

THE MILITANT

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End the Tests!

An Editorial

Everyone who has participated in the movement to ban the testing of nuclear weapons must feel at this point that we are right back where we started from — perhaps worse off, for the talk of World War III has grown ominously louder.

Moreover, the explosions projected by the Kennedy administration look like a final test run on a whole array of bombs of varied power, while the Soviet project aims at a bomb of such destructive force as to be qualitatively different from anything yet produced.

Who is to blame for this dark turn of events?

Kennedy points at Khrushchev's Aug. 31 decision to resume testing. This is a revolting display of hypocrisy.

Eisenhower suspended tests because he had to bow to world public opinion after the Kremlin took the initiative and declared a moratorium on tests. But Washington has sought a plausible pretext ever since to resume testing. As late as June 17 a note was sent to the Soviet government stating that "national security" would not allow for the indefinite suspension of tests in the absence of a "treaty" to bar the testing of nuclear weapons.

Moreover, to all the repeated proposals of the Soviet government to begin complete disarmament, Washington has remained deaf. Indeed, Kennedy, following the "brinkmanship" of the Eisenhower administration, has taken the opposite course, pushing the armaments race to new heights of insanity. By winking at the atom-bomb tests which Gen. de Gaulle ordered in defiance of world opinion, Washington helped pave the way for the major powers to resume poisoning the world's atmosphere with radioactive dust.

Finally, Kennedy did not wait for world opinion to mobilize against the Soviet resumption of tests. He was afraid that Khrushchev might bow to this pressure. And so with indecent haste, the White House issued its Sept. 5 decree.

It is obvious that Khrushchev's resumption of nuclear weapons tests played right into Kennedy's hand. Why did Khrushchev make such a damaging move?

The Soviet answer is that the belligerent course of the Kennedy administration forced it. To deter American imperialism it became necessary to construct a superbomb. Therefore testing, unfortunately, had to be resumed.

This leaves unanswered two questions that all socialists must face. (1) How does the superbomb objective affect the world struggle for socialism? (2) Did the Soviet resumption of testing really help the defense of the workers' states against imperialist aggression?

The answers condemn Khrushchev politics in both instances. The truth is that the Kremlin dealt a hard blow to the genuine forces for peace.

(1) The masses of the world don't want to be subjected to any more fallout no matter what its source. They don't want the formative bones of their children to be contaminated with cancer-inducing strontium 90. They don't want new damage done to the gene structure they pass on to future generations. Their objections are unanswerable. No government has the right to undertake macabre experiments that inflict irreparable injury to the peoples of other lands. It was a criminal action for Moscow to resume testing, still more so since it helped Washington also to resume testing.

(2) Socialists, who have condemned and opposed every attempt by the imperialist powers to start up the testing of nuclear weapons, cannot justify its resumption by the Soviet Union. Even the official Soviet statement presented no clear or urgent reasons, and the best Khrushchev could think up in an interview with two prominent British Labor party members Sept. 1, the day Soviet tests were resumed, was that he wished to "shock" the Western powers into negotiating on Germany and disarmament.

The fact is that the Soviet Union and the United States already have a joint stockpile sufficient to destroy humanity many times over. What's the point of a new superbomb that could raise the "overkill" from its present 75-odd times to say 100 or more?

(3) The Soviet resumption of testing repelled neutralist government and nations. At the Belgrade conference of "uncommitted" nations, indignation was high. Even more significant was a march of 5,000 pacifists in London who, up to now, have directed their protests to the British and American governments. They carried such slogans as "Stop It, Mr. K" and "Russia Is Shamed in the Eyes of the World."

(4) Labor and socialist forces that have been able to utilize the Soviet moratorium on nuclear weapon testing as a powerful example in arguing that a planned economy is inherently peaceful in nature are now confused, dismayed and disheartened. The resumption of Soviet tests not only dealt this argument a cruel blow — although it still remains correct — it has provided a field day for the imperialist propagandists, helping them to excuse and justify Wall Street's preparations for World War III. How much it aided the Pentagon was confirmed within a few days when Kennedy utilized the Soviet resumption of tests as an ex-

(Continued on Page 2)

North Carolina Racists Try To Frame Up Rights Leader

By George Lavan

SEPT. 7 — Robert F. Williams, militant North Carolina Negro leader, is the object of a nationwide manhunt by the FBI. If caught, or if he surrenders himself, he will be turned over to the white-supremacist authorities of Union county, N.C., who have framed-up kidnap charges against him.

Already jailed in Monroe, N.C., on the same charge are Freedom Rider Robert Lowry of New York, and Harold Reade and Richard

Crowder, members of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee. Subsequently indicted, but not yet apprehended, is Mae Mallory, a New York supporter of Williams' weekly newsletter, *The Crusader*.

The attempt to frame Williams, the Freedom Riders and others, who were trying to bring equality to Monroe, is but the latest page in the shameful history of that Ku Klux Klan-ridden city.

It is the culmination of a summer of struggle in which elements, operating with police impunity,

made several attempts to kill Williams, made shooting forays into the Negro district and organized mobs against peaceful picket lines.

The fury of the racists knew no bounds when, on Aug. 21, a large contingent of Freedom Riders ar-

A Freedom Rider's experience in Monroe, N.C. See interview on page 3.

rived in Monroe to help in the anti-Jim Crow fight. Together with some Monroe Negroes who believed in pacifist methods, they organized the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee and began a week's picketing of the courthouse.

The week's picketing was marked by framed-up arrests of pickets, police-condoned attacks on them by racist hoodlums and finally, on Sunday night, Aug. 27, mob scenes, mass arrests and preparations of the Negro community to defend itself, arms in hands, from an expected invasion.

At this point a middle-aged white couple drove into the heart of the jittery colored community and was halted by an excited throng. They were held for several hours and then released unharmed. This is the event which local authorities have inflated into a kidnapping which carries a penalty of life imprisonment in North Carolina.

When the Stegalls, the white couple from another town, sought to avoid the traffic jam in downtown Monroe caused by the mob, by taking what they thought was a shortcut they drove into the

(Continued on Page 2)

Brazilians Still Face Threat Of a Military Dictatorship



Brazil's Joao Goulart (l.) chats with AFL-CIO president George Meany at a 1956 White House luncheon in his honor. At that time Goulart repaid the hospitality with a speech advising that reforms were the best way to fight "communism."

By Harry Ring

SEPT. 6 — As these lines are written Vice President Joao Goulart appears to have yielded to the demands of Brazil's top military clique and is slated to assume the presidency resigned by Janio Quadros Aug. 25. Goulart steps into a presidency shorn of all real power. But even after his inauguration the crisis will not be ended. The Brazilian people will still face the danger of being plunged into civil war by power-hungry militarists aiming for direct dictatorial rule.

Capitalist democracy has at best enjoyed a precarious existence in Brazil even since the end of the Vargas dictatorship. The capitulation to the military by Goulart and the congress weakens the democratic structure even further. The compromise agreement which will transfer the presidential power to a premier can only further whet the appetite of the totalitarian-minded army men.

Unless there is a firm, popular stand against encroachment on political rights by the military, Brazil will remain in the danger of going the way Spain did in the 1930's. There Franco's fascism came to power when the generals rose up against the legally constituted government.

If Goulart and the congress continue the policy of appeasing the military in the illusory hope that this will stave off civil war, any premier that is selected is not likely to be in a mood to press for an urgently needed program of social reform. The attempts initiated by Quadros to curb inflation at the expense of the masses will be intensified. Unless there is independent mass action by the workers, peasants and stu-

dents, there will be a steady drift to the right and this in turn will increase the danger of a military coup.

Responsibility for the crisis rests not only with the Brazilian landowning and capitalist class and their military servants but equally with the Kennedy administration whose intervention into Brazilian political life was responsible in large measure for the resignation of Quadros.

In his statement of resignation Quadros declared somewhat ambiguously that he had been squeezed out by those "whose only goals are to subject the general needs of the nation to some ambitious groups and individuals from inside and also from outside."

The identity of those trampling on national interest "from outside" was made amply clear, however, six weeks previous to Quadros' resignation. The July 12 *New York Times* reported: "Remark by Envoy Arouses Quadros — Brazilian Leader Warns on 'Meddling' by Foreigners." The dispatch reported an arrogant assertion by U.S. Ambassador John Moors Cabot that Brazil could not consider itself an "uncommitted nation."

After hearing a tape recording of Cabot's statement, Quadros issued an angry declaration that Brazil had a "positive independent international position and will not tolerate meddling from anybody, whomever it may be."

These were fine words. But as a representative of the Wall-Street-dominated Brazilian capitalist class Quadros was unable to back them up. It will take a Cuban-type, anti-capitalist government to end the danger from internal and external anti-democratic forces.

Profit-Sharing Pact No Plum for UAW

DETROIT, Sept. 2 — The United Auto Workers and the Big Three auto corporations have extended their contracts until Sept. 6. A UAW strike deadline against General Motors was postponed until the same date, and UAW president Walter Reuther said he would be willing to settle with GM on the same basis that he settled with American Motors Corp.

That's not good news for GM, Ford or Chrysler workers, because the new UAW-AMC "profit-sharing" contract is the worst the union has ever signed with any auto company.

Last week, when the union's 40-man AMC bargaining committee was meeting to consider AMC's "profit-sharing" offer, a worker who left the meeting for a breather told a reporter:

"That's a speedup technique (profit-sharing). If I go back home and try to sell it to my boys, they'll throw me out the window." (*Detroit News*, Aug. 22)

In these few words there was much more truth than in all the thousands spouted by Walter Reuther in his efforts to "sell" this new contract.

Speedup, as this worker indicated, is one of the main problems facing the auto union today; the other is job security — how to protect the jobs of those working and how to regain jobs of those unemployed. The new contract doesn't even come near to solving these problems; in fact, it makes them worse in some ways.

The beginning of an answer to these problems depends on understanding that the interests of employers and workers are different and opposite, and that the workers must fight the employers up and down the line if they are to get any real concessions.

Reuther and the Reutherites (Continued on Page 2)

U.S. Armed Forces Play Russian Roulette In Berlin While the World Holds Its Breath

"At one spot along the frontier of the American sector, West Berlin youths were jeering East German guards. The East Germans turned a water cannon on them, spraying a sharp jet at the feet of two U.S. soldiers.

"The Americans reacted by reaching for their shoulder-slung tear-gas hand grenades and undoing the safety catches in an almost automatic gesture."

Citing the above news item, Joseph Barry, Paris columnist of the *New York Post*, wrote on Aug. 29: "The East Germans turned off the water barrage within seconds according to the news dispatch, but the 'almost automatic gesture' of the American soldiers, which might have touched off the last of the world's wars, is a striking image of how we are all skittering on the brink of disaster."

The above incident has been followed by others of a more provocative and dangerous character.

The American army brass has staged military maneuvers in the Berlin streets, rushing armor and artillery right up to the border. On Aug. 24 a deliberate show of strength was the sending of tanks right onto the line to flout an East German demand that 100 yards of no-man's land be kept between the opposing forces.

The same day three busloads of GI's, entering East Berlin for "sight-seeing," were detained at the border when the U.S. officer in charge refused to show any papers to the East German border guards. This is the military implementation of Washington's policy of refusing to recognize the existence of the East German government and hence of its officials. Meanwhile U.S. military headquarters issued a 30-minute ultimatum to the East Germans to get a Soviet officer (to whom U.S. officers will show papers) to the border or else!

An even more serious incident occurred Aug. 30 when a U.S. army car with a captain and three sergeants was detained deep in East Berlin for 75 minutes. U.S. troop carriers and tanks were sent speeding to the sector border where they stood the whole while racing their motors, their cannons pointed east.

According to the *Associated Press* and the *N. Y. Times* stories, "The tanks and men on the border were alerted to go in and get Captain Wirth and the three soldiers if necessary." Afterwards Col.

Wayne Winder, the commander of the force, boasted to reporters that he and his men "would have been happy to go in."

The details of this obviously deliberate attempt to provoke trouble are as follows. An East Berlin motorcycle policeman had attempted to stop the U.S. vehicle. The U.S. officer refused to stop. The motorcycle cop's account, as given by the *N.Y. Times'* Berlin correspondent, Sydney Gruson, is that he had tried several times to get the car to stop but that it would slow down and then speed up. He had hammered on the car window breaking the glass but only when an East German police car managed to block its path did the U.S. army car stop.

Washington's phony and arrogant policy of refusing to admit officially the existence of an East German government is not only producing incidents dangerously close to the shooting stage but it is the sole basis for the Berlin crisis.

Washington has refused all bids by Khrushchev for a general peace conference and treaty between the

Big Four occupying powers and West and East Germany because this would mean recognizing the existence of East Germany. Khrushchev's subsequent announcement that the Soviet Union will therefore sign a separate peace treaty with East Germany (as the U.S. did with Japan), has been branded by Kennedy as an aggressive act. Why? Both Khrushchev and East Germany have offered guarantees that the treaty will in no way change the status of the U.S., British and French occupation forces in Berlin or their access to that city through East Germany.

But a peace treaty, withdrawing Soviet troops from East Berlin and the transportation corridors through East Germany, would force the U.S. military to deal with East German officials at the borders, etc. This would contravene Washington's pretense that East Germany doesn't exist. Hence the war scare, the military build-up, the dangerous incidents, the military game of "chicken" played on a road which leads to nuclear war and universal catastrophe.

... UAW Pact No Bargain

(Continued from Page 1)
oppose this approach (the class struggle.) They say that the workers should collaborate with the employers instead of fighting them. The AMC contract is a good example of everything that's wrong with this class-collaboration policy.

In the first place, the share of the profits that the workers are supposed to get (when there are profits) is much less than you would expect from reading the headlines and the Reutherite boasts.

Let's take 1961 as an example, using the UAW's own estimated figures. Profits are \$54 million. But before there is any dividing, the corporation deducts 10 per cent of its net worth of 220 million, or 22 million. That leaves 32 million, which serves as the "profit-sharing base."

As one worker put it, it's like dividing up a bottle of milk — first the corporation scoops out all the cream, leaving mainly skim milk and water to be divided.

Out of what is left, 32 million, the workers' share is 10 per cent (3.2 million) which is put into a "progress-sharing fund" to pay slightly improved fringe benefits, plus 5 per cent (1.6 million) which is given in the form of AMC stock.

Broken down, the individual worker's share is 6.4 cents an hour (into the "progress-sharing fund") plus 3.2 cents an hour (into stock). In other words, less than 10 cents an hour. Big deal!

That's not all. Suppose AMC's profits before taxes this year had been 22 million, instead of 54 million? In that case, all of the 22 million (10 per cent of net worth)

would go to the corporation, and the workers would get not one cent of the profits, either in fringe benefits or stock.

But that's still only part of the story. Because in order to get this piddling increase, the UAW leadership agreed to make what AMC president George Romney calls "significant cost reduction through changes in local plant practices" — specifically, a cut in the 44-minute daily relief and washup time, and changes in the seniority setup.

Just how much the relief time is to be cut was not made public as this is written (before the AMC workers have voted on the contract). But every cut in relief time will mean more work extracted per worker every day, and therefore a cut in the working force per car. Instead of reducing unemployment, this contract guarantees an increase in unemployment!

Furthermore, as Romney noted, the only new "fixed costs" for AMC in this contract are the annual improvement factor (6 to 7¢ an hour) and the cost-of-living clause. Both of these existed in previous contracts, so they are not exactly new. But outside of them, all other new benefits in the contract are tied to corporation profits — meaning they may be reduced or cut out altogether.

But "profit-sharing" is reactionary and bad for the workers even if it results in the corporation shelling out a few pennies an hour in fringe benefits now and then. Such gains are not worth the terrible price paid for them.

"Profit-sharing" is one of the surest ways to undermine militant unionism. By tying the workers' income to the employers' profits, it promotes speedup. It tends to change the union into an agency to pressure the workers for more and more production. Backward workers begin to think like employers and to act like foremen. It turns worker against worker. It's even worse than incentive pay for destroying labor solidarity.

Reuther knows all this, and he does it quite deliberately. A devout believer in the profit system, he wants the workers to become capitalist-minded, too, and to drain the last remnants of militancy and class-consciousness out of the labor movement.

For this he gets the applause of the employers, and he deserves it. From good union members he deserves only contempt, rejection and dismissal from all his union posts.

... End the Tests!

(Continued from Page 1)

cuse for resuming American tests. This, of course, gives a green light to all powers that want to join the nuclear "club" of poisoners of the world's atmosphere.

These facts add up to an inescapable conclusion: Construction of a superbomb is of highly dubious military value; the resumption of nuclear weapons testing grievously injured the real defense of the Soviet Union.

The military and political defense of the Soviet Union are interrelated. The strong political defense characteristic of the days of Lenin and Trotsky made possible the construction of the Red Army and the successful military defense of the young workers state against the entire imperialist world. The unraveling of the political defense under Stalin led eventually to such weakening of the Red Army that the Soviet borders were virtually opened to the German imperialist invasion.

Khrushchev himself has described to what a low level Stalin had brought the Soviet military defenses. The Soviet people were able to finally win out in World War II only at the cost of tens of millions of unnecessary casualties — and despite Stalin.

Unfortunately Khrushchev, as Stalin's heir to leadership of the bureaucracy, does not follow revolutionary-socialist policies like those of Lenin and Trotsky. Instead of actively helping socialist revolutionary movements abroad, of bringing maximum aid to the beleaguered Algerians, for example, or the Cubans, and doing his utmost to extend such liberating struggles, he seeks a status-quo deal with imperialism.

Thus, in face of Kennedy's stepped-up preparations for war, Khrushchev's natural inclination is not to respond with Lenin's weapon of socialist revolution. Instead he seeks to "shock" the millionaire imperialist president into engaging in "summitry" out of which might come a "pact" not to go to war.

But diplomatic agreements with so-called "peace-loving" or "progressive" sectors in the imperialist world cannot be relied upon to win world peace. Nor can the correlative of such agreements — the construction of ever bigger and more frightful bombs — be depended upon to serve as a "deterrent" to these progressive peace-lovers.

The truth is that such politics, as we have seen in the most striking way in the resumption of tests, play into the hands of the imperialists by alienating world opinion.

Morale is affected inside the Soviet Union, too. No vote was taken among the Soviet workers and peasants on the advisability of resuming tests. They were given no chance to discuss it, to voice an opinion or hear dissenting views. Khrushchev disregarded their interests, their wishes and their democratic rights as contemptuously as he did those of the masses in the rest of the world.

This made it easy for Kennedy to follow a similar anti-democratic course. He did not have to fear the outcry and the demonstrations that would have occurred in many cities both at home and abroad had he ordered resumption of testing in the absence of Moscow's initiative.

The true defense of the Soviet Union and of the advancement of the struggle for peace resides in furthering the worldwide struggle against capitalism, above all in the centers of imperialist power. In the interests of the success of this struggle, revolutionary socialists are duty-bound to protest Khrushchev's arbitrary resumption of the testing of nuclear weapons while they answer Kennedy by opening a new campaign to end the tests.

... North Carolina Frame-Up Case

(Continued from Page 1)

very heart of a panicky, almost hysterical community. On the street where Williams lives a crowd of some two hundred, some carrying guns, stopped their car, made them get out and go into Williams house and tied their hands.

Even from the prejudiced accounts of the North Carolina press the fact emerges that Williams, far from directing the "kidnapping," rebuked those who had brought the Stegalls into his home and protected them until they could be safely released.

Here are some quotations from an interview given by Mrs. Stegall to Dwayne Walls of the *Charlotte Observer* (Aug. 29):

"They were expecting somebody to come after them, and they were all ready. I've never seen so many guns in my life . . . Williams, he made out like he wanted to let us go. He acted like he wanted to be nice to us. But he said if he let us go the mob outside would kill us. Somebody kept yelling, 'Let me kill them. Let me kill them.'"

Another article in the same paper quotes Mrs. Stegall as saying Williams had nothing to do with tying her or her husband up. She also said: "He told us he couldn't let us go because the mob outside 'would just get you, and I can't do a thing.'"

Shortly after the Stegalls were brought in, Williams telephoned Monroe Police Chief Mauney. He also let Mr. Stegall speak to him. Though Williams' account of

events is still to be heard, the account by Mauney is that Williams had said two white people were being held as hostages and would be killed or sacrificed unless the arrested pickets were safely released in 30 minutes. Carolina officials and newspapers are claiming that this was Williams' threat to kill the Stegalls. From the known circumstances and Williams' behavior, as admitted by Mrs. Stegall, this is undoubtedly a deliberate twisting of Williams' reporting of the situation and the threats and temper of the excited crowd in and around his house.

It was after 9 p.m. when Williams was able to release the couple safely. Soon thereafter, he left with his wife and two children.

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A four-month trial subscription to *The Militant* for only 50 cents. Send this coupon with payment to: *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

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Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

Picnic at Dan Ryan Woods, 87th and Western. Baseball, chicken barbecue and games for children. Sun., Sept. 10 from 11 a.m. Ausp. Southside Branch of Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Donation: \$1.00.

LOS ANGELES

Castro's Cuba, As It Looks Now, an eyewitness report by Dr. A. J. Lewis, Exec. Sec'y, Greater Los Angeles Chapter, Fair Play for Cuba Committee, who has just returned from Cuba. Question period. Channing Hall, 2936 West Eighth St., Los Angeles, 8 p.m. Fri., Sept. 22. Donation: \$1.00.

DETROIT

Symposium on the new UAW contracts with 4 UAW members speaking. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, Fri. Sept. 15. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

Forum. The Berlin Crisis and the Renewal of Bomb Tests. Speaker: D. L. Weiss, Former SWP candidate for governor of N.Y. 116 University Pl. (off Union Square); Friday, Sept. 15, 8:30 p.m. Contributions 50 cents, Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Television program. Hear Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of New York City. Channel 5, 8 p.m. Sun. Sept. 10.

In Detroit Sept. 12

In the City Election

Vote for

The Socialist Candidates:

ROBERT HIMMEL (No. 152)

for Mayor

SARAH LOVELL (No. 191)

for Council

and the Unemployed Candidate:

JAMES SEXTON (No. 204)

for Council

In the Con-Con Election

Vote for the

Socialist Workers Ticket

Harriet Talan.....2nd Dist.

Frank Lovell.....4th Dist.

Rita Shaw.....5th Dist.

Edith Gbur.....6th Dist.

Paul Dennie.....11th Dist.

Larry Dolinski.....15th Dist.

THE MILITANT

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345 Monday, September 4 & 11, 1961

A Gauge of Cuba's Influence

When Secretary of Treasury Dillon returned from Uruguay early this month, the official commentators declared that the "Alliance for Progress" scheme adopted by the Inter-American Economic and Social Conference had dealt a major setback to "Castroism." Its influence, they said, was on the skids in Latin America.

The political crises which have since shaken the governments of Brazil and Argentina testify to the contrary — that the impact of the Cuban Revolution upon Latin America is greater than ever. Both crises were provoked by efforts of the military leaders of ultra-reaction to halt the mounting sympathy and support for Cuba in these South American countries and to bring official policy more in line with Washington's wishes.

The top military command in Brazil, first forcing President Quadros to resign after he had awarded a decoration to Cuban Economic Minister "Che" Guevara, then moved to prevent Vice President Goulart, head of the Brazilian Labor Party, from returning to the country to assume the presidency. The split between the War, Navy and Air Force Ministers opposing Goulart and elements in the army, Congress and among the people supporting him has brought Brazil to the brink of civil war.

The resignation of the Brazilian president was followed by the resignation of Argentine Foreign Minister Mujica Aug. 28 over the same issue of Cuban relations. The Foreign Minister was condemned and pushed out by right-wing military leaders for arranging meetings between President Frondizi and Major Guevara.

He was also criticized for having arranged a talk between Guevara and Richard Goodwin, President Kennedy's specialist on Latin-American affairs, with a view to improving U.S.-Cuban relations. The White House has dismissed this conference as a "casual" and unauthorized encounter, implying no change in Washington's hostility toward the Cuban Revolution.

In a broadcast Premier Castro advised the Brazilian people to "profit from the experience of Cuba" and get ready for guerrilla warfare if necessary to safeguard their democratic rights and future progress against the reactionary militarists.

"If the Brazilian people make use of Cuba's experience," he said, "and take arms and throw themselves into the fight in the mountains, jungles and forests, the reactionaries will never be able to succeed."

"If workers, peasants, students and progressive people and honest military men take up arms and organize not one front but a thousand fronts, never will the military be able to defeat them."

Whether or not the conflict in Brazil develops to the point of open civil war, the events of the past few weeks have profoundly unsettled the political life of the two greatest South American countries. They demonstrate how powerfully the example of Cuba is affecting the course of Latin-American affairs. And the repercussions of its revolution are bound to grow as the popular forces behind a socialist "Alliance for Progress" assert themselves more vigorously.

"Such Popularity Must Be Deserved"

In many big cities police officials report an increase in resistance to the police. In New York City, for example, cops making arrests have been attacked by large crowds at least six times this summer, and jeered by bystanders and pelted with objects thrown from rooftops in hundreds of other cases. In one instance, an innocent bystander was tragically killed by a brick thrown from a rooftop in the direction of a policeman making an arrest in New York's lower east side.

What worries the officials is, as one of them put it, "the increased public participation in the attacks." This participation of the non-criminal population in attacks on police occurs in working-class neighborhoods, especially the slums, and particularly where Negroes and Puerto Ricans live.

One New York official says this indicates evidence of a "mass hostility to authority." A New York City Magistrate, Ruben Levy, recently declared: "An attack on a police officer is an attack on the government; in fact it is a form of treason."

To be sure, the inhabitants of New York City's slums, crowded into filthy tenement buildings seven flights high without elevators, fighting an impossible struggle against cockroaches and rats, working long hours in hot factory lofts for wages near the legal minimum, have no good reason to respect the authority which is responsible for such conditions. But they are not unreasonable people who are "taking it out" on innocent police officers.

These incidents are directly attributable to the reputation the police have earned for prejudice and brutality, particularly against minority peoples. If the police want to stop these incidents they need only start treating working people, including colored and Spanish-speaking ones, with as much courtesy and respect as is shown the residents of Park Ave. and other lily-white well-to-do neighborhoods.

A Freedom Rider's Story

By John Thayer

Freedom Rider David Morton of Minneapolis is a tall, slim, young man of 21. He recently came to New York from Monroe, N.C., where he participated in the anti-segregation struggle there which has been so crassly distorted and maligned by North Carolina officials and by the daily newspapers.

Dave decided to be a Freedom Rider on June 9. Two days later he and some other students were arrested for entering the colored waiting room in the bus station in Jackson, Mississippi. Charged with breach of the peace, he was sentenced to four months and \$200 fine. So far he has served 45 days — eight in Jackson's city jail, the rest in Parchman state prison. Then he came out on an appeal bond and, for legal reasons, a re-arrestment. If convicted again, the 45 days already served will not count on the new sentence.

Mississippi's maneuver to weaken the Freedom Rider movement financially by making all 189 defendants come in person to the Aug. 14 appeal hearings brought Dave down South again. He had intended to return to Minnesota but in Nashville he changed his plans.

"I was sitting in a restaurant next to the Nashville Christian Leadership Conference office talking to Joe MacDonald, a Freedom Rider from New York, about the Monroe situation. I made some remark about 'fair-weather integrationists' and then I knew I had trapped myself with my own words into going down there."

"Something Had to Be Done"

"We knew it was an extreme situation and that Robert F. Williams had called on non-violent integration people to come down and help. We expected there was a good chance some of us might get shot. But we realized something had to be done and there was no one else to do it but us."

Seventeen Freedom Riders — white and Negro — went. Dave was among the first dozen that arrived in Charlotte (20 miles from Monroe) on Aug. 16. Next day they went to Monroe. "We looked around the town, began investigating, getting to know the Negro community. We spent Thursday through Sunday investigating conditions and then forming with local residents the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee."

What did their investigations reveal? "Well, in addition to the usual segregation pattern we found needy people who had applied for welfare but were not even listened to or sent away without being given any reason. We found a lack of the 14th Amendment. We became aware that the Negro community was worried about their lives and their safety."

They had notified federal and state officials of their plans before entering North Carolina and their presence in Monroe was immediately known to city officials. One of their number, Paul Brooks, was arrested on such a patently trumped up traffic violation (he had a motor scooter) that their first action was to picket the city jail briefly in protest. Here they got their first taste of Monroe law and order. Dick Griswold, assigned to photograph any incidents on the picket line so there would be a tangible record if needed, took a photo of some people harassing the pickets. He was immediately jumped on, knocked down and an attempt made to take his camera. The police refused to take any action.

The MNVAC's anti-segregation picketing in the courthouse square from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. began Monday, Aug. 21 and continued until Sunday, Aug. 27 — the day when a mob of thousands threatened the pickets, the day of their mass arrest and of the events now used

as the basis for the framed-up charge of kidnapping.

Special restrictive ordinances about picketing had been rushed through the city council and the pickets sought to observe them scrupulously. "But we also had our own rules. Such as, do not speak unless spoken to; refer all questions to the spokesman for the line; maintain an attitude of love and non-violence at all times; stay at least 15 feet apart in accordance with the new ordinance; don't interfere with traffic or bump into people, etc."

Violence Increases

Although on the first day an unidentified white girl joined the line for about an hour, hostility and acts of violence against the pickets increased throughout the week. The following incidents were typical. Dick Griswold was about to photograph the police measuring the picket signs (part of the new ordinance). "The police officer first threatened to break the camera over his head. Then he told him it was illegal in Monroe to take pictures of people. When Griswold expressed doubt that there was such a law he was arrested for interfering with an officer. I then replaced Griswold and was informed of the same 'law.' Then, within hearing of the officer, several private citizens threatened me with death if I tried to take their pictures. By this time the tape-measuring of the signs was over, so there was no picture to be taken."

During the week the MNVAC sent delegations to try to discuss matters with the Welfare Department, Industrial Commission, Mayor, etc. When the Mayor refused to see them they staged a sit-in in his waiting room and a picket line around his office. From a car racists shot one picket in the stomach with a high-powered pellet gun. Though the car was identified to police, no action was taken. In other cases police addressed attackers of pickets by name or had the assailants pointed out to them, yet no arrests were made.

Encouraged by the police's refusal to accord the pickets equal protection of the law, the racists were noticeably bolder and uglier in mood by Saturday. At 5 p.m., as usual, the pickets formed by two's to walk back to New Town, the Negro neighborhood where they were staying with families or in Freedom House, a house rented for their use. A cavalcade of cars filled with white toughs began to cruise about them, trying to block them off at intersections. Dave was so "beat out" from the picketing that he had been given a lift in a car by a Negro friend. The car was forced off the road.

"As the marchers passed the home of a white minister, the wife came running out with a butcher knife, threatening to stab them, while her son threw coke bottles at them. The police were conspicuously absent as the harassed marchers made their way through the white part of town. Only when they reached New Town, the Negro district, did a police car appear, presumably to protect the whites' cavalcade which was harassing and blocking the march."

Sunday morning interracial groups from MNVAC had partial success in going to theretofore lily-white churches. Picketing was only in the afternoon from 3 to 5 p.m. This was the day of the arrest of Constance Lever, an English girl who had come to Monroe, the shooting of a policeman in the leg and the gathering of a huge mob — estimated variously by reporters at two to five thousand. Dave was not on the line, but resting at Freedom House. When the pickets failed to return home, rumors began to come of the events downtown and the threatening mob situation. Soon it was known that all pickets and MNVAC people who had gone downtown to investigate had been arrested — some 50 in all.

The Negro community became very excited. Word was passed that Freedom Riders and MNVAC members were trapped by the white mob, that those arrested were in danger of being handed over to the mob, that New Town was about to be raided by racist cavalades. People started getting out their guns to protect families and homes.

Dave went off to visit a citizen of means about posting bond for those arrested. Then he made his way to the police station to see about bailing them out. A group of white men was in front of the jail-house blocking traffic. "In the police station I asked to speak to Police Chief Mauney. He came out of his office, very hostile. He said bond would be \$1,000 per prisoner. In previous arrests the bond had been \$50 so this amount was far beyond the means of the man I had spoken to."

"When I got back to New Town, State Patrol cars were at both ends of N. Boyte St., where Williams' house and Freedom House are located. I heard that Williams was gone."

"About 11 p.m. I answered a phone call from the Negro district at the other end of town. It was a very scared woman who said that white people in cars were driving up and down Hudson St. shooting into the houses. I went out and informed the state police. They said they would radio the information. Whether they did anything or not, I don't know. Next morning I heard that one house on Hudson St. had 15 bullet holes in it."

Who Started It?

Did Dave think that the Freedom Riders and Williams were the cause of the trouble in Monroe, as local authorities and the press associations claim?

"In a way, yes. There was a breakdown of the 14th Amendment for the Negro community in Monroe and much mistreatment of Negroes. Now, if nobody had complained there would have been no trouble. If nobody had got incensed or spoken out when a Negro was unjustly beaten by the police, nothing would have happened. Only insofar as we peacefully protested the disenfranchisement of supposedly inalienable rights were we the cause of any trouble or violence."

Williams is not a pacifist but is, on the contrary, well known for openly advocating that Negroes resort to violent self-defense when necessary. Did the non-violent Freedom Riders think that any of Williams' actions during their stay had been the cause of the trouble?

"I haven't talked with all the other Freedom Riders since Sunday but up until then I know of no serious criticisms of Williams' actions or line of conduct by any of them. And we had daily meetings of the MNVAC at which problems and tactics were freely discussed."

"Williams' purpose was to get the 14th Amendment upheld for all citizens of Monroe. To do that he was forced to hear arms to protect his home and life. It's my feeling that nothing would have made him happier than to throw away his gun and walk around with the assurance of due protection of the law."

"He tried to keep the people disciplined. He stressed to his followers that any violence should be only defensive and that there should not be any retaliatory violence. He emphasized to the local citizens that at no time — even in self-defense — should they act violently while working with the MNVAC."

Next to last question put to Dave was: Did he regret the 45 days spent in Mississippi jails and the possibility of more time there?

"No. It was a necessary thing I felt it my duty as an American patriot."

What about his stay in Monroe? "Likewise!"

A PAMPHLET REVIEW

Cuba's Solution of Unemployment

CASTRO SPEAKS ON UNEMPLOYMENT. Translated by Bob Verney. 24 pp. New York, Young Socialist Forum, Box 471, Cooper Sta. New York 3, N.Y., 1961. 25¢.

This important speech of Fidel Castro was delivered to the first national conference of delegates from the Councils of Technical Advisers in Havana. The speech is directed to the workers as participants in the management of various industries. The councils are a step toward workers' control of the national economy as the gathering itself demonstrated.

During the past year the United States suffered its worst unemployment since 1939. The number of jobless reached a peak of about 6,000,000. Most recent government figures admit a rate of unemployment still hovering near 7 per cent of the labor force for the ninth consecutive month. And it is expected that an additional 1.8 will be ousted by automation in the coming year.

It is ironic that a wealthy nation like ours, which brags about "free enterprise" and equal opportunities, has still not solved the problem of attaining full employ-

ment. Yet tiny Cuba has quickly solved its much worse problem of chronic unemployment which its past 60 years of exploitation by imperialism had seemingly made an inescapable, built-in feature of its economy.

Growing Employment

Castro's speech makes it clear that today in many fields there is generally more work available in Cuba than there are workers. Instead of reaping failures, Cuba is reaping successes.

Castro says, "It was necessary to put an end to a system where more work meant less earnings, and to replace it with a system where more work means greater earnings, more wealth and more benefit to the people."

Castro is able to speak with authority on the problem of unemployment. Before the revolution Cuba's economy was strangled by the sugar monoculture which brought but a semblance of full employment for only four months of the year at harvest time. The other eight months were known as the "dead time" — a period of hunger and want that paralleled the worst of our depression of the 1930's.

In this speech, Castro directly

challenges the Kennedy administration:

"If your system is better than ours, why are you heading toward a crisis while we are heading toward progress? . . . facing no economic aggression, no embargo on machinery, with no one preventing free access to your raw materials, why is it that in your country with none of these difficulties or aggressions to face you have problems; while our country, faced with all those aggressions, there are no problems?"

Castro offers a solution for the problem in the U.S.:

"Does Mr. Kennedy want to end unemployment in the United States? Why, then let him nationalize the big monopolies; let him nationalize the big utilities companies; let him nationalize the banks, so that the banks can stop being private companies serving a few millionaires; let him put an end to the military bases abroad; let him stop the armaments race; stop making rockets and battleships, pursue a policy of peace, and you will see how the problems and the crisis in the United States will be over."

Barbara Doritty

The American Way of Life

How to Beat the System

By Jack Barton

"You just can't beat the system," is a popular refrain among working-class Americans. We take it for granted that a double standard is applied when it comes to the law. It's easy-does-it and a fair shake for the rich people, and tough luck for the poor.

But there is still hope for the underdog, as two rugged individualists in Michigan recently demonstrated.

Charlie Perry, 48, of Muskegon ran into a bit of hard luck. A year ago he got fired from Borg-Warner's Norge plant, where he had been a humble assembler. He's contesting the dismissal before the NLRB but, you know, these things take time. In July he was evicted from his apartment. So he parked his old-model car on a plot of land he owns in an exclusive suburb, and vowed to live the hermit's life. He donned a rolled-up pair of dungarees, went barefoot, boiled tea from

sassafras roots and slept in his car.

His "neighbors" complained to the township board. But Charlie's taxes were paid, and so he stayed. The publicity stirred the interest of Muskegon's plain folk in this doughty warrior for freedom. They deluged him with gifts of steak, hamburgers, cigarettes, linen, soap, and clothing. Charlie smiled through it all, but is now convinced that to be a hermit he will have to become an astronaut.

Mike Gisondi, 5-foot-4 and under 30, has spent most of his adult life in prison. Right now he's serving life in Jackson State Prison for a barroom killing. Mike has two previous prison escapes to his record. His favorite refrain to the guards is, "I don't like prison life." After all, he's not a bird in a gilded cage exactly. This month he disappeared again for the third time. It took eight days to find him, after scouring the giant prison and the surrounding countryside, with scare headlines about

the escape of the state's "most dangerous criminal" all over the place.

Mike had holed up in a 5x5x8-foot carton in the prison's canner-storage loft with a hot plate and a light bulb. When found he was drinking hot coffee, eating buttered bread and reading a romantic novel. The electric cord led to his discovery. His only comment was, "That was the best week I ever spent in prison in my life." He was transferred forthwith to the "hole," a small dark cell in the prison's dungeon.

Prison authorities claim the 5,300 inmates were "upset and nervous" during Mike's disappearance. Yet oddly enough, the warden is trying to find out which prisoners helped Mike in his "escape." Perhaps in his reading Mike had come across the famous lines by Richard Lovelace that

"Stone walls do not a prison make,

Nor iron bars a cage";

and had taken them literally.

Letters from Our Readers

Kennedy's Tough Talk

Glen Ellen, Calif.

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I sent to Kennedy and my congressman. Perhaps by printing it you will encourage others to write such letters.

* * *

When I turned on the TV last night and caught your address, it could have been just another Western with all that talk of killing on 15 minutes notice. Why shouldn't Khrushchev want to settle the Berlin question which has dragged on for 16 years? To him the cancer of capitalism 110 miles inside the Communist world is no worse than you consider the cancer of communism 90 miles off our coast. You didn't wait 16 years to try to change that situation, one of the most disgraceful episodes in our entire history. . . .

Since we have no defense against missiles, and it takes time to build human barbecue pits, I don't see your point in getting tough at this time. Are you tired of living, or are you beating the drums of war to cover up troubles at home? Why don't you get tough with the people in this country who refuse to give equal rights and freedom to others because of skin color? You should take a good long look at Eichmann. You might be sitting in the final judgement seat with 600-million lives on your conscience. . . .

Donald S. Rebhan

Keep the Truth Coming

Costa Rica, Calif.

As long as newspapers such as yours are allowed to publish worth-while news and events there is hope that one day man will be truly free in this great country of ours.

Please renew my subscription and also put my brother down for a year's sub.

Thank you very much and kindly keep the truth coming off the press.

G.R.

Suggestion About Letters

New York, N. Y.

One sees many letters of a fighting spirit in *The Militant*. But sometimes I think that some of these efforts, being as they are just generalized criticism of the "status quo," etc., would be better sent to capitalist newspapers and magazines, properly worded, of course.

The editors of *The Militant* do not need to be instructed on the inequities of the present order, while the readers of the daily papers do. If anything, socialists should write to the daily press if only to somewhat counter the letters of reactionary trash written by members of the John Birch Society, who are told to write frequently to the papers and to movie producers, politicians, etc., giving praise or disapproval.

Also, designing letters for a large, brain-washed audience forces one to state one's ideas in simple, easily understandable language so as to reach the widest number of people. This is excellent training in public relations for individual socialists who have become too ingrown and comfortable with radical jargon.

The columns of *The Militant* should be used to thrash out the more difficult questions that are not yet clear. For example, we should discuss what the future American fascist movement is going to look like, getting people out of the rut that fascism in the U.S. is only something that wears bedsheets and swastika arm-bands.

I think the Bircher slogan, "America is a Republic, Not a

Democracy," should be taken up, for I feel that it potentially has much educational value. I think it means that the U.S. working class should be deprived of its democratic rights and that it should be ruled by its "betters," i.e., the rich.

The U.S. was a Republic as opposed to a Democracy when a citizen could not vote unless he owned a certain amount of property, when most black Americans were slaves, when there were no public schools, thus swelling the ranks of those who could not vote because of illiteracy, and when women could not vote. America became more and more democratic as these barriers were broken down, but this process ended with the McCarthy era and is now being reversed.

I would appreciate comment on all this.

George Payne

No Sale

Glens Falls, N. Y.

Recently I received a communication from the Democratic National Committee stating that it had a \$3 million deficit (incurred in electing Kennedy and Johnson) and that it would like to be able to tell Mr. K. on his 44th birthday that his admirers had liquidated the deficit.

I replied that even if I were able to make a contribution, which I wasn't, I could not conscientiously do so because of the attitude and actions of K & Co. on Laos, the Congo and Cuba, especially Cuba, which I found not only nauseating but outrageous. (I then quoted some statements made in *The Militant* and the pamphlet, *The Truth About Cuba*.)

In reference to their deficit, I wrote that the funds of the senior Kennedy have been described as "inexhaustible." He evidently had sufficient to furnish the fuel that powered the steam roller in flattening out all opposition to his son's nomination for the presidency. Inasmuch as it all turned out so nicely for the Ks, they might be induced to see the force of the old adage, "one good turn deserves another."

K.M.G.

A Canadian Sees the South

Miami, Fla.

As a Canadian socialist traveling through the Southern U.S. I was horrified to see the segregated washrooms, the racism of the Dixiecrats. At times I felt ashamed of my color, or lack of it, to see this maltreatment of human beings. Therefore, I lend all my support to the protest movement of the NAACP and the Freedom Riders, some of whom, in making just one protest ride, are doing more than an army of Americans to wipe out human injustice.

How can Americans claim leadership of the world when Negroes are living in ghettos?

The billboards en route to Key West are typical of the official misrepresentation politically. They read: "Communism is only 90 miles away. Think."

I am sure that this red herring is not fooling the Negroes or the enlightened whites.

Does JFK blush at the moral decrepitude of his country?

G. N.

Not Made in USA

New York, N. Y.

An advertisement for bone meal proudly explains that the product is carefully checked for radioactive fallout residues. As a result of this check, the ad continues, the company now purchases its bone meal powder outside the U.S.

H.F.

It Was Reported in the Press

Up, Up — The federal government's Consumer Price Index rose five-tenths of a point in July, making a new record high for the cost of living. Increased cost of food was the principal factor in the rise which put the index at 128.1. Expressed another way it means that food, goods and services for which you would have paid \$100 on the average during the inflationary years 1947-49 would have cost \$128.10 during July. The June index of 127.6 had been in its turn a record high, too.

Inappropriate but Honest — Cutting the ribbon at ceremonies opening a family bomb shelter (13 x 10 feet, costing \$1,500), the Mayor of Shaker Heights, a suburb of Cleveland said: "I am not going to build a shelter in my home and I don't think the shelter will do any good if a bomb hits in this vicinity."

CIA Gripping — "U.S. News and World Report" (Sept. 4) reports: "Some officials of the Central Intelligence Agency already are complaining that the Agency's new building being readied near McClean, Va., a Washington suburb is too small." The huge new CIA building cost \$50,000,000. But not even Congress knows how

many employees the CIA has — a frequent estimate is 10,000 — let alone how much money it gets. Apparently the rate of increase is enough for it to outgrow its new headquarters even before it has moved into it.

Man Bites Dog — Or Justice Triumphs. A detective and two policemen in Miami have been jailed for framing a woman. They planted five sticks of marijuana in the woman's grocery store, then sent a police informer in with a marked bill to get change. The ensuing raid produced the "irrefutable" evidence. When sentenced to prison earlier this year the woman was carried from the courtroom screaming her innocence in vain.

Unfair — The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union is asking supporters of organized labor not to buy Quaker State Motor Oil until the strike against that company is settled. Since the beginning of the strike the company has been producing a limited amount of its nationally advertised lubricants by working supervisors and scabs behind the picket lines.

Bowles Put on Shelf — Chester Bowles, Under Secretary of State,

who along with Adlai Stevenson, supposedly constitutes the "true" liberal beach head in the Kennedy administration, "has been quietly stripped of most of the customary policy-making authority and administrative responsibility" of his post, according to Washington columnist Joseph Alsop (Aug. 23). This report is confirmed by other Washington reporters. As Alsop puts it: "He is more for show than use." But he will keep his office and has permission "to think large thoughts." Liberal protests last month forestalled Pres. Kennedy's plan to fire him.

Selling Air — The Pure Food and Drugs administration seizure of packages of Puffed Wheat and Puffed Rice because the breakfast foods were shortweight 15 and 6 per cent respectively from what was marked on the package. Seems that the manufacturer has developed a method of puffing the grains of wheat and rice to larger size than before, thus filling the boxes with less foodstuff but more air. But the company kept the old size packages and the same listing of weight on the labels. Puffed Wheat was advertised as "The Weight Watcher's Cereal." Just how was that meant?

Thought for the Week

"One cannot spend five minutes in Europe without encountering the immense philosophical difference between Americans and Europeans on the subject of war. In our country, the enemy, the only enemy worth thinking about, is communism. In Europe, the great enemy is war itself."—N.Y. Herald Tribune columnist John Crosby writing from France Aug. 23.