

# WORKERS WORLD

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## Straight From the Horse's Mouth

The following is a quote from the magazine *Business Week*, the most authoritative spokesman of the monopoly corporations.

"How conservative will President Kennedy be this year?"

"Surprisingly conservative . . .

"Note what he has laid down in recent talks at Palm Beach: a balanced budget; nothing new by way of welfare ideas; no civil rights legislation; not even an executive order barring racial discrimination in government insured housing, although this was a campaign promise.

"Much of this is far from the liberal image of a President that Kennedy projected during the 1960 campaign.

"What's more, by executive order, he is arranging a tax break for business that invests in new equipment.

"He is on record against union demands for wage increases large enough to lead to price increases.

"After a year of free spending by his Agriculture Secretary, he has issued orders to curtail farm hand-outs—and this is an election year.

"He is taking a soft line toward Congress.

"This in itself is significant. For Congress—the House particularly—promises to be very conservative indeed in 1962. . . .

"If the Republicans . . . were moving left, Kennedy would jog that way himself. But the pull is toward the right, and Kennedy is not fighting it."

## U.S. Threatens Latin Puppets: "Break All Cuban Ties, Or Else!"

The Organization of American States which is scheduled to convene at Punta del Este, Uruguay, on January 22 is being coerced into taking an Anti-Cuban stand.

But the high pressure tactics employed by Yankee diplomacy to club the Latin American nations into taking aggressive measures against Cuba is meeting with mounting resistance. The concrete steps to be proposed by Washington have not been announced, but every conceivable

device including bribery, threats, and use of economic reprisals have been used by State Department strategists to rig the meeting. To date, the U.S. has lined up ten puppet governments to vote the Yankee line at the O.A.S. meeting. It is common knowledge, however, that the people who are living under these oppressive governments are in violent opposition to any anti-Cuban commitments which the puppets might have secretly agreed to as a result of Yankee

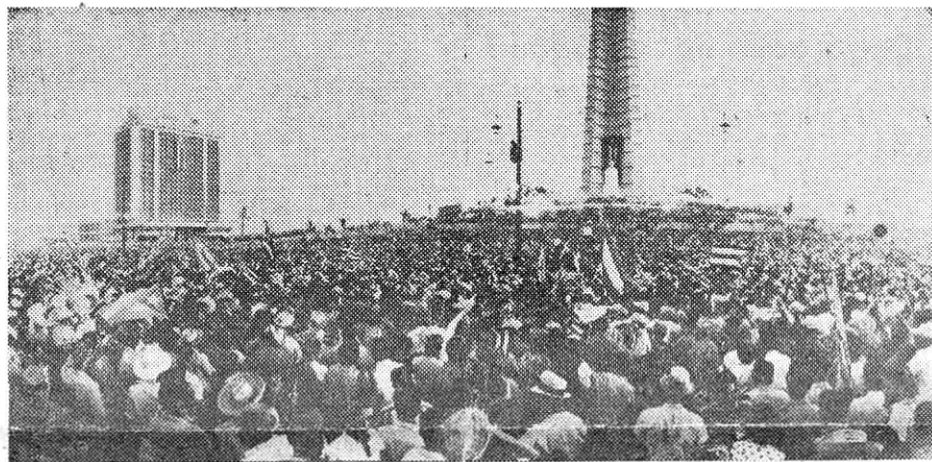
imperialist pressure. Revolutionary opposition to any hostile O.A.S. moves against Cuba is particularly strong in the three largest countries of Latin America: Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico. It is not expected that any U.S. dictated action will have the support of these governments. So strong is the revolutionary current for Cuba in some of the smaller countries such as Ecuador, Bolivia, Venezuela, and Peru that commitments by any one of these governments to help overthrow the Cuban government would surely topple them.

The so-called "White Paper" issued by the State Department last week, is an attempt to lay the political ground for an attack on Cuba.

The 12,000-word document does not contain a single new word from Washington, but is a compilation of all the red-baiting lies concocted by the U.S. monopolists, and put together in a single pamphlet.

Douglas Dillon, the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, who represented the U.S. at the Punta del Este meeting last August, is now busy making all sorts of promises of additional aid, provided the recipient goes along with the U.S. anti-Cuban line. But its getting to be known that the billions promised by Dillon in his Alliance for Progress scheme only means bullets against Cuba. Latin Americans are not buying his scheme. The use of outright military force against Cuba will provoke the greatest revolutionary explosion in the history of Latin America.

### "Declaration of Havana"



Shown above are more than a million Cubans who assembled in Havana to demonstrate against imperialism and cheer their approval of the first "Declaration of Havana" over a year ago. The same day the OAS meets — January

22 — the Cuban people will once again mass in Havana and hurl their defiance at U.S. finance capital. Their rousing support for a second "Declaration of Havana" will bring hope and inspiration to all the oppressed in Latin America.

## Police Attack Strikers at "Flower and Fifth"

## Poor Workers Locked Out of Rich Hospital

V. Grey

"Flower and Fifth Avenue" is the kind of hospital where a patient can have his room redecorated to correspond with the decor of his own country home. Rates, needless to add, are not low.

The Afro-Americans and Puerto Ricans who have been walking the picket line and have been beaten and arrested by the police outside, have never seen their own countrymen in the high-priced hospital beds. They spend their lives serving the food and carrying the slops for white North American millionaires who consider this relationship fair and equitable. Now that they have stopped giving this service, the millionaires' New York cops have been beating the hell out of them.

This is how it began:

The multi-million dollar hospital, in an effort to raise its already swollen profits, decided to subcontract its cleaning to the Terminal Cleaning Service and its cafeteria facilities to the no-

toriously anti-union Horn and Hardart (Automat) Company.

Workers with 30 years service and more are threatened with the loss of their jobs and their union (Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Employees Union) is being "locked out" because of its protest against the hospital's high-handed treatment of its workers.

(Local 1199 conducted the historic New York hospital strike of 1959.)

The hospital locked the union out on New Year's Day. The workers immedi-

ately threw a picket line around the hospital and began to call on the New York labor movement to support their effort to get justice.

Within hours, the New York police began intimidating the pickets. And the moment the pickets tried to persuade workers not to scab on them, the cops went to work with their clubs. They arrested three pickets on Tuesday, four on Wednesday, thirteen on Thursday and six on Friday.

Leon J. Davis, president of the Local,

wired a protest to Mayor Wagner. Accompanying his telegram was the following statement to the press:

"I denounce police brutality against Negro and Puerto Rican strikers fighting for their jobs. (The police) have made vicious attacks against the strikers.

"We are shocked to see a situation develop only 48 hours after Mayor Wagner called on labor to help improve conditions of exploited minority group workers, where the police are concentrating their major fire against such an effort."

(Mr. Davis and Local 1199 campaigned for the election of Wagner on the "Brotherhood Party" ticket.)

But Wagner, who was re-elected solely by labor's vote, did not even deign to answer Davis' telegram. In the case of the hospital strike, Wagner's police are showing in classical style just what a capitalist "friend of labor" is really like.

But the workers are depending on the picket line, not the ballot box. A 72-year-old chambermaid voiced their collective sentiments when she said:

"I'll walk till I'm 99 before I give up."

## New York's Club-Happy Cops Fixing Up Their "Public Relations"

On the very day of the brutal police violence thus far in the hospital strike (Thursday, January 4) the New York Police Department started a so-called "good-will campaign" in New York's Lower East Side. They issued a precinct newsletter, which was termed "an effort to improve their relations with Spanish-speaking groups."

It need hardly be said that not a word was to be found in the four pages about the numerous police beatings of innocent people that were reported last year, and of course not even a whisper about the still more numerous unreported beatings that are inflicted every day and every night in the station houses. No mention was made either, of the helpless people who have tried to get police assistance against racist hoodlums.

(Last month a middle aged rabbi was beaten up by two young Nazis and

couldn't "convince" the police that the crime was a racist one and should be investigated. The Nazis, like the white supremacists in general in hundreds of other New York cases, are still at large.)

On November 17, the President's Commission on Civil Rights released a report on police brutality which stated that this was a "serious and continuing problem," stating further that policemen charged with such brutality are seldom convicted.—This was not included in the newsletter, either.

Fortunately, the residents of the Lower East Side do not need to read the Commission's report, nor do they even have to read about the savage conduct of the police at Flower and Fifth Avenue Hospital—to know that cops are the paid persecutors of the poor. It is highly improbable that they will be taken in by the "precinct newsletter."



Police arrest militant pickets.



Cops with clubs—"Flower & 5th"

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# The Imperialist War of 1961

In the year 1961, more Africans were killed by imperialist guns, bombs and flaming gasoline, than Americans were killed in any single year of the Second World War. (We leave out entirely the tremendous number of Africans killed by starvation and beating during the "normal" course of working for the colonial masters.)

In the seven-year-old Algerian war for liberation, the French have killed over 160,000 Algerian soldiers (according to official French figures). And uncounted thousands of Algerian civilians were slaughtered during the same period.

The United States, over 16 times as populous as Algeria, suffered 234,874 battle deaths during the four years of the Second World War.

The American deaths in battle during the 17 months of the First World War came to 50,510. But during July and August of last year, the Portuguese butchered over 50,000 Africans in the little country of Angola (population 5 million)!

The wars in the Congo, the Cameroons, Angola, Algeria, to say nothing of the rebellions in Rhodesia and South Africa—these are real wars, tragic and total wars for the African people.

There is something very callous about the argument that "war is not inevitable" under capitalism. People who use this argument forget that a bloody, terrible and murderous war is being carried on by imperialism—right now!

# Behind the Lull in Berlin

It would seem that the Berlin crisis has at last quieted down. We are now told that the capitalist "statesmen" are preparing a "modus vivendi"—or a manner of living—with the Soviet Union, and that things will continue pretty much as they have been in the past.

But the working class of the world must not be lulled to sleep by such talk. It must remember that in Berlin, world capitalism has driven a wedge deep inside the socialist camp—about 110 miles into the (East) German Democratic Republic to be exact.

Sooner or later that wedge will be widened or it will be driven out.

This stubborn fact is more important than all the arguments of diplomats and the propaganda of newspapers.

The Soviet leaders are anxious to have a peaceful settlement of the Berlin question through negotiations. The capitalist leaders are now willing to negotiate. But they do not want to negotiate any change in their military penetration of socialist territory (that is, their "rights" in West Berlin, as they put it). But it is precisely such a change that the socialist camp wants and needs.

That is why the wise editorials about a new "modus vivendi" are wrong—no matter what discussions are held or temporary agreements arrived at.

# Government Union-Busters

The U.S. government has told 60,000 U.S. workers that they have no right to be represented by the union of their choice.

Utilizing the sinister McCarran Act and the reactionary decision of the Supreme Court upholding that unconstitutional measure, the Subversive Activities Control Board has declared the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union to be "Communist-infiltrated" and thus practically outlawed.

Francis A. Cherry, SACB examiner, acknowledged the democratic character of Mine-Mill, acknowledged that it had done a fine job securing gains for its members, and admitted that the union's members determine the union's policies. "But," said John Clark, the union's president, "Cherry brushed all this aside as irrelevant."

And well he might! The question of union democracy and especially the question of the workers' democratic right to struggle against the bosses are always considered irrelevant by the bosses' government. And under the conditions of the present witch-hunt, they are considered more irrelevant than usual.

The bosses are trying to hang the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union with an anti-Communist rope. Let the

so-called "non-Communist" unions beware. The bosses will not hesitate to use the same rope on them tomorrow if the rope gives good service today.

## When a Big U.S. Bank "Helps" Africa—Beware!

The Chase Manhattan National Bank of New York opened a branch office in Liberia this November. Last February, it opened a branch in Nigeria.

Some simple souls may believe that this is just a way for the good American capitalists to help the Africans save their money.

But it just ain't so. Chase Manhattan happens to be one of the biggest financial institutions in the world, controlled largely by the Rockefellers, holding tremendous oil and industrial properties and controlling many other billion-dollar enterprises besides.

When the Chase Manhattan boys open a branch bank in a foreign country—especially a poor country—it is an infallible sign that they are already well along in subduing that country to the interests of the capitalists they represent.

# Peoples China Still Forging Ahead In Spite of Floods and Drought

China is emerging as one of the world's foremost industrial powers, contrary to the waves of propaganda in the U.S. press.

True—there have been great, natural disasters affecting food production in China. But reports widely circulated in U.S. newspapers and magazines that there has been a general breakdown in the Chinese economy, are completely false. In truth, China's industry has been moving ahead at a truly breathtaking rate.

This is brought to light by a newspaper named *Die Zeit*, published in WEST GERMANY. According to figures quoted in *Die Zeit*, China's rate of industrial expansion since the Revolution (in 1949) has even exceeded that of the Soviet Union in its greatest period of growth.

This recently feudal country is today the third largest producer of metal-working machinery in the world, being surpassed only by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. It is the sixth largest steel producer and also sixth in electrical power output. Its rich mineral deposits in Man-

churia, once coveted and fought over by the imperialist world, have now placed China second in coal production (the Soviet Union leads the world) and third in iron ore production.

China is rapidly moving to the stage where its industrial achievements will enable its scientists and technicians not merely to direct their efforts to catching up with the imperialist world, but to greatly surpassing the productive capacity of the West. China's development makes it an invaluable member of the socialist bloc, a country that can offer physical as well as political support to the colonial peoples struggling for liberation, as it has done in Cuba.

China's firmness in the struggle against imperialism is based on a dynamic and healthy economy. And even more important, the industrial successes are a tribute not only to the Socialist economy but to the enthusiasm and militancy of the Chinese masses themselves, whose support of their leadership on a day to day level is profoundly affecting both the economy and the politics of Red China.

CHINA'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT						
	1940	1952	1957	1958	1959	1960
COAL (millions of tons) .....	46.8	66.2	130.7	270.7	347.8	425
ELECTRIC POWER (billions of kilowatt hrs.)	5.9	7.26	19.3	27.5	41.5	55.5
IRON ORE (millions of tons) .....	—	1.9	5.9	9.5	20.5	27.7
STEEL (millions of tons) .....	0.9	1.3	5.4	8	13.3	18.5
METAL-WORKING MACHINES (thousands) .....	5.4	13.7	28	50	70	90

# Supreme Court Decision Nine Old Men Try to Put Women Back in Kitchen

Three years ago, Mrs. Gwendolyn Hoyt was convicted of second-degree murder, and sent to prison for 30 years for allegedly killing her husband with a club during a quarrel.

Mrs. Hoyt appealed the decision to the Supreme Court.

Her reason:

The jury was composed of men only. And aside from the general injustice of men sitting in judgment over women, was her added contention that women jurors might have understood her particular case better.

The reason there were no women on the jury was this:

Florida is one of 18 states that permit women to be excused from jury service "on the ground of home duties." (Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina openly bar women jurors, altogether!)

The Supreme Court decided, unanimously that the jury system of Florida was immaculate because—

"Woman is still regarded as the center of home and family life"—and a state may rule that "she can be relieved of the civic duty of jury service. . . ."

It is possible that the Nine Old Men of the big bosses' Supreme Court do not know that 24 million women (a

third of the whole working force) go to work every day, outside the home, and that this has been going on for some time.

But the real point in the case was that a woman was tried by an all-male jury—not whether Florida has a right to "excuse" women from jury duty. This point was hardly commented upon by the Court or by the press.

Naturally not. Because it touches too closely on another point: the all-white juries that convict Black people every day in the week.

Of course, it is possible that the all-male Florida jury might have given Mrs. Hoyt a fair shake. And it is possible that the all-white juries that condemn Afro-Americans to death for alleged rape of white women are impartial. And it is possible that the all-male, all-white, all-capitalist Supreme Court might be impartial, too.

—But it's not very likely.

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## Kennedy on Self-Determination

Kennedy has said he is for independence and the self-determination of nations.

Well—how does a small nation get its independence from a big nation? How does Algeria, for example, get independent from France? It is fighting for that independence, and being a small nation, it needs the help of large nations.

But Kennedy, instead of helping Algeria, is helping France.

If you have access  
to a short wave radio,  
you can

HEAR

Rob Williams

on

Radio Havana

Mon. - Wed. - Fri.

9:00 P.M.

730 Megacycles



## Disalle's Decision On Mae Mallory Is Due After Jan. 15

The campaign to free Mae Mallory is gaining wider support. Mrs. Mallory, presently in Cleveland, is fighting extradition to the State of North Carolina where she is charged with kidnapping. (The Southern racist authorities invented this phony charge against Mrs. Mallory in retaliation for her role as a militant fighter for her people.)

Through the efforts of the Cleveland chapter of the Monroe Defense Committee and its friends, the Greater Youngstown AFL-CIO Council has gone on record in support of Mrs. Mallory, along with a number of area steel locals. The State AFL-CIO Council has also been asked to look into the matter. Last week a delegation of garment workers brought the case to the attention of Local 22 of the ILGWU.

Defense attorneys Day and Berkman are preparing to file a brief on behalf of Mrs. Mallory on January 15. The following day, the 16th, may be the date of Ohio Governor DiSalle's decision on North Carolina's request for extradition. The defense attorneys are already working on their legal strategy in the event of an adverse decision.

However, the Monroe Defense Committee is working strongly to mobilize labor and the Afro-Americans of Ohio against any capitulation by the state authorities to the Southern racists.

This takes money. Send your contribution to Monroe Defense Committee, 110 West 116th Street (new address), New York, N. Y. (In Cleveland, 1289 E. 115th Street, Suite 5.)

Five Afro-Americans were convicted on January 3 in Clarksdale, Mississippi for having "conspired to hurt public trade." Witnesses showed leaflets, letters and other forms of announcement calling for desegregation.

## U.S. Investors Stake Out Puerto Rico

# Shark Trying to Gobble Another Sardine

By Lolita Luz

Exploitation comes under a lot of different names. Take Puerto Rico, for instance. In all the fancy language invented to define Puerto Rico's economic and political relationship to the U.S., you'll never once find the word "colony" or "colonialism." Instead, the bitter pill of Puerto Rican subjection to U.S. capital has been sugar-coated with the fine-sounding phrase "Free Associated State."

Is Puerto Rico free? Is it even a state?

First let's take a look at the condition of Puerto Rico's economy. If the island were really free, then certainly the indispensable basis of that freedom would have to be the control over her own productive resources. But nothing could be further from the truth. Sugar, the main industry of the island, is regulated by the U.S. government. Washington decides how many acres of each plantation

can be devoted to sugar cane, how much cane is to be refined, and even how much is to be exported—and to whom. U.S. law, and not the "free market," fixes the price of her sugar.

If you are an average worker or peasant in Puerto Rico, what effect does U.S. control of imports and exports have on you? Let's trace a common article like canned fruit. In spite of Puerto Rico's lush fertility, canned fruits are imported because the whole economy has been geared to the production of raw materials for U.S. manufacture. Since 85% of the imports come from the U.S., it will probably be one of the same brands you might pick up in a super market in the U.S. But the price may be a nickel or dime higher, since Puerto Rican imports must by law, be shipped in U.S. freighters, and the U.S. Merchant Navy charges the highest freightage rates in the world.

The Puerto Rican government cannot

establish its own excise duties. In this way it is prevented from exercising any control over its own market, while U.S. producers are left free to dump their surplus goods in Puerto Rico at their own prices. The result is that Puerto Ricans pay higher prices for essential consumer goods than those paid in the wealthiest state of the United States, while the average income is lower than that of the poorest state.

This just begins to touch on the list of the sections of Puerto Rico's economy that are directly controlled by laws made in Washington and emanating from Wall Street.

The fact that Puerto Rico is a choice, profitable area for investment for U.S. capital can be plainly seen. Since "Operation Bootstrap" (established supposedly to help Puerto Rico), U.S. industry gets a one hundred percent tax exemption for ten years, and in some areas, thirteen years. (U.S. corporate income taxes do not apply—so U.S. big business is really "free.")

Profits on investments of Wall Street corporations average 28% annually (about four times the rate in the U.S.).

Since 1940, U.S. investments in Puerto Rico have risen from 20% to 78% of the total capital. And this takes place during a period when the country, under Luis Munoz Marin, has supposedly been moving toward self-government!

But that alleged political independence is as phony as Puerto Rico's economic "freedom."

(next—U.S. political and military domination)

## Like Hell He Is!

Visiting a rural area of poverty-stricken Northeast Brazil, Kennedy's younger brother Edward told a group of ragged peasants: "President Kennedy is personally concerned with your welfare and as proof of this has sent me, his own brother, to talk to you as an equal."—Reported by U.S. News & World Report.

## Angolans Renew Resistance Struggle

Under the pressure of the Afro-Asian nations and with the active support of the Soviet bloc, the UN was forced to investigate the situation in Angola.

A UN subcommittee made a sober but dramatic report on November 28, listing some of the lesser crimes of Portuguese imperialism and calling for self-determination in Angola.

True to form, Portugal did not even allow the subcommittee to enter Angola—on the ground that Angola is a province of Portugal (like a state of the United States) and Portugal would brook no interference in its "internal affairs."

The UN report recommends that Portugal have "courage to accept change" and "readiness to understand the new forces in the world." But this kind of advice, even if meant seriously, is not going to open the prison gates for Portugal's enslaved colonies.

Angola's freedom will not be won in the UN, but in the forests and mountains of west Africa.

The Angola revolutionaries are fighting in those mountains and forests and feel in their bones that with the aid of the African population, they will win.

As Holden Roberto said:

"If the Salazar regime (of Portugal) imagines they have crushed our army, I can say to them that they are deceiving themselves; they have before themselves a hundred years war.

"Our strength is not in military equipment, but in the determination of our people."

With this line, the Angola revolution cannot fail.

## Yankee "Equality" in Puerto Rico



Yankee bosses at Hotel Caribe Hilton—Puerto Rico. (In Cuba, Hotel Havana Hilton now belongs to workers.)



How most Puerto Ricans live

## Puerto Ricans in U.S.

# Starving in the Fat Belly of the Shark

It seems that Mayor Wagner has an aide on Puerto Rican affairs in New York City—and his name is Mr. John Carro. It is not clear if Mr. Carro has brought the living conditions of Puerto Ricans in this city to the attention of Mr. Wagner —

But a reporter for the Brazilian *O'Cruzeiro International*, whose name is Henri Ballott, wrote a pictorial feature, December 16, 1961, in which he refers to the terrible squalor and unfortunate depths of certain neighborhoods, within sight of Wall Street, in New York City.

(Puerto Ricans pay on the average of \$2.10 a square foot for space unfit for animals, on the west side of Manhattan, yet, on Central Park West, living in the luxury of the most beautiful view in New York City, non Puerto Ricans average slightly over \$1.02 a square foot—not even counting three hundred Puerto Ricans who were rat-bitten in a recent year.)

The report in *O'Cruzeiro International* shows the "misery of the poor" in this city. The reporter states, "It's highly disagreeable to see misery, but to see it in the face of wealth, in a country endowed with high food super-production, in a country of tremendous financial budgets—there, misery has no place, yet it exists next to opulence."

The pictorial review shows a photo of a youngster asleep on a mattress covered with a tattered sheet, with roaches roaming his body, and a 'rat bite' on his forehead. This youngster, Mr. Ballott identifies as Ely Samuel Gonsalves, resident of Spanish Harlem, who "although nine years old, appears to be four."

"From 100th Street to 110th Street, between Lexington and Park Avenue, exists the worst slums in Manhattan."

He goes on to describe, "At 165 of 107th Street, an old building with a characteristically dirty odor—in apartment 5—is a small parlor at the end of a large hallway, in which twelve people

E. Rodriguez

live. Gaspar sick; his wife is carrying; they have ten children, the last in a crib with blue sickness. Health city authorities up to that moment refuse to visit them."

The second picture shows curious children on a fire escape, while others play among squalor and garbage, and on dangerous parapets.

The third shows a girl about three years old, in classic bladder discomfort, barefoot, on the edge of a fire escape.

The fourth photo is a jungle of mixed children's bodies sleeping two and three to a bed, "in an atmosphere that leaves room only for roaches, bugs and rats."

"To exploit tenants, the owners subdivide apartments, accommodating ten

to fifteen persons, despite sanitary laws permitting a maximum of three per room. The proprietors close their eyes in order to obtain from \$50 to a \$100 a month rent.

"These children, for whom the word comfort was not meant, grow up without even dreaming of an old toy, discarded by the rich, nor the luck of a view with which to compensate the limitations of dark rooms and cold hallways."

This pictorial review is summed up by Mr. Ballott, with the words in caption, next to a pathetic picture of a father and his naked child,—"Next to Wall Street buildings, where practically all the world's money converges, this family lives in the blackest misery, without hope, without recourse — except from charity."

In France

## Defiant Miners Sit Down

While French imperialism spends millions to kill its rebellious slaves in Africa, it cannot find the money to pay the wages of 850 French coal miners in a government-owned mine in Decazeville, France.

These miners have been carrying on a sit-down 700 feet underground for nearly four weeks. They are living in the mine—sleeping there and eating their one meal a day there (consisting of a bowl of soup lowered to them by relatives).

The French government is closing down some mines because they are no longer "profitable" and interfere with French capitalism's plans for new trade agreements with West Germany and the Common Market. The idea is to close the mines at Decazeville and several others besides.

But the miners object. "We will not

be treated like dogs," they say. After three weeks of stubborn sit-downs, they are still singing the "Marseillaise" and the workers' "Internationale."

The government has made all kinds of promises. But in the miners' opinion, they all add up to the old runaround.

The struggle is being watched throughout the country. On January 5, all 307 mayors in the province of Aveyron resigned in protest against the government's treatment of the Decazeville miners.

Meantime, France is on the verge of civil war over the Algerian question. The anti-labor anti-Algerian "Ultras" who want to take power and "discipline" the whole French working class, will meet the spirit of Decazeville in the workers' suburbs of Paris and throughout all of France.

## Albania Firm as Pressure Mounts!

# But Hoxha Fights Economic and Diplomatic Isolation

By Sam Marcy

Genuine communists the world over, cannot fail to be saddened by the expulsion of the Albanian People's Republic from the socialist camp. The diplomatic measures taken to isolate her economically and politically are a tragic blow to the entire communist movement.

At present, Albania only has diplomatic relations with France, Italy and Austria in the capitalist bloc. Of course, an attempt to normalize relations with the capitalist west is necessary.

But if Khrushchev's policies of diplomatic isolation and economic strangulation continue it may force Albania to reach out for closer relations with the west. The responsibility for such a move will rest exclusively on the shoulders of Khrushchev.

But note—if Albania had seceded from the socialist camp, and applied to the imperialist powers for aid—how gleefully the world imperialist press would then have hailed "heroic Albania!" How the hireling cartoonists of the bourgeois press would have depicted Hoxha as "David," and Khrushchev as "Goliath" in a gargantuan battle between "tyranny" and "freedom." Bourgeois columnists would "suddenly remember" that the regime of Hoxha and his party was legally elected to power by the Albanian people in a democratic, constitutional election. Perhaps even some of

the tears that are now being shed for Portugal would be generously donated to the cause of Albania.

At the height of the Berlin crisis last year, C. L. Sulzberger, the chief foreign affairs analyst of *The New York Times*, stated that "if Khrushchev makes a grab for West Berlin," it was likely that "we too" might make a "grab for Albania."

Not much attention was given to this provocative statement which "was evidently inspired by State Department strategy. It is worthy of note that since the split, there has been much talk and many rumors about how Tito could "make a grab" for Albania, with the acquiescence of the Pentagon, if not Khrushchev.

Alongside these well-planted rumors, comes news that certain ultra-chauvinistic elements in Greece have suddenly raised their ugly heads, and are finding ground for making an "ethnic dispute" with Albania.

There is no question that this is encouraged entirely by U.S. diplomatic personnel in Athens. They would like nothing better than a dispute like this one, which, while hurting Albania, would at the same time divert attention from the atrocious rule of the Karamanlis police dictatorship in Greece.

The pressure exerted on Albania from all sides is indeed very heavy. The new agreement executed between the Albanian and Chinese governments, which establishes a joint shipping company, comes



Enver Hoxha

as a welcome relief. It indicates the renewed determination of China not only to maintain, but to strengthen, her fraternal friendship with Albania.

What will happen, in the event of a military provocation perpetrated by imperialist plotters or Titoist attempts at internal subversion is hard to predict.

But it is comforting to note that the imperialist press has been unable yet to report any kind of internal disturbance on which they can peg their hope for a "liberation"—Yankee style.

On the other hand, new signs of a steady deterioration in the relationship of the Soviet Union and China are truly alarming. The fact that direct service between Moscow and Peking, with Soviet TU 104 jets, has been cut to a mere twice-a-week run, is one of those signs which speaks volumes. The significance of this fact is buttressed by the sharp curtailment of Chinese passengers to the important airport at Irkutsk, USSR, which is a transfer point to Moscow from Peking.

The inauguration of the monumental TU 104 run between Moscow and Peking helped more than anything else, to cement Chinese-Soviet relations, and to demonstrate the superiority of socialist relationships between countries, over capitalist enterprises. It is a pity this run has been so sharply curtailed. This will hurt both China and the USSR as well.

Militant communists throughout the world cannot but unswervingly support the Chinese position as against Khrushchev. What will count here is not the symbol under which the CCP wages its struggle, but the class content of that struggle, and the political policies which flow from it.

## Role of the U.S. in the India-China Dispute

S. T. More

What role has the U.S. played in the reopening of the China-India border dispute? Most people in the U.S., including some of the most advanced in working class groups, would be inclined to discount the role of U.S. imperialism as an element in the struggle.

When Indian Prime Minister Nehru visited this country early last November, the U.S. press was practically devoid of any reference whatsoever to the relations between China and India. Not so with *Workers World*.

The November 10 issue of our paper, carried a story on the talks between Prime Minister Nehru and Kennedy, which pointed out their real meaning. We were the only newspaper in this country to show that one of the main purposes of the talks was "to drive a deep diplomatic wedge between China and India—and to frighten Nehru with the rising tide of Communism in all Southeast Asia."

"Another, almost equally important Cold War objective of Kennedy, was to obtain some commitment from Nehru on West Berlin."

### What the Chinese CP says

On December 7, there appeared an article in *Renmin Ribao*, Chinese weekly, entitled, "The Truth About the Nehru-Instigated Anti-Chinese Campaign in India." In it, the writer declared that,

"The current anti-Chinese campaign in India was launched following Nehru's visit to the United States. This is no accident, either. One needs only to review the history of the past three years to see that the anti-Chinese campaign in India is inseparably bound up with U.S. aid to India."

(The sub-headline in the November 10 issue of *Workers World* was "Loans and Credits Are Used As Bait In Order to Bring Sub-Continent (of India) into Pentagon Dagnet.")

"It appears," the Chinese paper continued, "that the anti-Chinese campaign in India grows in direct proportion to the amount of U.S. aid." According to Indian press reports, of the \$5,000 million needed to finance India's Third Five-Year Plan, \$3,800 million are expected to come from the West, and over half of this sum is expected to be obtained from the United States."

The *Renmin Ribao* article contained a further elaboration of Indian foreign policy.

"In fact, the foreign policy pursued



Mao Tse-tung

by the Indian ruling clique in recent years, has received increasingly open approval and praise from Washington. Apart from its all-out anti-Chinese campaign, the Indian government has sent 6,000 troops to the Congo to serve the United States policy of swallowing up that country. Nehru himself did his best to oppose any condemnation of imperialism and colonialism at the Conference of Heads of State of Government of Non-Aligned Countries. On the other hand, he attacked the just stand of the Soviet Union on the German and West Berlin questions and on the resumption of nuclear tests. Nehru has always adopted an attitude of indifference towards the anti-imperialist struggles of the Cuban, Algerian and Japanese peoples. That is why during Nehru's visit to the United States, Kennedy declared jointly with him: the United States and India 'share in the fullest measure their common objective.' The U.S. Secretary of State Rusk also said at a dinner in Nehru's honor that the 'bond' between the United States and India was the 'interlocking of common interest and aspiration which cannot but keep us friends and partners in this present world scene.'

The virulent press attacks on Nehru in this country, following the liberation of Goa did not result in any change of Washington's plans for Indian aid or

credits. As a matter-of-fact, there was not even a single U.S. official who even suggested it.

### What the Indian CP says

The question arises as to what has been the attitude of the Indian C.P. to the Nehru government? The December 24 issue of *New Age*, the Communist Party weekly in India, carried a statement by Ajoy Ghosh, the General-Secretary of the Party. He declared in part,

"I do not agree with the Chinese position and I might mention here that as the General Secretary of the CPI, I do not speak in a personal capacity, but as its authorized spokesman."

"We have our criticisms of the Government of India's foreign policy. This criticism has been clearly stated in our election manifesto. We believe that the Government of India's foreign policy does suffer from weaknesses. There are external and internal pressures which cause vacillation and inconsistency. American aid is one of them. A glaring example was the failure of the Government of India to take a clear cut stand of condemnation of the U.S. plan of invasion of Cuba. Other examples can also be given. But our basic assessment is that the Government of India's foreign policy is a foreign policy of peace, non-alignment, and anti-colonialism. As such, we extended and even now extend our support to this foreign policy."

The article in the Indian publication continues:

"Comments in the Chinese press give the impression that their basic assessment is different. They seem to think that India has almost gone over to imperialism. This is not only totally contrary to fact, but shows a lack of sense of proportion. Evidently, our views differ radically from those of the Chinese Government regarding the foreign policy of the Government of India."

"I would add that as regards the Indian situation and the policies of the Government of India, we Indian Communists are better judges than any other party in the world, including the Communist Party of China."

### There is a basic difference

As can be seen from the above quotations, the Chinese and Indian C.P. leaders differ widely on their estimates of Nehru. But the difference is an even

deeper one. The Indian C.P. takes the position that the Nehru Government is merely guilty of "vacillation" and "inconsistency," — that its foreign policy merely suffers from "weaknesses" only.

The Chinese view is that the Nehru Government basically represents the Indian bourgeoisie and leans heavily on western imperialism, the U.S. in particular.

It would seem that the Chinese C.P. regards the policies of the Indian C.P. as tail-ending the policies of the Nehru government, and lacking in initiative in launching mass struggles of the workers and peasants rather than to confine the struggle to mere parliamentary struggles.

The bourgeois press of the western world has not had its eyes closed to the policies of the Indian C.P. Here in this country, *The New York Times* was quick to notice in an editorial in the November 23 issue, "that the decision of the Indian fight to mere parliamentary struggles."

Indeed it is! It marks the definitive departure of the current leadership (not the ranks) from the tenets of Marxism. It indicates they have sunk to the level of bourgeois reformers and social chauvinism. The world bourgeois press was glad to see this. In their view, it meant above everything else, a policy by the Indian CP of supporting the national, Indian bourgeoisie.



Jawaharlal Nehru