U.S. air force) have become more plentiful. But where is the outcry of protest against these bestial practices from the liberals and the moralists of this country?

The truth is that the so-called liberals are for the most part completely silent. They have come to overlook or accept any atrocity the U.S. government commits or sanctions in Vietnam in the name of defense of the "free world" in the holy war against "communism." They leave the moralizing and comment to "humanitarians"

### THEY WANT PEACE

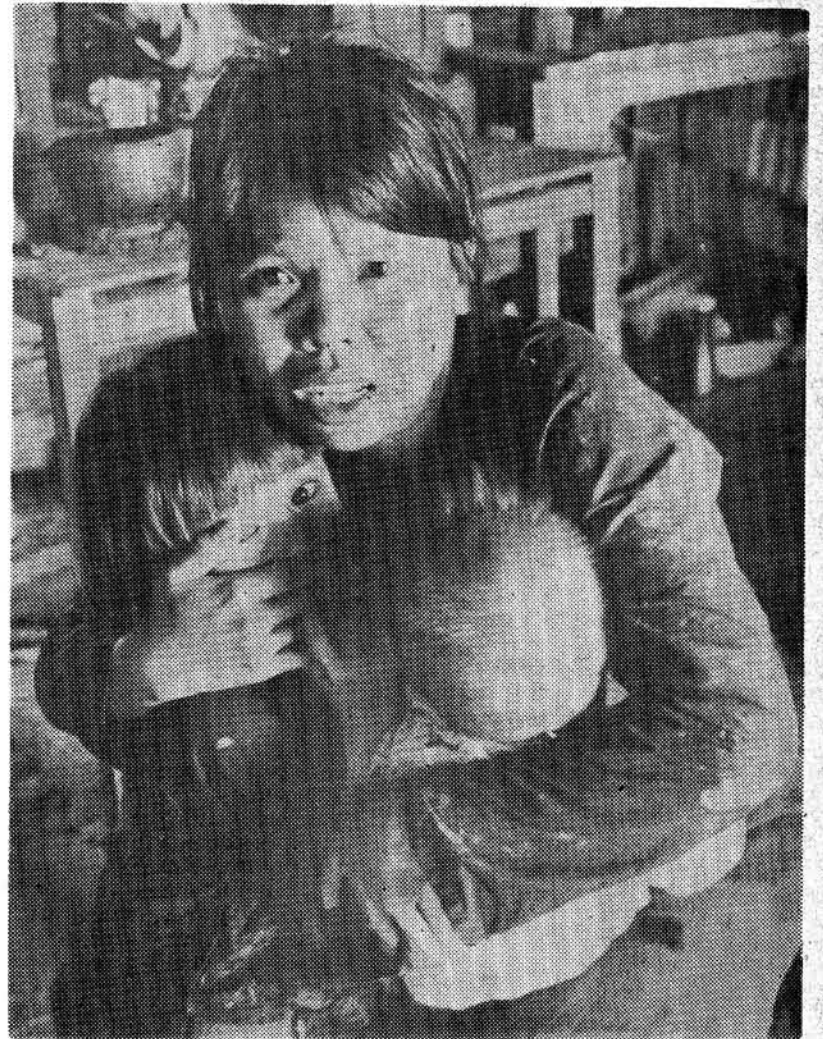
## Japanese Protest Visit of U.S. A-Subs

By Dick Roberts

Mass protests by students and workers are taking place in Japan against the scheduled visits later this month of U.S. nuclear submarines. Demonstrations began Nov. 7 with a mass sit-down in front of the U.S. naval base in Yokosuka which was broken up by 500 club-wielding cops.

Protests spread to Tokyo Nov. 9 where an estimated 10,000 marched on the Japanese government buildings, shouting "Yankees, go home!" The Tokyo demonstration coincided with the election of Eisaku Satō as Japan's new Premier. Satō is pledged to continuing the policies of his predecessors, which have allowed the huge build-up of U.S. military forces in Japan and in U.S.-occupied Okinawa.

Today, Japan is the number one outpost of U.S. nuclear forces, threatening at any time to bring Japan into the center of a nuclear holocaust. Opposition to U.S. bases in Okinawa and Japan has been the major thrust of the Japanese peace movement since 1954, when Japanese fishermen were fatally injured by fallout from a U.S. H-bomb test in the Pacific.



**FACES OF FEAR.** South Vietnamese peasant woman clutches her two children to herself as she crouches in her home in village of Cau Mau while being grilled by government troops who raided village. They suspected her husband was a member of the guerrilla movement. Government forces are feared and hated by great majority of the South Vietnamese people.

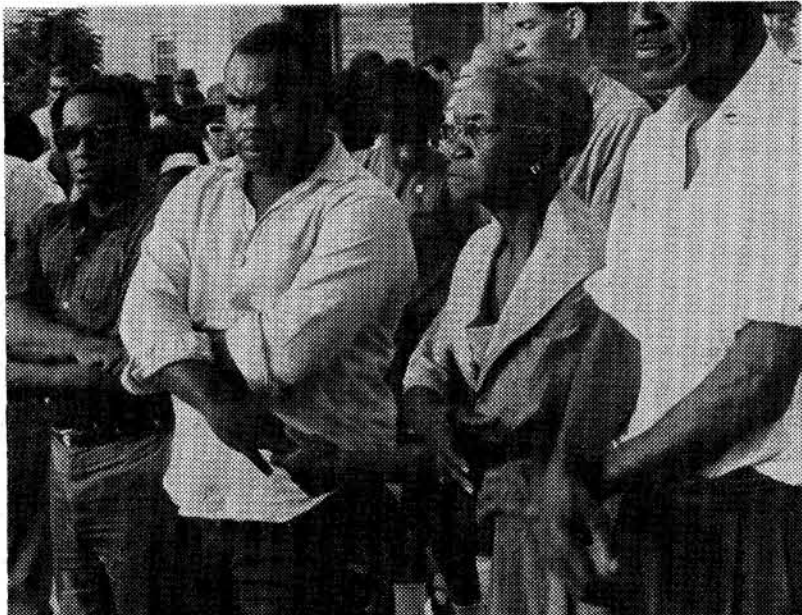
of the moral calibre of *Newsweek* editors.

With a few honorable exceptions, the liberals back the U.S. government which is supporting the hated regime in South Vietnam. The regime there has been a U.S. creature from the start, ever since the U.S. took over from the French in 1954. The guerrilla fighters of the National Liberation Front (called Vietcong by the American press to "prove" they are communists) have grown stronger ever since, finding their base among the peasantry. Not only the peasants hate the U.S.-

imposed regime, but so do the masses of oppressed Buddhists in the cities, the students who demand a democratic government, and workers now daring to strike in defiance of the government's outlawing of strikes.

The mass terror and torture only intensifies the hatred of the Vietnamese toward the U.S. and the U.S. puppet-government. The Nov. 9 *U.S. News and World Report* contains an interview with Lieut. Gen. Samuel T. Williams, former Chief U.S. Military Advisor in South Vietnam, which

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**FREEDOM ON THEIR MIND.** Southern rights fighters hold hands in solidarity as they sing of freedom.

# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Steelworkers Secretary-Treasurer I. W. Abel's announcement that he will oppose the union's president, David J. McDonald, in the union election next Feb. 9 has some high-level AFL-CIO leaders chewing their nails. They are reportedly afraid the election campaign might upset the bureaucrats' favorite way of life — tea at the White House and peaceful co-existence with management while the rank-and-file pay dues and keep their mouths shut.

It's not that Abel is a roaring militant. On the contrary, he has already announced that, if elected, he expects to make no great changes in the union's relations with management.

What disturbs Messrs. Labor Statesmen of the AFL-CIO is the situation which could result from the following: 1) The election campaign will coincide with the big-steel contract negotiations; 2) This election will be a real contest, since Abel has as much control over the election machinery, treasury, mailing lists, etc., as McDonald. In such an equal fight, each side will be tempted to be so "irresponsible" as to appeal to the rank-and-file for support.

This means those grimy steelworkers who actually work in the mills (McDonald occasionally walks through one arm in arm with a company president) may be a deciding factor in what the

union does in the upcoming contract negotiations. Apparently nothing worse can be imagined by an AFL-CIO tea-at-the-White-House addict.

"I don't think the Johnson Administration realizes the seriousness of this situation," says one AFL-CIO official quoted by the *Wall Street Journal*.

The opposition-to-McDonald slate includes Abel running for president; Walter J. Burke, director of the union's District 32 in Milwaukee, for secretary-treasurer; and Joseph P. Molony, director of District 4 in Buffalo, for vice president. The Abel slate is being supported by Donald C. Rarick, the local leader from the Pittsburgh area who polled one third of the votes — by McDonald's count — in the 1957 election.

In addition, Abel has support from district directors Paul Schremp of Cleveland, John Johns of Canton, and Paul Rusen of Wheeling. Joseph Germano, director of District 31 in Chicago-Gary, has made no comment yet, but rumor puts him behind Abel. If so, McDonald is in real trouble.

This whole situation is completely unprecedented in the Steelworkers Union, which has no tradition of internal democracy and which has always been ruled from the top by a sit-down-and-shut-up-I'll-tell-you-what's-good-for-you labor statesman.

The formerly solid McDonald machine has now apparently split down the middle. Local leaders supporting Abel complain that local grievances are piling up and the national union doesn't allow them to strike to settle them. In addition, there is much dissension over the so-called Human Relations Committee set up by McDonald and the companies in 1959 to "study mutual problems."

The committee is an informal gathering of top company representatives with McDonald and a few of his cronies. The main "mutual problem" among this group of rogues is how to keep the peasants in line. This committee has become the place where contracts are settled before formal negotiations are opened, and before the factory workers or the secondary union leaders are so much as consulted. The result has been a nullification of the threat of a strike, which is the heart of a union's bargaining power. This has caused a decline in steelworkers' wages and conditions relative to other industries.

Cracks and fissures are beginning to appear in the encrusted bureaucracies of several big industrial unions. In elections coming up soon opposition slates are challenging not only the president of the Steelworkers, but of the United Mine Workers and of the AFL-CIO International Union of Electrical Workers, as well.

## N.Y. Housing Council Slate Annual Parley

NEW YORK — The Metropolitan Council on Housing will hold its Sixth Annual Conference on Saturday, Nov. 14, at the McBurney YMCA, 215 W. 23 St. The theme of this year's conference is "Organize for an open city . . . Bust the ghetto."

The keynote speaker will be Major Owens of the Brooklyn rent strike.

Organizations and individuals are invited to participate. The registration fee is \$1. The meeting will begin at 9:30 a.m.

The Metropolitan Council is a co-ordinating council of community, civic and fraternal organizations for decent housing at rentals people can afford.

## View From a Painter's Ladder

# Then There's the Would-Be Bureaucrats

By Bernie Stanton

Several earlier articles described the situation typical in the craft unions today — the arrogant domination of the union by the bureaucrats in violation of the members' democratic rights and the need of the members to regain control of the unions which, after all, remain their only weapons of self-defense against the bosses.

But the opposite side of the coin of the bureaucrats' strength is the weakness of the opposition. If the rise of the CIO in the Depression days marked the most militant and democratic period in the history of American trade unionism, the stagnation of the AFL-CIO in these days of "prosperity" marks the most bureaucratic and reactionary period.

Many of the old-time militants gained favored positions through seniority, increased skills or through opportunistically participating in the rise of the new bureaucracy. The old radicals — particularly those of the Stalinist variety — either died out or went into their holes. The hammer blows of the Soviet Communist Party's 20th Congress sent most of them scurrying for cover.

### New Challenge

A fairly new phenomenon on the American trade-union scene has been the emergence of a younger set of opportunists, whose primary interest is in supplanting the older bureaucracy. In some favorable instances (especially where the old bureaucrats have grown so decrepit that they practically totter on the brink of the grave) the new upstarts have been able to gain control. But this phenomenon cannot become the rule. It is too late in the day for the young opportunists to have any extended period of rule in the unions even if they succeed in temporarily replacing the old bureaucracy.

These developments have manifested themselves in the Painters Union. The opposition there consists of diverse elements and there is no leadership on the scene able to weld them into even an unprincipled bloc. Not one of the opportunists has emerged as a leader of sufficient stature to seriously challenge the established union leadership.

### Opposition Meets

A recent caucus meeting of opposition elements was very revealing. The would-be leader of the Painters Union was chairman. No agenda was announced although a promise had been made at a previous meeting that a program for the caucus would be discussed. Instead, there were some rambling announcements about what had happened at the last meeting of



the union's District Council and the latest court case.

Finally, a rank-and-filer asked for the floor. "Let's stop fooling around," he said, "and turn our face to the members and present them with a program. A fighting program is the only means by which we can hope to rally the membership around us. Let's also put forward proposals for the union to form an alliance with the Negro people in their struggles. Let's link up with the Harlem and East Side rent-strikers and . . ."

### Cynicism Revealed

Here the speaker was cut short. "Don't try to smuggle your program in here," the chairman said curtly. Here was revealed the cynicism and opportunism latent in the would-be bureaucrat. For months he had been making noises about offering a program for discussion. Now that an attempt was being made to do so he was curt and sharp. This meeting also marked the end of the feeble attempt to form a united opposition bloc.

This so-called opposition has chosen as its primary tactic to run

to the National Labor Relations Board and the courts. For it, the membership is only incidental. Why bother turning to the members with a principled program if there is a possibility of sneaking into office through the backdoor of the courts or a government agency? In actuality, these new opportunists have the same contempt for the rank and file as does the established bureaucracy.

The bureaucracy's strength and the opposition's weakness might indicate to some that the fight is hopeless. Nothing could be further from the truth. At the proper time a strong puff from the membership under a principled leadership will topple the bureaucratic structure like a house of cards. But that time is not yet. It is still the music of the future.

But there are signs that time may not be too far off. Most expert observers predict that the building boom is coming to an end. A slowdown in building, coming on top of the ever-increasing productivity of the workers, would accelerate the coming upheaval in the building trades and especially in the Painters Union.

## ... Mississippi Rights Rally

(Continued from Page 1)

leave one person in jail by himself, and being asked by the meeting to relight the lamp again, did so and was arrested.

But the meeting continued. No one turned, no one ran. Mr. Giles, who had been a Freedom Democratic Party delegate to the Democratic Convention in Atlantic City, kept the meeting going. Others spoke briefly. Then a crowd of police came to break up the meeting. They were armed with nightsticks, high-powered rifles, and so on.

A defenseless woman who was not hurrying fast enough was clubbed and arrested. People started to leave, then took up new courage and came back to the Freedom School. The police drove madly about the Negro community. They arrested ten students and Mr. Bud Smith, at his house. The 14 arrested were jailed on \$100 bail apiece. Jailed because they peacefully assembled to carry out a democratic process.

But the community is not turning back. In the midst of the violence and intimidation, the community was mobilized for the Freedom Election which was held Oct. 30 to Nov. 2. This opportunity to participate in politics, had never been offered to them except in last year's Freedom Election and the newly formed Freedom Democratic Party. Negroes have been systematically excluded from the voting lists in Mississippi so they need some tool to make their desires and feelings known.

The voting was heaviest on Saturday afternoon and evening when people came to town from the plantations. Some came especially to vote, some wandered in, some stayed away for various reasons, mainly fear. There were many who waited for the cover of night to vote. Some were afraid to sign their names.

### Election Held

In all 2,770 votes were cast in the Freedom Election in Sunflower County. In some towns in the county the number of Freedom Votes exceeded the number of regular votes cast on Nov. 3. In Indianola there were 1,326 regular votes and 1,383 Freedom Votes cast.

There were 125 regular votes cast in the town of Sunflower, near Senator James O. Eastland's plantation, while there were 443 Freedom Votes. This clearly proves that Senator Eastland and others who say Negroes do not want to vote are lying.

The total Freedom Vote in the county would have exceeded the total regular vote if we had been able to set up polling places in small plantation towns, which are described as "private property." Of the Freedom Votes cast, 2,769 were for Johnson and one for Goldwater [the only presidential candidates on the Freedom Vote ballot]; 2,630 went to Freedom Democratic Party candidate for Senator Aaron Henry and five for regular Democrat John Stennis; 2,734 went for Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, FDP candidate for Congress, and one for her opponent, Jamie Whitten.

## Defenders of Civil Liberties In Arizona Need Your Help

Three-and-one-half years ago, the State of Arizona passed a loyalty-oath statute as part of its anti-communist witch-hunt.

A courageous young couple, Vernon and Barbara Elfbrandt, both of them teachers, refused to sign the oath on moral and constitutional grounds. Since the loyalty act specified that those not signing the oath would not receive pay, they have been teaching without salary — Barbara for three-and-a-half years and Vernon for two.

In a challenge of the constitutionality of the Arizona law, the case reached the U.S. Supreme Court, which has referred it back to the Arizona State Supreme Court for reconsideration. Although the Arizona court originally declared the act constitutional, the Elfbrandt's lawyer, W. Edward Morgan, believes that for the first

time since the legal proceedings started, there is substantial hope for favorable action by the Arizona Court. This optimism is based on current U.S. Supreme Court interpretation of the protection afforded freedom of speech and assembly.

Oral argument has already been heard on the case in the Arizona State Supreme Court and the decision should be forthcoming early next year.

The Emergency Committee to Defend Liberties of Arizona Public Employees is appealing for funds to tide over the defendants and pay the legal expenses. They would like either gifts or conditional loans. Conditional loans will be repaid if back salaries are recovered. Contributions should be sent to Richard Gorby, Treasurer, 2648 North Fair Oaks, Tucson, Arizona.

## Weekly Calendar

### AD RATES

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten per cent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

### BOSTON

HARVEY O'CONNOR, author of *World Crisis in Oil and Revolution in Seattle*, and chairman of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC, speaks on *Oil and the State Department*. Fri., Nov. 20, 8 p.m., 295 Huntington Ave. (1 block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### CHICAGO

THE OUTCOME OF THE 1964 ELECTIONS AND THE ROLE OF INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION. Speaker: Evelyn Sell, recent SWP candidate for Senator in Michigan. Fri., Nov. 20, 8 p.m., Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### NEW YORK

REBELLION IN THE CONGO. Speaker: Dick Roberts, Assist. editor, *International Socialist Review*. Fri., Nov. 20, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance.

BOOK BAZAAR. Sale starts at noon. Auction of out-of-print Marxist literature at 8:30 p.m. Buffet supper at 6 p.m. Party later. Sat., Nov. 14.

RECEPTION FOR ART PREIS to celebrate publication of his book, *Labor's Giant Step—Twenty Years of the CIO*. Speakers: Art Preis; A. J. Muste, chairman, War Resisters League; Sam Pollack, president, Cleveland Local, Butcher Workman's Union; Farrell Dobbs, national secretary, SWP; Barry Sheppard, national chairman, YSA. Buffet supper at 6:30 p.m. Talks at 8:30 p.m. Saturday, Nov. 21, 116 University Pl.

### TWIN CITIES

DOUG HALL, eminent Twin Cities civil-liberties lawyer and local counsel for Joseph Johnson, speaks on the *Legal Issues in the Joe Johnson Deportation Case*. Fri., Nov. 20, 8:30 p.m., Mayo Auditorium, 412 SE Union St., on the university campus. Ausp. Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, U of M Young Democratic Farmer Labor Club, U of M Students for a Democratic Society, U of M Young Socialist Alliance.

The Friday Night Socialist Forum will not meet this Friday, Nov. 20. It urges its friends to attend the meeting of the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson.

# REVIEWS and REPORTS

**FIRE-BELL IN THE NIGHT, The Crisis in Civil Rights** by Oscar Handlin. Little, Brown, 1964, 110 pp., \$3.50.

**MY PEOPLE IS THE ENEMY** by William Stringfellow. Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1964, 150 pp., \$3.95.

**SOUL OF THE REPUBLIC, The Negro Today** by Herbert Aptheker. Marzani & Munsell, 1964, 122 pp., \$1.65.

**THE NEW EQUALITY** by Nat Hentoff. Viking, 1964, 241 pp., \$4.95.

Of these four books by white writers about Negroes and race relations, Professor Handlin's is the poorest and shortest. But it seems awfully long as you wade through the liberal clichés packed tightly together — nary a one being missed, from the strictures against "black extremism" to the declaration that sit-ins and street demonstrations may be all right in the South but are harmful in the North, where Negroes "have legitimate means of making their wants felt." This book can be recommended only for those who don't know why "white liberal" has become an epithet in the Negro community.

Stringfellow is a religious layman and lawyer who lived in Harlem for seven years, saw the effects of discrimination, poverty and police brutality at close hand and writes about them without sentimentality. The religious stuff is slow going, and Stringfellow's attitude to Negro self-defense ("violence") is what can be expected of a non-violent Christian. But these are partly made up for by his sincerity and dislike of hypocrisy, which lead to occasional unexpectedly radical insights.

### Aptheker's Writings

Over half of Aptheker's book reprints his competent pamphlet about the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reports, "The Negro Today" (also available from the same publisher for 65c). To it are added five other articles, the best of which is on "The Mythology of Racism." Aptheker considers himself a Marxist and tips his hat once or twice to socialism, but there is little in his writings on the Negro that goes beyond the limits of left-liberalism. It is devoid of any treatment or understanding of the radical non-Marxist trends emerging from the Negro community.

Hentoff's book is, on the whole, an effort to explain and defend those trends. But his defense is often too defensive and sometimes even disparaging, conceding too much to the liberals. This is probably because, like Bayard Rustin to whom the book is dedicated, Hentoff does not see any alternative, finally, to a Negro alliance with liberalism.

The Freedom Now Party is an example. Hentoff writes that an all-black party is "not as automatically outrageous" as the *New York Times* maintains, because it could "increase the awareness among some Negro poor of what the issues are" and "be a small step in the direction of enrolling Negroes in political action." But what kind of political action? For Hentoff "a third party" (Negro or labor or Negro and labor) is out of the question and the only kind of political action he can recommend is "reshaping of the Democratic Party" and "the taking over of Democratic organizations in the ghettos." Some defense!

G. B.



Eisenhower

**THE WARFARE STATE.** By Fred J. Cook. Foreword by Bertrand Russell. New York: MacMillan, 1964, 382 pp., soft cover, \$1.50.

This should be required reading for every American concerned with the perilous course of U.S. policy in the thermonuclear age. It tells of the clandestine rise to the point of dominance during the past two decades of a military-industrial combine hell-bent on plunging America into a suicidal anti-Communist crusade.

Cook first presented his remarkable findings in a *Nation* magazine supplement of October 1961 entitled "Juggernaut: The Warfare State." The present volume enlarges and brings up to date much of the evidence which earned that work such acclaim.

Beginning with President Eisenhower's farewell address, warning against the "acquisition of unwarranted influence whether sought or unsought by the military-industrial complex," Cook retraces and puts into perspective the many developments illustrating the revolt of the military brass against the civilian Secretary of Defense, the storm over Senator Fulbright's move to curb saber-rattling speeches by the military, and the deliberate ballyhooing of the "missile gap" to promote cold-war tensions.

Especially valuable are the statistics on the distribution of the huge defense contracts to select companies and the progression of military men to high-salaried jobs with the same corporations. Thus a House committee found that 1,400 retired officers were working for the hundred top corporations, which in a single year had received three-quarters of a \$21-billion defense budget. One company, General Dynamics, had on its payroll 187 retired officers, including 27 generals and admirals.

Another point developed by Cook from official sources is the crucial role played by armaments spending in pump-priming and maintaining the economy. Between a quarter and a third of all economic activity in the country is dependent on such spending, with the figure moving towards the 50 per cent mark.

The book documents the military-industrial complex's vested interest in maintaining cold-war tensions and presents startling statistics about lobbying both by the armaments manufacturers and the military contract-awards.

The crux of Cook's book is that America has been changed without popular assent from an isolationist democracy into a warfare state; and that this transformation has been brought about not for the preservation of law and order in the world but for the extension of the U.S. brand of capitalism.

—Vincent Henriquez

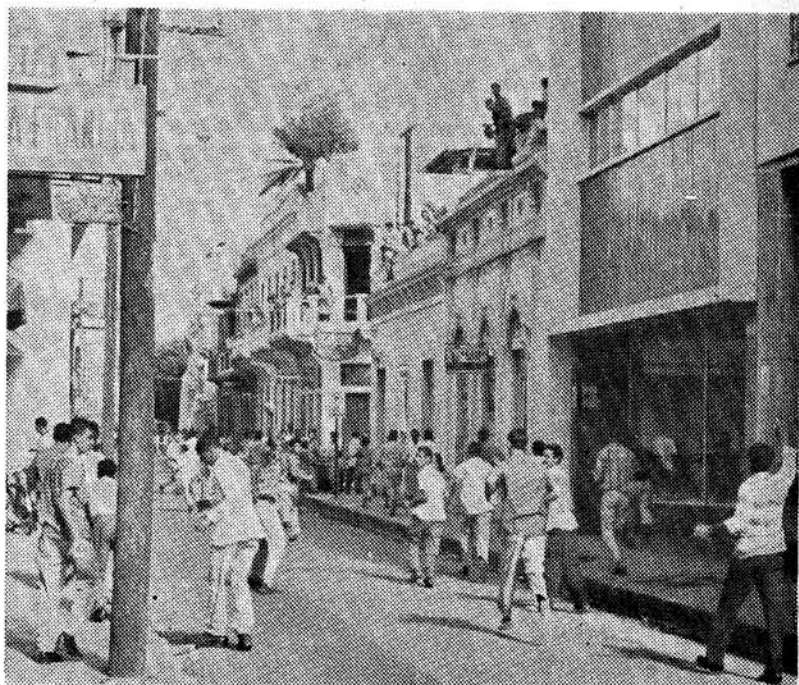
## REPORT FROM DOMINICAN UNDERGROUND

# Hunger Dominates Countryside

[The following article is reprinted from "El J-14," an underground publication of the 14th of June Movement in the Dominican Republic. The 14th of June Movement takes its name from an attempted uprising against dictator Raphael Trujillo on June 14, 1959. It was the main popular anti-Trujillo group before that dictator's assassination. The movement has been forced underground again since the military overthrow of the elected government of reformer Juan Bosch. The resulting, present dictatorship is supported by the U.S. State Department.]

In recent months we have heard much talk about the "Belt of Misery" which rings our cities, above all our capital, which is said to be brought about by the migration of *campesinos* [peasants] to the cities. These *campesinos* are depicted as lazy and ungrateful escapees from farm work. This is false. The "Belt of Misery" formed by these humble people in the cities is nothing more than the product of the hunger, misery and enforced illiteracy which covers our countryside. The *campesinos* leave the countryside because they are running away from death, hunger and poverty.

Some idea of the horrible picture of misery and desolation in our countryside can be gathered from the following data: From 1950 to 1962, the *campesino* population increased by 468,080 persons. The use of land in the countryside increased by 62.66 per cent but the number of landowners increased only 15.60 per cent. Still only 54.46 per cent of the arable land is used. Forty-nine per cent of the parcels of land are rented. Ninety-seven per cent lack elementary machinery, 92 per cent lack animals. There are 12.1 tareas [a tarea is about 1/6 acre] per



**FOUGHT DICTATORSHIP.** Rock-hurling Dominican students chased hated secret police down street during 1961 demonstrations against dictatorship. The 14 of June Movement was the leading popular anti-Trujillo force.

*campesino*, and 19.92 tareas per cow.

Thirty thousand *campesinos* have been driven from the land in the Cordillera Central by the lumber monopolists.

Medical assistance is virtually nonexistent. There are only 1.5 doctors per 10,000 inhabitants and these are concentrated in the towns. The sick *campesinos* have only the care of sorcerers and faith healers.

Twenty-nine children per day die from curable diseases (in a total rural population of less than two million). That is, more than one per hour.

Who are the ones responsible for this situation? The *latifundis-*

*tas* [big landowners] and their government officials. It is they who oppose a thoroughgoing agrarian reform because they get rich on the misery and exploitation of our *campesinos*. Meanwhile, the kept press tries to deceive the people, telling them that this situation can be normalized by means of some so-called "campesino co-operatives" which do not interfere at all with the landlords and with the aid of the "Alliance for Progress."

The reality is that this is a situation which cannot be solved with pennies and deceit. This situation can be solved only on the basis of a thoroughgoing and scientific agrarian reform and with the united force of a whole people inspired to do the job. But for this a revolutionary government is necessary, a government which will defend the right of self-determination and of non-intervention, which will defend the interests of the people.

## Elections of Factory Councils Are Reported Slated in Cuba

By George Saunders

Over two million Cuban workers on Dec. 2 will elect five-man councils in their places of employment. This is the essence of a report by correspondent Juan de Onis in the Nov. 3 *New York Times*, based on information from Labor Minister Augusto Martinez Sanchez.

Council members will be nominated from among workers in all enterprises of over 25 employees (some 7,000-8,000 establishments) and will be chosen by secret ballot. Workers will choose among seven or more nominees, depending on the size of the work force in a given enterprise.

The function of these councils, de Onis reports, will be to administer a new labor code to go into effect Jan. 1. The Cuban leader-

ship has apparently decided that the work discipline required to raise labor productivity — and raising productivity is one of the most serious problems facing the revolution — can best be enforced by the workers themselves.

The councils will apply penalties for offenses, such as tardiness, absenteeism, breakage of equipment, theft, etc. Penalties range from a warning, through withdrawal of 25 per cent of pay for up to four months, to dismissal for grave offenses.

On the other hand, workers can appeal to the council against disciplinary measures by the plant management; and only the council will have the right to fire a worker. Decisions of the councils can be appealed to the Labor Ministry. And the ministry reserves the right to dissolve councils, which do not enforce the code, and to call new council elections.

Candidates will be nominated this month in workers' assemblies at all farms, factories, and offices. Candidates are required to have "good socialist attitudes toward work" and records clean of work offenses. They must have a sixth-grade education or be working toward one in evening classes.

Onis, apparently thinks the end is coming for one of the standard anti-Cuban arguments of the capitalist press — why doesn't Castro hold elections? — He says this will be the first election since Castro came to power. The fact is, however, that Cuban workers have been engaged in public discussions and elections at their assemblies for several years — in the process of selecting the best workers to be members of Cuba's United Party of the Socialist Revolution.



Fidel Castro

## Labor's Giant Step

— 20 Years  
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By Art Preis

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# THE MILITANT

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Monday, November 16, 1964

## Post-Election Prospect

The defeat of the bare-faced reaction personified by Goldwater has been greeted with a sigh of relief in liberal, union, Negro, civil-liberties and left-wing circles. And with the very first post-election breath, euphoria followed — as if by some magic the defeat of an arch reactionary had turned the Johnson administration into the opposite of reaction. But that is not the way it works. The Johnson administration is not a pro-labor, pro-civil rights, pro-civil liberties or pro-peace administration.

It is a pro-big-business administration. It is just what it was before the election — an administration of resistance to any change which interferes with big-business profits, an administration of cold war, of witch hunt, of phony promises, of refusal to take drastic action against Southern racists who are clearly violating the federal constitution.

The labor movement, the Negroes, the peace and civil-liberties forces are in for four years of resistance to their demands and political frustration. Because big business, whose interests are diametrically opposed to theirs, controls the Democratic Party, as it controls the Republican Party. It is big business which will reap the benefit of Johnson's victory, not the common people.

Big business is not the only element within the Democratic Party, but it is the element with final, irreversible, all-pervasive control. Once again the forces for progress in this country have found themselves trapped within a party controlled by their chief enemy, and their votes have been used to give strength to their enemy. Unless the forces for progress begin now to build a movement of independent political action, they will be faced once again, four years from now, with a "choice" between two enemies of what they want.

## A Victory for Real-Estate Sharks

The powerful California Real Estate Association, whose members profit by exploiting Afro-American, Spanish-American and other minorities through housing segregation, won a victory on Nov. 3 when Proposition 14 was passed in the California referendum.

Proposition 14 is an amendment to the state constitution which allows property owners to discriminate in the sale or rental of housing. It invalidates the Rumford Act which made such discrimination illegal — at least on paper — for about 60% of California housing and bars any such legislation in the future.

The 45,000-member California Real Estate Association, the largest body of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, drafted Proposition 14 and collected more than a million signatures to get it on the ballot. This was part of a national campaign of real-estate men to repeal or prevent enactment of anti-discrimination legislation. They have defeated or repealed anti-discrimination laws in Berkeley, Calif.; Seattle and Tacoma, Wash.; in Detroit and Akron, Ohio.

Seventeen states and more than 60 cities have some kind of fair-housing laws on the books, and the real-estate gougers have launched a campaign to repeal them. They want to legalize the segregation they conspire to maintain and set back the struggle of the Negro people against segregated, over-priced, inferior housing, from which they profit.

Many Californians who voted for Proposition 14, also voted for Johnson, who won the state by a large margin. Thus, though the candidate supported by 95% of the state's Negro voters won, the Negro people lost on Nov. 3.

Only an independent, well-organized movement of the Negro people can mount an effective counter-offensive against the real-estate interests and their allies. Such a movement will be built and win victories through independent political action.

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
St. Louis	\$ 100	\$ 85	85
Denver	200	140	70
Cleveland	550	330	61
Detroit	900	533	59
Chicago	1,500	805	54
New York	4,300	2,224	52
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	600	50
Milwaukee	300	150	50
Boston	850	404	47
San Francisco	700	236	34
Oakland	700	233	33
Los Angeles	3,700	1,108	30
San Diego	400	105	24
Connecticut	200	35	18
Allentown	150	20	13
Newark	150	10	7
Philadelphia	200	5	3
Seattle	550	00	00
General	350	150	43
Totals to Nov. 9	\$17,000	\$7,173	42%

## He Launched Bus Boycott

# Tribute to a Pioneer Freedom Fighter

By William Bundy

The current issue of *The Black Worker*, official organ of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car porters, carries a notice of the retirement as a working Pullman porter of E.D. Nixon of Montgomery, Alabama.

Those who know the role of this pioneer freedom-fighter will be glad to have news of him. But doubtlessly there are many young people who have become active in the Freedom Now struggle since the upsurge began in 1955, who are not familiar with his role. In a certain profound sense, it all began with E.D. Nixon.

When Negro seamstress Rosa Parks was arrested on a Montgomery bus in December, 1955 for refusing to give up her seat to a white man, the person she called on for help was E.D. Nixon. It was he who sensed the moment had come for launching a mass protest movement of Negroes in Montgomery. And it was he who had the know-how and the standing to get it started.

*The Black Worker* gives a measure of the man when it says: "Brother E.D. Nixon was 'Mr. Brotherhood' for Montgomery, serving both as secretary-treasurer [of the union's Montgomery division] and its only president. He was chairman of the Grievance Committee and perhaps is the only official of the Brotherhood who can boast of having had a superintendent removed from office for failure to comply with the Brotherhood's agreement."

For many years before Rosa Parks made her call, E.D. Nixon had fought the good fight in Montgomery. He not only built his own union, he organized both Negro and white workers in other unions. He participated in the labor upsurge of the 1930s. He helped the CIO. He was for organizing black and white workers together, but if white racism prevented effective organization, he was for basing the organization on Negroes. He was the first to organize a campaign to get Negroes to register to vote in Montgomery.



E. D. Nixon

As part of this, he helped form the most exclusive club in the Negro community — it had only one qualification — being registered to vote.

In 1948, the noted French socialist Daniel Guerin toured the South as part of a social study of the U.S. In the book which resulted, *Negroes on the March*, he told of one "E.D. Nixon of Montgomery, Alabama, a vigorous colored union militant who was the leading spirit in his city of both the local union of Sleeping Car Porters and the local branch of the NAACP. What a difference from other branches of the Association, which are controlled by dentists, pastors and undertakers! Nixon has both feet on the ground. He is linked to the masses. He speaks their language. He has organized the work of race defense with the precision and method of a trade unionist."

*The Black Worker* comments on Nixon's role in the Montgomery Bus Protest: "It must be said that Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. may never have been given the Nobel Peace Prize Award were it not for the fact that Brother Nixon induced Rev. King to take the chairmanship of the Mont-

gomery Improvement Association which ultimately was successful in abolishing discrimination in bus transportation."

This reflects the facts which are common knowledge among those who followed the events closely: It was Nixon who before all others had long been preparing cadres for the freedom struggle. It was he who sensed the mood of the people and knew that a critical moment had arrived. It was a moment when there was a chance for a big leap forward in the struggle. He had the courage to seize that moment, and he was the driving force in mobilizing the grouping which initiated the bus boycott.

Nixon's home was the target of a racist bomb early in the boycott, I had the privilege of interviewing him not long after that incident, and in discussing the problem he made it clear that he was a peaceful and a careful man, and no pacifist.

He was particularly proud of the young Negro ex-GI's who made up the core of the car-pool drivers and who transported the Negro population with a minimum of harassment and trouble from white racists.

I noted particularly what he said about the problems of unions in the South, and about unity of Negro and white workers. He considered this necessary, but he had a no-nonsense approach on the point:

### Basis for Change

"The South will never be free until the Negro frees himself and frees the white man. Big business has kept the poor white man fooled for years by telling him that they could get Negroes to work for less. But traditions don't change themselves, you've got to change them. The recent railroad strike was the best chance the Negro railroad workers ever had to get out of being 'auxiliaries.' They needed us in that strike. That was the time to change things. Some people have a hard time seeing an opportunity when it shows up.

"When the Alabama teachers pulled out of the national organization because of its desegregation stand, that was the time for the Negro teachers to snap up the charter and build a non-segregated union . . . but some people have a hard time seeing their openings."

E.D. Nixon "saw the opening" in Montgomery in December 1955 and started the bus boycott, thus launching the present era of Negro mass action. The perception and methods that this working-class leader brought to the struggle for equality can be profitably studied by all young freedom-fighters who are now thinking deeply about how to proceed.

Through it all, E.D. Nixon worked at his trade on the run between Chicago and Montgomery. Now he has retired after 38 years and eight months as a working Pullman porter. We take this opportunity to wish him well.

## People of Oregon Vote To End Death Penalty

As a result of the vote abolishing capital punishment in Oregon, two men and a woman have been released from the death house.

The people of the state voted three to two to remove the death penalty from the state constitution.

Two of the prisoners, who have been living in the shadow of the gas chamber for years, were 22 and 23 years of age. Although the repeal of the death penalty did not apply to them, Governor Mark Hatfield considered the repeal of the law a mandate from the people of the state and commuted their sentences to life imprisonment.

## SOCIALIST FUND

# St. Louis and Denver Set Pace

By Marvel Scholl  
National Fund Director

As of today, Nov. 9, there are just five weeks left in the Socialist Campaign Fund Drive. The scoreboard should show 63% but actually only 42% of the total, \$17,000, has come in. While this may appear discouraging, we are confident that the entire goal will be reached.

Take Denver, for instance, which stands second from the top. The Fund Director there writes: "A writer for the *Denver Post* after the Republican convention, when writing an article on the far Left said of the SWP, 'Small but defiant in ideas.' 'Small (quota) but defiant.' We are small but we will get there and before Dec. 15."

St. Louis is another good example of the power of a "small-but-defiant-in-ideas" group.

We want to take this opportunity also to thank the many individuals whose contributions have swelled "The General" to 43% and at the same time remind all of our other friends who have not made their contribution that time's awasting. "The General" is in competition to reach 100% with all the areas listed and it has not failed to make the top of the scoreboard in a long, long time.

There have been contributions from New York City, upstate New York, Massachusetts, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Indiana, Ohio, Minnesota, Rhode Island, and Florida. There are far too many to mention individually but we want to thank each and every one.

The biggest single contribution

— \$50 — came from W.C.R., Jr. in N.Y.C. Another \$10 came from a consistent friend, H. M. (also New York City) with this note "Here is something for the 'Socialism Now' Fund." A good slogan!

Another old friend who makes regular donations, T.B. Sr., Allentown, Pa., writes: ". . . I am 81 years old. My income is very limited but I have managed to scrape a few dollars so I can be a little help. I read socialist literature in 1905 (the *Appeal to Reason*) when Debs was living yet . . . Keep up the good work."

H. J. B. of Detroit Lakes, Minn., said "Just received your letter of Oct. 24 reminding me of the great struggle ahead . . . I sincerely hope you will be able to receive many such donations to help you in your splendid work."

In a letter I once wrote to SWP supporters, I likened the party to David, the capitalist masters of the world to the giant Goliath. I asked then for "pebbles" to arm the tiny David. Now that David needs the "pebbles" again. The Nov. 10 *New York Times* reports that the Republican Party had \$1,200,000 left in its coffers after the election was over. That is certainly not the case with the Socialist Workers Party. And our work goes on constantly, not just during election periods.

Please send your contribution to 116 University Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.

**Prior to Moscow-Peking Truce**

**Chinese Had Attacked Inequality in USSR**

The ouster of Khrushchev and the ensuing truce for negotiations in the Sino-Soviet dispute has been marked by a drastic modification and toning down of the bitter charges exchanged by Peking and Moscow. This was acknowledged practically by the Kremlin, the weekend prior to Chinese Premier Chou En-lai's arrival in Moscow, by the cessation of its jamming of Chinese radio programs beamed at the USSR.

But prior to the present truce the Chinese had carried the dispute to remarkable lengths, particularly in their ninth article replying to the "Open Letter" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For in this article the Chinese posed the problem of the social roots of the present crisis of world Communism.

Like other recent ideological contributions of the Chinese in the dispute, the article is basically contradictory, as Ernest Germain points out in a thoroughgoing analysis which appeared in the Sept. 25 issue of *World Outlook*, a labor press service in Paris. The Chinese article condemns social inequality as the root of revisionism in the leadership of the Soviet state, employing the sharp terms about this since Trotsky's struggle against the privileges of the bureaucracy. At the same time, the article advances the erroneous concept that the Soviet bureaucracy is a bourgeois (or capitalist) layer and has embarked upon a course of restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union.

The Chinese theoreticians point to the development of a "privileged social stratum" in the Soviet Union as the fundamental cause of revisionism. The characteristics of this privileged layer are sharply described, often with considerable insight:

"The privileged stratum in contemporary Soviet society is composed of degenerate elements from among the leading cadres of party and government organizations, enterprises and farms, as well as bourgeois intellectuals; it stands in opposition to the workers, the peasants and the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals and cadres of the Soviet Union."

If, in this passage, the distinction between the "healthy" and the "degenerate" sectors of the intelligentsia and the cadres is still reduced to ideological or moral factors, the basis of this degeneration in social and economic conditions is clearly indicated in other passages:

"The members of this privileged stratum have converted the function of serving the masses into the privilege of dominating them. They are abusing their powers over the means of production and of livelihood for the private bene-



**IN MOSCOW.** Chinese Premier Chou En-lai is holding discussions with new Kremlin chieftains, apparently with an eye toward narrowing Sino-Soviet rift.

fits of their small clique.

"The members of this privileged stratum appropriate the fruits of the Soviet people's labor and pocket incomes that are dozens or even a hundred times those of the average Soviet worker and peasant. They not only secure high incomes in the form of high salaries, high awards, high royalties and a great variety of personal subsidies, but also use their privileged position to appropriate public property by graft and bribery." [Emphasis added.]

In its analysis, the article correctly stresses that Lenin (and they could have added Marx as well) had already warned against the danger of bureaucratic degeneration of the workers' state apparatus as a result of excessive social inequality.

"Lenin laid great stress on waging persistent struggles against the influence of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologies, on arousing the broad masses to take part in government work, on ceaselessly exposing and purging bureaucrats and new bourgeois elements in the Soviet organs, and on creating conditions that would bar the existence and reproduction of the bourgeoisie. . . . At the same time, he laid great stress on adherence to the principle of the Paris Commune in wage policy, that is, all public servants were to be paid wages corresponding to those of the workers, and only bourgeois specialists were to be paid high salaries." [Emphasis added.]

Again, in drawing the general lessons with regard to the degeneration of the Soviet state, the article states:

"The system of high salaries for a small number of people should never be applied. The gap between the incomes of the working personnel of the party, the government, the enterprises and the people's communes on the one hand, should be rationally and gradually narrowed and not widened. All working personnel [cadres] must be prevented from abusing their power and enjoying special privileges."

It is interesting that they also add among the same lessons:

"It is always necessary for the people's armed forces of a socialist country to be under the leadership of the party of the proletariat and under the supervision of the masses, and they must always maintain the glorious tradition of a people's army, with unity be-

tween the army and the people, and between the officers and men. It is necessary to keep the system under which officers serve as common soldiers at regular intervals. It is necessary to practice military democracy, political democracy and economic democracy. Moreover, militia units should be organized and trained all over the country, so as to make everybody a soldier. The guns must forever be in the hands of the party and the people, and must never be allowed to become the instruments of careerists." [Emphasis added.]

This attack by the Chinese upon economic inequality in the Soviet Union, if continued, could be very important. For if their campaign for the rehabilitation of Stalin and against de-Stalinization does not have the slightest chance of arousing a response among the Soviet workers and peasants, a campaign in favor of equality and against the material privileges of the Soviet bureaucracy has every chance of a favorable reception.

Under Stalin, the "party maximum" (limitation of the incomes of party members in official positions to the level of skilled workers) was abolished in 1930. Not only did social inequality take on monstrous proportions, it became an official dogma. The Bolshevik tradition of struggle against inequality was officially condemned as "petty-bourgeois egalitarianism." The whole top layer of the state, party and economic administrators enjoyed enormous material privileges under Stalin.

As for the armed forces, is it necessary to recall that Stalin destroyed the militia system instead of introducing it? That he completely divorced the officer caste from the ordinary soldiers? That the people did not have the slightest control over the "security" forces? That the political police were able to organize purges and frame-up trails and to murder or deport thousands upon thousands of honest Communists?

The authors of the ninth article whitewash Stalin and blame Khrushchev for inequality in the Soviet Union. While admitting that great inequality already existed under Stalin, they say, "before Khrushchev came to power, they [the privileged stratum] did not occupy the ruling position in Soviet society. Their activities were restricted in many ways and they were subject to attacks. But since Khrushchev took over . . . the new bourgeois elements have gradually risen to the ruling position in the party and government and in the economic, cultural and other departments, and formed a privileged stratum in Soviet economy."

The Chinese also characterized this privileged stratum as "the principal component of the bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union today" and the "revisionist Khrushchev clique" as the "political representatives of the Soviet bourgeoisie." According to the Chinese, this "bourgeois layer" is attempting to re-establish capitalism in the Soviet Union.

Experience has proved over and over that the Soviet state and its bureaucracy have a dual nature. The bureaucracy is to be credited not only with committing monstrous crimes and establishing itself as a specially privileged caste, it also in its own peculiar way defends the nationalized and planned economy, the principal fruit of the October Revolution. The Soviet state must therefore still be characterized as a workers' state, although deformed and degenerated by the parasitic bureaucratic caste.

For those who support both the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China against imperialism, it is requisite to stress the fundamentally identical class nature of both the USSR and China. This is the objective basis for the Soviet-Chinese military alliance which it is in the interests of the international working class to maintain against imperialism.

**Mass Demonstrations Force Major Concessions in Sudan**

(World Outlook) — The popular demonstrations in the Sudan, which reached almost the proportions of an uprising, ended with deep fissures in governing circles and considerable concessions to the masses who had poured into the streets.

After five days "rioting," Khartoum, the capital, was reported quiet Oct. 27. General Ibrahim Abboud had dissolved the ruling military junta and dismissed his cabinet.

The general managed to stay on as the president but with sharply curtailed powers. A 14-man civilian group was in power. It appointed Sirr-el Khain el Khalifa as premier, announced that a new constitution would be written and called for the restoration of civil liberties and a foreign policy "opposed to imperialism and alliances."

The *Associated Press* claimed that the Communist Party had emerged as a "major force" in the Sudan because four Communist leaders were included in the new government. According to a Nov. 1 AP round-up of the news, the Communist Party "encouraged" the "spontaneous" demonstrations and began working for a "national front" to "overthrow the regime."

"Gen. Abboud reacted with unexpected vigor," continues the news agency. "Army reinforcements poured into the city." Vio-

lence continued in Khartoum but by the weekend the army controlled the streets.

"The front then called for a general strike — which was totally effective, cutting telegraph communications with the outside world, closing the airfield, closing shops and even forcing army technicians clumsily to man the radio station."

Gen. Abboud was prepared to go on the air with "threats of a total military takeover unless the riots and strike ended." But after the speech was taped, "he faced revolt within his own ranks. Young officers, whose leadership is still unclear, ordered guards around the houses of all members of Gen. Abboud's military government."

The general then "gave in." He "announced the end of the military government and called in representatives of the national front to name a civilian government."

The new government has promised to call a "constituent assembly" and to establish a democratic regime. Its foreign policy will be one of "nonalignment." In addition, Premier Khalifa announced that 500 political prisoners will be freed.

The Beirut correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* cabled the London paper Oct. 27, giving his estimate of what had happened: "The Sudan has been shaken by the worst upheavals there since Kitchener reconquered the country 65 years ago. The Moslem north joined the Negro south in a rising against the six-year military dictatorship headed by Gen. Abboud."

**Push Fight to Free Victims of Racism In South Africa**

The struggle to win freedom for Dr. Neville Alexander and five of his friends who are imprisoned on Robben Island, South Africa's version of a Nazi concentration camp, is continuing despite severe handicaps.

Authorities of the racist Verwoerd regime have consistently harassed witnesses who might testify at the appeal of Dr. Alexander's sentence which is scheduled for this month. Two colored witnesses were served with banning orders, which prohibit them from attending any meetings whatsoever, including social gatherings.

In addition to these banning orders, which remain in force for five years, the two were confined to their local magisterial districts. Each of them must report to the cops once a week.

Dr. Alexander and his friends were arrested last November on charges of "sabotage." The real crime of these black Africans was their opposition to the racist system of apartheid, practiced by the white South African government.

Funds are urgently needed in their defense, and should be sent to the Alexander Defense Committee, c/o *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

The readiness of the Sudanese masses to defend their gains was shown Nov. 9 when the United National Front appealed over the state radio for protection of the civilian government against an attempt to reimpose military rule. The front reported that armored columns had moved out of the military barracks area. Although the government later denied that a coup had been attempted and urged the people to go home, some 60,000 people reportedly rushed out and surrounded the state radio to protect it. A similar huge crowd the previous day had called for public trial and execution of seven generals of the former military dictatorship whom the new regime has arrested. The people also demonstrated at the U.S. embassy with signs saying "Down with your dollars, down with your aid."

**...Vietnam**

(Continued from Page 1)

sheds light on U.S. "liberating" tactics. Williams said, "I don't believe you can fight it [the guerrilla force] by going in and just shooting up a village with artillery, dropping napalm all over, and things like that, because every non-Communist in such a village is going to be a darned good Communist by the time you get through."

He also put his finger on the reason that Washington and its puppet dictators in South Vietnam so resist giving powers to even an appointed civilian government, let alone a democratically elected one. Williams says, "I think it is well within the realm of possibility that, at some point, a new government will be formed, and will immediately move to get itself recognized throughout the world. Their next step would be to request the U.S. to withdraw our military personnel."

It is clear that any democratic government, any government reflecting the feelings of the people to any degree would move to stop the war and negotiate with the guerrillas. This is why the U.S. will not allow any kind of democracy in South Vietnam.



Dr. Neville Alexander

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**A Valuable Analysis in Monthly Review**

# Interplay of Forces in Cuban Revolution

By Jay Garnett

Cuba's story cannot be told adequately in a tourist's report. It requires an observer over an extended period — more, a participant, an activist whose revolutionary commitment doesn't end with the nationalization of private property, to do it justice.

Such a writer must know how to delve inside the Cuban Revolution itself, to understand and to identify with the self-asserting drive of the rank-and-file Cubans, to recognize the material and social obstacles they fight against, and to grasp the essence of the questions which they daily debate among themselves.

Adolfo Gilly has done just that. His article, *Inside the Cuban Revolution*, published last month as a special issue of *Monthly Review* (96 pp., \$1) contains the fullest, richest and clearest discussion of the social and political processes within the Revolution to appear in English to this date.

This Argentine journalist, who lived in Cuba for more than a year in 1962 and 1963, is no less firm in his defense of the Cuban Revolution than the Cubans themselves — who he reports united as "one man and his rifle" during the October 1962 crisis. But he tries to discuss "the problems of the Revolution, to display its experiences, and to point out the real forms of its inner life."

Within the Revolution conservatism based on privilege and the equalitarian spirit of the masses jockey for influence. Intermeshed with this is the debate, or the dialectic, in economics: Moral vs. material incentives to increase production, priority to industry or to agriculture, centralized vs. decentralized planning are a few of the issues.

The discussion within the Cuban government reflects the country-wide "debate." Ernesto "Che" Guevara, for example, favors moral incentives and centralization, while Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, head of the National Institute of the Agrarian Reform and an old-time Stalinist, holds the opposite opinion.

One obstacle that has stood in the way of clarifying these differences is the lack of formal discussion procedure which will involve the Cuban masses in their political resolution. Cuba, Gilly points out, has yet to resolve the role of the trade unions in relation to the state.

On the one hand, there is the concept advanced by Lenin in 1921 that unions are workers' organizations whose task is to defend workers' interests against the state itself, especially when there exists a large peasant element with the possibility of bureaucratic distortions.

On the other hand, the concept — officially practiced in Cuba although with a degree of flexibility — "which dates from the Stalin period, defines unions as organizations whose job it is to acquaint workers with the point of view of the state leadership, to organize work for production, to run emulation campaigns, and to check up on the workers' productivity."

Gilly points out that, in practice, this latter approach interferes with the communication between the masses and the leaders of the government, Fidel and Che among them, who otherwise appear to be in the best harmony with them and their desires. It created a situation in which union leaders appeared as alien to the unionists, acting as additional pressure after the state management presented the production plans to the workers for discussion and approval.

Illustrating this, Gilly tells of a union meeting where the workers sat on one side, the administrator, personnel manager and the local union leader on the other — all of them on the side of the Revolution, but the supposed spokesman for the workers in a position where he could not take part in the dialogue!

The majority of Cuban workers did not participate in a full discussion of the economic plan. Rather, Gilly points out, they were presented with the small arc of the production curve which concerned their plant and asked for any technical suggestions. This not only bored them but seemed to be paternalism.

Gilly argues that there are several general issues which should be discussed and resolved politically among the rank-and-filers: what stress should be put on reinvestment and what stress on raising the level of consumption; what should be the emphasis on industry and what on agriculture; how should the consumption fund be distributed — to the workers themselves, the farmers, the functionaries, etc.; and what channels should be set up for correcting a general plan once worked out.

"These proportions," Gilly says, "are never fixed according to abstract technical principals but primarily in response to political considerations . . . [They] are precisely the political questions which the Cuban people discuss passionately, unceasingly, every day . . ."

"If they had representative bodies or spokesmen to make their opinions known and to debate and decide on these questions, they would be setting the guide lines of the plan and they would know it. Then, seeing and having their own opinion of the whole curve, the individual workers would find a meaning to the small segments which are their own enterprises' plans and would participate in them with an enthusiasm unknown under present conditions."

Gilly notes happily that the Cuban leadership has shown no inclinations toward the "self-management" of the Yugoslav variety which does away with the national plan under the guise of decentralizing control. "The leaders uphold the trend to centralization of the economy, a trend which is an expression of the masses' pressure to participate directly in basic economic decisions."

A political decision, taken by the leaders of the Cuban Revolution in defense of the workers' state last fall, nationalized all property larger than five *caballerias* [approximately 167 acres]. This step eliminated the base of the middle peasantry who were beginning to provide grist for the mill of U.S.-inspired counter-revolution. At the same time Castro told the small farmers that their land was guaranteed to them as long as they wanted to continue as private farmers.

These decisions helped to stabilize the regime and alleviate the rightward pressure on the Cuban government. But Cuba operates in an international framework not at this point hospitable to its growth. U.S. imperialism extends its blockade in an attempt to isolate the island and to tear its human bulwark of defense apart through starvation, having the faith of capitalism that human greed will reassert itself and provide a base within the Revolution for undermining it.

But "already no Cuban — I refer to the Cuban people, not to that tiny vestigial minority whose eyes are still on the cap-



**FACE BRIGHT FUTURE.** Smiling Cuban youngsters on a country road. Sign pointing in direction of nearby co-operative farm also points symbolically to Cuba's future. Co-operatives and state-operated farms are bringing new and better life to country's farmers.

italist past and their lost privileges, real or imaginary — even fleetingly thinks of a sugar-cane plantation or a factory or a ship as something that can be the property of one person or group of persons rather than social property . . .

"When the Revolution tears down the old state and nationalizes the means of production, a new concept is formed and affirmed by all, for they have seen that the economy can still function, that private property is not necessary, and that the fruits of production are common property simply because of their social function.

" . . . The most concrete and also most general social reflection of collective property, of the suppression of private property as a means of exploitation of human work, is the feeling of equality."

Gilly describes the way in which the workers participate in volunteer work. The first to volunteer must be the leaders. If they don't go, or if they just make an appearance and then go home in their automobiles, general attendance will drop.

**Attack on Equality**

But this also takes effect in daily work as well. "If the chiefs or leaders are enjoying obvious privileges, whatever they are, individual protest is immediately reflected in the workers' productivity. It is not an organized protest, nor does anyone decide to work less or worse . . . It occurs naturally and automatically: equality has been attacked, and so has the basis of collective property."

For many Cubans the Revolution has not meant an enormous increase in material wealth. But it has given them "a new feeling which is summed up in equality. This sentiment is in part confidence in their own security now and in the future." With such equality, such confidence, such serenity the Cubans endured to the October 1962 crisis. Indeed, the birth rate increased in the midst of the uncertainty of the blockade, rationing and the threat of invasion.

Yet the fight against privilege continues. The Cubans have developed a "popular" definition of those whom they are fighting "inside" the Revolution. For them "bureaucrat" is the functionary who takes advantage of his job to enjoy privileges and who hangs onto his position with declarations of revolutionary faith and intimidating methods against criticism.

It is clear, says Gilly, that the

bureaucracy develops common interests and, like all social groups, tries to defend them materially and politically. "The argument for material incentives has been converted today into a theoretical justification of the existence of a privileged bureaucratic group, just as dependence on socialist incentives is an indirect expression of the resistance by the base against this group."

This discussion, debate, dialectic, of course, is not limited to Cuba. It arises in the Soviet Union and Poland and, although Gilly doesn't discuss it, in China too.

On the one hand, there is the tendency favoring "co-existence, material incentives, a pause in the Revolution for economic construction, and separation from the Latin American Revolution" in order not to provoke "imperialist intervention."

On the other, the tendency which orients itself toward the Latin American Revolution, socialist consciousness, and equalitarianism, maintains "that only by advancing the world Revolution can the Cuban Revolution itself advance, and that to cut it off from that fount of strength and energy is to weaken, isolate, and leave Cuba defenseless."

These are the two great choices facing the Cuban revolutionaries. "Whatever the immediate obstacles to be overcome," Gilly reminds us, "this decision is already in the process of being made."

## World Events

**Bolivian Crisis**

Conflicting news coverage of Bolivian events since the ouster of President Victor Paz Estenssoro, Nov. 4, makes it difficult to piece together an accurate picture of the developments which brought General Rene Barrientos to power.

Apparently, Barrientos seized the opportunity of a two-week national crisis, to stage the military coup. Student demonstrations against the Paz government had occurred in six major cities (see *The Militant*, Nov. 9), and tin miners in the Oruro district had been battling Paz troops.

On Nov. 3, according to a Nov. 5 AP dispatch, an army regiment and air-force trainees revolted in La Paz, the capital. In two days of

street fighting, in which 40 persons were reported killed, the rebelling soldiers defeated supporters of President Paz.

It is not clear whether the previously demonstrating students supported the military junta. Following Paz's ouster, Barrientos flew to Oruro, in an attempt to gain the support of the rebelling miners. At the same time there are reports he is seeking support from Washington.

**Boycott Fake Referendum**

The few black people eligible to vote under Southern Rhodesia's "civilized" political system largely boycotted the Nov. 5 referendum sponsored by the white-racist Ian Smith government. Those allowed to vote include 80,000 whites and 13,000 nonwhites — out of the country's four million black Africans. The boycott was the nonwhites' way of protesting the referendum, which was just one more maneuver in the racist Smith regime's drive to set up a fascist-like regime on a par with South Africa's.

**Castro on Internationalism**

The internationalism of the Cuban leadership was revealed by *New York Times* columnist C.L.

Sulzberger in his Nov. 4 account of his recent interviews with Premier Fidel Castro. On the question of U.S.-Cuban relations Castro said: "Relations can improve only when relations between all socialist countries and the U.S.A. improve. We are much more interested in the unity of the socialist camp than we are in improving relations with the U.S.A. for our own sake. We wouldn't want improved U.S. relations while there is American intervention in Vietnam. We don't want peace for ourselves alone."

**Ghana for Nuclear Parley**

President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana has replied to the Chinese government's proposal for a world conference on the banning of nuclear weapons with a proposal that leaders of five "non-aligned" nations call for such a conference. "If a third party . . . put forward such a proposal, it would have been difficult for the nuclear powers to reject it," Nkrumah's note said. "Those who are anxious to consolidate their own programs of nuclear stockpiling," he said in a clear dig at the U.S., "will be only too ready to show their skepticism about the sincerity of your wise appeal."

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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 brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

## Spoke Up

Lynn, Mass.

I am in the fifth grade. We had a room election. Our teacher put two candidates on the board, Johnson and Goldwater. Then I

told her there are more than Johnson and Goldwater. I told her that she should put up some more candidates such as Clifton DeBerry and so on.

The votes came out Johnson 30, Goldwater one, and DeBerry one. DeBerry's vote was mine.

B.L.

## Calif. Housing Vote

San Francisco, Calif.

On Nov. 3, the voting citizens of California, one of the most "racially liberal" states in our nation, voted by a margin of two to one to repeal the state's "fair-housing" law which prohibits a landlord from discriminating against a potential renter on the basis of race or religion. When the vote of the so-called "minorities" is separated, it shows that the "white" majority voted three to one against the law.

In the weeks prior to the election a large number of California's "liberal" religious, political, educational and labor organizations took a public stand against repeal of this "fair-housing" law.

No more dramatic evidence could be presented than this vote to show beyond all reasonable doubt the total failure of the above individuals and organizations to reach our common people with the truths of modern biological and social science. The vote shows the bankruptcy of our so-called "free, democratic society." This vote shows the average "white" American has no conscience concerning racial equality, has no sense of fair play, has no good judgement and has no meaningful religion or ideology regarding the races of mankind.

How sad that the nation of Thomas Paine and Thomas Jefferson should become an island in the world community, an island upon which property is held more precious than human life and human needs! How unfortunate that prosperous "white" Americans fail to hear the cries of our own children growing up in poverty and discrimination! How dangerous to the world community is such a racist "white" and "propertied" American citizenry armed to the teeth with thermonuclear weapons which can destroy mankind!

Let this vote be a warning to all you liberals, idealists, religionists, progressives, educators, legal experts, executives, humanitarians, respectable business people — you had better get busy and teach the "white" Americans to understand themselves and their correct place in world history, to look at their own society and those of other nations without class or racial prejudices. You had better teach your children of their common humanity with all the so-called races, or the rest of this humanity — two-thirds of whom are "colored" — will turn upon you and crush you in self-defense!

Let this vote be a challenge, a call to action to all American citizens who want to struggle to create a decent human society within these states — a society in which human beings and their children come FIRST before property and profits!

Tom Brewer, M.D.

## Auto Plant Relief Time

Detroit, Mich.

The extra 12 minutes relief time given to Chrysler workers according to the Chrysler contract

is not quite what it seems to be. Actually, the new arrangement will allow the company to get 24 minutes more production per day. Under the old contract, the assembly lines were actually shut down for a 12-minute-relief period in the morning, and another in the afternoon. Everybody got this relief time, and they all got it at the same time, and they got it approximately half way thorough the working period.

Under the new contract, the lines are not shut down, but run continuously. Each worker is supposed to get two nine-minute breaks in the morning and two in the afternoon. These breaks require that a relief man be present to take the place of the worker taking his break. In GM, where the lines also never stop, it has been a traditional problem that many times, a relief man is busy on some emergency — such as sick relief or a repair job — and is not available for relief. In that case, the worker simply misses his break.

In addition, the relief breaks will be rotated, beginning a few minutes after the starting whistle, so that some workers will be getting their relief only a few minutes after the starting whistle, and others only a few minutes before the quitting whistle. Such breaks are not as useful as when they come midway in the working period.

Evelyn Sell

## Union Free-Loaders

Windsor, Canada

I like your paper because it talks straight and exposes the phonies.

I particularly liked and had extreme interest in the articles by Bernie Stanton, entitled, "Picture of a Union Bureaucrat."

Many unions these days just "go through the motions" and their officers make a career out of "fighting for the workers," when really all they are doing is building pork-barrel empires for themselves.

They go along with the bosses and capitalism in a form of an unholy alliance, selling the men and women they are sworn to protect down the river in order to protect and consolidate their cushy, high-paid positions.

They are not really interested in eliminating capitalism and building socialism. They just hold union office in order to suck and squeeze profit and graft for themselves.

I don't follow American politics too closely because Canada is my country, but I do know we both have more than our share of these union free-loaders.

T.M.B.

## Skeptic

Springfield, Mass.

After reading your paper for several years and having some interesting discussions with members of the Socialist Workers Party, I would like to ask your in-

dulgence for the following observations.

I gather, although I admit I'm pretty dense, that you are for workers' cartels such as in Yugoslavia. I contend you are going to have to search further than Diogenes for the average worker who has the ability to run his own firm.

If he has, in this country, unless he's an out-an-out fanatic, he is running his own company or bossing the workers. Most of them cannot keep the union bosses on their toes. Those that can are generally promoted darn fast in either the union or the firm. Speak I from experience.

I admire the brains of your party members and your editorialists and weep for the waste. Why are they not working for the promotion of good laws and social reforms instead of burying themselves in Marxism, Trotskyism, etc. These people never dreamed of the "workers paradise" such as we have here — that is, for the guys who are working. I gather that you attract those whose line of work is petering out — miners, buggy-whip makers, etc.

Now, it seems to me that you guys who are all wrapped up in arguments over ideologies, which feed no one and are more or less just verbiage, might get those brains and guts working to provide the jobs needed and if you rake off some of the profits for your brains, so what. There's enough to go around.

E.B.

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

**"FRAME-UP VICTIM GETS BRIEF EXECUTION STAY** — The execution of Walter Lee Irvin, frame-up victim in Florida's "Little Scottsboro" case, has been delayed for at least a few days. Here is the sequence of events. As soon as the election campaign had ended Governor Johns of Florida signed Irvin's death warrant setting the week of Nov. 8 for his electrocution. To get the legal murder over with before there could be any protest movement or legal action, the prison authorities set the execution for early morning November 8.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People made an eleventh-hour oral appeal to Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black in Washington on Nov. 5 . . .

"A group of Florida liberals and clergymen working to correct the perversion of justice in this case obtained a "gentleman's agreement" from both candidates for governor. The agreement was that if they would cease all publicity about the case — in Florida and nationally — Irvin's sentence would be commuted by whoever got elected.

"November 2 — the day the election campaign ended — the date was set for Irvin's execution." — Nov. 15, 1955.

## 20 Years Ago

**"THE NEGRO STRUGGLE** — Why did Negroes in the industrial and metropolitan centers turn out and vote overwhelmingly for Roosevelt in the recent election regardless of the fact that under his administration they have experienced segregation in the armed forces and official relegation to second-class citizenship?

"The first, and least significant, reason is that some of them were duped by Roosevelt's slick political maneuvers. For example, as the campaign was going into the home stretch, he had his brass hats in the Navy announce that henceforth Negro women would no longer be barred from the WAVES and SPARS . . .

"The second factor was that Negroes felt as a whole, that Roosevelt was the lesser of the two evils; that is, regardless of how badly they were being treated, the Republicans would be no better and probably would be worse . . .

"The political program of 25 Negro organizations which came out so militantly this summer with their 'Negro demands' without which it was 'impossible to get the Negro vote' withered away and died a pauper's death. Why? Because they did not follow up their original stand by exposing the fact that neither major party had even promised the 'minimum concessions' in their respective conventions." — Nov. 18, 1944.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Poll of UN Correspondents** — The Nov. 7 New York World-Telegram reported that in a pre-election straw vote of foreign newsmen assigned to the UN, Johnson received 103 votes and Goldwater 48. The report added: "And for anybody losing sleep over the world's leftward drift, the Socialist Workers Party total was comforting. The slate got only ten votes." That's a little better than six per cent of the total. If the SWP ticket had polled the same percentage in the actual national election it would come to about 4.5 million votes. We doubt this would be of comfort to the World-Telegram.

**Complaints, Complaints** — A headline in the Nov. 7 New York Times reported: "H-Bomb Depicted As Too Efficient — U.S. Aid Says Technology Has 'Ruined Warfare.'"

**For Kook Kluxers Only** — The Oct. 28 Montgomery, Ala., Advertiser reported that Chester's Restaurant had been issued a club liquor license. The report said: "The license for Chester's was issued to Chester Robinson, owner of the business and unsuccessful candidate for Congress on the National State's Rights ticket. The club's charter declares that membership is limited to those 'who share general thoughts about the status of the world and the condition of the nation.' Persons specifically prohibited from joining are Communists, Socialists, transients, persons convicted of a felony, persons who favor the 'abolishing of traditions of the South' and persons 'who believe in social equality for all people.'"

**Warning to Politicians** — A spokesman for the Madison Ave-

nue ad agency that handled the Goldwater account issued a lengthy post-mortem on why their man got clobbered. Among other things, he beelined that Goldwater's lieutenants didn't dig the facts of life about certain key issues. "You couldn't convince them," the adman complained, "that the voters' favorite entertainment shows — like 'Petticoat Junction' — should not be pre-empted."

**Too Much Birch Beer?** — Two Santa Ana, Calif., cops were discharged and several others are under investigation on charges of harassing the chief of police. Most of those being investigated are identified as members of the John Birch Society. In addition to circulating anonymous pamphlets questioning the chief's honesty and morality, the Birchite cops are accused of ordering flowers in the chief's name and sending them to his office, placing classified ads in newspapers in his name, and sending taxis and fire department apparatus to his home during the night.

**The Anti-Pornographers** — A Nov. 1 New York AP dispatch reported: "To make sure that they

knew what they were opposed to, the 21 members of Mayor Robert F. Wagner's anti-pornography commission were issued kits of material yesterday. The kits contained copies of two novels, *Fanny Hill* and *Tropic of Cancer*, a magazine containing photographs of nude women and a collection of briefs on court cases involving pornography." We're sure the commission members found the kits stimulating but wonder if along with the briefs there were the two decisions declaring that *Fanny Hill* and *Tropic of Cancer* were not pornographic.

**A Penny Here, A Penny There** — Round numbers are appearing on more price tags as merchants drift away from the \$1.98 psychology, reports the *Wall Street Journal*. A National Retail Merchants Association spokesman explained that round-number prices reduce clerical errors, simplify sales-tax computations and — incidentally — increase profits.

**Silver Faux?** — To avoid the charge of misrepresenting false furs, a New York shop resorts to French, with its ads offering a "faux fur" coat.

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## Thought for the Week

"... I resent my tax money being spent to pay for 'white mercenaries' or any other kind of mercenaries, being spent to kill Africans in the Congo, or being spent in support of Tshombe." — Charles P. Howard, Sr., Afro American correspondent at the UN.

## Johnson Deaf to Appeals For Doomed S. Africans

By Arthur Maglin

Three Africans, for whom the Johnson administration had refused to ask clemency, were executed by the racist South African authorities Nov. 6. The men had been sentenced to death because of their fight against South Africa's fascist-like *apartheid* policies.

Clemency for the three condemned men had been asked by United Nations Secretary General U Thant, Soviet and African leaders. None of them, however, carry as much weight with the South African government as do officials of the United States, whose corporations and bankers have huge investments there. But U.S. officials turned a deaf ear to pleas from Africans and from American Negroes to ask the Verwoerd regime in South Africa to spare the three.

Upon receipt of the news that the three Africans had been hanged, the UN's Special Committee on Apartheid called an emergency meeting and issued a strong statement of protest.

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in an Oct. 14 telegram to Secretary of State Dean Rusk, asked the U.S. government to "bring to bear its influence in behalf of clemency" for Vuysile Mini, Zinakel Okabu and Wilson Khayinga.

The weight of evidence against them was "questionable under that country's repressive system," the conservative NAACP leader told Rusk, adding that "their execution could serve no purpose other than cruel vengeance."

### U. S. Position

In a reply on Oct. 23, Henry J. Tasca, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, recited the administration's claims to be against South African *apartheid* and to use its influence "wherever possible to moderate these practices."

However, he said, the State Department would not speak out in this case because the defendants had been convicted among other things of murder and any com-



Roy Wilkins

munication on the case by the U.S. would be resented by South Africa as interference in its internal affairs. Therefore, he said, the State Department "must abstain from taking any action which might weaken its position and its efforts to moderate policies of *apartheid*."

A 27-year-old white teacher was sentenced to death Nov. 6 in Pretoria, South Africa. Frederick J. Harris, a member of the African Resistance Movement, a small group of white students opposed to *apartheid*, is the first white to be sentenced to death for a political crime in the government's current reign of terror.

Harris, a teacher in a school for Indians, was accused of planting a bomb whose explosion resulted in the death of an elderly woman. Harris testified that he had sought only to stage a "spectacular demonstration" against the government's racist policies. In passing sentence, the judge stressed that Harris had earlier written a letter to Prime Minister Verwoerd denouncing *apartheid* and demanding the release of all political prisoners.

## MISSISSIPPI "JUSTICE"

# How They Handle Racist Murders

Last July, during the intensive search for the three missing Mississippi civil-rights workers, James E. Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, it was casually announced that parts of the bodies of two young Negroes had been found in the Mississippi River. On Nov. 6 two white men of Meadville, Miss., one a self-admitted member of the Ku Klux Klan, were arrested by the FBI on charges of killing the two Negroes.

The two victims, Charles Moore and Henry Hezekiah Dee, both 19 years old, vanished from southern Mississippi last spring. They were last seen on May 2 hitchhiking near Meadville. According to authorities they were killed on or about May 2. The lower halves of their bodies were found near Tallulah, La. on July 12 and 13.

Moore was a college student and Dee a laborer. They were not connected with civil-rights activities.

Authorities indicated they were both beaten to death. An autopsy performed on Moore's body showed his legs had been tied together with twine.

### Two Charged

James Ford Seale, 29, and Charles Marcus Edwards, 31, were charged with "willfully, unlawfully, feloniously and with malice aforethought" killing the two Negroes, according to a UPI dispatch. Seale and Edwards were released on \$5,000 bond each.

Thus far no arrests have been made of the murderers of Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner. The FBI, state and local police officials are still "investigating" the case. Though these investigators have not yet come up with any indictments despite the famed efficiency of J. Edgar Hoover's men, it is commonly known in the area who the murderers are.

The latest revelation to this effect was made by William Bradford Huie, a Southern writer who has investigated the slayings and written a number of articles about them. Huie announced that he knows who committed the murder and will pay them \$10,000 in the next few months to help him write a book about it.

According to the Nov. 2 *New*



J. Edgar Hoover

*York World-Telegram*, Huie said they know they will never be indicted and never be tried. They know that because they have the right to be indicted, tried and convicted by a Neshoba County jury. These men know that that community is never going to convict them because that community generally blames the victims of that murder more than they blame the murderers."

Huie made these remarks on NBC radio. During the broadcast interview he mentioned reports that the FBI paid one of the murderers \$25,000 to divulge the location of the bodies of the slain rights workers.

"It is ironic, isn't it?" he commented. "These men not only committed the most disturbing atro-

## Cop Who Killed Negro Youth, 15, Cleared in N.Y.

NEW YORK — The police department's three-man civilian complaint review board cleared Lieut. Thomas R. Gilligan of any violation of the department's rules and procedures when he shot and killed a 15-year-old Negro boy last July 16. Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy approved the board's unanimous decision of Nov. 6 to file the case as closed.

The brutal killing of schoolboy James Powell by Gilligan led to the events which culminated in six nights of rioting in Harlem and the Brooklyn ghetto.

Gilligan, who weighs 200 pounds and was decorated several times for disarming dangerous men, claimed that he was forced to shoot the 122-pound youngster, when Powell lunged at him with a penknife. Witnesses denied that Powell had a knife.

(A curiously vague report in the Nov. 11 *New York Times* said Deputy Police Commissioner Arm had now disclosed that Gilligan had suffered a broken bone in his hand. The way the report is worded raises the possibility that the police no longer claim he had received a knife wound on the hand.)

The shooting took place across the street from the school Powell attended, and moments after the shooting 300 teen-agers, mostly Negro, filled the street, shouting, and throwing bottles, cans and rocks at the police.

The Harlem disturbances began when police attacked demonstrators there who were demanding Gilligan's suspension from the police force.

Gilligan had previously been cleared by a hand-picked grand jury. The follow-up whitewash by the police department came as no surprise. Gilligan has been kept on the payroll on "sick leave" ever since the shooting.

city in the United States, but the federal government and I will have paid them upwards of \$35,000."

The lynchers of 14-year-old Emmett Till in 1955 sold their story to a national magazine through William Bradford Huie. They had been indicted and acquitted before they told their story, and so their identity was made public. So far Huie is not making the names of the Philadelphia, Miss., lynchers public.

Negro journalist Louis Lomax reported that eyewitnesses have identified at least six members of the mob that lynched the three rights workers. In a special issue of *Ramparts*, an independent Catholic lay magazine, he gave a description of the murders.

Evidence on the slayings was presented to a federal grand jury last month, but no indictments have been made.

## 22 CORE Pickets Jailed at Bus Depot By New York Cops

NEW YORK — A Congress of Racial Equality picket line at the Port Authority Bus Terminal, protesting discriminatory hiring practices by the Trailways Bus Company, was broken up by police here on Nov. 7.

The line grew to 60 demonstrators in the 40 minutes before it was broken up. Police allowed a crowd to gather and then warned the pickets that they would be arrested if they refused to leave. Then 22 of the demonstrators were taken by police wagon to the West 30th St. stationhouse, where 18 were booked on disorderly conduct charges. Four teen-agers were released. It was the largest number of arrests in a civil-rights demonstration here since the opening of the Worlds' Fair last April.

### Explains Reason

According to the Nov. 8 *New York Times*, Eric Mann, CORE field secretary and leader of the demonstration, explained that they were picketing Trailways because the company failed to live up to an equal-opportunities pact it had agreed to a year ago. He said that Trailways had promised to promote Negroes from menial positions to better jobs when openings occurred. Instead, he said, the company fired three of six porters who applied for promotion.

A spokesman for Trailways denied the charge, and said that only one porter had been fired and for insubordination.

All the local CORE chapters were represented at the demonstration, co-ordinated by a regional office set up at the end of the summer.

## Reports Delayed On Minority Votes

Throughout the country, election officials have been even slower than usual in reporting minority party votes. Only partial and unofficial returns have been obtained for the Socialist Workers Party candidates in various parts of the country.

In Michigan, it has not yet been possible to obtain verified results for the Freedom Now Party.

We hope to report these and other returns in our next issue.

## A GALA EVENT

# Reception to Honor Socialist Author

NEW YORK — Veterans of the labor and socialist movement will salute Art Preis at a reception here celebrating the long-awaited publication of his book, *Labor's Giant Step — 20 Years of the CIO*. The reception will be held on Saturday evening, Nov. 21, at 116 University Place.

Two of the speakers collaborat-

ed with Preis in the stirring battles of the unemployed and newly organized industrial workers of Ohio in the 1930s.

One is the noted pacifist A.J. Muste. Preis worked with him in the leadership of the historic Toledo Auto-Lite strike of 1934. This victorious, militant struggle proved a major contribution to the launching of the United Auto Workers.

Coming in from Cleveland to speak at the reception is Sam Pollock, president of the Butcher Workmen's Union in that city, and a close associate of Preis in the unemployed and labor struggles of the 1930s.

### Other Speakers

Also on the program will be Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, whose role as a leader of the famous Minneapolis Teamsters strikes is recorded in *Labor's Giant Step*.

Barry Sheppard, chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, will discuss the great value of *Labor's Giant Step* for young people today who are seeking an understanding of the labor movement.

Tom Kerry, editor of *International Socialist Review*, and a vet-

eran of many union struggles, will be toastmaster.

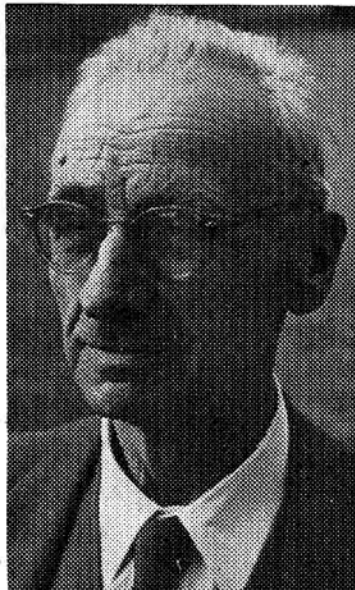
Despite serious illness, Art Preis plans to speak briefly.

The reception will begin with a buffet supper at 6:30. The speaking program will begin promptly at 8:30 p.m.



Photo by Finer

Art Preis



A. J. Muste