

New Facts in North Carolina 'Kidnap' Frame-Up

By George Lavan

New information confirms that the Monroe kidnaping charges are a frame-up and that sole responsibility for the violence in that city last month rests on the local authorities and police who encouraged and worked in collusion with the white-supremacist mob.

Instead of arresting the officials of that Ku Klux Klan-ridden city, the FBI has instituted a nationwide manhunt for Robert F. Williams, militant civil rights fighter, and one of his supporters from New York. In the Monroe jail a

New York Freedom Rider and two members of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee are being held on the same kidnap frame-up. Meanwhile only the city officials' version of the events in Monroe have been transmitted by the wire services to the nation's newspapers.

It was on the evening of Aug. 28 that a white couple from another town, trying to avoid the downtown traffic jam caused by the rioting against the Freedom Riders, accidentally drove into the heart of Monroe's besieged Negro

neighborhood. An excited crowd stopped their car and took them into William's home. After being detained for two hours they were released unharmed. This is the basis for the kidnap charge and the demand for life sentences for Williams and the others singled out by Monroe's racist officials for prosecution.

It is now known from reliable sources that shortly before this incident a highway patrolman had driven to Williams house to speak to him. The crowd in the street, composed of people who had been

beaten downtown, rural Negroes who had flocked in as a result of the rumors of KKK plans, as well as residents of the area which has suffered repeated attacks by KKK motorcades, was highly excited. Cries were raised for Williams to hold the highway patrolman. Others shouted to kill him. Angrily Williams argued the crowd down and advised the patrolman to leave quickly, which he did. Williams then went into his house to phone Police Chief Mauney.

Almost seconds later the Segalls

drove onto N. Boyte St. and were stopped. They were ordered out of their car and were already in Williams' front yard when he came out to see what the shouting was about.

Williams remonstrated that the couple should be allowed to go on their way. The crowd shouted, "No, No" and there were cries of "Kill them, kill them." One woman shouted at Williams, "If you turn them loose, we'll kill both you and them."

Holding the enraged crowd at (Continued on Page 2)

THE MILITANT

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Wagner Cashes in on Revolt Against Tammany Machine

By Fred Halstead

Socialist Workers Party Candidate For New York City Controller

Mayor Robert Wagner's landslide victory and Tammany boss DeSapio's loss of his district leadership in the city's Democratic Party primary will mean a re-organization of the party machine and a change in the personal fortunes of some politicians, but not much more.

Masquerade

To be sure the anti-bossism issue under which Wagner masqueraded struck a response in the electorate. That is proven by the record turn out for a primary. But a masquerade it was. For one thing, Wagner himself is a product of the Tammany machine and was as deeply involved in the many scandals under his administration as any old-line machine man. For another, there is not an ounce more decency or "liberalism" in the Manhattan "Democratic Reform Clubs," which organized against DeSapio, than in the old machine. The split resulted not from an attempt to break the hold of the grafting financial and real estate interests on the Democratic Party, but from other factors.

Changing Population

In many areas of Manhattan, the older population groups, in which Tammany had deep roots, have been moving to the suburbs. Their place has been taken largely by Puerto Rican immigrants who move into the old buildings, or by young middle-class professionals who occupy the high-rent apartments being built where old buildings have been torn down. Tammany didn't bother with the Puerto Ricans, many of whom can't vote anyway because of the state's English literacy requirement. Nor did it make room for the young professionals "on the make" in the Democratic Party. The "reform" groups are based almost entirely on this latter group. They have no ties with the working class — not even the connections with union officials which Tammany cultivated. Their heroes are Kennedy and his Harvard advisers — cold war, Cuban invasion, and all.

As Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor declared following the primary: "Every scandal involves not only the old machine, but the real estate sharks and banks who are also behind the Republicans as well as



Richard Garza

Wagner and the so-called reform groups. That's why a labor party running its own candidates, who would not be obligated to the capitalists, is the only force capable of smashing corruption in New York City politics."

Drive Under Way to Raise \$17,000 for The Militant

Over the years, *The Militant* has won compliments for truthful reporting and uncompromising opposition to capitalist reaction. One such compliment that we're particularly proud of came from the distinguished Cuban weekly, *Bohemia*, which last May 21 offered its readers this description of us: "This is a modest socialist tabloid edited in New York. Since it doesn't represent the interest of the monopolies, it lacks advertising and its circulation is limited. *The Militant*, of course, doesn't belong to the gilded circle, of the S.E.P. [Society of Newspaper Editors]. Its truth remains compressed in four pages."

Since *The Militant* doesn't represent the interests of the monopolists, how does it maintain itself? The answer, of course, is that apart from circulation income — which doesn't maintain a non-commercial paper — we rely on

English Girl Tells How Monroe Cops Sparked Violence

By John Thayer

Constance Lever, the English girl whose arrest, according to news dispatches from Monroe, North Carolina, touched off the riot in that city Aug. 27, passed through New York on her way home. She kindly gave the following interview to *The Militant*.

Constance is 20 years old, lives in Durham, England, and is a student at the London School of Economics.

Question: How did you happen to go to Monroe, N.C.?

Answer: While in England I was given the address of Robert F. Williams' newspaper, *The Crusader*, by the London Anti-Apartheid Committee. I didn't actually know him or anything about the paper except that it was against segregation. I wrote and asked if I could stay there perhaps for a week and help on the newspaper.

Q: Would you describe the events of Sunday Aug. 27 in Monroe and your arrest?

A: I had arrived on Thursday. There were 17 Freedom Riders there. They had been picketing the courthouse since Monday in protest against segregation and other conditions in the town. I joined in the picketing Friday. Sunday morning we went in mixed groups to the churches. Sunday afternoon we started picketing about 3 p.m. There was a big crowd around — several thousands. The police cleared the sidewalk where we were picketing of anyone but pickets. The crowd was very threatening and insulting. There were a number of individual incidents and attacks which we ignored.

At about a quarter to five taxis were sent for to take the picketers off. However, when they arrived they weren't able to take off all the picketers or even most of them. They were used to take off local Negroes, non-picketers, from

(Continued on Page 3)



Tokyo police push back members of student organization, Zengakuren, as they massed in front of Soviet embassy on Sept. 8 to protest USSR's resumption of nuclear testing. The placard in Russian reads: "Opposed to Imperialism and Stalinism! Zengakuren." A large anti-imperialist organization, Zengakuren sparked the mass movement in Japan last year against the U.S.-Japanese military pact, and led the giant demonstrations that forced cancellation of Eisenhower's projected visit to Japan. For other reactions to Soviet test resumption see page 2.

Failure to Settle Key Issues Spurs UAW Walkouts at GM

SEPT. 13 — Ninety-nine plants out of General Motors' 129 are now shut down by local walkouts springing from the failure of international union president Walter Reuther's master agreement with GM to settle a variety of local demands relating to job conditions, speed-up and unsettled grievances. Forty-three locals have worked out supplementary agreements, but as of last night none were back in operation.

Reuther today ordered the local unions to arrive at settlements as quickly as possible. The wide-scale local walkouts following settlement with the corporation by the international union repeats the same pattern as in previous years when settlements were made which neglected to resolve vital local problems.

By Eugene Bell

DETROIT, Sept. 9 — The contract settlement reached Wednesday by UAW President Walter Reuther and General Motors parallels the terms of the economic package given the auto workers in the contract with American Motors last week.

The difference between the two agreements is in the source of payment for the added benefits. At GM the cost will be paid out of the annual improvement factor and cost-of-living raises due the auto workers, as against the "profit-sharing" feature at AMC.

However, a "safety valve" feature in the AMC contract modifies

this difference considerably. It provides that if profits should fall to a point where the benefits could not be paid from them, the workers' annual improvement factor raise would be dipped into. Anticipating the GM settlement,

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UAW PRESIDENT REUTHER. Prior to negotiations he pledged he wouldn't agree to a new contract that didn't cope with the problem of unemployment. During negotiations, he forgot the pledge.

Reactions to Soviet H-Tests

The photo on our front page of left-wing Japanese students demonstrating in front of the Soviet embassy in protest against the resumption of nuclear tests is a graphic indication of the setback suffered by the anti-bomb movement throughout the world as a result of the Kremlin decision. Previous to the Soviet announcement, the main fire of the peace movement had been directed against the prime source of the war danger — U.S. imperialism.

In London, Bertrand Russell, a world figure in the ban-the-bomb drive, led a sit-down demonstration near the Soviet Embassy Aug. 31. In this country, the most prominent foe of nuclear testing, Dr. Linus Pauling, condemned the Soviet decision as a threat to peace.

Within the radical movement, the Soviet action created dismay and anger. While the Communist Party continued to act as a blind apologist for the Kremlin by simply echoing Khrushchev's statement that the U.S. forced the Soviet action, the *National Guardian* decried the move in a Sept. 11 editorial which declared:

"We dare not underestimate the mischief that may be done in the guise of protest against the USSR for deciding to resume nuclear tests. We had hoped that Soviet patience — though tested to the breaking point — might endure,

and that world pressure might prevent further U.S. and British tests and stop de Gaulle. Yet we cannot condemn the Soviet Union for its decision without condemning as we have for more than a decade the prodding, saber-rattling, encirclement and provocation aimed at the Soviet world since the death of President Roosevelt in 1945."

In the same issue of the *Guardian*, Russ Nixon, legislative director of the United Electrical Workers (Ind.) and a prominent opponent of the U.S. war drive, sharply scored the Soviet action. He cited the final resolution of last month's Tokyo Peace conference, to which he was a delegate. The resolution declared:

"If nuclear tests are resumed now, it is obvious that the arms race will be accelerated. The first government to resume tests should be denounced as an enemy of peace and of mankind."

After citing this, Nixon declared:

"All delegates to the conference, including those from the Soviet Union and China and the other socialist countries, agreed."

The same issue of the *Guardian* carried the viewpoint of the socialist philosopher, Barrows Dunham, who expressed himself in a poem entitled, *A Song for Utopia*:

When Kennedy has made his point,
And Khrushchev has averred,
The World is further out of joint,
The season more absurd.

"Folly to fight," they say, "for few,
If any, would survive" —
And they mean you, and you, and you,
And everyone alive.

"Yet we will slaughter if we must,
For our opponents' sin;
Though we reduce ourselves to dust,
At least they will not win."

I hope for times less out of joint,
For seasons less absurd,
When Kennedy makes no point,
And Khrushchev says no word.

Demand Freedom For Albizu Campos

The week of Sept. 10-17 is being marked throughout the Western hemisphere as a week of protest against the imprisonment of Pedro Albizu Campos, paralyzed President of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, and some 40 other Puerto Rican political prisoners. Albizu Campos was 70 years old on Sept. 12.

Beside homage to the aged independence fighter and demands for the release of him and the other political prisoners, the week's activities will support political independence for Puerto Rico.

In the New York area the week began with a Sept. 10 public meeting at the Empire Hotel presenting speakers from numerous countries. A picket line at the United Nations was held on Sept. 12. Other scheduled events include an evening meeting at Judson Memorial Church on Washington Square, Sept. 14, with Carleton Beals, David Dellinger, Conrad Lynn and Ruth Reynolds as featured speakers.

On Sunday Sept. 17 at 2 p.m. there will be a wind-up meeting at Hunts Point Palace, Bronx, sponsored by more than a dozen organizations dedicated to the independence of Puerto Rico. Besides representatives from these organizations, Richard Gibson, Acting Executive Secretary of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, will speak.

Taxpayers Asked To Foot Bill for Conn. Scab-Herding

The United Aircraft Corporation has submitted a bill to the U.S. government for strikebreaking expenses incurred by the company last year. The Corporation broke a strike by the International Association of Machinists at the Pratt and Whitney division plant in East Hartford, Conn., in the summer of 1960 at a cost of \$10 million. It expects the government to pay \$7.5 million of that sum under the provisions of the "fixed-price incentive contracts" it has with the Navy. Under these contracts, a target price is negotiated, and then if expenses are greater than expected, the government pays 75% of the additional costs.

So far, only the bill for strikebreaking at the East Hartford plant has come to light but the strike involved several plants in New England under contract to the IAM and the United Auto Workers, and was the most serious in Connecticut in a decade. Presumably, the corporation wants reimbursement for strikebreaking at the other plants, and other corporations will expect a similar subsidy.

Pay Scab Costs

The additional expenses were listed as extra overtime for non-strikers, advertising for persons to work behind picket lines, hiring and training of such persons, and defective work performed by them.

A resolution of the Connecticut State Labor Council, AFL-CIO says: "It becomes abundantly clear that United Aircraft's reluctance to bargain seriously on the issues of the strike can be explained in substantial measure by the assurance which the company believed it had that the cost of the strike, no matter how outrageous, would be subsidized in large part by the government."

... UAW Walkouts at GM

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Reuther proudly boasted on Sept. 3, "The UAW recommends . . . an agreement with a built-in 'safety valve' which will insure the corporation against the chance that payments to its employees will affect its profit position, reduce stockhold equity or require GM to increase prices." (*Detroit Free Press*, Sept. 4)

The agreement with GM is contingent on settlement of some 15,000 issues around local plant working conditions, which has necessitated extension of the strike deadline to next Monday. Disturbed by the settlement at AMC, several GM locals jumped the gun and struck Wed., Sept. 6. These included the Buick engine plant in Flint and the Fisher Body plant in Pittsburgh, where indignation has run high since the plant manager ran down a picket Wednesday.

day. Fears of a give-away of on-the-job conditions similar to those given AMC by Reuther have prompted these actions.

Even at AMC's two big plants in Wisconsin the workers are disturbed by the expected loss of one 5-minute wash-up period won in earlier contracts. A local officer reports "a lot of piecemeal information is causing rumors to fly through the plant." (*Detroit News*, Sept. 6)

This fear is absolutely justifiable. For AMC announced its economic agreement was "subject to changes in local working agreements, on which we insist." AMC was specific about the changes: eliminate "excessive" paid-time-not-worked (rest and wash-up time) provisions, revise seniority clauses to increase "effective utilization of manpower," and "establish a sound basis for production standards." These latter two demands would permit the elimination of widespread "bumping" for jobs by long-time employees. In plain English, this means loss of job security and seniority rights.

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New United Committee Holds First Mass Rally in Harlem

By William Bundy

NEW YORK — A new committee, unusual in that prominent conservative integrationists, Black Nationalists and Black Muslim leaders are all in it, held its first mass meeting in front of Harlem's Hotel Theresa on Sept. 6. The group, chaired by A. Philip Randolph, President of the Negro American Labor Council, and formed on his initiative, is called the Emergency Committee for Unity on Social and Economic Problems. It includes such prominent New York City leaders as Percy Sutton of the NAACP, Black Muslim leader Malcolm X, Louis Mischeaux, African Nationalist, James R. Lawson of the United African Nationalist Movement, and Rev. George Lawrence, pastor of Antioch Baptist Church.

The new committee called the street meeting as a "Mass Rally for Unity" to demand "jobs for New York's 80,000 unemployed black workers." A list of demands had previously been presented by the committee to the capitalist political candidates in the Mayoralty election. It was announced that the rally would hear opinions of the replies received. Speakers at the rally, however, did not mention the demands or the candidates or whether answers from them had been received. The

speeches dealt only in very general terms with economic problems and tended to center around the tensions between the police and the citizens of Harlem. Police making arrests have on several recent occasions encountered mass resistance from Harlem residents.

A leaflet was distributed to the audience by the On Guard Committee for Freedom calling for picketing a nearby police station to protest police brutality. This militant proposal was repeatedly disavowed during the meeting by Randolph.

The rally attracted an audience of some 500 around the speaker's stand and another 500 stood listening on sidewalks at some distance but within range of the loudspeakers. This is a relatively small turnout for a meeting featuring prominent speakers at that location.

The case of Robert F. Williams was mentioned once, Muslim leader Malcolm X said: "The FBI, which still hasn't caught the murderers of Emmett Till, which couldn't find the murderers of Mark Charles Parker, which strained every legal point to find an excuse not to look for them, now has the nerve to swear out a warrant against Robert Williams, a black man in North Carolina who was trying to defend his people against violence."

... Facts on "Kidnap" Frame-Up

(Continued from Page 1)
bay, Williams explained to the couple about the anti-Negro, anti-Freedom Rider rioting downtown, the fears that those held in the police station might be lynched and that the neighborhood was about to be invaded by a KKK motorcade. He asked Mr. Stegall to telephone and use his influence with the authorities. Stegall explained he was from out of town, unknown to Monroe officials, and hence without influence. Mrs. Stegall interjected that she would get on the phone and try to do something.

It is known that Williams did speak to Police Chief Mauney and then put Mr. Stegall on the phone. But Williams is now a fugitive and his side of the story has yet to be heard. The only version carried by the North Carolina (and national) press is that of Chief Mauney, who says Williams phoned that a white couple was being held hostage and would be killed unless the Freedom Riders were released in 30 minutes. Mauney makes out that Williams was holding them and threatening to kill them. Those who know Williams' character and those who observed his conduct during the whole hectic week declare that Mauney is deliberately twisting Williams' reporting of the situation and the threats of the crowd into a "ransom call" in order to frame him on a kidnap charge.

Freedom Riders from Monroe and civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn, who has long represented Robert F. Williams, held a press conference at New York's Hotel Shelburne the afternoon of Sept. 8.

One of the Freedom Riders told how, upon being taken through the cell block in the Monroe jail, he heard screams and saw a figure with face covered with blood, nose broken, bleeding from the eyes. He did not recognize his friend, Freedom Rider Dick Griswold, till the latter gasped out his name. The white prisoner who did the beating later boasted to them that he had been "promised a Freedom Rider" in advance, that it would cost him a \$15 fine at most and that someone else would pay it. His complaint was that he had been promised a knife for the job but hadn't got it.

That evening Conrad Lynn, Freedom Rider David Norton and Constance Lever, the English girl arrested in Monroe, addressed a meeting in Adelphi Hall, New York, sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance. Lynn announced that a defense committee was being formed with Dr. A. E. Perry as chairman. The proceeds of the meeting were donated to this committee. Its address is: *Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, Suite 1117, 741 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.*

Weekly Calendar

NEW YORK

Latin America Looks at Cuba — An eye-witness report by Bert Wainer, editor of Fair Play for Cuba Committee's Student Council. Fri., Sept. 22, 8:30 p.m. 297 East 10th St. Apt. 3A. Followed by social evening. Contrib. 99 cents. Ausp. Student Council, Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Fall Dance. Jazz and Latin rhythms. Sat., Sept. 30, 8:30 p.m. Central Plaza, 111 Second Ave. (near Sixth St.) Contrib. \$1.50 (Boat ride tickets honored for admission.) Ausp. On Guard for Freedom Committee and Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

Socialist news commentary by Theodore Edwards, chairman, Southern Calif. SWP. Fri., Sept. 22, 7:45 p.m. FM Station KPFK, 90.7 on your dial.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Denver	\$ 100.00	\$ 75.05	75
Detroit	665.00	290.00	42
Boston	600.00	242.00	40
Chicago	900.00	340.00	38
Seattle	530.00	200.00	38
Twin Cities	1,300.00	450.00	35
Newark	160.00	50.00	31
St. Louis	95.00	30.00	31
San Diego	300.00	80.00	27
Berkeley-Oakland	530.00	119.50	23
New York	4,700.00	1,076.02	23
San Francisco	600.00	130.00	22
Philadelphia	320.00	57.00	18
Cleveland	530.00	71.00	13
Allentown	130.00	14.00	10
Los Angeles	5,300.00	377.55	7
Milwaukee	320.00	20.00	6
Connecticut	160.00	0	0
Totals through Sept. 11	\$17,240.00	\$3,622.12	21

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Monday, September 18, 1961

Ominous Statements

With the troop build-up in Berlin and the provocative military policy there producing a steady rash of dangerous incidents, any of which could lead to a shooting war, the Kennedy administration has announced in no uncertain terms that it is prepared to convert a military clash in Berlin into a nuclear attack on the USSR.

This promise in the name of "honor" to launch general nuclear war was revealed in a Sept. 6 article, describing the thinking of President Kennedy, by James Reston, chief Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, writing from the "Summer White House" in Hyannis Port, Mass. It was officially repeated the next day by Paul H. Nitze, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, to the convention of the Association of the U.S. Army.

Claiming the main danger is possible Kremlin underestimation of Washington's readiness to go the limit, Reston wrote: "Official reports from there indicate that Khrushchev believes the U.S. would not resort to nuclear war unless American territory were attacked. The only trouble with this belief is that it just happens to be totally wrong."

Journalists of the eminence of the *Times'* Mr. Reston, when reporting the thinking of a President, do not use such unequivocal terms unless they have it absolutely so from the horse's mouth. Indeed, the next paragraph of Reston's article contains phrases of such a strikingly un-Reston-like style that trained observers will take them for unacknowledged quotations or close paraphrases of Kennedy himself. It reads:

"Any assumption, however, that the U.S. would acquiesce in the defeat of its command on the ground without resorting to the ultimate weapons of nuclear power would be highly reckless. For nuclear war in such circumstances is not 'unthinkable.' It is, in cold fact, being thought about and planned, and Mr. Khrushchev, unless he wishes to preside over a Soviet wasteland, next door to 800,000,000 Chinese, would be well advised to take this into account."

Nitze is the Pentagon's chief policy expert on Berlin developments. His address to the army association was described by the *N.Y. Times* (Sept. 8) as "an authoritative speech on military policy in the Berlin crisis." How important that paper regarded the speech may be gauged by the fact that in addition to a lengthy news article on it, it also ran a large selection of excerpts. The news article summarized Nitze's principal points as follows: 1) "interference with the West's essential rights in Berlin would be 'the straw that broke the camel's back.' 2) "threats of retaliation, not necessarily in Berlin but on 'terms other than those selected by the Soviets.' 3) "a reminder of the 'certain prospect' that nuclear strategic weapons would be used, if necessary, to back hostilities involving conventional weapons."

We cannot overstress the ominous character of these statements. They constitute Washington's definitive ultimatum to Khrushchev and to the world that it will not permit a military struggle over Berlin to be localized, like the Korean war, but will convert it into World War III by a nuclear attack on Soviet territory.

To the extent that average Americans permit themselves to think about it, they have expressed fear that nuclear war might be started accidentally by some mentally unbalanced person in a key position dropping a bomb or pushing a fateful button.

The time is now. The danger is not of accident but of calculation. The mentally unbalanced are in top positions in the White House, the Pentagon, the Republican and Democratic parties.

Reuther Ducks the Issue

At the United Auto Workers special convention last April, a resolution containing the views of the union's president, Walter Reuther, was passed as the guide to this year's contract negotiations. It said in part:

"Since 1953, the number of production workers in our industries [those under UAW contract] has declined by 381,000. . . . This dilemma will grow, not diminish, as technology advances and productivity rises. . . . The UAW approaches the bargaining table in 1961 with an open mind, flexible with respect to how we solve the problem of getting our members back to work but rigidly determined to find an answer. We are prepared to explore the following approaches in seeking a solution: Reduction of the work week or workday without loss in pay; Longer vacations; Additional paid holidays; Industrial sabbaticals; Early retirement."

Not one of these points is embodied in the contracts recently negotiated by Reuther with American Motors and General Motors. As usual, Reuther's "flexible" approach has proved simply a device to sidetrack the swelling movement within the UAW — and U.S. labor generally — for a resolute fight for a 30-hour week at 40 hours pay.

Once again Reuther is revealed as "rigidly determined" to avoid this fight. But, as the resolution says, technological unemployment will grow, not diminish. And when the new contracts expire three years from now, "shorter hours with no reduction in take-home pay" will still be the answer to automation unemployment.

... Racist Violence in Monroe

(Continued from Page 1)

the streets. This was because we felt that violence was possibly brewing. The result was that although the picket line was thinned there were still quite a number of people left on it including myself.

The crowd had come back onto the sidewalk where the picketers were and around the corner toward which I was walking. I gathered that they were about to attack one of the pickets. James Forman, a Freedom Rider from Chicago, who was our spokesman for that day, took me off the line and put me into a car that was passing in an attempt to get me away and safely back to New Town, the Negro quarter.

Police officer Rushing said to Capt. Elliot when he saw me getting into the car, "You are not going to let her go in that car, are you?" Because, I presume, there were four Negroes in the car. Capt. Elliot said, "Let the car go." But Rushing came over, and said, "There's a stick in it, you're not allowed to carry sticks on the picket line." Now, the car had nothing whatsoever to do with the picket line. I was off the picket line myself and before Capt. Elliot had left to see what was happening around the corner he had said to let the car go. However, Rushing ignored the orders, stepped the car, looked inside and saw a shotgun. Now, in North Carolina a gun is perfectly legal so long as it is not concealed. The gun obviously was not concealed or the police officer would not have seen it.

I realized that my presence in the car was being used to claim that this car was a member of the picket line, so I got out. However, he insisted upon arresting the people in the car. They were charged with resisting arrest, the driver with swearing. I was now standing by the car with James Forman and I saw that one of the crowd now had the shotgun, which had been in the car. Now I didn't see it happen, but James Forman did see that the officer had taken the gun out of the car and handed it to this member of the mob.

Provocative Incident

I believe that if it hadn't been for this incident, where the crowd could see the police arresting the Negroes in the car, beating them and this man pointing the gun at us the riot would not have occurred. But at that moment they became convinced that the police was wholly on their side and that, I think, provoked the whole riot.

The mob made for us at this stage. The man pointing the gun struck James Forman with it on the right temple and he had blood pouring all down his shirt and onto my blouse as well. Again he said to the policeman, "I want that man arrested." When we got to the police station I asked a policeman why the man hadn't been arrested. He said, "we don't know who he was."

Forman and I were not arrested. We asked to go in the car to the police station for protection. When we arrived there we waited with other people — pickets and local people who were similarly there for protection. We must have been there an hour and a half. Many other people came in or were brought in for protection. A boy of 15, Brown Massey, was brought in by a policeman. He had been badly beaten up. I suppose he was under arrest. He said nobody had told him he was, and nobody told us he was, but he was locked up.

A police officer told us all to leave. We said that if we leave we'll all get killed, that we're going to stay here. He said, all right then, stay. About this time the man, who all the people in Monroe say is the head of the Ku Klux Klan, came in and started talking to Police Chief Mauney. I don't know what the conversation was about. I do know that one of us heard Chief Mauney saying to him: "It will take about a half an hour to arrange."

A little while later James For-

man asked Capt. Elliot if it would be a good idea for us to call four taxis to take people off. His reply was, "If I were you I'd wait a little while longer until perhaps the crowd outside has quieted down."

Our reason for being in the police station was for protection. But another for staying was we felt the small number of people who were under arrest — those who had been in the car and Brown Massey — stood less danger of being lynched if there were plenty of us around.

A taxi did come and took off the people standing nearest the door. Minutes after — and I might point out this was just about a half hour after the conversation between the reputed head of the Klan and the police chief — a policeman came in and said, "You're all under arrest!" I heard him, most people did not. We were put into police cars. Most people thought they were being taken home and were very surprised when they ended up in jail.

Q.: What about your trial?

A.: We were put in jail and not allowed any communication or telephone calls from Sunday night until Tuesday. We learned that our bail was \$1,000 each. Later our lawyer got bail reduced to \$25 and trial date set for Sept. 1. Ready cash wasn't immediately available and so only local people were supposed to be allowed out on Tuesday evening. I was in a cell with the Massey sisters, the four girls who had come down to see about their brother and they refused to go without me. About midnight we were most of us released. On Friday there was the trial. Our lawyers were Len Holt and William Kunstler from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Dixie Justice

It wasn't a jury trial, just a judge. We were charged with inciting to riot. The judge refused to try us separately, he insisted that it be a mass trial. The only evidence brought against us was that we had been picketing continuously for a week and that a riot followed. Capt. Elliot admitted that at no time had any police officer told us not to picket. We had been arrested after the picketing had stopped, while in the police station for protection. We were all given sentences ranging from six months to two years, most got six months. All sentences are suspended unless we engage in any picketing in Union County or break the laws of North Carolina.

Q.: How were you treated in jail?

A.: Well I can't compare it with other jails, I've never been in one before. We were overcrowded. The men were heavily so. We five girls were together in a cell block but we had three beds between us. Behind the barred gate we could see other beds not in use. We weren't offered food till Monday midday. This I should say probably is because they'd heard us saying we intended to go on a hunger strike and perhaps they thought to break down our resistance by not offering us food until we were really hungry. We did in fact go on a hunger strike.

Q.: What is your opinion of the colored people of Monroe?

A.: Two things perhaps surprised me. One was to find that we, the outsiders — and particularly the white ones, were completely accepted into the community with no reserve, no false shame or false admiration. We felt as if we had lived there all our lives. And they treated us this way.

The other thing which I hadn't expected, and which I believe is due to the efforts of Robert Williams to organize the people for their own self-defense, was that they had a dignity, a self-respect and a pride which I'd never met in any other group of people. They weren't afraid to look anyone in the eye, to answer the police chief back, the head of the Klan back, whoever it might be. The case

of Brown Massey who, as I say, was brought in by the police badly beaten, struck me not as being exceptional because it was typical. A boy of 15, he could hardly walk, was holding onto the wall for support. The policeman said to him in an insulting tone, "You, boy, go and sit over there!" Massey pulled himself up with an effort and said, "You don't tell me what to do!"

Q.: Do you think that Robert F. Williams, who advocates that the Negro people defend themselves with arms if necessary, was responsible in any way for the violence that took place?

A.: Absolutely not in any conceivable way at all! In fact, I'd go to the other extreme and say that the presence of Williams prevented a great deal of violence. He's advocated self-defense. I think it was a sign of the greatness of the man that he was prepared to invite in Freedom Riders to attempt a non-violent, pacifist offensive in the town — even though he had strong doubts about the usefulness of these methods. We, in the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee, were a completely separate body from him. He didn't come to our meetings, didn't tell us what to do. He was never on the picket line.

Cooperated with Pacifists

Never while I was there, nor from any account I've heard, has he engaged in any provocative violence, in any reprisals, in any violent offensive of any kind. He encouraged members of the local community to join us in the MN-VAC and he insisted that while working with us, the committee, they be non-violent.

I believe that if it hadn't been for the presence of Williams and what I would call his Home Guard, there would have been an extremely violent situation Saturday night when as large a crowd gathered as on Sunday. A whole cavalcade of cars followed us as we walked back to Williams' street, hooting and throwing things, trying to cut us off at intersections, attempting to run over anybody who stepped off the sidewalk for even a second. I would put the whole blame on the police or, I would say, the local police. Also the governor. Also the white mob, of course.

I think Robert Williams is the greatest man I've ever met. I owe him a debt of gratitude beyond any repayment. I might start off by saying I'm not a socialist and that I'm not a believer or excuser of what I call terrorism in any form whatsoever. Whatever I'd heard or read of movements which used words like liberty, justice, rights, had been in conjunction with indiscriminate reprisals, attacks on civilian populations such as the Mau Mau in Kenya, the movement in Cyprus. I know you disagree with me on this. But this in conjunction with the inheritance, which I feel our generation has of the bitter disillusionment of the 1930's, had led me to be cynical about and doubt the value and meaning of these words — justice, equality, truth and liberty.

It was my acquaintanceship with Williams which restored my confidence and understanding of the meaning of these words. Because here was a man of complete and absolute integrity who believed in them and lived up to them every minute of his life. A man who practiced them, who had power, who had guns, who had an armed force at his disposal which he used solely for self-defense. I could never find anything to object to in anything he did. Even though I perhaps did not agree with all his views, this seemed irrelevant. And, as I say, this man has restored my confidence in a great many things — in human nature for I saw what he had done for the population of Monroe, giving them this pride and self-confidence and dignity which was very remarkable.

BOOK REVIEW

A Real-Life Horror Story

THE UN-AMERICANS. By Frank J. Donner. 313 pp. New York: Ballantine Books, 1961, 60 cents.

When Frank Donner picked up his pen to write this book, he was an angry man. When you have finished reading it, you, too, will be angry. It is easy to forget what a vicious, destructive force this kangaroo-court House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) is. But when you read its whole history, the full force of what it has done, and is still doing, hits you like a blow to the solar plexus.

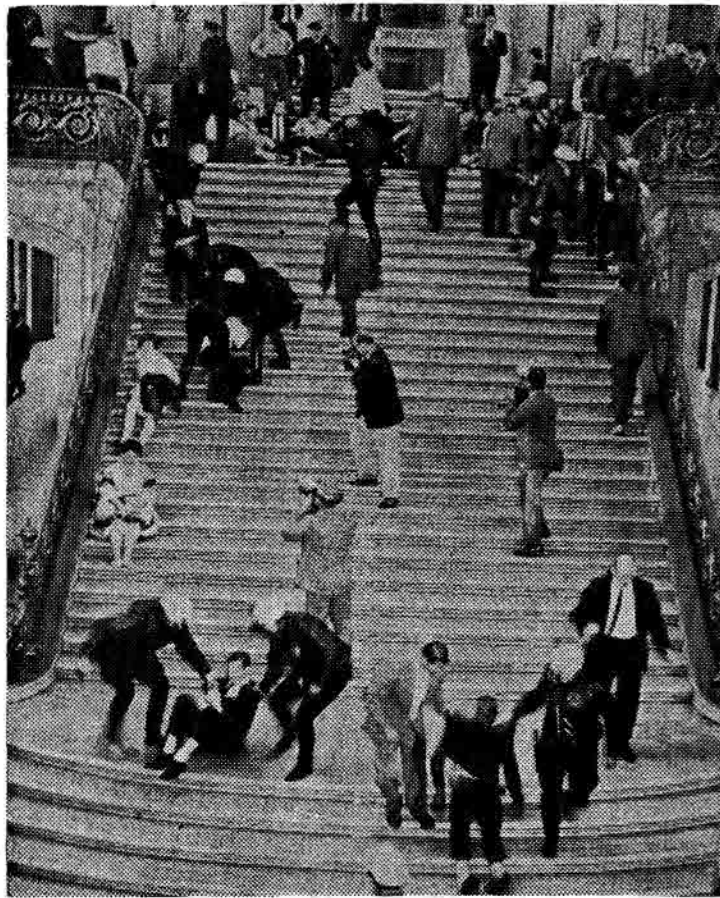
This is a horror story, replete with the macabre detail usually associated with an Alfred Hitchcock production. But the awful difference is that when you watch something by Hitchcock, you know it is fiction. When you finish Donner's book you cannot lay it aside as fiction — as something that "can't happen." It has happened. And it is still happening!

HUAC has one purpose and only one purpose — to frame up and crucify people holding forward-looking ideas. It lives on "lists." Names, names and more names are its sustenance.

Donner uses HUAC's own reports, the *Congressional Record* and local newspapers, wherever committee hearings have been held, as his main sources.

It is impossible in a short review even to outline the methods used by HUAC to destroy anyone who does not conform to its definition of a "pure American." Fifteen people have committed suicide as a result of HUAC's activities. There is no telling how many people have had their livelihoods taken away, their families broken, their standing in their communities blasted, merely because they were called to testify. This committee is the cop, the grand jury, the judge and the jury all in one. The witness is always guilty — unless he is "friendly" or one of the professionals who follow the committee from place to place, "remembering" as they go.

Perhaps the most sinister facts revealed in this book are the direct connections between HUAC and the many reactionary and hate-groups — like the Ku-Klux Klan, the Baltimore Minute Women, the American Legion, some Southern branches of the Veterans



When Bay Area students turned out in mass to see one of the notorious House Un-American Activities hearings for themselves the Congressmen kept them out by packing the City Hall hearing room with supporters. When the students protested the rigged attendance set-up, local cops went after them with clubs and fire hoses. Since then reactionary groups have been showing "Operation Abolition," a House Committee-inspired film of the events purporting to show the students were "Communist led." The film has been exposed as a crudely doctored fraud.

of Foreign Wars, the Christian Crusaders, the John Birch Society, the Daughters of the American Revolution, etc. These groups serve the committee both by compiling the necessary lists of suspected "subversives" in a given area, and by preparing the ground for HUAC's entry into an area. When the hearings are held members of these groups get the coveted "white cards" for admission — thus providing the TV cameras with audiences of "indignant citizens" to flash on the screen while the witness is pilloried.

There is a growing movement to

abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. Included in this movement are many international unions, national church organizations, student groups and civil liberties bodies. Among influential newspapers which editorially have joined the fight are the *New York Times*, the *New York Post*, *Denver Post*, *Washington Post*, *San Francisco Examiner* and *San Francisco Call-News Bulletin*.

It seems to this reviewer that Frank Donner's book will be a valuable weapon in this fight.

Marvel Scholl

It Was Reported in the Press

French Arrest Anti-Fascist — Valentino Gonzales, famed Communist guerrilla fighter in the Spanish civil war who was known as El Campesino, has been placed under house arrest in France and charged with directing recent raids into Spain by exiles. After Franco's victory, El Campesino took refuge in the Soviet Union where his outspokenness led to his being jailed by Stalin. He later escaped from the Soviet Union and denounced Stalin's dictatorial rule.

Anti-Cuban Night Riders — Pro-Castro Cubans in Union City, West New York and Hoboken, N.J., have been the target of a wave of early morning shooting attacks. Guns have been fired from automobiles into three homes, two grocery stores, a car, and the windows of a Cuban club. So far, no one has been injured. Police say they are ordering stepped-up night patrols to combat the attacks.

Stretching the News — Involved in a labor dispute, Argentine radio announcers staged a two-day slowdown Sept. 5-7. They spoke so slowly that the 10 o'clock news was announced at 11.

Dixie Democracy — John Hardy, 21, a participant in the Southern Negro vote registration drive, accompanied two prospective reg-

istrants into the office of circuit clerk John Wood in Tylertown, Miss., Sept. 7. Wood pulled a gun and ordered them to leave. As Hardy turned to go, Wood struck him from behind. Hardy's companions helped him outside where cops jailed him for "breach of the peace."

Winning the Masses — The Sept. 11 *New York Times* offered this description of the opening of a campaign tour of New York's East Side by Louis Lefkowitz, Republican candidate for mayor: "It began shortly before noon in the pushcart market on Avenue C. Three tipsy panhandlers, encouraged by a 20-cent touch, followed the candidate hopefully, if a bit unsteadily, shouting their endorsement."

The Impartials — An Aug. 21 *Minneapolis Tribune* article reported: "O. Roy Chalk, president of the District of Columbia Transit System, gave \$5,000 to the Republicans in 1956 and \$6,000 to the Democrats in 1960. Arthur K. Watson, president of the International Business Machine's World Trade Corp., and his wife gave \$6,000 to the GOP in 1956 and \$6,000 to the Democrats in 1960, and Thomas J. Watson, Jr., IBM board chairman, gave \$10,000 to the GOP in 1956 and \$10,500 to the Democrats in 1960."

Call and Raise — Scientific advisers to the U.S. Air Force are urging that the Soviet threat of a 100 megaton superbomb be countered with the development of a 1,000 megaton globe-buster.

An Important Advance — The new contract won by Actors Equity with Industrial Shows Producers, comprised of 52 companies which put on live industrial shows, bars performances anywhere in the U.S. or Canada where there is racial segregation of audiences. In previous contracts with this outfit, and this holds true of the unexpired contract with the League of Theatres, the ban applied only to Washington, D.C.

An American Home — A Chicago judge has ordered 410 tenants to move out of a block-long slum building. Characterized as "unfit for humans," the 125-flat building had 997 violations listed against it. Twenty of the people living in the building have tuberculosis, there were many blind and crippled tenants and one flat housed a family with 15 children.

Fact of the Week — Deep-thinking New York cops are convinced that if there were no customers, there would be no prostitutes.

Cuban Balance Sheet

Los Angeles, Calif.

I have just read your interesting and informative *Balance Sheet of the Cuban Revolution* (Aug. 7 & 14 issue.)

It is difficult for me to understand the calmness with which you report the arrest of fellow-Trotskyists in Cuba.

If Castro is not responsible, why haven't you addressed an appeal to him in *The Militant* to reverse the actions of the Communist disrupters of Cuban unity?

If he is responsible, can it be that he is falling into a trap under the pressure of foreign interventionists?

A trend like this cannot be reversed by silence. I hope that you will be the initiator of a protest to help turn the trend back to a Socialist Cuba.

S.D.

Letter From Havana

Havana, Cuba

After reading the *Balance Sheet of the Cuban Revolution* I decided to look up the Cuban Trotskyists. I talked with the editor of *Voz Proletaria* and asked him what the status of the paper was.

He said they have not been able to reach top officials of the government to complain about the seizure of their last issue. They are inclined to believe that it was not part of a general government policy but an act undertaken by a Stalinist functionary.

The editor of *Voz Proletaria* said that none of their group had been molested in any way. As for the type set up for Trotsky's book, *Permanent Revolution*, they don't know whether it was destroyed or just carted away in the process of intervention of the print shop. There were a number of small print shops intervened at the same time, so it could have been coincidental that the intervention order included the shop which printed *Voz Proletaria*.

I might add that I listened to one of the Trotskyists soap-boxing in a public park here to quite a large crowd. His speech was very good, completely in favor of the revolution and certainly devoid of anything that could give comfort to the imperialists or their counter-revolutionary stooges in Cuba.

J.B.

Raps Weekly People

Philadelphia, Pa.

The following is a copy of a letter which I sent to the *Weekly People* about six weeks ago which they have not published.

* * *

I will continue to read the *Weekly People* despite things like your absurd position on Cuba. My appreciation of your critique of American plutocratic capitalism is great. In fervor it is equalled only by my scorn for your mechanistic and therefore pseudo-Marxist analysis of the resounding Cuban Revolution.

In essence, you say: Because Cuba still lacks the economic prerequisites for a beautifully ideal socialist society, we must attack it as being reactionary. While admitting that capitalist hostility forces Cuba to accept Soviet aid, you denounce Castro for gratefully accepting such aid. Your intellectual world has only two colors: all white and all black. Because Castro dares to admit his Socialist ideals you immediately, like a robot, insult his fine intelligence by Stalinizing him. In your magnanimous moods, you simply call him a "benevolent despot."

Such reasoning is incredibly sec-

Thought for the Week

"Black visions of nuclear explosions and horrible devastation of the land arise in our mind when anybody as much as hints at an impending holocaust. Yet our movies go right on suggesting that warfare is a sort of a killing game that large teams of men engage in on suitable occasions and that even, at times, can be fun . . . there is peril in prolonging the old illusion that war is for heroes and heroic death. War is for monsters and mad men. Our films should say so."—Bosley Crowther, *New York Times* movie critic.

tarian. You have out-Kennedyed Kennedy. Your mechanistic, undialectical blinders lead you to ignore or slight the facts that:

(1) The Fair Play for Cuba Committee, by courageously defending the Cuban Revolution, is enabling thousands of once-naïve Americans to understand the monstrosity of American capitalist imperialism.

(2) Cuba's material progress and revolutionary spirit is inspiring and radicalizing the exploited everywhere — especially the great Latin American masses.

(3) Any substantial extension of the Cuban Revolution to Latin America will, by staggering the stilts of U.S. imperialism, create revolutionary conditions in our country. Certain dogma shelters the Socialist Labor Party from the fact that Cuba's revolution is a landmark in the permanent World Revolution.

Indeed, your Cuban position is genuinely reactionary. You magnify a half-truth like a vicious, blinding dogma: "... Cuba is but a pawn in the struggle between the two great world powers . . ." You could be helping to keep the Washington wolves from Cuba's door. Instead you encourage hostility and apathy against Cuba.

Your position would draw a sneer from Marx and a tear from De Leon.

D.R.

Garza Booster

New York, N.Y.

I saw Richard Garza, the Socialist Workers candidate for mayor, interviewed on TV last night. It was good to see a young socialist stand up against those so-called "civic experts" and give them some real ideas about what could be done to make this a better town to live in.

H.C.

Organize the Jobless

Detroit, Mich.

The need to organize the unemployed was shown by two recent reports on the plight of workers in the oil industry.

The Texaco Co. began operation on Aug. 16 of America's first fully automated plant for the blending of more than 40 industrial lubricants at River Rouge, a Detroit suburb. The plant's central feature is an electronic console which enables a technician to mix six additives and base stocks at once. Only 30 men will be needed to operate the plant at full production.

In Chicago, the convention of the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers International Union unanimously passed a resolution Aug. 24 calling for the formation of special unions for the unemployed — these unions to be composed of unemployed from various industries, thus giving them more voice than they could have as a minority in their own unions.

All union members can help the campaign to organize the unemployed by introducing similar resolutions in their local unions. Copies of the OCAW resolution can be obtained by writing to the union's headquarters at 1840 California St., P.O. Box 2812, Denver 1, Calif.

Jim Campbell

A Plug for Paar

New York, N.Y.

What's the big rhubarb about staging special troop movements at the East Berlin border for the Jack Paar show? I'd rather see a comedian deploying the troops than a madman.

D.B.