

NAACP Officialdom Resists Full Backing To Militant Desegregation Battles in South

THE MILITANT

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Americans in Cuba Celebrate July 4

A group of Americans in Cuba celebrated July 4 in Havana by holding a public meeting at which they compared the democratic principles of the Declaration of Independence with the Declaration of Havana which was proclaimed last Sept. 2.

On the rostrum, left to right in the picture above, are Ilah Werner, Martha McCurdy, Olga Finlay, Marcela Rodriguez, Jacinto Molina, Harold Spencer, Walter Bryant (chairman of the organization Amigos de Cuba), and Mrs. Rose H. Zell.

A specially invited guest was

Jacinto Molina, father of Francisco Molina who was convicted April 7 in New York for allegedly firing a bullet that killed a child during a struggle with Cuban counter-revolutionaries in a cafe.

Jacinto Molina spoke with deep emotion of the unjust sentencing of his son June 29 to 20 years to life and thanked all those who had joined in the campaign to defend his son in the anti-Castro witch-hunt atmosphere in which he was tried.

Harold Spencer charged that the principles of the Declaration of Independence were not being carried out in the U.S., having been betrayed by the rulers of the country.

Ilah Werner read sections of the Declaration of Independence dealing with the inalienable right of man.

Walter Bryant described the difficult conditions facing Afro-Americans in their own country. Despite all the talk about equality, he said, "some are more equal than others."

Riny Templeton read a study on the dangerous course of American policy and its possible consequences for the people of the U.S.A.

Jorge Gaston spoke about Cubans who are returning to their native land after spending many years in the U.S. and how wonderful the accomplishments of the Cuban Revolution appear to them.

Acting on a proposal made by José M. Paul, a collection was taken up to send telegrams demanding freedom for Francisco Molina.

Two Cubans, Rosa Hilda Zell and Frank Ibañez served as interpreters.

Banners on the walls read, "We Want Peace," "All Men Are Created Equal," "We Stand for the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of Havana."

By George Lavan

JULY 12 — As delegates to the Philadelphia convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People leaf through the daily newspapers here are the stories which leap to their eyes:

Jailings of Freedom Riders in Jackson, Mississippi, now total well over 200, with more on the way. Several Jackson youth arrested in a lunch-counter sit-in. Five Freedom Riders arrested in Little Rock. Seventy Negroes and whites stage a wade-in at Chicago's lily-white Rainbow Beach. Detroit demonstrators break restaurant Jim Crow in nearby Dearborn and close a white-only swimming pool in another suburb.

Thus the NAACP delegates know from the newspapers, if not from their experience, that the Freedom Rides have inspired a wave of militant actions against segregation and discrimination throughout the country.

No Enthusiasm

All the more puzzling and disturbing then must be the NAACP leadership's obvious lack of enthusiasm for the Freedom Rides and its attempt to keep the NAACP from becoming involved in them. Although Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, and Bishop S. G. Spottswood, chairman of the NAACP board, have both uttered some words of praise for the Freedom Riders, the burden of their statements in the first days of the current NAACP conclave was to deprecate this movement and steer the NAACP away from it.

Thus at his pre-convention press conference, Wilkins declined to say whether NAACP members should join the Freedom Riders movement. "We have other things to do," he replied, citing the aims of the NAACP in the fields of voting, housing and against discrimination in general. How or why participation in the Freedom Rides would conflict with such aims, Wilkins did not explain.

Bishop Spottswood's keynote address to the convention was reported by the *New York Times* (July 11) in an article entitled "NAACP Wary on Freedom Rides' Future." Noting that the

ACLU Backs Fight On Communist Ban

NEW YORK — The American Civil Liberties Union announced here July 9 that it would file a "friend of the court" brief with the Supreme Court urging a rehearing of its decision that the Communist Party must register with the Subversive Activities Control Board under the Internal Security Act of 1950. The civil liberties group also deplored the high court's approval of the conviction under the Smith Act of Junius Scales, a former member of the Communist Party who was convicted solely on the basis of his membership in the organization.

The ACLU said it will support the Communist Party petition for a rehearing, which will be considered by the high court in October, because the Internal Security Act violates First Amendment rights of free speech and association. The high court's June 5 decision upholding the act in effect declared the Communist Party illegal and constituted the first such ban on a political party in this country's history.

Commenting on the Scales case, the ACLU declared, "This decision violates the First Amendment by placing every individual on notice that he joins organizations under peril of future criminal prosecution."



Southern rights fighters brought the sit-in drive to a new peak last spring with a jail-in campaign that has now been intensified by the Freedom Riders. These are a few of the 500 students who made a mass visit to jailed friends on Lincoln's Birthday in Rock Hill, S. C.

NAACP leadership's "reservations" about the Freedom Rides were "immediately apparent," the article cites Spottswood's belittling of the Freedom Rides as a mere "signal flare" compared to the NAACP "barrage" in the battle against segregation. "We are too old in the ways of the long struggle that has engaged our fathers and forefathers not to realize that wars are won by using every available military resource and not by the employment of raiding parties," Spottswood declared.

Spottswood tried to credit the NAACP with the victory over bus segregation in Montgomery and the student sit-ins in the South. The fact of the matter is that both movements by-passed the NAACP. The bus boycott was won by

the mass action led by the Montgomery Improvement Association, not by a later court action cited by Spottswood.

Here then is one of the principal issues which NAACP delegates should be considering — whether the legal, lobbying and educational work which constitutes practically all the activity of the NAACP should not be expanded to include a national program of direct, mass actions on the lines of the Montgomery and Tallahassee boycotts, the sit-ins and Freedom Rides. Claiming almost 400,000 members and with a correspondingly large treasury the NAACP could certainly organize at least 10,000 Freedom Riders to travel through the South. Freedom Riders on such a scale should meet

(Continued on Page 2)

Garza Calls on N. Y. Unions To Cut All Major-Party Ties

NEW YORK — "It's about time," was the reaction of Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, to reports that the City Central Labor Council is planning to form a new party to participate in this fall's municipal elections.

"The labor movement has paid a heavy price for tail-ending the two major parties," Garza said. "Despite its potential political strength it has suffered a series of legislative defeats. The New York Local of the SWP urges the ranks of labor to insist that the projected new party be a real labor party running union men for office. Such a party would deserve the support of all working people."

"One thing is certain," he added. "The voters will have the opportunity in this election to support a meaningful alternative to the parties of the bosses and rent-seekers. The Socialist Workers Party is going ahead full steam to secure the nominating petitions necessary for a place on the ballot. It will run in the campaign on the basis of a militant anti-capitalist program."

"There has been a lot of talk in the papers," continued Garza, "that the new party will follow the pattern of the Liberal Party by nominating Mayor Wagner as its candidate. I hope with all my heart that this is not true. The working people of this city deserve something better than to have their own labor leaders channel their votes behind low-wage Wagner and the other capitalist agents in city hall who are more interested in hounding school teachers with progressive ideas out of the schools than they are

in fixing up the buildings and getting rid of rats."

Pointing to a recent study by Teamsters Joint Council 16 showing that average factory wages in New York have slipped from first to last place in the nation's industrial centers since 1946, Garza said: "The labor leaders who formed the Liberal Party have been wasting the political power of two of this city's unions by backing Wagner and his ilk for years, and the result is that the great bulk of the unions' members are sweating over sewing machines for less money a week than the politicians spend on cocktails and lunch."

The decision to form the new political organization, tentatively called the Freedom Party, was taken at a June 28 meeting of 12 top officials of unions having 700,000 members in the city. Unions with another 300,000 members, including the Teamsters, will also participate. The Millinery Workers and the International Ladies Garment Workers, which support the Liberal Party, are not participating in the new movement.

A labor party development may also come about in Pittsburgh, Pa. A group of 30 union officials, headed by William J. Hart, director of District 19 of the United Steelworkers, has mapped plans for a permanent independent political organization of labor in Allegheny County. According to the June 21 Pittsburgh Press, the action "represented the burgeoning of long-standing resentment against the Democratic Party for, as one labor leader put it, 'showing candidates down our throats.'"

Detroit Unemployed Run Own Candidate

DETROIT, July 7 — Unemployed workers here are running their own candidate for city council in the Sept. 12 election. He is James A. Sexton, who filed yesterday.

Sexton's candidacy is sponsored by the United Unemployed Organization, which previously was called the Greater Detroit UAW Unemployed Coordinating Committee. It recently was reorganized to include jobless workers from all unions as well as those who belong to none.

Sexton is a member of UAW Local 227's executive board and editor of its paper. He also belongs to the National Committee for Democratic Action in UAW and the NAACP. He knows the problems of the unemployed because he is unemployed himself.

On filing, Sexton said: "The elections for common council are supposed to be non-partisan. That is a fraud. The candidates are all partisan. So am I. But I am a partisan of the hundreds of thousands of unemployed and partially

(Continued on Page 2)

Fair Play Holds First National Parley

NEW YORK — The first annual conference of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, held here July 1-3, ended with a pledge by both leaders and members of the organization to redouble their efforts to reach more Americans with the truth about Cuba and to work harder to bring about an improvement of U.S.-Cuban relations.

The conference warned against further U.S. military, political and economic intervention in Cuba and condemned the Kennedy administration for continuing violations of the U.S. neutrality laws and international agreements respecting the sovereignty of Cuba.

More than 60 delegates from Fair Play's 27 chapters across the country attended the conference, the first since the organization was founded 15 months ago. In addition, several hundred fraternal delegates and guests from the United States and Canada attended the meeting.

In his opening report to the conference, FPCC Acting Executive Secretary Richard Gibson declared: "The threat to Cuba remains, and this threat to revolutionary Cuba, now engaged in unprecedented socialist construction, is also a threat to men who would be free everywhere on this continent and, indeed, throughout the world. It is a serious threat to civil liberties and civil rights within the borders of the United



Richard Gibson

States, and a very serious threat to world peace."

The conference adopted resolutions opposing any U.S. intervention — military, political or economic — in Cuba. Also adopted was a strongly worded resolution condemning the Kennedy administration for continuing violations of the Neutrality Act. It warned of the threat of another U.S.-directed invasion of Cuba and called on the people of this country to demand that the Kennedy administration "proclaim immediately that it will respect and enforce our neutrality laws and all international agreements." The conference also demanded that immediate action be taken against those who have violated the neutrality laws, including Allen Dulles, head of the Central Intelligence Agency.

National Council

In organizational work, the conference created a national advisory council which will meet semi-annually to assist the executive secretary in implementing the organization's policy and program. Each Fair Play chapter is to elect a representative to the advisory council.

In his final statement to the con-

ference, Gibson called on Fair Play's more than 7,000 members in the country to:

"Strengthen and expand our membership with a greater emphasis on educational, social and cultural activities."

"Establish closer cooperation locally and nationally with other groups on specific issues of our program."

"Start an educational campaign among minority groups concerning Cuba's rapid achievement of racial integration."

"Support a legal test of the constitutionality of the travel ban, so that we can again have a free exchange between the peoples of our two countries."

Travel Ban

In a statement issued during the conference, Gibson assailed the declaration by State Department spokesman Lincoln White that those who defied the ban on travel to Cuba would be subject to five years' imprisonment and \$5,000 fine.

White made the declaration while announcing that a group of California students were en route to Mexico to travel to Cuba from there. He said the group would be warned of the new penalty and also asserted that a person connected with the Fair Play committee had been organizing the student tour.

Gibson declared that while the Fair Play committee was not in any way connected with the reported tour, it objected strongly to any efforts to impose such penalties for travel to Cuba and that the committee was reserving the right to make a legal test of the travel ban.

"The Fair Play for Cuba Committee," Gibson said, "is vitally interested in lifting the iron curtain which the State Department has attempted to place around Cuba. We wish to do so because we want the American people to get the truth about Cuba and the more who can go there will see for themselves that the picture of Cuba currently presented by the Kennedy administration and the U.S. press is totally false."

Michigan Socialists Nominate 6 on "Bill of Rights" Ticket

DETROIT, July 2 — A Socialist Workers Party convention here today nominated six candidates for delegate to the state constitutional convention. The election will be held Sept. 12. The delegates and the Wayne County representative districts where they are running are:

Harriet Talan, student — 2nd; Frank Lovell, auto worker — 4th; Rita Shaw, housewife — 5th; Edith Gbur, housewife — 6th; Paul Dennie, retired, ex-puglist — 11th; Larry Dolinski, auto worker — 15th.

The convention also drew up a platform containing three "bills of rights" its candidates will fight for at the constitutional convention:

A bill of economic rights: Reopening of idle plants by the state and public works programs to provide jobs for all; state ownership of all utilities under workers' control; unemployment compensation for the duration of unemployment; a state medical and hospital program; free education for all, including college; prohibition of any state sales or consumers taxes, and of all taxes on families with incomes under \$7,500 a year; lowering of state officials' salaries to the level of skilled workers.

A bill of political rights: Abolition of the state senate and creation of a one-chamber legislature based on equal and proportionate representation; liberalized election, initiative and referendum provisions; annual election of all state officials, including judges; lowering of the voting age to 18.

A bill of civil rights: Prohibition of all segregation and discrimination based on color, race, sex, age, religion, political affiliation or national origin; an elected state board to investigate and punish police brutality and other violations of constitutional rights.

While seeking such changes in the state constitution, the Socialist Workers platform statement warned that they would not be enough "if the old parties of profit and privilege remain in power. It is also necessary to replace them in office by building a labor party that will promote the welfare of the poor and exploited majority of the population by placing human rights ahead of property rights."

Detroit Campaigner

The Socialist Workers Party in Detroit has just published a special election newspaper, *The Michigan Militant*. Copies may be obtained by writing 3737 Woodward, Detroit 1, Mich.

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

Introduction by Richard Gibson

16 pages 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
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"Forgotten Men" Fight Back

By Tom Leonard

DENVER, July 6 — A small but significant strike has taken place here. It illuminates the situation of groups of super-exploited workers in many industries who are practically "forgotten men" as far as the union officials are concerned.

Last Monday such a group of Spanish-American and Negro packinghouse workers returned to their jobs at United Fryer and Stillman Co., a small meat packing plant at East 53rd and Franklin streets.

... NAACP

(Continued from Page 1)

Bishop Spottswood's objections to small "raiding parties" and mere "spectacular forays."

Another pressing issue which should be discussed by the NAACP is the question of pacifism or self-defense in the struggle against Jim Crow. This is being vigorously debated today by all serious fighters for Negro rights. It was raised two years ago in the NAACP convention by Robert F. Williams of Monroe, N. C., then challenging his suspension for advocating that Negroes defend themselves with arms when necessary.

Many support passive resistance as a tactic which often is useful in clearly putting the responsibility for any violence on the white-supremacists. Others, notably Rev. Martin Luther King, have erected pacifism into a principle to be followed under any and all circumstances regardless of consequences. This is sharply challenged by an increasing number of Negro intellectuals and militants. It is the target of bitter scorn from the fast-growing Afro-American nationalist movements and Black Muslims.

Fighting Mood

Indeed a whole series of recent incidents from Montgomery, Ala., to Charlotte, N. C., to Los Angeles and currently in Monroe, N. C., show a growing mood among the Negro people to fight back physically in self-defense against white-supremacist hoodlums and racist cops.

The convention keynote marked a softening of the NAACP leadership's line toward the Democratic administration from mild criticism to whitewash. Thus Washington's campaign for a "cooling off" by the Freedom Riders was glossed over as an excusable "slip."

Indeed, the NAACP leadership's coolness toward the Freedom Rides comes from administration pressure on it. This is an example of the price paid for the few crumbs of concession from the big-business Democratic Party whose Southern wing is based on the Jim Crow system. Independent of the major parties, the Negro people would be a powerful political force. Remaining tied to the Democrats serves only to impede the battle for full equality.

These workers, classified as hide-shakers, maintained round-the-clock picket lines for ten days and went in only after the company and Local 641 of the Amalgamated Butcher Workmen agreed to negotiate the grievances.

Previously the company and the union officials had denied that the strikers were covered by the union contract, claiming that hide-shakers are considered part-time workers. But Elmer Salazar, spokesman for the strikers, pointed out that they had all signed membership cards in Local 641 and were sure that they were covered by the contract.

The hide-shakers' duties include handling and loading processed meat scraps and blood. They work on a day-to-day, piece-work basis and their average pay was \$1.50 an hour compared to more than \$2.00 an hour paid at other plants.

Prior to the strike the company increased work quotas with no increase in pay. According to Salazar, the men were expected to handle 1,000 instead of 500 hides a day. He added "We were paid \$100 a [railroad] car for loading processed meat scraps, and the company cut that to \$50 a car." It also cut the work gang by firing a man and refusing to replace him. On top of this the hide-shakers seldom worked more than two or three days a week and often worked 12 hours to fulfill their work quota and were paid for only eight.

During the strike the company attempted to replace the hide-shakers with new workers, but only four were willing to scab.

On the first day of picketing, Al Gonzales, secretary-treasurer of Local 641 declared publicly that the strikers were not members of the union. As a result the other workers at Stillmans, as well as Teamster union truck drivers, crossed the picket lines every day. The only solidarity came from Denver and Rio Grande railroad switchmen who refused to operate switches leading into the plant.

The Company's inability to get replacements for them was what enabled the hide-shakers to save their jobs and earn the right to negotiate both their grievances and union status. But this came about only because of their stubborn determination to win. Just how stubborn is well summed up in Elmer Salazar's statement: "We were on the picket line as much as 18 hours a day."

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

CLEVELAND. Socialist Workers Party, 5927 Euclid Ave., Room 23, Cleveland 3, Ohio.

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

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES. Forum Hall and Modern Book Shop. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily, Sat. 10 a.m. to 5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781.

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

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

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. P.O. Box 341, Berkeley 1, Calif. Phone OL 5-1764.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 p.m., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum, VA 4-2321. For labor and socialist books, Spartacus Bookstore, 2331 Market St. UN 3-7675. Open 12 noon.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-0909. Ask for Dick LaRue.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif.

SEATTLE. 1412 18th Ave., EA 5-0191. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

Fri., July 21, 8 p.m. New Light on the CIA. Speaker, Frank Lovell. Fri., July 28, 8 p.m. The Wastefulness of Capitalism. Speaker John Austin. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

Picnic Day With Fair Play. Sun., July 23, 12-5 p.m. Elysian Park, Area No. 6. From 6-11 p.m. at Elysian Park Lodge. Cuban food, entertainment, games. Aup. L.A. Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

NEW YORK

A Dance to Celebrate Cuba's 26th of July. Guests of honor: Julio Medina, org. sec'y, 26th of July Movement; Mellita del Villar, FPCC; Richard Gibson, acting exec. sec'y, FPCC; Berta Green, sec'y, FPCC Entertainment. Latin American band. Sat., July 22, Leonardo Da Vinci Hall, 350 Flatbush Ave. Ext. (Opp. Paramount Theater.) BMT to DeKalb Ave. IRT to Nevins St. Contrib. \$2. Tickets in advance only. Send check or money order to Fair Play for Cuba Committee, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y. Aup. Brooklyn Chapter, FPCC.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Socialist news commentary, Theodore Edwards, chairman, Southern Calif. SWP. Fri., July 28, 7:45 p.m. FM Station KPFF, 90.7 on your dial.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN

Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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Monday, July 10 & 17, 1961

A Pineapple Shortage?

The Taft-Hartley injunction against the striking maritime unions was issued on the basis of the fraudulent claim by the Kennedy administration that if the strike continued it would be a "peril to our national health and safety." The shipping tie-up, it seems, could have a "critical impact" upon Hawaii, creating a possible shortage of pineapples and sugar with consequent peril to our national health.

The unions involved had general agreement that essential military equipment and supplies would be handled during the strike. Federal Judge Sylvester Ryan, who granted the 80-day injunction, further conceded that nearly half of the 941 ships in the national maritime fleet would have continued sailing even if the "cooling-off" period hadn't been ordered. Trying to buttress the government's case, Ryan claimed that possible lack of petroleum products might jeopardize "national defense." He didn't claim such a shortage actually existed, only that it *might* develop.

The issuance of the injunction was intended as notice to the entire labor movement that the Kennedy administration doesn't intend to tolerate strikes in major industries. This warning was directed most immediately to the United Auto Workers, whose main contracts expire Aug. 31. Speaking in Detroit last May, Secretary of Labor Goldberg declared: "We cannot, from the standpoint of our domestic economy and our position in world affairs, afford to have a shutdown in the auto industry this year." Since the auto barons have served notice they don't intend to offer any concessions, the use of Taft-Hartley would strip the union of the one weapon that can win contract gains.

Truth and Tractors

With hardly an exception the daily press of the country is trying to prove that Fidel Castro scuttled the tractors-for-prisoners deal. They are banking on their readers' shortness of memory, for a glance at their back issues will show that they and the "Tractors for Freedom Committee" are brazenly falsifying the facts.

The proposed exchange was deliberately torpedoed by the committee, whose members — Eleanor Roosevelt, Walter Reuther and Milton Kennedy — were "unofficially" appointed by Kennedy and who acted under his directions during the negotiations with Cuba.

The committee's statement abruptly terminating negotiations declared that it could not go along with the Cuban stipulation, which had been made explicit and clear from the outset, that it would release the invasion prisoners not on the basis of exchange but on the basis of indemnification for the damage done by the U.S.-organized force. When the "Tractors for Freedom Committee" was set up, as its own press releases show, it agreed to accept this basis for negotiations.

The committee's final statements and the big-business press also try to make it appear that Castro was "upping the ante" in demanding 500 bulldozers. But the record shows that at the committee's initial press conference Walter Reuther declared that if Castro insisted on the bulldozers the committee would be obligated to agree.

It was only when the administration decided that its decision to exploit Castro's offer was turning into a political liability instead of an asset that its tender consideration for the captured counter-revolutionaries was abruptly and cynically abandoned.

It Was Long Overdue

The Justice Department says that President Kennedy acted for humane reasons in commuting the prison sentence of Communist Party leader Henry Winston. Winston suffers from a brain tumor which resulted in his going blind in prison. That a humane motive was involved in freeing him seems questionable in light of the facts.

Winston was convicted on the trumped-up charge of "conspiracy" to advocate the forcible overthrow of the government. His sentence, with time off for good behavior, would have been completed in another six months. The tumor and resulting blindness developed after he was eligible for parole, yet it was denied him. Had he received adequate medical attention, surgery could have saved his sight. But prison authorities dismissed his pains as malingering and gave him only aspirin for brain tumor. In 1960 he finally underwent surgery.

Fidel Castro called world attention to Winston's case, along with those of Pedro Albizu Campos, elderly and invalid Puerto Rican Nationalist Party leader, and Francisco Molina, framed-up Cuban imprisoned in New York, by offering to exchange captured leaders of the CIA-sponsored invasion for them and other political prisoners.

The Justice Department denies any connection between Castro's spotlighting of Winston's case and Kennedy's belated "humanitarian" action. The facts, however, indicate a strong and welcome coincidence.

Public pressure is now needed to reinforce the attention focused by Castro on the cases of Albizu Campos and Molina and all Smith Act and other political prisoners in the U.S. Enough pressure may develop some official "humanity" for them.

First-Hand Report on South Africa

By Zolile Son Kosi

[The author of this article is the Exterior Representative of the Anti-Bantustan Movement, which is leading the freedom struggle in Pondoland, one of the largest of the Verwoerd government's "model" apartheid reserves for Africans. Pondoland is in Cape Province in the southern part of the Union of South Africa.]

LONDON — The fascist government of South Africa is attempting to crush the revolutionary struggle of the people of Pondoland.

Before the invasion of Pondoland by British imperialists, land was held on a communal basis, not belonging to any individual but to the people as a whole. There were no rich or poor people as everything was done collectively.

In 1936 the Land Act was passed in the South African Parliament and Africans were robbed of their land. About 80 per cent became European land, 7 per cent Crown land and 13 per cent was set aside for the 12 million Africans of South Africa. But the African has an insecure lease and can be dis-



Robert F. Williams

Civil Rights Pickets Face KKK Violence In North Carolina

The fight to end racial segregation at the municipally owned swimming pool in Monroe, North Carolina, threatens to break into armed conflict. Teen-aged pickets, led by Robert F. Williams, local president of the NAACP, began picketing the pool June 18. Two days later city officials closed the pool for "repairs." Picketing continued and Williams announced that as soon as the pool re-opened "wade-in" action would be taken.

Reports immediately circulated that the KKK would ride in Monroe. White supremacists threatened to kill any wade-in participants. Williams and other Monroe Negroes responded by openly carrying guns (legally permitted in N.C.) when they walked or drove their cars in areas where white racists are known to hang out. No KKK action occurred. However shots were fired over the heads of pickets as the protest against racial segregation continued at the pool.

Williams' car has twice been forced off the highway in racist attempts on his life. Local police only laugh at requests by him and the pickets for protection. U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy has not answered a telegram by Williams requesting federal protection of the right of peaceful protest action. Pickets plan to arm themselves and continue their fight against racial segregation in Monroe and to defend themselves, answering "violence with violence" if necessary.

possessed at any time from his land.

In 1948 the Nationalist Party came to power in South Africa. The few privileges the Africans had were taken away.

Early in 1951, the South African government decided to introduce what they termed "Bantu Authorities." The government deposed the legal hereditary chiefs and substituted for them government-accredited chiefs.

In 1953, the government abolished all forms of proper universal education for Africans and all missionary schools were forced to close down. A new type of tribal education titled "Bantu Education" was introduced, aimed at the indoctrination of young Africans with Nazi ideologies and producing a future generation of "yes men."

In 1956, the government introduced the Influx Control Act. No longer were Africans to be allowed to move out of Pondoland without the permission of government agents. Pondoland thus, became a cheap labor reservoir, a source of supply of forced labor for the farms. Only stooge Africans managed to get better jobs such as preaching and clerical.

In 1957, the government enforced the Stock Limitation Act, making it compulsory for many peasants to dispose of their livestock for reasons of betterment of pastures. No compensation was paid for losses incurred in disposing of the stock. Peasants use cattle to till their lands and without cattle they starve.

Police State Law

Legislation was introduced making it an offense to hold a meeting of more than ten people without prior permission of a magistrate. This has made it impossible for the African National Congress to open a branch in Pondoland. This goes as well for the Pan-Africanist Congress which was formed in 1959 by a clique of rebels from the African National Congress. Both these organizations have a total membership not exceeding 50,000 in the whole of South Africa. There is not as yet a mass organization to represent or have the support of the twelve million Africans. The campaigns of these two organizations have flopped, as the majority of Africans have no confidence in organizations that believe in "pacifist action and non-violence."

In 1957, the government introduced legislation making it an offense for any African to refuse forced labor. In 1958, the government passed the notorious Self-Government Act. According to this Act, the government was going to give Pondoland Africans self-government within South Africa. The Pondoland sub-legislative body was abolished, and the Transkei Territorial Authority came into being. There being no democratic system of election, all 123 members of the Authority were nominated by the government. And the legal King of Pondoland,

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Nelson Segcau, was confined to a concentration camp near the Kalahari desert.

In 1959 many young African intellectuals, most of them socialists, were deported back to Pondoland. They resorted to underground methods of organizing the masses. Early in 1960 an organization with a membership of one and a quarter million out of the two million Africans in Pondoland was formed. This underground organization has come to be known as the Pondoland Anti-Bantustan Movement. Its aim is to start a revolutionary mass struggle to end white domination and to establish a country where socialist democracy will prevail. It has resolved that no African shall pay taxes or levies until a socialist African government is in power.

Mass Uprising

The first revolutionary struggle started on June 6, 1960 with a mass uprising of more than 20,000 Africans in Eastern Pondoland, who marched to present their demands to a government agent at Lusekisi town. At Nguza Hill the crowd was intercepted by the police. The police were in helicopters and fired upon the demonstrators. The crowd dispersed; 31 were killed and 200 injured.

The Pondo people began to revenge themselves against this brutal massacre. Some government stooges were assassinated and their houses burnt. Bridges were blown up and telephone lines cut. The Air Force was brought in to assist the police. Finally the aid of the American Navy was brought in to guard the Pondoland sea coast, as it was feared China was sending submarines with food supplies and military equipment to the anti-government Africans. This alone proves that the Americans in real fact are not at all friendly to Africans. They are friendly to those African leaders or African governments that are willing to get rid of British imperialism to replace it with American imperialism.

In the struggle of the Pondo people up to now, 43 people have been killed and 500 convicted to terms of imprisonment. Six hundred more face charges and 7,000 others are detained in a concentration camp without being charged.

The struggle is still going on. There has been no other way but to resort to terrorism to achieve our ultimate ends. We have proved that with a Nazi government like that of Verwoerd, you cannot rely on non-violent means at all.

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"Now We Are All Cubans"

The following excerpts have been translated from an article by two West German journalists, Gerdian Troeller and Claude Defarge, in the May 7 issue of the liberal illustrated magazine, *Stern*, published in Hamburg. The Cuban newspaper *Revolución* (June 2) reports a subsequent article by the same authors about their tour of Central America where "they arrived at the conclusion that the Cuban Revolution 'has awakened new hopes among the exploited, hungry and miserable masses... No foreigner can imagine the repercussions which this event will bring forth in Latin America.'"

In the [Havana] hotels we meet Russians, Czechs, Poles, Chinese. They don't look like conquerors. They ask the same questions we do: Is Cuba Communist? ...

"I am not very wise in the ways of this revolution," a Polish writer, who has been trying for the last three months to write a book about Castro, said to me. Here there is no theory, no hard and fast line. It's enough to drive one crazy. When one has found a number of measures that fit into a system, the next decree smashes everything up. Lacking such a criterion, how am I to write anything? The only definition that I have found so far is 'revolutionary pragmatism' or 'pragmatic dynamism with a left twist.' Funny, isn't it?" ...

Perplexed

A Czech engineer is more precise: "If what they are parading before us here is Communism, then I am John F. Kennedy in person. Anyway, these people are fanatics for justice, romantic children, apostles of equality. They want to find Jesus again and believe that to be strong, it is enough to be right. Without Castro one might bring them back to reason. But what can you do?"

Then with a twinkle in his eyes: "Where is life so pleasant as here? Punctually at six o'clock in the evening I stop being a Communist. And don't think I am the only one. Here the most narrow-minded dogmatist becomes corrupt. The Cubans believe so intensely in life that they can't for a moment put their revolution in a straitjacket. Not to mention oneself. Ha, ha..." He clapped me on the shoulder. "Come, a little stroll through the bars can do no harm."

A Russian scientific expert crosses the lobby of the Hotel Nacional. He is an old acquaintance, whom I last saw in Egypt. I run up to him and ask: "Does Cuba belong to you yet?"

"God forbid," he says, after we



Rigid adherence to the principle of equality for all has given Cuban women the opportunity to play a prominent role in their country's revolution. Vilma Espin has represented the Cuban government at major international conferences.

have greeted each other with the proper ceremonies. "It would please us if Castro were to reconcile himself with America. Otherwise we will be drawn still further into things that we can't control. Because there can be no talk of controlling here. On the other hand we have to support Cuba, if we don't want to lose the sympathy of the neutrals and the younger nations."

"It does bring you political advantages, though," I said.

"Nonsense! Castro is a liability and no triumph. Because of his radical course he is ruining all our plans for Latin America." He looked at his watch. Then quickly the ever-plaguing question: "Would you designate Cuba as Communist?"

Comparison

For a moment he searched for a formulation, then he said, smiling: "In comparison with Cuba, the Chinese are conservative and we Russians are absurdly reactionary. The Cuban Communist party stands on the extreme right of the revolution. Draw your own conclusions."

We want to see what is happening on the land, because it is the land that makes this revolution go around. With a rented car we get underway, and with the departure from Havana we get our

first surprise: We are not being controlled. In Europe, this is normal. But here, in a police state — as we have read everywhere — one thinks next it is slovenliness. But that isn't the case. We drive two thousand, six hundred kilometers, sleep in cities and villages, speak with peasants, with revolutionaries and rebels, without once being asked by a policeman or a soldier who we are, what we want, where we come from. For although we speak Spanish we don't look like Cubans.

A Big Difference

The absence of any controls is all the more remarkable in that we have come directly from Central America. From San Salvador to Venezuela we couldn't drive fifty kilometers in an auto without being stopped and questioned by the police ...

However, we are now among the "dirty" peasants and ask: "How much do you earn?"

"Two pesos, eighty cents per day."

"And before the revolution?"

"Often fifty cents. Often a peso or so more. But there never was work the year around. At most for four or five months."

"Are you a freehold farmer?"

"I was only a farm laborer. Now I belong to a state farm."

"Satisfied?"

"With so much money that I receive regularly? Without worry about the future and with a new house? Why shouldn't I be satisfied?"

"I have been told that your wage is paid in the form of scrip that must be exchanged for goods in the People's Stores. Is that true?"

"We get everything in pure money. Here," beaming, he drew thirty pesos from his pocket, "these are the wages for the last two weeks." He had never seen so much money in one lump sum before.

"Who is your commander?" I ask [of a group of militiamen.]

"I am," says the Negro. "Do you understand why I love Fidel? Before there were rich people, poor people and — Negroes. Today we are all equal. None of these men feels himself injured or downgraded because he must obey a Negro. A quarter of Cuba is black. Now we are not Negroes any more. We are all Cubans. In your country you haven't progressed that far. The blacks must still fight for their rights."

I protest — until I realize that we have been taken for American tourists.

Letters from Our Readers

Facts About Cuba

St. Clair Shores, Mich.

I have lived and worked in Cuba, part of the time as an interpreter for the U.S. Marines. I have also worked clearing jungle land. Here are facts that it is not desired that American workers hear about "Tractors for Cuba."

Cuba is about three-quarters the size of Michigan, both in area and population. It has about 27 million acres, divided equally three ways — jungle, cleared farm land, and mountain and other land unusable for farming purposes.

Of the 6.5 million population, at least two-thirds have to live by agriculture. Divide nine million acres by four million people and you have 2¼ acres per capita for farming, or 18 acres for a family of eight persons.

Imagine 500 light farming tractors for farms of 18 acres, and poor farm families who have no other equipment, gang plows, disk harrows, cultivators, or anything else to use with tractors. And an embargo on replacement parts when tractors or other power equipment breaks down. An 18-acre farm is strictly a one-horse farm — probably two farms would share one horse.

To clear an acre of tropical jungle with axes, saws, and machetes requires 75 to 100 man-days of labor. The land simply will not pay a return on that investment in clearing, which is a reason why only half the available land can be used now. But with 500 large tractors and bulldozers, each assigned to clearing the 18,000 acres of jungle that would be waiting for each tractor, the acreage available to each family would be doubled.

Air-strips, my eye! Cuba already has air-strips. The United States built them for Batista and the U.S. airplane companies. What Cuba needs is road-building equipment and land-clearing equipment, and the committee did not want anyone telling these facts to the American people.

Proper, modern earth-moving equipment would clear jungle for a quarter of the cost of doing it by hand. Light farm tractors would be just scrap iron in Cuba. Bulldozers would be life-savers.

I have never seen Castro — although I was Military Interpreter at Baracoa, not 20 miles from where he was born. But I know this; the Cubans had just one choice — to go with Castro or stay with Batista. They still have only one alternative — to stay with Castro or go back to Batista and Batismo.

Frank B. Tuttle

A Complex Question

Chicago, Ill.

As a cockroach merchant I find your paper very good reading and very informative. In fact I wouldn't know what was going on in the world if it wasn't for you and the U.S. News & World Report. How come you never quote from it?

On page 65 of the May 29 issue, it says:

"Q. So the missile isn't likely to settle anything?"

"A. No. I don't think the missile will."

"Q. Might it never be used?"

"A. It may never be used. There are many instances of restraint in warfare — that is, not using the means available. In World War II we didn't use gas, although both sides had it. In Korea we didn't bomb certain areas, and they didn't bomb certain areas under our control, although both

sides were capable of doing that. The same thing could apply to nuclear weapons, although it's rather difficult to visualize a major power accepting defeat if it had an arsenal of nuclear weapons and hadn't used them."

Little cockroaches like me, women and children were bombed out in both England and Germany. But World War II pilots tell me that they never dropped any bombs on GM or Ford plants in Germany. Nor did the Parliament or Reichstag get bombed. I wonder why?

And do you think a cobalt bomb on New York City will affect peace plans in Washington, D.C.?

Yours for a better world.

Slim Brundage
Janitor, College of Complexes

Against Hyphens

Santa Cruz, Calif.

"Afro-American vs. Negro?" If a black-skinned person is born in the USA without a trace of connection with Africa why is he a hyphenated American? And what about me? My family came from Germany three generations ago. So should my grandchildren carry a hyphen?

Elimination of geographical dividing lines of "nationality" will make us all brothers in one world and discard our hyphenology. It isn't a matter of the names we're called, but the ways and rules of living that need changing. So let's make the change.

H.C.B.

In Wealthy Texas

Dallas, Texas

I'm not well and haven't been for some time. So when my symptoms indicated a possible serious ailment I went to a doctor who tried to pass it off as a joke. Then I went to a specialist who knows I'm poor and he got me into a hospital clinic here. It was supposed to be according to our ability to pay. My husband gets compensation from World War II and that's our income.

Well, since May 15 I've been in the hospital three times, about a week at a time. I've paid \$70 on the bill we got and we still owe them almost \$400. The man in the office read me a long list of things they were supposed to have done for me. But I'm damned if I could see all the things done they claimed was supposed to have been done. These hospitals tell you as little as possible. I knew as much when I got out as I did when I went in.

So now I not only have to worry about having cancer but also have to worry about a big hospital bill.

We live in the West Dallas slums where water costs 60 cents a barrel. Trying to pay for medical care for me has kept us in a real strain. We have to live as cheap as possible. Please print this letter and anything else that will help poor people.

I just heard some bird on TV talking about our classless society. That idiot box is a bad influence on youth.

Mrs. T. L.

Boosts Cuba Pamphlet

Detroit, Mich.

I hope every reader of *The Militant* has read the new pamphlet by its staff writer, Harry Ring, entitled *How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination*. It seems to me to be one of the most valuable pamphlets in a long time, which we should not only read ourselves but help to circulate widely.

G.B.

Thought for the Week

"Young people don't want to wait. They're tired of waiting. They're looking to the older people for support and help — and I think many will be willing to give it." — A young woman at the NAACP convention replying to a delegate who felt the Freedom Rides are an expression of youthful impatience.

It Was Reported in the Press

Anti-Franco Sailors Freed — Juan Perez Varela, 22, and Manuel Prieto Alaba, 24, anti-fascist Spanish seamen who jumped ship in the U.S. a year ago, were permitted to fly to Mexico June 24. The U.S. Immigration Service tried to send them back to Spain where they faced prison or worse, but yielded after a campaign on behalf of the two led by the Workers Defense League and the Confederated Spanish Societies.

Christ, Inc. — The American Council of Christian Laymen, a far-out right-wing group, distrib-

utes a leaflet entitled, "Jesus: A Capitalist." It describes how "Jesus worked with his father in the construction business" at a time when "there was no labor union to meddle with prices and wages."

Breathe Hearty — A study of a ten-day period of unusually heavy air pollution in New York in 1953 has disclosed "a marked increase of deaths" for the period. The study found that the daily death rate during the heavy smog was 17 to 26 above normal. Industrialists have resisted installing equipment to reduce poisonous smog because such equipment costs money.

Not for Children — The Defense Department has assured Southern racists that an April 28 directive against segregated recreational groups among its military and civilian personnel definitely does not apply to children of such personnel who are members of the Boy Scouts or Little League ball teams.

Off-Key Contract — Members of the Cleveland Orchestra have

filed court suit against their union, the Cleveland Federation of Musicians, and its officers for signing a three-year contract after its terms were rejected by orchestra members by a vote of 85 to 10.

A Lot of Bologna — A floor covering firm is offering a \$500 silver-plated salami as first prize in a sales promotion contest.

Anti-Crime Crusade — A spokesman for the food packaging industry explained to a Senate investigating committee that out-sized containers only partially filled with merchandise are not intended to deceive the public. The main reason for the big boxes, he claimed, is to make shoplifting more difficult. He might have added that the packages contain so little that even the shoplifters are being cheated.

Fact of the Week — A *Fortune* magazine survey establishes that during the 1960 slump the country's 500 top industrial corporations suffered less, profit-wise, than their smaller competitors.

Notice to Readers

During the summer months *The Militant* is published bi-weekly in double-dated issues. Our next issue will appear in two weeks and will be dated July 24 & 31. From Sept. 11 weekly publication will be resumed.