WORKERS WORLD

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DECEMBER 22, 1961

10 CENTS

Save Mae Mallory!

Governor's Decision Now Imminent; More Help Needed

Cleveland, Dec. 19 — Today, Governor Michael Di Salle postponed decision after an extradition hearing was held in Columbus, where attempts are being made to extradite Mrs. Mae Mallory to Monroe, N.C. to stand trial on a phony kidnap charge.

The Cleveland press and radio are giving an unusual amount of coverage to the case. And it appears that more forces are coming forward to defend the woman whose only crime is her crusade for Black Freedom.

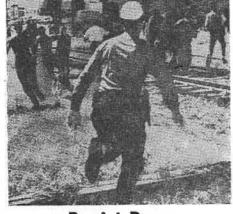
(She faces a possible 30 years in prison if the inevitable all-white jury convicts her for the crime of "kid-napping" during the racist attacks on the Monroe Afro-Americans last August.)

Yesterday, the Cleveland branch of the American Cibil Liberties Union announced that it had investigated the case and seriously doubted whether Mrs. Mallory would get a fair trial in North Carolina.

Other signs of mounting pressure to free Mae Mallory from North Carolina's racist courts also appeared in the Cleveland area. But the fight is by no means won. A great deal more help is needed—moral, material and financial

Get your local union or fraternal organization to telegraph Governer Di Salle in Columbus, Ohio, urging him to refuse to extradite Mae Mallory.

746 Men, Women, Children Jailed In Georgia For Demanding Justice



Racist Dogs

Racist policemen attacking Afro-Americans in Jackson, Miss. this past October. Students were picketing to protest the practice of holding separate, segregated, state fairs.

The policeman at left has on leash one of the dogs used in the attack on the demonstrators. A man standing nearby was bitten by a police dog.

A report was released on November 17th, by the Commission on Civil Rights, which charged that police brutality is a serious problem.

It further stated that policemen charged with brutality were seldom convicted.

While Kennedy Lectures on Freedom in S. America And Newspapers Rave Against India and Indonesia

In the week ending December 16, no less than 746 Afro-American citizens of Georgia were arrested and jailed for peacefully demanding the rights which the United States Constitution has explicitly claimed they had for the last 94 years.

The specific charge against most of them was "unlawful assembly." (The right of assembly is also guaranteed by the Constitution.)

A series of demonstrations began in Albany, Georgia, on December 12 when a trial of 11 sit-in youths was being held. On that day, 400 to 500 Afro-Americans marched up and down in front of the City Hall, praying and singing in a driving rain.

2,000 Soviet Troops In South Vietnam?

—Oh no, dear reader! But there are 2,000 regular United States troops there, as Washington admitted on December 19.

These troops are armed, and taking part in "tactical operations in the battle areas" as one news dispatch delicately put it.

This report was played down in the press, but can you imagine the head-lines if 2,000 Soviet or Chinese troops were in South Vietnam?

Several of the leaders of this group were arrested. One was given five days in jail on a charge of "contempt of court."

Later in the same day, hundreds marched in protest against this outrage and this time 205 were arrested including children as young as 10 and 11 years old!

After this, the demonstrations snow-balled. And when 565 had been arrested in three days of protests, Dr. Martin Luther King and Mrs. Ruby Hurley (Southeastern Secretary of the NAACP) arrived on the scene, and tried to negotiate a truce with the white supremacists.

All that the King negotiators seem to have asked for was a pledge that the police stop enforcing segregation in the city's rail and bus terminals, and release the hundreds of Afro-Americans being held in jail.

But racist Mayor Kelly and his racist Board of Commissioners broke off negotiations after a few hours and defied the Black community to do anything about it

After waiting several nours for a possible change of mind from the Mayor's group, and still making one more attempt to see the Mayor, a new demonstration was held—peaceful, as before.

This time, according to the New York Times:

"The 70-man police force, sheriff's deputies and State Highway patrolmen armed with pistols and nightsticks, stood on the alert at City Hall. About 150 National Guardsmen were held in readiness at the armory. Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation cruised the streets in cars."

With all this national, state and city "protection," there were 150 more Afro-Americans arrested, including Dr. King.

Meantime, the Supreme Court refused to rule on the constitutionality of the previous arrests of sit-in, youth.

Meantime, John F. Kennedy was down in Venezuela making speeches about injustice and inequality in that country and how he was going to end it.

Meantime, Robert F. Kennedy, who John appointed, presumably to enforce the U.S. Constitution, was busy prosecuting one of the few political groups that are honestly opposed to segregation—the Communist Party. (This Kennedy is top boss of the FBI—above J. Edgar Hoover—and it was his men who were "cruising the streets in cars" and watching innocent Black people being molested and arrested by the criminal cops of Georgia.)

We're Dreaming of a *Red* Christmas

It's Christmas again, and the bells are pealing out in every American city with "Peace on Earth" and "Good Will to

Cardinal Spellman is again sacrificing his Christmas at home while he visits "our boys" in Europe where he will give the blessing of peace to the U.S. war drive. The Pope is urging all Christians to put Christ back in Christmas and unite (preferably under Catholic leadership) in a crusade against Godless Communism.

That great Christian gentleman, Adlai Stevenson, is persuading the statesmen of the world that China does not belong in the UN because it is not a "peaceloving" nation. He is also repeating his statements that there are no invasion plans against Cuba. And in the Christmas season, Adlai never, Oh never, would lie!

At least 500 Afro-American Freedom Fighters will listen to the sound of sleigh bells on the prison radio in the Christian State of Georgia. Mae Mallory and the Monroe defendants will eat their Christmas dinner under the shadow of North Carolina's Christian courts (juries for white only).

Thirty-eight Puerto Ricans will also eat their turkey (if available) behind bars, because they thought the Declaration of Independence applied to Puerto Rico as well as to the United States.

Francisco Molina will taste his first Christmas bitterness in the prison at Attica, New York—because he thought that Cuba should be independent, too.

Morton Sobell is spending his twelfth Christmas away from his family because the U.S. is still insisting that Soviet scientists couldn't have been smart enough to make an atomic bomb by themselves.

People on welfare will have smaller Christmas dinners because the U.S. Health and Welfare Department reduced its budget by \$100 million to help in some small way make up the deficit caused by the extra \$6 billion spent for war—oops!—peace weapons. In Newburgh, New York, the babies who neglected to choose legitimate fathers will have no Christmas dinner at all, but being infants, they will hardly know the difference.

Several thousand Marines and sailors aboard thirty U.S. battleships will eat their turkey in the Caribbean while they await the signal for taking Christmas cheer into the Dominican Republic along with fire bombs and fixed bayonets.

And over in Africa, U.S. planes, money and weapons are taking special care to reduce the population in the Congo by the latest approved humane methods, not using any more force than necessary, and only accidentally hitting a hospital now and then, — but absolutely never harming a church or burning a Christmas tree.

In North Africa it's a little bit different. The U.S. imperialist Santa Claus has given de Gaulle enough money to have a wonderful Christmas dinner for many millions of people.

But this Christmas, there'll be 300,000 Algerians spending Christmas away from their own country in Tunisia and Morocco, because the French are using the U.S. money to conduct a war of repression in Algeria.

According to the Quakers, the following is a description of a typical 14-year-old refugee:

"His father and older brother were

killed in the Algerian war. Five younger children and their mother live with him in a tent on the desert. All are dependent on his earnings of seventy cents a week."

And here at home, the sidewalks are full of Santa Clauses and the bosses even give the workers little Christmas presents sometimes — to show how human they really are.

This is the time of year when the naked knife of capitalism is covered with tinsel and turkey.

But let the workers have a merry Christmas anyway! Let the billions of humanity rejoice that a new day will dawn—that after the long struggle with our age-old enemy, there will be a real "Christmas spirit." And it will be every day in the year.

Pelegrin García, Liberation Fighter, Víctim of Police Frame-up

New York, Dec. 18—Pelegrin Garcia, outstanding Puerto Rican liberation fighter and principal leader of Movimiento Libertador de Puerto Rico, was convicted last week of second degree assault on trumped-up charges arising out of a brutal police assault upon him.

Garcia was remanded to jail without bail following a five-day trial which aroused the Puerto Rican independence movement and many civil liberties elements in New York. The trial judge that found Garcia guilty is Judge Mitchell D. Schweitzer, the same judge who sentenced Francisco Molina to 20 years to life on trumped-up charges, when a little girl bystander was accidentally killed during a fight provoked by Cuban counter-revolutionaries last year.

Pelegrin Garcia is due to be sentenced January 22, it was announced by Oscar Gonzalez Suarez, attorney for Sr. Garcia.

(Continued on page 2)

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Megatons of Lies About China

The imperialists and their agents, as well as their dupes, are all saying that the Chinese Communists are "advocating nuclear war"—that Mao Tse Tung says, "Let war come. The imperialists shall be destroyed and we will have 300 million people left." And so on.

But China, which is supposed to be advocating nuclear war, is not known to possess a single nuclear bomb!

The imperialists have nuclear weapons in Formosa, South Korea, Okinawa and probably South Vietnam too - all pointed at China.

In addition to this, they have the U.S. Seventh Fleet, which carries more

than any previous fleet in history, cruising up and down China's seacoast, blockading her commerce and threatening her existence.

Who is the aggressor-he who points a gun at his enemy's defenseless head -or he who courageously defies him to shoot?

Who advocates nuclear war-the one who rings the other with nuclear weapons ready to attack-or the one who stands relatively unprotected against the thunder and firestorm of the holo-

SWP Joins Anti-Albania Parade

No matter what happens in Albania, the issue of Albania and Khrushchev is a deepgoing issue and it will be with us for a long time. Every political tendency must take a position on this issue and the Militant - organ of the Socialist Workers Party-took its position in its issue of December 18. (See Workers World's position on page 4.)

The Militant applauds "the Kremlin's exposure and denunciation of the savagely repressive regime in Albania" and claims that this "furthers the process of democratization within the Soviet bloc and the Communist parties internation-

Yes, the Militant denounces the "savage, repressive regime of Albania," but it gets positively giddy over the regime of Imre Nagy and Bela Kovacs who in 1956 opened the gates to the counter-

revolutionary forces in Hungary.

The bourgeoisie favors the "democratic" regime of Imre Nagy—and so does the Militant.

The imperialist bourgeoisie hails Khrushchev's "democratization"—and so does the Militant.

The bourgeoisie gets hysterical about the USSR's 50-megaton bomb-and so does the Militant.

The bourgeoisie attacks China during the border dispute provoked by the Indian capitalists in 1960 -Militant chimes in with the attack.

On all the critical world questions affecting the Soviet camp, the SWP and the Militant take the same position as the bourgeoisie. This is the key to understanding the Militant's position on

"All the News That's Fit to Print"

On October 31, the U.S. newspapers screamed in front-page headlines that the fallout from the Soviet nuclear tests would endanger all humanity. "SOVIET BOMBS DIRTIEST EVER," headlined the usually more reserved New York Herald Tribune, for ex-

But on December 12, the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission "sharply reduced" its previous estimate and revealed that the fallout from the Soviet explosions wasn't so bad after all, because of the "unexpected cleanliness" of the explo-

Very few papers got around to publishing this interesting piece of news. The encyclopaedic New York Times claims it carries "all the news that's fit to print." But it decided to fit this particular news into a modest onecolumn space on page 22, with the headline: "Soviet's Fallout Less Than

This is a choice example of first, how hysteria is manufactured in the daily newspapers and second, how the process is covered up with an Oh-so-innocent "correction"-on page 22!

Nazi in the Pentagon

General Adolf Heusinger, a Nazi war criminal and butcher of civilian populations, is sitting in the Pentagon at Washington helping the brass hats of Big Business prepare a new war against the Soviet Union.

This chief of operations for Hitler's general staff is now filling just about the same office under NATO that he did under Hitler.

The Soviets have asked for his extradition and transfer to the Soviet Union to stand trial for newly discovered atrocities that he committed. (He appears to have acted on a scale similar to

that of the infamous Eichmann.) Pentagon authorities laughed at the Soviet demand and labeled it as "pure propaganda."

They were of course acting true to form-and true to themselves. There is no essential difference between Maxwell Taylor, Lemnitzer, Le May, Felt and Company on the one hand, and Heusinger on the other. The American generals are steeped in exactly the same military doctrine as the German militarists. They

are anti-democratic to the core. They are autocratic dictators in the areas of their command, and they would like to extend their dictatorship to the whole population-of the U.S. and of the world as

Moreover, they are fully as anti-Soviet as Heusinger and the Nazis. It is, in the last analysis, only a historic accident that they did not participate in Heusinger's savage butchery of the Soviet

And one of the important reasons they insist on Heusinger being retained in his crucial job is that they feel he is such a good symbol of anti-Soviet hatred.

U.S. Bombs Won't Fit

Why was Britain the country that was slated to supply the 1,000 pound bombs for use in the Katanga war?

Because, according to the New York Herald Tribune, "Britain had the only bombs readily available that will fit the racks in the Indian Canberra jets."

Greece: Enslaved to Imperialism By 'Free Elections"!

The recent Greek election, which kept in office the pro-western Karamanlis, was held up by the U.S. as a fine upstanding example of what can be accomplished in a democratic country by democratic means in the free world.

But Elias Bredimas, Member of the Greek Parliament in Athens, gave some real facts on the "democracy" so loudly applauded by the U.S. press. The following is the copy of a letter he wrote to the Tribune, organ of the British Labor Party.

An independent left of center politician, I stood in the last elections as a candidate of the political coalition, PAME (forged by the EDA and the National Agrarian Parties and a great number of political personalities of the center) and was re-elected deputy for Athens. _

I can assure you that the overwhelming reason why the elections brought no change of government in Greece is the orgy of sheer terrorism, moral and financial pressure and bribery carried out by the rightist faction of Mr. Karamanlis under the premiership of General Dovas

and with the active assistance of Court and military circles.

Voters for the coalition of the center were subjected to moral pressure. Candidates of PAME were arrested and maltreated again and again in the main cities. Virtually no pre-election meetings could be held. In the villages the situation was even worse:

Outright threats and beatings, in which the para-military organizations of TEA and MEA played a decisive part, led to an election where known opponents were issued with individually marked ballot papers which they were made

In a number of electoral stations even the representatives of opposition parties were forced to vote for the ruling party's lists. The votes of impoverished peasants were bought wholesale. A number of opposition candidates are still in the hospital recovering from murderous attacks.

Three followers of the opposition were assassinated shortly before the election. Civil servants were threatened with dismissal if they did not vote for the Karamanlis candidates. Business firms refused employment to persons who did not pledge themselves to vote likewise.

India and Portugal

Every honest worker instinctively defends India's right to oust the Portuguese imperialists from its territory. (Goa and the other so-called "enclaves' are merely imperialist outposts on Indian soil.)

India has been asking Portugal to get out ever since India won her "independence" from Britain in 1947. And Portugal has shown no more sign of willingly getting out in 1961 than it did in 1947. The use of Indian troops

> **Because They Pay** \$1 A Day!

Enrico Mattei, the Italian oil tycoon, said last month:

"In one year, a billion dollars invested in the Middle East allowed the extraction of more oil than 24 billions invested in the United States."

Now that's something to think about!

It is first of all something for the Arab masses to think about, when they see the pipelines carrying their wealth down to the ocean, and when they see the great tankers taking it to foreign shores.

And it is something for the U.S. workers to think about when they are asked to leave their wives and children to fight the "Reds" in the Middle East.

Next Issue

There will be a three-week lapse between this issue of Workers World and

Workers World is a twice-monthly, usually published on alternate Fridays. Every three months, it is necessary to skip a week so as to keep to the ab schedule.

The next issue will be dated January

against the Portuguese in Goa is completely justified, and those who disagree are only talking nonsense or they are outright agents of imperialism.

This incident of Goa once again focuses the glaring light of class truth upon the nature of imperialism.

One would have thought that the imperialists—outside of the Portuguese, of course—would have been discreetly silent over the whole affair. But instead, they are raising a hue and cry about the "violence"—of the Indians, not the Portuguese butchers!-and pulling long faces about the "failure of the United Nations" to intervene (in favor of Portugal, of course).

The UN has had over seven years to intervene to stop the violence of the French imperialist barbarians in Algeria. And it is not even considering intervention to stop the Portuguese violence in Africa where they have slaughtered over 50,000 people in the past four months - largely with U. S .made weapons. And the United States imperialists, chief backers of the UN, continue to give military and economic aid to both the French and the Portu-

—Pelegrin García

(Continued from Page 1)

In the meantime, Puerto Rican liberation groups, in addition to Garcia's own group, it was learned, are organizing a defense committee to free him.

At a meeting held last Sunday, the Movimiento Pro Independencia (MPI) went on record to collaborate with other groups in seeing that Garcia is not made victim of Yankee imperialist justice.

Earlier, on Friday, at a meeting held in Central Plaza Annex, an enthusiastic and aroused audience heard Pedro Colón, chairman of the newly formed defense committee, Jose Gueits, Secretary of the New York branch of MPI and Armando Roman, the committee's executive secretary explain the case and its meaning in the struggle for Puerto Rican liberation from Yankee imperialism.

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NAME

STREET

CITY......ZONE.....STATE.

'Maybe Marx Was Wrong' Says N.Y. Times (Maybe!)

By Dorothy Ballan

"Maybe Marx Was Wrong," declares The New York Times in an editorial November 4. But, in the next column, two editorials later is another headline ominously entitled "Still Too Many Jobless."

The first editorial purports to prove that in the coming period, life under capitalism "will be not only more free, but more prosperous in the non-Communist areas than ever before." (So Marx must be wrong.)

Also acclaiming the new developing prosperity, is the U.S. News & World Report. They headlined an article on the subject with: "PROFIT BOOM AHEAD"—and then in smaller type—but not much smaller, "Profits in the third quarter were up sharply over a year ago in nearly all lines of business. And the bulge in profits is just beginning. Outlook for next year; new profit records in every quarter."

But in the back pages—in very small type-newspapers and magazines occasionally print items of another kind.

It seems that in California, a lettuceharvesting machine that can eliminate 20,000 jobs, has been demonstrated in the lettuce fields.

In Georgia—the State Employment Service reports that mechanical pickers plus other mechanization, will mean that 20,000 farm workers will be without cotton picking jobs.

Armour & Co.-the leading meat packing firm in the country, cut 55,000 workers from its payroll. A full year after the lay-off in E. St. Louis, the unemployment rate of those workers who had been laid off by Armour was 56 per cent. Among Afro-Americans, 61 per cent had not found any jobs at all against 36 per cent of the whites.

Even Sylvia Porter - who generally tries to report financial news optimistically, reported on December 1:

ers in our basic steel, auto and coal mining industries, find they are simply not needed in their own increasingly automated industries.

"Once strong and confident work-

"Men and women who only a few years ago could earn at least minimum wages in unskilled jobs, are finding that there just are not enough unskilled jobs to go around.

"Older workers, Negroes, the unskilled-these dominate today's long term unemployed, and they are on the way to becoming permanently unemployable in the 1960's."

And The New York Times in their "Still Too Many Jobless" editorial:

"Automation and other forward steps in technology complicated the problem by making it possible to produce much more with many fewer workers. Old and young compete in an environment of mutual frustration."

And then—suddenly—one month later

on December 8th, The New York Times in a front page article ecstatically headlined a new development: "Jobless Rate Falls to 6.1%-Sharpest Drop in 3 Years." (Could Marx really be wrong?).

Even Business Week, the financial affairs magazine for business executives, which doesn't concern itself generally with problems of ordinary workers, reported happily, "Jobless rate finally mirrors the upturn."

The newspapers and magazines from coast to coast were filled with accounts of this wonderful news.

But like a phony insurance policy that gives the real terms in the fine print-it seems the news is not exactly so joyful.

Believe it or not-when the newspapers report that the unemployment

RATE (Percent of labor force)

UNEMPLOYMENT TREND

Above is a graph showing the percentage of unemployment in the work force - for the past year. This has hovered about 7 per cent. We are told that this high percentage has dropped to 6.1 per cent in November. See article.

NDJFMAMJJASO

1961-

rate has DROPPED-this does NOT mean that there is less unemployment. As a matter of fact, the number of unemployed has RISEN by over 50,000 from 3,990,000 to over four million. There are 50,000 more people without jobs-although the rate of unemployment has dropped from a high of 7% to "the first significant decline in a year-6.1% and "administration officials heaved a sigh of relief over their new figures." This is what is cynically called the "seasonally adjusted rate of unemployment." Because unemployment went up less than Washington expected-then for that reason-the rate dropped. Get it?

It was Marx who first explained that automation would make the rich richer —and bring on a steady rise in the "hard core" of unemployment. But Marx also said that the workers could change all that—by taking over the machinery and running it themselves. Then everyone—as a result of automation could work a short day-and have all the good things in life.

Maybe Marx was right!!!

More "Freedom" in the "Free" World





France Soir carried details of the roundup in October of thousands of Algerians in Paris.

The prisoners were herded into detention camps with horrible brutality and held in sub-human conditions for several days. Later, up to 60 bodies were found in the Seine and in the wastelands near Paris. Commissioner of Police Maurice Papon, who ordered this carried out, and his superior, Minister of Interior Roger Frey, are still in office.

Income Tax Deductions To help you prepare your income tax

return at the end of the year, official guides now are offered to taxpayers who hope to deduct their yachting expenses as a business outlay.

The War in Katanga

What amounts to an inter-imperialist war has been raging over the almostprostrate body of the Congo.

The United States imperialists, under cover of the green hats and "peaceful" armbands of the UN, have been fighting a bitter struggle with British, French and Belgian imperialists in Ka-

The chief sufferers and victims in the fight are the Black people of Katanga. But they are by no means the chief contestants in the war.

The chief contestants - are as fol-

The so-called "friends" of Katanga.

-the British, French, Belgian, Rho-

The Blind Awaken

The "Lighthouse for the Blind" in St. Louis is really a "House of Darkness and Misery" says the Committee of the People of St. Louis.

> "Wages 'and working conditions have become so bad at the 'Lighthouse for the Blind' that the blind citizens and other right-thinking citizens can no longer tolerate them,"

says the Committee.
The "United Fund," supported by organized labor, contributes heavily to the Lighthouse, but the controlling board of this agency refuses to even talk with the grossly underpaid blind workers about a union to represent them.

Black and white pickets, blind and non-blind, were picketing last week, demanding their rights.

desian and South African white supremacists, who have been giving material and moral aid to the Belgian stooge, Moise Tshombe.

The so-called "friends of a centralized Congo and a negotiated unity settlement with Tshombe," who are the United States government capitalist politicians acting through the UN and supplying it with air superiority over the Congolese.

Those who favor the UN appear to be to the left of those who oppose it. That is, the present UN line to get Katanga back under the central Leopoldville government appears to be directed against colonialism and in favor of genuine national independence.

It appears that the Swedish, Irish and Italian armed forces in the UNto say nothing of the greater numbers of Black Ethiopian and Indian forces—are disinterestedly fighting to establish a genuinely independent Con-

But all this is only the appearance. To understand the reality, you have to understand the global class war that is going on and see the Katanga struggle as a part of that war.

The U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, summarized the real state of affairs and the real motivation of U.S. imperialism most admirably on December 8, when he said:

"If Katanga is not peacefully integrated, the Congo will face civil war and anarchy and be open to Communist penetration."

In other words, the idea is to slap Tshombe down, to thus prevent a show-

down struggle for a genuinely inde-

pendent country that will oust Belgian imperialism and all other imperialisms from the whole Congo.

This is the essence of the Kennedy position and the Stevenson position-as matters stand right now. But the British, French, Belgian, Rhodesian and South African capitalists do not agree and cannot agree with that position. (Nor can a large group of capitalists in the United States itself!) And that is why the Katanga war is so complex and so difficult to resolve.

Both the British and the French have great colonial interests in Africa that they feel will be endangered if Katanga is destroyed as a pro-colonialwhite-supremacist, independent

The British, in addition, own huge interests in Katanga itself. The billiondollar Belgian mining company, Union Miniere, which plunders Katanga of its wealth and finances Tshombe's war, is owned partially by British interests. Some of the biggest British moneylords including Prime Minister Macmillan, himself, were named as large stockholders of this company by Conor Cruise O'Brien.

(Conor Cruise O'Brien is the former head of UN operations in the Congo who resigned over the British sabotage of the UN and exposed it in a public statement on December 2.)

Rhodesia borders on Katanga, and Sir Roy Welensky, the Englishman who rules Rhodesia with a dictatorship that puts Adolph Hitler to shame, naturally backs Tshombe, because he wants to continue absolute colonial rule and absolute white supremacy.

The South African dictatorship, for

similar reasons, supports Tshombe, too.

All this has led the sage capitalist statesman, Walter Lippmann, to observe that the "worst thing that could happen" would be a line-up of the whitesupremacist African countries fighting a continent-wide civil war with the independent Black countries-with the latter "backed by the Communist countries." But he added that he didn't think "it would come to that."

On the other hand, more and more forces are arising in the United States itself to fight Kennedy's line and perhaps even provoke just the kind of conflict Lippmann is so anxious to

The "American Committee for Aid to Katanga Freedom Fighters" has just been formed by a group of rightwingers who have been identified with the most notorious fascist-type causes. The committee is appropriately sprinkled with generals, industrialists and veterans of the infamous "China Lob-

On the day that this committee was ublicly announced, (December 14) the United States' anti-Tshombe wavered somewhat. The anti-Tshombe New York Times stated:

"Washington doesn't want to destroy Mr. Tshombe. . . . Washington wants Mr. Tshombe . . . to see that if the moderates lose out in Leopoldville and the extremists take power, he will have to fight against Congolese forces backed by Communist powers."

Therefore, the chances are that there will be no clear settlement of the Katanga war-and no clear settlement in the whole Congo either, until the great Congo masses take matters into their own hands against both Tshombe and his imperialist backers in the UN.

4-WORKERS WORLD DECEMBER 22, 1961

Why the Diplomatic Break is Wrong

In Defense of

The Albanian Peoples Republic

By Sam Marcy

Of all the errors committed by the Khrushchev leadership, the break in the diplomatic relations with Albania is unquestionably the worst and the most grievous of all. It cannot be justified by any standards of working class principles, nor can it be justified by the long-standing tenets of Soviet foreign policy.

This action must be unequivocally condemned as a calculated attempt to undermine the Albanian Peoples Republic, overthrow the existing leadership by forceful and external methods, and substitute a leadership which will do Khrushchev's bidding.

If this is what is called "democratization," militant Communists the world over must take another look, and try to decipher its deeper significance.

To begin with, the glee and merriment in the camp of the class enemy over the diplomatic rupture, should be enough to make any class conscious worker suspicious of the motivation behind the move.

Why Albania?

What has Albania done to deserve such a rash and unwarranted attack? The accusations levelled against her, range all the way from fostering the "cult of personality" to the denial of the "Leninist principle of co-existence."

Even if one were to assume that Khrushchev's indictment against her was true in all respects, it could under no circumstances be regarded as sufficient cause for taking such an extreme measure. Even in the case of Yugoslavia there was no actual severence of diplomatic ties. Why Albania? Why not the re-Nazified government of Western Germany? — of Denmark? or of the U. S.?

Such governments as the U.S. and West Germany are pursuing the "cult" of war against the Soviet Union! Is the pursuit of the "cult" of Stalin and Hoxha so much worse than the pursuit of the "cult" of super-profits and imperialist war?

Is it not the height of irony to preach peaceful coexistence with states having *different* social systems, while initiating a merciless war against a small state with a *similar* social system?

If there is to be peaceful coexistence should it not be first and foremost among the fraternal states within the socialist camp?

A Beleaguered Fortress

To begin with, it should be borne in mind that Albania has been a beleaguered fortress ever since the ouster of Tito. It is amazing how such a small country, surrounded on all sides by enemies, should have been able to survive and develop under such hostile surroundings.

Of course, the tremendous contributions of the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries helped the Albanian Peoples Republic in no small measure. But there is no ground whatever to doubt the assertion of the Chinese Communist Party, that it was accomplished "mainly by relying on their own (i.e., Albanian) efforts."

The account of the struggles of the Albanian Peoples government in ridding the country of feudal and foreign rule, and the heritage of a backward, agricultural population that was 80 per cent illiterate, is contained in the November 17, 1961 issue of *Peking Review*.

The appraisal by the Chinese of the role of the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour, contrasts sharply with the dark picture painted by Khrushchev. Whatever may be the faults of Enver Hoxha and his collaborators, they have been the leaders who have, through trial and tribulation, seen their country through foreign oppression to socialist construction. To extirpate this leadership by external pressure—which is what Khrushchev apparently wants to do—is to do violence to the most elementary principle of socialist justice.

Khrushchev, it seems, would be only too glad to see Albania come hat in hand to the imperialists, begging for a handout. But the firm and loyal support of the Peoples Republic of China and others in the socialist camp, make such a development unlikely.

It should be noted however, that Poland and Yugoslavia both receive imperialist handouts, but are not under attack from the Khrushchev leadership.

In the context of the present international situation, and considering the fact that Albania is completely isolated geographically from the other socialist countries—and especially when one regards the fact of Albania's small population (one and a half million)—the Albanian Peoples Republic and its leaders, have every right to regard the diplomatic rupture as an attempt at political and economic strangulation.

"Inordinate Demands"

It is claimed by the Khrushchev leadership that Albania made "inordinate demands" upon the Soviet Union with regard to economic assistance.

It is difficult to conceive of "demands" being made by little Albania. But if so, could not these "demands" be politely turned down?

It is further claimed that the Albanian leadership expressed "resentment" over the "aid rendered by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa." This is the claim made by Professor Fedor Constantinov in the November issue of *Kommunist*, theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

It is a distortion of the real issue raised by Albania and China on the *permissible limits* to which a socialist country may obligate itself in rendering aid to such countries as India, Egypt, and others—while at the same time reducing aid, or denying it completely to such governments as those of China, North Vietnam, and the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.

How China Views It

"... Hoxha and Shehu," says Professor Constantinov, regard the Leninist principles of coexistence of two systems not as the general line of foreign policy, but as "merely a phrase, words which do not bind one, a clever tactical maneuver, whereas the policy (of the USSR) is no tactical device, but the general line of foreign policy substantiated by Lenin and creatively developed by the CPSU, by Nikita Khrushchev."

But the truth of the matter is that Hoxha, no less than Khrushchev, is for peaceful coexistence. Only his interpretation of it differs. It reflects a more militant attitude towards imperialism. Unquestionably, Albania holds a political position on this issue very similar to that championed by the Chinese Communist Party.

The Chinese position was aptly summarized by Liu Ning-yi, head of the Chinese trade unions, in a speech at Peking celebrating the anniversary of the Algerian rebellion:

"The only effective way to deal with imperialism and the new and old colonialism headed by the United States is to wage a head on struggle against them, tooth for tooth and eye for eye. We should never cherish the slightest illusion about them." (New York Times—November 2)

It is difficult to see how militant Communists can help but support the Albanian-Chinese position as against Khrushchev's.

Whoever does so, however, is immediately branded as a Stalinist by the bourgeois apologists, or a dogmatist and a left-sectarian by Khrushchev's apologists.

A leftist apology for the Khrushchev position is contained in the *Monthly Review*—December 1961. In its view, the above quotation from Liu Ning-yi epitomizes all that is wrong with the Chinese position, which it characterizes as a severe case of "dogmatic leftism."

In reality it represents the inflexible determination of the Chinese CP not to be taken in by the wiles of imperialism, and to be prepared for any eventuality, since imperialism—as the CCP has said on innumerable occasions—will not change its aggressive, warlike nature.

"The world should be grateful to the moderating influence of the Soviet Union" upon China, says *Monthly Review*. Whether it is speaking of the capitalist world or the working class world here, the reader can judge by its additional statement:

"As compared to the Chinese, the Soviet position puts more emphasis on nations as actors on the world stage and less emphasis on classes."

MR's analysis of the differences between the Chinese and the Russians is inaccurate and faulty—especially coming from authors who regard themselves as Marxists, for they failed to take into consideration the Marxist—Leninist definition of a nation from the point of view of its relation to the classes. "A nation," said Lenin, "is an instrument of a definite specific class."

All nations big and small, both oppressor and oppressed, are definite instruments of a given specific class. It is true that nations exist as independent entities, but to put more emphasis on nations, without respect to whether this or that nation is an instrument of the bourgeois class or the working class, is to blur over and deny the significance of class antagonisms, which is one of the issues in dispute in the first place.

"De-Stalinization"

In addition to the dispute over the nature of imperialism, there is also what the bourgeois press refers to as "de-Stalinization."

For a long time now,, the bourgeoisie has been bestowing accolades on Khrushchev for his ouster of old "Stalinists" and the process of "de-Stalinization." This chorus of applause ranges all the way from the semi-official organ of the State Department, The New York Times to their social-democratic lackeys.

But while the so-called "de-Stalinization" has found a welcome reception among the ruling classes, it has not found such a reception among the class-conscious Communists anywhere in the world. On the contrary, it has met with stubborn resistance. For what the bourgeoisie and its agents call "de-Stalinization," is in reality appearement and capitulation to imperialism.

(The process of reviving socialist legality and enlarging the rights of the masses is a more or less *independent* process, not really related to what the bourgeoisie call "de-Stalinization."—We hope to return to this theme at a later date.)

Where "de-Stalinization" has been approved by masses of party members in the world Communist movement, it is done so out of party loyalty, with little if any conviction that the line is correct.

One need not be an adherent of Stalin to realize that this "process of de-Stalinization" does not augur well to those who were looking forward to a genuine revival of Leninism following the death of Stalin. All who are interested in the history of Communism know by this time that Stalin has played a dual role in the movement. That while he defended the gains of the proletarian revolution, he also exterminated practically the entire generation of old Bolsheviks by his abuse of power and personal dictatorship.

Whose Responsibility?

The revelation by Khrushchev and his collaborators, of some of the reactionary aspects of Stalin, has unfortunately not been done in a spirit calculated to revive genuine Leninist principles. But on the contrary, it has been carried out in the spirit of appeasing imperialism.

In an earlier article we expressed the hope that the political struggle within the Communist movement should not lead "to a rupture in the relationships between the Socialist states."

Now that this has happened, the responsibility for it must be put squarely on the shoulders of Khrushchev and his collaborators.