

Kennedy Refuses to Aid Negroes Against Racist Birmingham Cops

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 27 - No. 16

Monday, April 22, 1963

Price 10c

Did 'Pro-Americans' Really Sweep Canadian Elections?

By Ross Dowson

TORONTO — The results of Canada's federal election have been hailed as a victory for "pro-Americanism," a victory for the proponents of nuclear armament, and even for U.S. President Kennedy. The basis for such an evaluation is the winning of 130 seats — less than half of the 265 in the House of Commons — by the Liberal Party headed by Lester Pearson, and the drop of the former governing party, the Progressive Conservatives headed by Prime Minister Diefenbaker, to 94; Social Credit to 24; and Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, to 17 seats.

Even if those had been the issues the election results provide feeble support for such claims. The Liberals, who most clearly identified themselves with the nuclear armament of Canadian forces, garnered only 41 per cent of the vote. A corollary to such claims would have to be that 59 per cent of the Canadian electorate are anti-American, anti-nuclear arms and anti-Kennedy.

Liberals Hedged

During the campaign, the Liberals not only rejected an offensive nuclear-arms role for Canada, which the U.S. representatives will be demanding of them at the NATO conference in Ottawa next month, but even hedged on their commitment to defensive nuclear arms. In Montreal, Pearson sat on the platform of his next to last major campaign meeting while his former cabinet minister Lionel Chevrier declared: "Never let anyone tell you that the Liberals are for the atomic bomb — a government headed by Mr. Pearson will never agree to Canada joining the nuclear club, and will never tolerate A-Bombs or H-Bombs on its territory. Mr. Pearson's government," he assured the audience, "will not allow Canada to serve as a warehouse for offensive destructive weapons."

It is true that New Democratic Party leader T. C. Douglas in his opening campaign speech declared

that this election would be a referendum on whether Canadian forces should be nuclear-armed — with his party opposed, the Liberals for acceptance of nuclear arms in April and the Tories for acceptance in May (the date of the NATO conference). But the campaign was never permitted to become a referendum.

The Liberal, Tory and Social Credit leaderships did everything to remove the issue from the political arena and place it in the hands of "experts," a parliamentary committee. And not only the Liberals, but the Tories and Social Credit too, made sweeping adaptations to the popular opposition to nuclear arms. In Quebec, Social Credit firmly opposed nuclear arms. In the rest of Canada, Social Credit favored nuclear arms and tried to straddle the difference by urging that there be a free vote in the next parliament. The Tories came up with a tricky formula. They admitted what was well known — that the Bomarc is outmoded — and at the same time advocated that nuclear warheads for it be acquired but stored across the border on U.S. soil.

There is considerable truth in what NDP leader Douglas replied after the election when he was asked if the Liberal Party program wasn't adequate for his party to support it, thus allowing the Liberals to form a government. "I haven't seen their program," he said. "All they say is that they are in favor of stable government." For it was the cry for a majority, for a stable government, which

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Militant Fund Drive Under Way

You Can Help Fight the Brainwashers

By Marvel Scholl

National Fund Drive Director

The Militant Fund Campaign to raise a minimum of \$21,000 got under way on March 15 and will run until June 15. The first scoreboard is on page 4.

It is more important than ever that *The Militant* continue in its present, hard-hitting, eight-page format. Although small, this newspaper prides itself on being a voice of truth against the lies, half-truths and the actual suppression of news which constitute the reporting of the daily newspapers, magazines, radio and TV. Today all mass media, with the help of the Madison Avenue boys, have become a vast brain-washing machine, designed to bias the thinking of the American people in any direction the ruling class wants.

In the face of the barrage of brain-washing, *The Militant* stands almost alone in the newspaper field. It digs for the facts and re-



Militant Photo by Jack Arnold

NEW YORK EASTER PEACE WALK. Demonstrators assembled at UN Plaza after marching from several parts of Manhattan. Shown above is part of crowd of 6,000. It was the largest New York Easter Peace demonstration yet and included many high school students. Student agitation against "civil defense" drills in schools is mounting.

British Peace Marchers Set International Pace

APRIL 16 — The ban-the-bomb demonstrations in Great Britain this Easter weekend were the most effective ever held. Their success was due to the turnout of unprecedented numbers and to the audacity of some members of the peace movement in publicly embarrassing the war makers.

The annual 60-mile march from Aldermaston, the research center for nuclear weapons, to London, began as usual on Good Friday. Next day, thousands of pamphlets were distributed among the 15,000 marchers. These pamphlets contained the government's secret plans for setting up emergency ruling centers in the event of nuclear bombing. The pamphlets were complete with maps, photographs, secret phone numbers of command bunkers, etc. The material was signed: "Spies for Peace." Police made raids on the marchers in a vain attempt to confiscate the pamphlets.

About 4,000 copies of these pamphlets are said to have been distributed among the marchers by unknown persons and to have

been mailed to newspapers, prominent persons throughout the world, and British government agencies. The sponsors of the Aldermaston March and officials of the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament disclaimed responsibility for the pamphlets. Members of the more militant "Committee of 100," however, were said to be pleased by their distribution.

The marchers certainly made the most of it. They sang "I've Got a Secret," and chalked the "secret" phone numbers on their jackets. Commenting on the contents of the pamphlets, Bertrand Russell said: "They reveal an official recognition that community life is not expected to continue, except perhaps briefly in remotely situated Government bunkers, where selected officials will administer each other and the millions of dead bodies in their region."

About 1,000 marchers turned off the regular line of march to follow the pamphlet's direction to a

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Uses Legal Dodge To Avoid Hurting Fellow Democrats

By Fred Halstead

APRIL 16 — A significant new stage in the struggle for Negro equality is possible if the direct-action campaign which began in Birmingham April 2 continues to develop. Easter Sunday saw over 2,000 Negroes participate in one demonstration. So far, over 250 persons have been arrested for protesting segregation, including Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, the leader of the local movement, and Rev. Martin Luther King.

Rev. King, who was arrested April 12, was not allowed to call his wife until she appealed to the federal government and received a personal phone call from President John F. Kennedy. Kennedy said he was "hopeful" the new city government which is scheduled to take office this week "will be more tolerant."

Kennedy claimed the federal government has no right to intervene itself. His excuse is described by the April 14 *Washington Post* as follows: "The right of assembly and protest is guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution, it was explained at [the Department of] Justice, but it is not an unlimited right. For example a town or city may adopt an ordinance to prevent parades without a permit."

This is one of the subterfuges that the Birmingham cops are using. They claim any anti-segregation demonstration is a parade without a permit, and they don't give permits for anti-segregation demonstrations.

When the profits of United Fruit and Standard Oil are to be protected in Latin America, Kennedy flouts U.S. and international law to organize an invasion of Cuba, mount an embargo, set up a wall of thought control, and even threaten nuclear war. But when

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Victimized Muslims Brought to Trial in Los Angeles Court

By Leslie Evans

LOS ANGELES, April 12 — Today marks the end of the first week of a trial in a drama begun here almost a year ago when more than 50 members of the police department's Metropolitan Squad fired wildly into a crowd of unarmed Negroes in front of a Muslim Mosque leaving six wounded and one, Ronald Stokes, 28, dead. Today 14 men are on trial on charges ranging from resisting arrest to assault with intent to commit murder — all of them are Negro, members of the Muslim faith. One of them, William Rogers, paralyzed from the waist down by a police bullet, is brought to court in a wheel chair. He will never walk again.

The process of selecting a jury has dragged on for five days and may take another week. Thus far the prosecuting attorneys, Evan Lewis and Harold Kippen, have challenged and dismissed every Negro and Mexican-American who has been questioned as a prospective juror.

The first two days saw the 300 seat courtroom packed with white and Negro spectators and long lines filling the halls of the courthouse. The daily papers have

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Pearson

Facts on Cuba from 4 Canadians

Next Week: An analysis of the New Democratic Party's campaign.

Which Road to Freedom?

Truman Nelson, Dellinger Debate Issue

NEW YORK — *Self-Defense or Non-Violence: Which Way for Civil-Rights Movement?* This was the title of a debate held April 10 at the Hotel Albert. Truman Nelson, novelist and author of the recent pamphlet about Monroe, N.C., *People With Strength*, spoke for self-defense; David Dellinger, pacifist and an editor of *Liberation*, defended non-violence. The

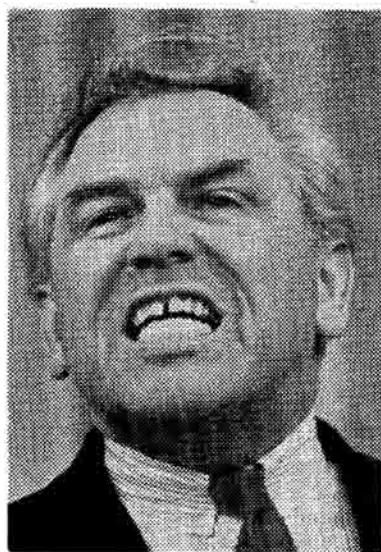
Moreover, he said, many courageous Southern fighters against Jim Crow, Anne Braden, to name one, would be alienated by armed defense.

Dellinger said he was interested in real revolution, not in one's own "neurotic expression." Guns would make the Southern whites worse than they are. Nor had the Civil War — an armed struggle — brought true emancipation to the Negroes. He considered it a weakness of the non-violent movement that it sometimes called on the federal government to send troops to the South to defend the civil-rights fighters. In the Meredith case, he said, the government had put on a big show for the benefit of international opinion but the University of Mississippi had not really been desegregated.

The important thing, Dellinger said, is not whether someone hits you, but whether you do what he wants you to do. He cited a number of incidents from his experience in prison to show the power of strikes and other non-violent actions by the inmates.

Truman Nelson said he felt many people are trying to find some prophetic voice to lead the country out of its present benighted state. Many think that the Negro struggle may be this voice. Though he did not personally know Robert Williams, he told a story about him he had heard when he visited Monroe, N.C. Williams was stopped by a cop who said the headlight of his car was broken and he would have to arrest him. Williams protested that it was daylight. When the cop insisted, Williams said he had to stop home first and tell his family where he was going. When the cop arrived at his house, Mrs. Williams came to the door holding a shotgun. She said her husband was not going. The cop left and did not return.

As to non-violence, Nelson asked how you are going to oppose the kicking to death of Negroes in Southern jails — by singing? He said that the young leaders have to be protected, they are too precious to be sent out to be beaten up. "Forgive them for they know not what they do is a terrible idea when applied to racists. The liberal walks softly but carries a big lie," he said.



Truman Nelson

Nelson felt the only effective way to stop the violence of the racists is to show you are not going to take it lying down. The non-violent position is "sick." It implies that the attacker is sacred and, if his heart is good, he will stop beating the victim.

As to why the Civil War did not bring emancipation, it was because troops were withdrawn from the South. Nelson felt it was all right for pacifists to protest at the Pentagon or at the launching of a Polaris submarine but they should not advise the Negro people in the South. Also, he said, believers in non-violence had to provoke violence in order to get hurt and get publicity.

The meeting was chaired by Harold Cruse, writer on the Negro struggle whose recent articles in *Studies on the Left* have aroused a good deal of attention and discussion.

A representative gave a report on the CAMD's campaign to halt the extradition of Mae Mallory to the South. He urged the audience to send protests to the Governor of Ohio against her impending extradition from that state to North Carolina on a framed-up indictment. Harold Reape, 18-year-old defendant in the same Monroe "kidnap" case, was introduced to the audience. Over 100 people attended the meeting.



David Dellinger

debate was sponsored by the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants.

At the outset, Dellinger, the first speaker, emphasized that he was for revolution in the United States. He said he was sure that his opponent and fellow-Bostonian, Truman Nelson, likewise shared this passion for social justice.

Explaining that he differed from the pacifist tactics of Martin Luther King in many respects, Dellinger said that real, militant non-violent action confounds the police just as much as armed defense does. He emphasized the danger of armed resistance by citing as an example the time when the Rev. King's house was defended by armed guards against bomb threats. A Western Union messenger had come to the darkened house and might have been shot by mistake, a tragedy which would have been a serious setback for the civil-rights movement.

... British Peace Marchers Set Pace

(Continued from Page 1)

"secret" bunker near Berkshire where they staged a sit-down.

The following day, the marchers passed Windsor Castle and planted the nuclear disarmament slogan on a statue of Queen Victoria. Several were arrested trying to scale the walls of the castle which is currently occupied by the royal family.

Meanwhile 48 Britons, who had flown to Dusseldorf to join a ban-the-bomb march there, were refused entrance by West German authorities and forced back onto their plane. They thereupon refused to fasten their seat belts; the pilot refused to take off until they did, and the plane was grounded for many hours. The Britons finally agreed to fasten their belts on condition that seven empty seats be filled with German peace demonstrators who had been refused permission to leave Germany for a trip to England. The demand was granted.

All this dramatic publicity helped bring out a record crowd of 100,000 in London to greet the demonstrators at Hyde Park where the marchers completed their trek on Monday, April 15. In marching through London 72 demonstrators were arrested.

By William Bundy

NEW YORK — This year's Easter Peace Walk was the largest and liveliest here yet. Some 6,000

people, many of them high-school students, walked the several miles from various starting points in Manhattan to Bryant Park at 42nd Street where they converged for a single parade to the United Nations.

A free and friendly atmosphere generally prevailed as the broadest representation of groups and organizations in the history of the event carried a variety of peace slogans.

These ranged from appeals for a stronger UN to a few that said: "Stop the U.S. War Drive." Slogans for an end to nuclear tests were the most numerous.

The most impressive thing about the demonstration was the large number of teen-age youth, particularly in the contingent which marched from the area of Columbia University under the banners of the Student Peace Union.

One incident revealed the growing militancy of the young people who feel called upon to protest nuclear testing and the war danger. While speaking from the platform to the assembled crowd at the plaza, pacifist leader Bayard Rustin disgracefully insisted upon removal of signs quoting Bertrand Russell's recent protest against U.S. participation in the war in Vietnam.

Rustin's supporters approached the bearers of the signs and explained that an "agreement" had been made that no slogans would be displayed at the UN because

one of the sponsoring groups was afraid it might be "embarrassing." But the young people holding the anti-Vietnam-war signs refused to comply. The crowd sided with them and the signs stayed up.

CHICAGO — Fifteen hundred persons participated in the Chicago-area Easter Peace Walk held April 13. The Student Peace Union and the Women's Strike for Peace were the main sponsors, each leading a different section of the march.

The signs considered official by a group of some leaders of sponsoring organizations made no mention of war threats against Cuba or of the actual war in Vietnam. The signs were so abstract as to be innocuous, for example: "Man-kind, not Missiles" and "Peace Comes from People." Some were misleading, as: "The President Wants a Nuclear Test Ban Treaty."

The Northwestern University Student Peace Union's slogans included: "Stop the War in Vietnam," "Let the People Vote on War" and "No War Over Cuba." Some self-appointed "officials" tried to have these signs removed. But the Northwestern students insisted on carrying them. One argued, "If you are not against the Vietnam war, you are not for peace."

A leaflet distributed by the Young Socialist Alliance called for non-exclusive picket lines. It also explained the socialist position that capitalism causes war.

Cannon Answers New Smear About Sacco-Vanzetti Case

Printed below is a copy of a letter sent by James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, to *The New Republic* magazine. At the time of the Sacco-Vanzetti case Cannon was a leader of the Communist Party and head of the International Labor Defense which undertook the defense of the imprisoned Italian anarchists.

Since the legal murder of Sacco and Vanzetti by the Massachusetts authorities in 1927 there have been many books and articles written demonstrating their innocence, the court's anti-foreign and anti-radical prejudices and the actual mechanics of the frame-up. This almost unanimous literary verdict on the case was broken in 1960 by a Boston corporation lawyer with a book declaring Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty. This was utilized by the ultra right for revived propaganda that the trial had been fair and the verdict just.

Now a book has appeared with a new gimmick: Vanzetti was innocent but Sacco was guilty. This book, *Tragedy in Dedham* by Francis Russell, was demolished detail by detail in a review in the March 2, 1963 *New Republic* by Michael A. Musmanno who had participated in the campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti. Russell protested the review in a letter to the magazine's correspondence column of March 23. In that letter he made the reference to Cannon which the SWP leader deals with below.

Sirs:

I was astounded to read the statement by Francis Russell in your correspondence column of March 23 that "James Cannon who organized the International Labor Defense to aid Sacco and Vanzetti admitted privately that he thought Sacco was guilty." (Emphasis added.)

After reading this revelation of my private thoughts about a case that began 43 years ago, I managed to get a copy of Mr. Russell's book *Tragedy in Dedham* which I had previously missed. There I found on page 332 that Mr. Russell had explained my attitude somewhat differently, as follows: "After his expulsion from the party, James Cannon, the International Labor Defense's executive secretary, was to admit privately — much as Moore did — that he felt Sacco was guilty." (Emphasis added.)

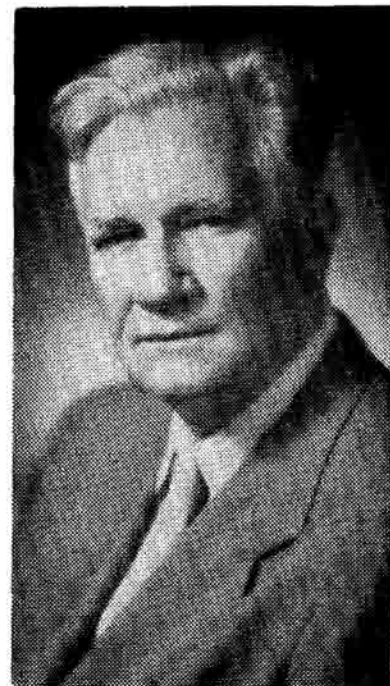
The truth is that I have never felt or thought that Sacco was guilty. I have always thought they were innocent, and have never expressed a different thought or feeling, privately or publicly, anywhere at any time.

Justice Musmanno's devastating analysis of Mr. Russell's evidence in *The New Republic* March 2, following an equally devastating analysis from another angle in the pamphlet-sized article by Fred J. Cook in *The Nation* Dec. 22, leaves

New Yorkers to Hear Nearing on Latin Tour

NEW YORK — Several weeks ago TV viewers had a brief glimpse of veteran socialist educator Scott Nearing addressing the Solidarity with Cuba conference held in Brazil. New Yorkers will be able to hear his first report on that conference and on his just-concluded three-month tour of Latin America. He will speak on "Revolution in Latin America" on Friday, April 26, 8:30 p.m., at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place.

During his tour, Nearing was given several tastes of the "freedom" Washington is so intent on preserving in Latin America. On arrival in Venezuela he was stopped by secret police who subjected his baggage to minute scrutiny and then put him on a plane to Colombia. There police held him incommunicado for several days.



James P. Cannon

little for a layman to add about Mr. Russell's elaborate attempt to convict Sacco again 35 years after he was burned alive, and inferentially, to whitewash his executioners. *The Nation* and *The New Republic* deserve the thanks of all friends of justice for publishing these two articles.

I would like permission, however, to add a word in defense of the memory of Carlo Tresca which has been besmirched by Mr. Russell's statement that Tresca privately told Max Eastman "that Sacco was guilty." I knew Carlo Tresca very well and was closely associated with him in the campaign for Sacco and Vanzetti, and for 26 years after that until his own death 20 years ago. We collaborated over the years in many activities of common interest during which we had occasion to visit each other's offices, to eat and drink wine together at Italian restaurants, and to talk of many things in friendly, casual conversation. It would not be too much to say that we were friends.

Never, at any time, did I ever hear him express or even intimate any doubt about the innocence of Sacco and Vanzetti. And I never heard any report, or rumor, or gossip, from anyone else who ever heard such a thing about Tresca until Mr. Russell's statement hit me in the eye.

In my book *Carlo Tresca* is not guilty of the whispered accusation against Sacco, belatedly reported when he was safely dead for 19 years and unable to speak for himself.

James P. Cannon

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By James P. Cannon

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THE MILITANT

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Published weekly, except from July 11 to Sept. 5 when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

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Monday, April 22, 1963

Bay of Pigs Anniversary

Last week marked the second anniversary of the U.S.-organized invasion of Cuba which began April 17, 1961 and was defeated in a few days. Two years after that week of shame in U.S. history, revelations of the moral decay of the U.S. government in connection with the event continue. The latest is the 10,000-word statement by the Cuban counter-revolutionary leader José Miró Cardona, who, it will be recalled, was held prisoner with other counter-revolutionary leaders by U.S. agents during the invasion, while a Madison Ave. publicity firm hired by the CIA put out highly colorful press releases and battle communiques in his name.

Shortly after the Cubans smashed the Bay of Pigs invasion, Miró Cardona now reveals, he met with John F. and Robert Kennedy and was promised another invasion, this time with the participation of six U.S. army divisions — that is, some 100,000 GIs. He is now angry with Kennedy because they haven't been made available nor has an alternative \$50 million he demanded for "expenses" for his gang to mount "their own" invasion.

Miró Cardona's frustration stems from the fact that Kennedy has been forced — by world reaction and the demonstrated military capacity of the Cuban Revolution — to move more cautiously in his invasion preparations. We can be sure the new plans the Pentagon is drawing up call for far more than six divisions.

In its answer to Miró Cardona the State Department persists in its flaunting of international law and Cuban sovereignty. It repeats the intention of the U.S. Government to destroy the Cuban Revolution. It says: "The United States cannot co-exist with a Soviet satellite in this hemisphere."

The Cuban revolutionaries correctly proceed from the premise that Kennedy is still bent on crushing Cuba militarily. Friends of the Cuban Revolution in this country must also remain alert to this danger.

Reasonable Proposal

"Since October, 1962, the open and flagrant violation of Constitutional guarantees in Mississippi has precipitated serious conflict. Each week brings fresh evidence of the danger of a complete breakdown of law and order. Citizens of the United States have been shot, set upon by vicious dogs, beaten and otherwise terrorized because they sought to vote . . . All this affronts the conscience of the nation."

The above words are from the recent interim report of the Civil Rights Commission. What makes this report so noteworthy is not the above description but its concrete proposal for action.

The report recommends to President Kennedy that he consider withholding federal funds from Mississippi until the officials of that state respect the rights guaranteed Negro citizens by the Constitution. This would mean stopping payment of the \$650 million in federal funds annually paid to Mississippi in the form of grants-in-aid, pork-barrel appropriations, military and civilian payrolls, public work projects, etc., etc.

This would not only take the profit out of politics for the state's racist officials, it would confront the white population with a choice between economic hardship and giving the Negroes their rights.

The Civil Rights Commission is an official government body but there is no chance whatsoever that the administration, if it is left to decide for itself, will pay any attention to its proposal. Only a powerful and threatening campaign of mass pressure would make Kennedy take the recommended action.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Per cent
Chicago	\$ 1,400	\$ 700	50
Allentown	150	60	40
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	330	33
Boston	750	230	33
Detroit	900	236	26
St. Louis	100	26	26
Oakland-Berkeley	750	183	24
Newark	225	54	24
New York	5,800	961	17
Philadelphia	350	51	15
San Francisco	750	112	15
Milwaukee	350	50	15
San Diego	400	48	12
General	295	35	12
Seattle	600	50	8
Denver	130	10	7
Connecticut	250	20	6
Cleveland	500	31	6
Los Angeles	6,300	200	3
Totals to April 15	\$21,000	\$3,387	16

LONDON LETTER

Tripartite Tory Trouble

LONDON — Like Caesar's Gaul (unmentionable name here these days among the upper crust — too reminiscent of a certain general across the channel), the Tories' troubles can be divided into three parts. There are the overseas conflicts which used to go under the heading Foreign and Colonial (now Commonwealth). There is the economic crisis which is fast turning into a ripe old mess. And there are what formerly unflappable Prime Minister Harold Macmillan used to refer to as "little domestic difficulties" — the political clashes with a stubbornly aggressive labor movement and the internal dissensions within the Premier's own Conservative Party.

Nearly every week brings at least one fresh sample of each. More often they come in pairs and even clusters. The overall picture is that of a ruling class coming apart at the seams. A few items will illustrate the point.

Just at the time when thousands of unemployed literally batter at the doors of parliament demanding work, the government with a flourish of publicity unfolds a railroad reorganization plan which calls for closing down a third to a half of the antiquated railroad system and discharging of at least 70,000 workers.

A day after this feat, two by-elections take place. The vote shows a further catastrophic fall in the Tory party's fortunes. One of its candidates comes in fourth in the list, getting so few votes that even the deposit — required of all contestants to show that they are serious contenders, with a respectable chance of winning office — is lost to the party's funds.

No Dates

Tory ministers are having a hard time finding luncheon companions everywhere and anywhere these days. Only a little while ago the French Foreign Minister, Couve de Murville, refused an invitation to break bread with Lord Home in Paris. The National Union of Teachers here has canceled a dinner invitation of Sir Edward Boyle, Minister of Education, after the latter spiked a wage agreement they had reached. The other day Cambridge University scientists effectively stopped the granting of an honorary doctorate to Lord Hailsham, Minister of Science, for insulting scientists with his snide remarks about American institutions in which many of their number work and with whom they collaborate. In this case the slap was administered even before it got round to the eating stage.

Finally, the National Union of Railwaymen were up in arms about a dinner date their officials made with Dr. Richard Beeching, who is not even a minister, but just a top hatchet-man for the Tories as head of the railroad system and author of the dynamic efficiency plan already mentioned. (Dr. Beeching is sort of on loan from the immense International Chemical Industries trust at the salary he is accustomed to — £25,000 a year. This is more than the Prime Minister and a couple of colleagues together get. It is, admittedly, not quite up to the par established for concubines by the new Affluent Society captains of industry — as can be seen from a glance at the court report on a sensational sex-murder trial recently concluded here.) Still, the good doctor looks sleek and round, and we can suppose that he won't be any the worse for wear even if he has to make do without the free lunches.

As if all these troubles were not enough for the Tories, in the same space of time they have suffered the following afflictions:

1) A revolt of the moderate Tories against Home Minister (Secretary of Internal Affairs) Henry Brooke's attempt to extradite Chief Enaharo, fiery anti-colonial leader of the opposition in



GETS HANDOUT. Born in days when sun never set on British empire, Winston Churchill fought long, losing battle to prevent its liquidation. Last week he was given honorary citizenship by Kennedy. He insisted he had no plans to move here. Good.

his country, to Nigeria. The Uncle Toms running the government in that now formally independent "member of the Commonwealth" want him on charges of treason for which the law provides a death penalty. Macmillan personally had to stop Brooke, and is now faced with a Nigerian threat to break off relations and with rumblings among his own die-hards at home.

2) An Economic Survey issued by the Treasury department says in so many words that every forecast made in recent years has proved to be wrong just when its head, Chancellor of the Exchequer Reginald Maudling, prepares to announce his Budget for the year. The City and the business com-

munity of the whole country hang upon his allocations of taxes, etc., as trend indicators. Present ills like unemployment and education expense imbalances are attributed to factors like the teenage bulge, which could have been foreseen and provided for when these youth were born in the latter half of the 1940s.

3) Apart from the Labor opposition to the Beeching plan and the union's fear of its job-loss consequences, the middle classes are up in arms over the dislocations it is bound to bring to small business and to the professions. This is reflected in another revolt within the Conservative Party and the growing incursions into its vote by the Liberals — the Liberals who have been all but dead ever since Lloyd George was premier in the 1920s.

It needs only to be added marginally here — for this is a matter for more extensive comment — that this whole plan, drawn up to streamline railroads completely leaves out of account the almost non-existence of modern auto highways in Great Britain which is slowly choking traffic right now. It thus raises the whole question of national planning and the nationalizing of key industries in a dramatic way that can only bring grist to the mills of socialism.

4) The muddle in the education system, and the minister's high-handed action on teachers' wages, have provoked a revolt in the Tory party too. President John England of the teachers' union, a Conservative, has just announced that he will run against the minister in his own constituency as an Independent Tory. This is like handing over a seat in parliament to the Labor Party on a luncheon platter, if the reference is not too repetitive.

...Trial of Victimized Muslims

(Continued from Page 1)

raised a lynch atmosphere with screaming headlines of "Black Muslim Ferment" and rantings about "race-hating cultists," but the Muslims have come peacefully and in silence to witness this travesty of justice.

Today there were empty seats in the courtroom: the crowds will not return until the actual testimony gets underway. Now the spectators are mostly Negro. Outside on the street copies of *Muhammed Speaks* are sold and a leaflet is distributed which reads in part, "Throughout America there is no defense or justice for the innocent Negroes who are victims of police brutality and police murder . . . The Muslims praise the uncompromising stand taken by Mr. Roy Wilkins and the NAACP and other Negro organizations and community leaders against the brutal police-murder of Ronald Stokes. We must continue to work in unity to stamp out these injustices that are done to our people."

On Wednesday night, April 10, an attempt was made to burn the Muslim Mosque at 5606 S. Broadway in a growing campaign of terror that is being unleashed against the Muslims.

Lawyers for the defense, Earl Broady and Loren Miller, have made clear that they intend to base the defense on the contention that the Muslims were the victims of an unprovoked and illegal attack by the Los Angeles police, and that insofar as police were injured in the melee it was through the legitimate use of self-defense on the part of the Muslims. This is the real issue in the trial: the guilt of the Los Angeles Police Dept.

What are the events that led up to the brutal killing of Ronald Stokes and the indictment of the fourteen who are being tried to-

day? On the night of Friday, April 27, 1962 two Negroes on their rounds delivering dry cleaning were stopped for questioning in front of the Muslim Mosque where they had just made a delivery. The two white officers, Stanley Kensic and Frank G. Tomlinson, became more and more belligerent as a crowd gathered to watch. Kensic threw one of the Negroes being questioned against a car, began to search him, and admitted in later testimony "I hit the gentleman in the head." The crowd, mainly Muslims, began to voice their protest. Officer Tomlinson, a 23-year-old rookie, drew his gun, and was promptly disarmed by someone in the crowd. At this point a Negro special officer who was driving by off-duty saw the commotion, stopped his car, sent in a call for help and then grabbed a shotgun and began firing into the air. He was also disarmed.

Two more officers, Richard Anderson and Donald Weese, arrived at the spot near the time the shooting began. Weese began firing into the crowd. Within minutes more than 50 members of the Metropolitan Squad, the "riot" detail incorporating the old "Red Squad," arrived on the scene. They charged the crowd which turned and fled into the Temple. Most of the Negroes who were wounded were shot in the back while trying to escape from the murderous gunfire of the police. When the shooting stopped one Muslim lay dead, six others were wounded, one paralyzed for life. It was this episode of trigger-happy cop brutality that led to the indictment of 14 of their victims on charges of "resisting arrest," and "assault on police," and the charging of John Shabazz, Minister of the Mosque, with "assault with intent to commit murder."

Kremlin Still Touchy on Stalinism

Why Khrushchev Blasted Ehrenburg

By George Saunders

Almost ten years to the day after Stalin's death, his chief heir has made it clear that the Soviet public is now asking not only about Stalin's crimes but also what those now in power were doing to prevent them.

This has come out in the course of the recent official attacks on the memoirs written by Ilya Ehrenburg, for many decades one of the most prominent Soviet authors. These attacks were climaxed by the March 7 speech of Leonid Ilyichev, head of the Soviet Union's new "Ideological Commission," and by the March 8 speech of Premier Khrushchev.

The recently published installment of Ehrenburg's memoirs deals with the period of the great purges of the 1930s. He describes the period as one of ever-present terror. He says that members of the Soviet elite, to which he belonged, knew that Stalin was committing terrible crimes and that innocent people were being framed-up, but that they lacked the courage to speak out. It was an era of a terrible, enforced

NEXT WEEK: George Saunders will describe the contents of Yevtushenko's recent autobiography and discuss the reasons it brought reprisals from the Kremlin.

silence, when one did not dare speak of such things even to one's closest friend.

In his March 8 speech Khrushchev explained why "we have to dwell on the question of the Stalin personality cult again," in connection with these memoirs.

"A question is often asked now as to why the violations of the law and the abuses of power were not exposed and ended when Stalin was alive . . . Our viewpoint in this matter has more than once been stated fully and with utmost clarity in party documents. Unfortunately . . . certain artists still try to present events in a false light." Ehrenburg's memoirs, Khrushchev complains, present "everything in gloomy colors."

Khrushchev goes to some lengths to present matters in a correct and "cheerful" light.

The "leading cadres" did not act, he explains, because while they knew about the mass arrests and repressions, "They believed in Stalin and could not dream that repressions could be used against honest people devoted to our cause."

But then the question arises,

Protest Meetings Slated In Case of Mae Mallory

As part of its campaign to help prevent the extradition of Mrs. Mae Mallory from Ohio to Monroe, N.C., where she faces framed-up kidnap charges, the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants is scheduling public protest meetings in Springfield, Mass., and Philadelphia.

The Springfield meeting will be addressed by Truman Nelson, author and chairman of the Boston CAMD chapter, and Rev. Gordon E. Watt, of Springfield, a member of CAMD since its founding. The meeting will be held Friday, April 26, 8 p.m. at the Holy Temple Church, 145 Bay St., of which Bishop W. T. Teague is pastor.

The Philadelphia chapter of the CAMD has scheduled a rally for Saturday, April 27, 7:30 p.m., at the Greater St. Joseph Baptist Church, 1626 N. 15th St. It will be addressed by Conrad Lynn, New York civil-rights attorney, who is defense counsel for the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants.



Stalin

"Why did you believe in him so?" To clear this one up, Khrushchev reviews Stalin's career. Stalin had led the struggle against the "enemies of the Revolution."

"Stalin's prestige became particularly high in the period of the struggle . . . against such anti-Leninist trends and opposition groups within the party as the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, the Right-wing opportunists and the bourgeois nationalists."

"After Lenin's death the party held a discussion with the Trotskyites and Zinovievites on radical problems of the construction of socialism and the situation within the party. That discussion revealed and exposed the anti-Leninist and anti-socialist views and activities of Trotsky and Zinoviev and their henchmen, aimed at frustrating the Leninist policy of socialist construction in our country, which was encircled by capitalism."

Significantly he does not mention the dispute with the Left Opposition over international policy and the key question of "socialism in one country" as opposed to internationalism and the theory of the permanent revolution. Nor, for obvious reasons, does he mention that Stalin headed a party faction that ultimately expelled by force all other tendencies in the party, making way for exclusive control of the party and turning the state apparatus into a source of privileges. This was the type of thing Escalante tried but failed to do in Cuba.

Khrushchev needs to explain why Stalin's prestige grew so high in spite of Lenin's testament advising that Stalin be removed from his post and replaced by one more tolerant, loyal, polite, considerate and less capricious, etc.

"When deciding this question, the party proceeded on the basis of the real correlation of forces within the Central Committee at that time, and taking into account Stalin's positive aspects as a leader, believed his assurance that he would be able to overcome the shortcomings pointed out by Vladimir Ilyich [Lenin]. Afterwards Stalin violated his promise and abused the party's confidence, and this led to those grave consequences which were current in the period of the personality cult."

What was this "real correlation of forces" that Lenin did not see? What were "Stalin's positive aspects as a leader?" This is the delicate way of saying that his faction's vote in insuring a Central Committee majority outweighed Lenin's advice. That's why "the party" chose to believe Stalin's promises rather than heed Lenin's warning.

Khrushchev does not mention any social forces behind this development. The "wicked man" simply broke his promises.

Khrushchev still seems to feel justified in having "believed in" Stalin, for he explains that while the present leaders denounce Stalin's crimes, "We still maintain that . . . he was a Marxist, and this cannot and should not be denied. His fault was that he committed gross mistakes of a theoretical and political nature,

violated the Leninist principles of the state and party leadership, and abused the power entrusted to him by the party and the people."

One such "mistake" would have been enough for Lenin to denounce him as a renegade from Marxism — as he denounced Kautsky. And Kautsky wasn't guilty of slaughtering revolutionaries.

The idea that Stalin committed "a few errors" but was still a great Marxist is quite a change of evaluation from Khrushchev's speech of last Nov. 19. He then said:

"Stalin did not believe in the masses. Though a member of a workers' party, he had no respect for the workers. Here is what he said derisively about the people who came from the workers' midst: 'He comes from under a machine tool, why is he butting in!'"

"And where did Stalin ever go? Once he went to the Dynamo Plant but that was only when a struggle was under way against the Trotskyites and Zinovievites. After that he did not go to the factories. His only trips were to his summer cottage and to the Kremlin."

"He did not feel any need to come in contact with the masses — he insulated himself from the peasants and workers. He needed the state punitive organs, that was what he needed! He needed the state control apparatus full of official bureaucrats . . ."

"Could all this really conform to the interests of the working class, to the interests of the masses? No, it could not."

Yet less than four months later Khrushchev affirms Stalin was a "Marxist." Apparently one no longer has to represent the interests of the working class to qualify as a "Marxist" in his book.

The only effective argument the Soviet leaders use in reply to embarrassing questions raised by Ehrenburg's memoirs is to accuse Ehrenburg himself of . . . Stalinism!

To be sure, Ehrenburg has a checked career going back before the 1917 Revolution, which he opposed but to which he reconciled himself after it began to degenerate. He performed as much of a service to Stalinism in the cultural field as others did in administration.

But the real reason the officials rake up his past is to discredit him before the youth. What his memoirs have to say is aimed especially at Soviet young people who are in the front ranks of today's movement for intellectual freedom and who want to know about the past.

The process begun at the 20th and 22nd Congress is passing beyond the limits intended by the "de-Stalinizers" from above. The discussion of Stalinism is broadening and deepening among the Soviet public. "Magazines and publishing houses are reported to be flooded with manuscripts about the life of people in exile, prisons and camps," Khrushchev complains. "I repeat once more that this is a very dangerous theme and difficult material to handle."

The implication is "Leave it to us, the authorities." But the young are probing. From the question: What were you doing under Stalin? they will move on to: What was at stake in the fight with the oppositions that gave Stalin such "prestige" despite Lenin's warning against him?

When the truth about the faction fights of the 1920s becomes known, as the truth of Stalin's crimes has, the new generation will learn that some praised and many kept silent but the true Leninists did neither. They courageously organized to fight the forces of conservatism, privilege and bureaucracy represented by Stalin.

French Mine Strike — A Balance Sheet

PARIS — How should the five-week strike of the French miners be assessed?

In the Nord and Pas-de-Calais basins, the miners, especially the youth, were displeased with the agreement signed by the unions and the management of Charbonnages de France. On the other hand, among the French working class the general sentiment was that the struggle ended in a success for the workers. Who is right?

The truth is that one conclusion does not exclude the other.

On the level of the wage demands of the miners, the results, in view of the power and solidarity of the movement, appear mediocre. This especially seems so to the youth who were on strike for the first time and who expected more to be won from it.

But if you take the situation as a whole in France and take into account that this was the first big test of strength in the class struggle since de Gaulle came to power (the worst defeat of the European proletariat since the end of the war), the results appear different.

On the level of the demands themselves, wage increases were obtained in numerous areas. The four-week paid vacation has become general throughout the country. But that is only one aspect of the problem since one can maintain that more could have been obtained. What is most important is that the strike ended with an advance in the relation of forces in favor of the workers.

Blow to de Gaulle

The prestige of the Gaullist government was significantly lessened for the first time. A requisition decree signed by de Gaulle and not by just any minister was ignored by the miners. De Gaulle, who broke generals, wiped out bourgeois parties, slammed the door on the Americans and the British, had to give way up to now only to the Algerians. Now it is the miners who have lowered his prestige. He wanted, according to a report from someone in his entourage, "to break the unions." He failed.

To draw this balance sheet by no means signifies that the trade-union leaders and the leaders of the big workers' parties followed an absolutely correct line in the strike. The contrary is the truth. But it is necessary to make criticisms that have bearing; that is, those that will count in the struggle against the reformists and post-Stalinist leaders. To shout "betrayal" in the present circumstances gets nowhere, leads to no effective results.

What were the mistakes committed by the leaders?

First of all, they led the struggle in bureaucratic fashion, no strike committee being elected by the unionists and the unorganized although the unorganized constituted not far from half the strikers.

Appeals Limited

In addition, on the national scale, the appeals for solidarity were limited to the financial plane — indispensable, but not capable of attaining sufficient proportions to keep 200,000 strikers and their families going. An action of the working class as a whole was required.

On this point, some called for a general strike. Those who did this were mainly syndicalists who do not have a correct idea of a general strike; that is, an extremely high political stage which can lead into the struggle for power. Given the relationship of forces existing in France, it was erroneous to envisage a general strike at the beginning of the strike of the miners.

A general strike is not the only action which the working class



De Gaulle

can take as a whole. Appealing to workers' solidarity, one can call for big demonstrations, for marches and rallies in the streets through which the political consciousness of the workers could be raised.

Especially after the end of the second week of the strike, after the caravan of the Lorraine iron miners came to Paris, it would have been possible to organize a caravan of some tens of thousands of coal miners to come to Paris. This would have compelled the government to give in more quickly to the miners or create more tense political situations.

Finally, all the trade-union and political leaders conducted themselves in this strike as pure and simple trade unionists for whom nothing existed except the demands of the miners, without any program to unify the will of the workers and without any broad perspectives for the future. All of the big organizations kept their programs in their office files; they raised no questions beyond the immediate demands.

Under these conditions, the government power, which was caught by surprise by the strike, by the tenacity of the miners, by the solidarity which was affirmed throughout the country, including part of the petty bourgeoisie, was able to hold out until a compromise could be reached with the trade-union leaders.

Thus it was that a struggle as magnificent as that of the miners ended in mediocre fashion on the level of the miners' wage demands; yet at the same time injured the prestige of a power that for five years seemed able to overcome all obstacles.

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Algerians Hail New Nationalizations

Huge Turnouts for Ben Bella Speeches

PARIS — The nationalization of big properties of both European and Algerian landholders and the announcement of decrees definitively establishing Workers' Management Committees, Workers' Councils and Workers' Assemblies have been received with enormous enthusiasm throughout Algeria. In a nation-wide tour following announcement of the new measures, Ben Bella was greeted with celebrations reminiscent of those when independence was won last July. Entire populations of towns and villages turned out to hail the head of government who, not so many months ago, when he came to power in an unclear factional struggle, was met with chilly reserve.

Everywhere he went, Ben Bella appealed to the people to organize themselves by setting up Workers' Councils and Workers' Management Committees. These are now being formed throughout the country at an accelerated pace.

From various sources, principally the Algiers dailies *Le Peuple* (formerly *Al Chaab*) and *Alger Républicain*, we reproduce below extracts from Ben Bella's speeches, indicating the topics he covered during his tour:

"We will never agree to letting our country serve as an arena for the testing of bombs. The French government has been warned. It is up to it to decide."

"They say that taking back Borgeaud's land is contrary to the Evian agreement. So be it; if we are violating the Evian agreement by this decision, so much the worse for the Evian agreement." (The first press reports said that Ben Bella declared he didn't "give a rap" for the Evian agreement. Correspondents stuck by the version which they said they had heard but the Algerian Ministry of Information issued an official correction.)

"We are going to pursue the speculators and all those who try to envenom the people through

false or alarmist news. We have begun to attack them. We are going to continue. There are still some measures to be taken against them and some decisions are going to follow.

"We are going to attack not only the Borgeaud's and the Germain's, but also the bloated rich who amassed big fortunes during the war."

"This struggle consists of discouraging once and for all the bourgeoisie of this country. If we have plucked Borgeaud and the others, this is not because of racism. We have suffered too much from this ourselves to resort to that

"Believe me, this minority, which constitutes around five per cent of the Algerian people, is nonetheless powerful for all that. Unfortunately, they hold the power of money. But the 95 per cent who constitute the other part of the people are absolutely with us in taking up the cudgels against this fauna. To carry this out, you the humble, join the national organizations in mass and in particular the UGTA [the unions] to make this the November 1 of Algerian socialism." [November 1, 1954, was the day the struggle began for national freedom from French imperialism.]

"It has been repeatedly said that women played their role in the struggle for freedom. The whole world has repeatedly said that women participated fully and in a way that did honor to Algeria in the struggle for freedom

"But in the struggle to construct the country? Women are searching for their place."

Noting the presence of many women in the audience, Ben Bella continued: "Women must take their destiny into their own hands. Women must not wait for directives to follow from the men but must integrate themselves spontaneously in the public life."

"Today we are opening a still

greater struggle than that which ended July 2, 1962 — the struggle for socialism. The time has come to struggle in order to reap. We don't want to replace one set of pigs by another set wearing turbans. This is the revolution of the poor people, of the widows, the shoe-shine boys. We have undertaken these decrees swiftly in order to defeat the maneuvers of imperialism and of certain Algerian elements who wanted to turn the vacated properties and enterprises over to the colonialists."

At the first Assembly of Management Committees to be held in the Algiers area:

"This is the happiest day of my life because a new page has been turned; our people, and in particular those who have been exploited, are called on today to take an active part in the different tasks awaiting us. I ask everyone who has something heavy in his heart to speak frankly and freely."

Within a month or two "you will fully understand the functioning of the management committees; you yourselves will elect your management committees in complete freedom and in complete democracy. These will be the committees that will actually run the farms."

"The socialist sector is already important; it will be still more so in a few days. It is up to the unions to concern themselves about this and we need genuine fighting trade-unionism. The unions must take the management committees in hand, those in charge of the so-called 'vacated properties' or the hotels. They must interest themselves in the peasants, the most important part of our population."

"I thank God that France put us in prison because thus we had time to think and to work out the policies which we are applying today. We studied the experiences in Cuba, the USSR and Yugoslavia. I am from the soil like you and I have the same difficulties as you."

"The Algerian Revolution remains constantly at the side of Cuba . . . because we believe there can be no socialist construction without socialist action outside our country. We will not accept a crust of bread in exchange for the liberty of others."

Speaking about the need to build the FLN (National Liberation



DURING NEW YORK VISIT. Shown at left with Algerian Premier Ben Bella during Idlewild Airport press conference last fall is Foreign Minister Mohammed Khemisti, 33, who was shot in Algiers April 11 by an apparently crazed assailant. Doctors say there is no chance of his recovering.

Front) into a strong party, Ben Bella cited the example of the Soviet Union where a country of 200,000,000 people is guided by a party of some 2,000,000. In Algeria the FLN should have from 100,000 to 150,000 members. "The day when we have found these 100,000 Algerians, militants in the true sense of the word, we will have won, we will have guaranteed the future of Algeria for a hundred years."

"The imperative need for unity of the party led quite naturally to the dissolution of the Algerian Communist Party. It would be absolutely false to see in this an arbitrary measure or some kind of anti-Communism. Algeria is not and never will be anti-Communist. It was not a question of a decision emanating from the government or from the Political Bureau but the consequence of the principles defined in the Tripoli program. The PCA [Algerian Communist Party] could not be made a privileged party when the country had pronounced in favor of a single party. It was not logical to let the PCA remain as an organization when parties like the MNA (Algerian National Movement) and PRS (Revolutionary Socialist Party) were banned.

"What was banned was a plurality of parties and not the PCA."

The Algerian Communists, nevertheless, do enjoy a certain privileged status, Ben Bella said, since they can express themselves freely

through a daily paper (*Alger Républicain*), "which, however, must not fall into negativism."

"I told *Alger Républicain* that they owe it to Fidel Castro that they are in existence and that they must not be negative."

He appealed to the Communists to join the ranks of the FLN as individual members. "During the struggle" they participated as individual militants, why don't they do likewise in the struggle to construct the country?

French Jail Stay Profited Ben Bella

PARIS — The de Gaulle government has decided to follow discretion in relation to the nationalization of properties owned by Europeans in Algeria. A formal protest was filed April 5 charging the Algerian government with having violated the Evian agreement which ended the war last year. The owners of the nationalized holdings were not "compensated" for their losses as is required by the agreement.

The protest demanded that Algeria live up to the agreement, but no threats of specific reprisals were made.

The press reported that the French ambassador to Algeria, Georges Gorse, will make a stronger statement in private, telling Algerian officials that French tolerance has reached its limit and that further measures of this kind will wreck co-operation.

Henry Giniger, Paris correspondent of the *New York Times*, explained the reasons for the French restraint as follows:

"One key to the relatively mild French stand is understood to be France's desire to protect her considerable investments in Saharan oil. Brusque or aggressive action by France, it is feared, might incite the Algerians to 'socialize' the oil installations as they have other French-owned property . . .

"Another key is France's desire not to compromise her rapprochement with the Arab world. That was symbolized by the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Cairo this week."

On April 6, Ben Bella interrupted a speech he was giving in Arabic at Oran to say a few words in French to the reporters. "I greet with satisfaction the position taken by the French government, as expressed yesterday, above all since it indicates that this government understands that Algeria wants to carry out things its own way."

Later he added: "I thought out my socialization projects during the years I was in prison in France."

Group in France Establishes Committee to Help Algerians

PARIS — A preparatory committee has been formed here to help organize aid, especially of a technical character, for Algeria. The committee is composed of J. Baboulene, J. Baret, Claude Bourdet, René Catroux, René Dumont, A. Sauvy, J. Souleil, M. Stern, P. Teitgen.

The committee has issued the following appeal:

Algeria needs disinterested aid to step up reconstruction, its general development and the struggle against misery and the consequences of eight years of war. At the present time Algeria has no recourse but to appeal for technical assistance from various governments, first of all the French government and the international organizations. Without minimizing the value of this aid on the governmental or intergovernmental level, it remains nonetheless true that it converts Algeria into a certain field of rivalry between the capitalist groups, with whom many of these technicians are linked, and the socialist states from which other technicians come, leaving untouched the many technicians, cadres and skilled workers who, in Europe, would be ready out of disinterested sympathy for the Algerian people to participate in the effort but who are not linked to any of the power groups.

We think that it is our duty to bring together in France and in Europe these people of good will. Out of this came the idea of an International Nongovernmental Conference for Technical Assistance

to Algeria. The Algerian government is extremely interested in this project and assures us of its support and the warmest welcome in Algiers.

The objectives of the conference will be, first of all to make an inventory of needs with the aid of the services of the Algerian government and a number of technicians, Algerians as well as French and others, working under the heading of technical assistance, with whom we are now in touch. After this inventory, priorities will be examined; that is, determination will be made of the most urgent Algerian needs, and these, however they may fit the inventory, will be considered in relation to the support which French and foreign technicians can bring to achieve the most rapid results.

Parallel committees are being formed abroad (Britain, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Austria, Italy). A joint meeting of the delegates is to organize and prepare for the conference in Algiers which is scheduled for May 27, 1963.

Following the conference, in agreement with the Algerian leaders, an appeal will be launched by the international committee in each country of Europe — and countries outside of Europe — specifying the nature of the skills needed and the possible remuneration for people who are recruited.

To get in touch with this committee write: René Catroux, 30 rue de Verneuil, Paris 7, France.

... Kennedy and Birmingham

(Continued from Page 1)

tested here in the U.S. he twists legal logic past the breaking point and declares he doesn't have the right.

Actually, the law is perfectly clear on this matter. The 14th Amendment as well as federal legislation empowers the federal government to stop any local officials from interfering with the rights of citizens. The whole world knows that is what the police of Birmingham are doing. Kennedy knows it too, but he doesn't want to alienate his Southern Democratic colleagues. The Negroes will have to force this issue by their own direct action or retreat.

The courageous activities over the years of Rev. Shuttlesworth and his Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights has finally culminated in an opportunity to organize a real mass movement for Negro equality in Birmingham. Such a movement has far more potential than those in the smaller cities like Albany, Ga., or even Montgomery, Ala. Greater Birmingham is a center of heavy industry. Its Negro community numbers close to 200,000.

It is a union town, with a high rate of unemployment, and the highest ratio of factory workers of any city in the country.

A mass movement for Negro equality there could find strong levers of economic power and would put the union leaders like Steelworkers President David J. McDonald — who have allowed racism to run rampant in the Birmingham locals — on the spot. It could spark national changes in the labor movement.

But the development of a mass movement is by no means assured. Kennedy's phone call was meant to head it off. The most prominent leader on the scene now is Rev. King. For all his personal courage, he — and his advisors — have a record of drawing back from mass action when it threatens to embarrass the Kennedy administration.

The result has been retreats by the movement in the Jackson Freedom Ride and in Albany, Ga. The development of a mass movement, independent of any obligations to Kennedy or any set of capitalist politicians, will force concessions. Tying the movement to Kennedy's promises will lead to more delay.

Letters From Our Readers

U.S. Interference in Cuba

Glens Falls, N.Y.

Has it ever been definitely determined that President Kennedy has the authority to interfere in Cuban affairs such as, for instance, his blockade of last October? If he has such authority, just where and how did he get it?

I've seen nothing on this point since reading the *New York Times*, issues of Oct. 25 and Nov. 3 of last year.

The Nov. 3 issue said that Attorney General Kennedy called his deputy, Nicholas De B. Katzenbach at home and told him to go to work on the legal basis for a blockade of Cuba. Mr. Katzenbach is a former professor of international law. At the State Department, the deputy legal adviser, Leonard C. Meeker, was doing his own research on blockade law. Later both of these gentlemen gave a brief statement of their legal views. They agreed that a resolution by the OAS would provide strong legal support for a block-

ade. Mr. Katzenbach thought a unilateral order for a blockade could be justified legally, if necessary. Mr. Meeker was less certain.

The *Times* of Oct. 25 said: "The legality of the U.S. 'quarantine' of Cuba under the UN charter and international law is a matter of interpretation and, in some cases, political factors . . . The United States has taken the position that it has acted legally under the terms of the . . . Rio Treaty of 1947 . . . and that under the United Nations' charter, the United States and its Latin American allies have the right of collective self-defense."

Has Cuba, Soviet Russia, or any other foreign country an equal right to interfere in any way in the affairs of the United States?

K. M. G.

Dallas Election

Dallas, Texas

Charles Sharpe, the candidate for Mayor, said public housing is socialism. Well, he lost the election. Mayor Cabell who said he wants, and tried, to get low-rent housing in the slums got re-elected 2-to-1.

Thelma Lucio

Penn. Road Men Fight Ax

Pittsburgh, Pa.

There is an interesting development taking place here in Pennsylvania. The men working on the highways are being fired, "furloughed," and "temporarily" laid off. This is at a time when the roads need more care than ever. It is under the pretext of economy cutbacks. The truth is that the old-fashioned spoils system is still at work because a different party is now in power in Harrisburg.

This all started in Beaver County which was one of the counties that voted strongly Democratic this last election. Men were fired or suspended for indefinite periods. Their bosses, who had gotten their jobs through political pay-offs from the Democratic leaders in the then Lawrence administration in Harrisburg, were replaced by Republicans.

Of course these Republican bosses had political debts to pay and they brought along their political broom and started to make room for their friends.

Today the road maintenance men took a strike vote here in Allegheny County. They voted to strike tomorrow to prevent any lay-offs in their working force, and to back up their brother workers in Beaver County.

This all has political overtones, but it shows the workers are alert on how to handle the situation. It will be interesting to watch.

B. M.

Our Quiet Thanks

Lake Carmel, N. Y.

I read *The Militant* closely to detect half-truths and conclusions drawn from the writer's assumptions such as one sees in *Time* and almost all the mass-circulation publications. But you people are very wise in the policy you must know impresses the objective readers — understatement and just the facts.

M. S.

We Stand Corrected

New York, N. Y.

Your editorial "An Unmerited Award" (April 15) was very good except that the Anti-Defamation

League of B'nai Brith did not give its award to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy as is therein stated. It gave its "democratic legacy" award to President John F. Kennedy at a banquet in Washington, D.C. on Jan. 31. It was this affair that was picketed by people protesting the persecution of William Worthy (16 were arrested) and obviously the affair the editorial had in mind.

Supporters of Worthy in New York picketed last Oct. 28 when the American Jewish Committee, at a \$100-a-plate banquet, gave Robert F. Kennedy an award "for advancing human freedom." They also picketed Robert Kennedy in New York on Jan. 23 when he addressed a luncheon of the Fund for the Republic.

I cite this information from the Feb. 11, 1963, the Jan. 28, 1963, and the Nov. 5, 1962, issues of *The Militant* respectively. I would suggest to your editorial writer that he consult back issues of his own paper. It is usually a reliable source.

T. S.

Didn't Like 'Mockingbird'

New York, N. Y.

Last Saturday night I went to see the movie, *To Kill a Mockingbird*. It was recommended to me by friends as a conscientious portrayal of the "American Dilemma." Therefore, breaking a general rule of not watching Hollywood productions, I laid out a buck-twenty-five and indulged myself. After all, the movie is up for eight Academy awards. The movie, to say the least, disappointed me. To say the most, it disgusted me.

The gist of the picture is the social conscience of a small Southern town in the 30s. A Negro is accused of rape and the liberal judge asks his liberal friend (played by Gregory Peck) to represent the Negro in court. Peck plays the part of a white liberal lawyer, attacking the status quo and helping his less privileged client.

Though the movie proved him not guilty, the Negro is found guilty, escapes, and is killed. His lawyer, who was honored by the Negro community after the trial,

expresses regret that the Negro tried to escape and was killed, feeling that with an appeal he had a good chance to have the verdict reversed.

What I found objectionable about the movie were the implied political lessons in the plot. First, the Negroes have to depend on the white liberal community for help. Second, the Negroes must honor their white liberal friends and look to them and not themselves for help. Third, the real devils of racism are the "poor white trash" of the rural areas, while the middle-class town people (the sheriff, judge and lawyer) are opposed to racism and are victims of the cultural heritage of their area. Fourth, and most important, the Negro must have faith in the white man's law — that is, if he will wait long enough and keep going through the courts he will allegedly have a good chance of getting justice.

Back to foreign films for me — *Loneliness of a Long Distance Runner*, for example.

Frank Green

It Was Reported in the Press

Don't Know East from Elbow — In urging Congressional supervision of the CIA, Rep. Rogers of Florida declared April 10: "Mr. Speaker, additional reasons why CIA was unable to produce photographs of the Russian military buildup in Cuba last autumn were revealed by Secretary McNamara and Pentagon intelligence chiefs . . . According to testimony, CIA had been photographing the wrong end of the island — the eastern end — despite reliable intelligence reports that the buildup was at the western end."

Stupid But Careful — Stupid, Inc., a new Indianapolis firm is reportedly doing a lucrative business peddling aerosol cans at the not-so-stupid price of \$1.00 and \$1.50 each. They contain a harmless scented mist. The selling point is the can labels, such as: "Instant Passion (For Busy People!)," etc. A brisk-selling item had been "JFK — Instant Confusion." But, explains a Stupid spokesman, "Along came the Cuban crisis, so we took it off the market for a while."

Maturity Story (Cont.) — Last week we reported on the four teachers fired for "immaturity" at Maryland's Frostburg State Teachers College. They had planned to include such "controversial" works as *Lady Chatterly's Lover* in English courses. The college president, R. Bowen Hardesty, who leveled the "immaturity" charge, now adds that he considers *Lady Chatterly* as "not a fit subject for college teaching." He explained: "It is altogether too exciting for a young person. I, at my age, would never want to handle that book with a group of young people."

Happy Birthday, Anyway — According to official records, John Murphy of Troy, N. Y., celebrated his 100th birthday April 9. But Murphy insisted: "I still think I'm only 98 no matter what other people say." In response to the usual question, he credited his longevity "to hard work, I guess." He added that he "didn't like any" of the various jobs he had held.

Sahl Too Salty? — Comedian Mort Sahl, who campaigned for Kennedy in 1960, was criticized recently for ribbing the president. Replied Sahl: "I guess I'm an irritant to the Democrats because I remind them of their predicament, that the New Frontier isn't making it. Presidential jokes still get laughs built on my license to kid presidents — but the license hasn't been renewed lately."

Yo Ho Ho and a Bottle of Rum? — The April 7 *Detroit News* reported that the new white yacht of Henry Ford II is receiving her finishing touches. The \$500,000 Santa Maria is built for ocean voyaging and boasts the latest navigational equipment, a salt-water conversion plant, air-conditioning, a mosaic-lined bathroom with gold-plated water taps and decorations by a French artist.

That Hungry Glean — An Internal Revenue Service spokesman says the department doesn't frown on "good-will entertainment" expenses by businessmen. Commissioner Mortimer Caplin told a Florida Hotel Association convention that such expenses are fine and dandy provided the spender has "a business gleam in his eye, and a businessman always has that gleam."

Tax-Exempt — The April 10 *New York Times* cheerfully reported that the Internal Revenue Service has "good news" for some taxpayers. It seems that tax-department warnings about paying taxes on dividends and interest resulted in a number of social security recipients coming to tax

offices to discuss their interest problems. But, a department spokesman said, most didn't have enough income to require filing a tax return. He noted that no one has to file a tax who earns less than \$12 a week.

For Burning — *The Last Temptation of Christ*, a novel by the late Greek author, Nikos Kazantzakis, has been removed from the shelves of the Ashland, Wisc. public library after a Catholic priest forbade his parishioners to read it on pain of mortal sin. The author is considered to have displayed anti-clerical tendencies. The book was brought to Rev. Conran Schnieder by a parishioner who had taken it from the library. The priest said: "I still have the book. I'll have to return it to the library now and see that it's burned."

It Could Be a Problem — The Department of Agriculture is working on a \$30 million plan for stockpiling food for civil defense needs. The idea is to have food available if and when people emerge from the shelters. Ponders Robert S. Reed, special assistant to the secretary of agriculture: "We are sure we have plenty of food. But in case of attack we are not sure we can get to it."

As Good a System as Any — Star-gazing is becoming a popular way of trying to figure the stock market says the April 16 *Wall Street Journal*. It reports: "Zolar . . . says sales of his annual Stock Market Horoscope at \$25 each jumped sharply after last May's severe stock decline and hit 2,000 for the year."

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"Beria's reversal in the case of 15 eminent Soviet physicians 'and others' accused of wrecking, espionage and murder contained many annihilating admissions. It confirmed, first of all, that anti-Semitism was employed in the case. This had been vociferously denied by American Stalinists, the *Daily Worker*, *Monthly Review*, etc., not to mention the Soviet and Cominform press. Now they sing a somewhat different tune; in fact, *Pravda's* April 6 editorial admitted that an 'attempt' was made 'to kindle national enmity in Soviet society,' that is, to engage in racial persecution . . . that a frameup had indeed been staged . . . that the confessions, widely cited by the Soviet press, were extorted by 'impermissible methods,' that is by means of physical and moral torture . . .

"The Kremlin liars now pretend that the entire responsibility rests on a few members of the former Ministry of State Security. . .

"But the case of the Soviet physicians was not an isolated one. It signalled an *All-Union* purge; it was accompanied by an *All-Union* campaign which was then picked up by the entire Cominform press . . . Measures of this kind, campaigns of such scope cannot be carried out in the USSR without prior orders, without the approval and knowledge of the highest party and government bodies. In this case, from Stalin on down." — April 20, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"The New York Post Office has received orders to withhold all copies of *The Militant* from delivery until after they have been examined and released in Washington. The result has been to delay the delivery of the paper for as long as two weeks after its printing . . .

"*The Militant* is the only paper in the country being subjected to political censorship and threatened issue by issue with non-delivery if its contents do not satisfy the bureaucrats in Washington. The reason is that *The Militant* is the nation's most consistent and hard-hitting defender of the rights of the labor movement, working farmers and Negroes, that it is the most merciless opponent of Big Business profiteering and fraud, that it is the most unsparing and honest working-class critic of reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the administration." — April 17, 1943.

Thought for the Week

"J. Peter Grace, chairman of W. R. Grace & Company . . . which has been doing business south of the border for 110 years, made it clear that under present circumstances American private enterprise cannot fulfill its assigned part in the Alliance for Progress. He said that fear of Communist uprisings and government expropriation have not only eliminated any plans that American firms might have had for new investments in South America, but have resulted in a net withdrawal of American funds from the area." — The April 10 *Baltimore Sun*.

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First-Amendment Victim Urges Renewed Fight Against HUAC

By Jim Campbell

DETROIT, April 13 — How long can a man be persecuted for alleged contempt of Congress based on non-cooperation with the House Un-American Activities Committee?

John T. Gojack, a marathon defender of the First Amendment to the Constitution, last night at the Friday Night Socialist Forum gave a spirited call for action to restore our eroded liberties. He is well qualified to do so — he has fought for this in the courts for seven long years. Last May the U.S. Supreme Court reversed his conviction on the ground that "the grand jury failed to identify the subject under congressional inquiry at the time the witnesses were interrogated."

But on Oct. 1 he was re-indicted and his arraignment this year starts a second round in the long battle. In this long legal fight he has had the able legal counsel of Frank Donner, author of the book, *The Un-Americans*.

John Gojack's background fits him well to be a defender in the struggle of working-class Americans for civil liberties. The son of Hungarian immigrants, he went to work early in the depression at a tender age — "I never even got to high school" — at the Delco Remy plant of the General Motors Corp. He helped bring the union to that plant and became a union leader.

Until he was forced to quit, Gojack was president of District 9 of the United Electrical Workers, expelled from the CIO in Philip Murray's 1949 purge. "I have never been a full-time union official. I was always elected — and not without opposition," he told the attentive audience. He gave his name unstintingly to every worthy cause. He was one of the first to answer the call to defend the legless veteran, Jim Kutcher, fired from his government job because he was a socialist.

In his long fight, Gojack has made a considerable investigation of HUAC itself. This was the bur-



John T. Gojack

den of his speech. HUAC, he said, has become an instrument for regimenting the people, for depriving them of their constitutional rights to fight for "social progress." The "contempt of Congress" law was passed over 100 years ago. Yet of the 69 indictments under this law, 34 have taken place since HUAC began its activities 25 years ago.

It is this committee and its Senatorial counterpart that supply the ultra-right with its character-assassination propaganda. HUAC has published literally millions of pieces of literature for this purpose. Gojack pointed out that last year alone 461,000 such pieces were mailed out under HUAC's frank.

Gojack expressed confidence that a militant fight can be organized to drive these committees out of existence. Such a fight, he declared, will revive the spirit of struggle for a better world.

"So in every individual the two trends, one towards personal happiness and the other towards unity with the rest of humanity, must contend with each other." — Sigmund Freud (1856-1939)

UCLA Flatfeet Busy

Snoopers Assigned to Student Meetings

By Bennett Tangen

LOS ANGELES — Two representatives of the administration of the University of California at Los Angeles admitted this week that they had assigned plainclothes detectives to attend a number of lectures sponsored by student clubs.

The revelation came out of an April 5 meeting held by the campus chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance at which V. T. Lee of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee was speaking on "Cuba—1963." During the meeting a list was circulated in the audience of 100 people for the names of those wishing to receive mailed announcements of future lectures. A plainclothes detective, later identified as Officer Gufston of the campus police, stopped the list when it came to him and, witnesses state, copied the 22 names and addresses on it. The list was understood to be confidential and solely the property of the sponsoring organization.

When questioned after the meeting, Gufston explained his action to Leslie Evans, the chairman of the meeting, by saying he "wanted to see who is interested in these things." When asked to return the copy of the list, he refused. Gufston refused also to give his name, but described himself as a member of the campus police.

Evans went immediately to the Student Activities Office and spoke

with Thomas J. Scully, Assistant Dean of Students. Scully admitted that his department had assigned plainclothes police to the meeting, but denied that they had been authorized to "get names." He stated that the detective "was not doing our bidding, but he may have been doing someone else's bidding — possibly the FBI." He admitted that the university employs two full-time plainclothes "detectives," but refused to give any explanation of this except to indicate that they are frequently assigned to attend "controversial meetings."

Admissions by Dean

The Dean of Men, Adolph Brugger, was called in and he admitted joint responsibility with Scully for the presence of the plainclothesmen. He also denied having authorized Gufston to get names. Brugger explained that he "already knew the names of all the people that attend your meetings," but he declined to give any source for his information. He went on to say that if the administration wanted the names of people attending a meeting, they would not act as "clumsily" as Gufston but would have "microfilmed the list or photographed the people leaving and had them identified." He did not comment on whether these were the methods used to learn the names of "all the people who attend" YSA meetings, informa-

Kingston Cops Crack Down

Ban 'Hunger March' of Jamaica Jobless

By Robert Shann

The government of the Caribbean island of Jamaica has brought down the heavy hand of police suppression upon the mass movement of the unemployed. Police banned a "hunger march" of jobless called by the Unemployed Workers Council which was to have been held in Kingston on March 31. Special troops were moved into Kingston during the last week in March to intimidate the workers and enforce the ban. Earlier in the month Leonard Solomon, 26-year-old member of the UWC, was arrested on trumped-up charges of sedition.

The Unemployed Workers Council held a mass protest meeting in the face of the government's show of force on March 31. Over 4,000 workers present ratified a resolution declaring: "Be it resolved that the Unemployed Workers Council, having the support of hundreds of thousands of Jamaicans, protests against government suppression of the rights of citizens to peacefully demonstrate and express their will as a shameless . . . suppression of democracy and civil liberty."

Leonard Solomon was arrested on March 7. The Government claims that he made "seditious" remarks at three street meetings held by the UWC. At these meetings Solomon demanded that the government take steps to deal with the nation's severe unemployment problem.

The condition of the Jamaican people is critical. Although the island was granted political independence from Britain last August, it is still dominated economically by British and American capitalists, who siphon off the wealth of the country. Just as in the nearby Caribbean and Central American countries, imperialism has meant poverty for the people.

Jamaica has a population of 1,700,000. Of the work force of 700,000, there are 300,000 unemployed or underemployed living at a near-starvation level.

At present 45 per cent of the country's farm lands are owned



IN PATH OF BULLDOZER. These children live in shantytown in Kingston, capital of newly independent Jamaica. But homes their squatter parents put up are being bulldozed by government without any new housing being made available for them. Though homes are shacks without plumbing or utilities they at least provided shelter.

by 350 people — equivalent to eight-tenths of one per cent of the farming population. On the other hand, 77 per cent of those engaged in farming own only 14 per cent of the land. The infant mortality rate is staggeringly high.

Some 300,000 families are in need of houses. The situation is so bad that many families set up shacks on vacant land. On March 6, according to the Kingston newspaper, the *Star*, the government bulldozed 56 of these squatters' huts, and gave notice to 100 other families that the Department of Housing will soon demolish their humble homes.

Against this background of extreme poverty and exploitation the Unemployed Workers Council was born in May 1962. The Council began in West Kingston in the struggle of the unemployed against the government's practice of political discrimination in the hiring of labor at an oil refinery project.

The corrupt political parties used the existence of mass unemployment to buy votes from the hungry jobless in granting the jobs available at the project. A whole series of militant actions and demonstrations by the UWC, which were attacked by the police, forced some concessions from the government.

In carrying out the fight at the oil refinery, project the UWC reached out for support among the unemployed nationally. This in turn led it to formulate a program for a general solution of unemployment across the whole island. And the UWC became the spearhead of action by the jobless.

The "hunger march" organized by the UWC was called to demand the end to unemployment on a national scale. Thousands of leaflets were distributed in the slums, and huge signs painted on the walls all over Kingston called for the march. The prospect of tens of thousands of angry jobless massed in protest panicked the government and the march was banned.

The UWC called upon students, intellectuals, and democratic forces to support the workers in opposing the undemocratic acts of the government. In a leaflet calling for a civil-liberties committee in defense of democracy, the UWC said

that government suppression "is taking place because of the government's failure to resolve the socio-economic problems within the country . . . since repression is becoming the Government's only answer to the . . . problems."

Sobell in New Bid To Supreme Court

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The United States Supreme Court has been asked by Morton Sobell to break with past refusals to hear his case and review it for the first time. Sobell, in his thirteenth year in federal prison, is battling to prove his innocence on a charge of "conspiracy to commit espionage."

Review has never been granted to any part of Sobell's case or that of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, with whom he was tried in 1951, and who were executed ten years ago next June. The Supreme Court has repeatedly ruled that no inference can be drawn from its refusal to review.

The Supreme Court ruled in 1957 in the *Grunewald* tax case, overriding the same Appeals Court, that it is unfair for a prosecutor to prejudice the case against a defendant by implying the defendant was untrustworthy for having previously relied on the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution. This was done repeatedly in cross-examination of Ethel Rosenberg.

Sobell, who has repeatedly denied any participation in espionage, is imprisoned in Atlanta Federal Penitentiary.

The Rosenberg-Sobell espionage frameup was the high point of the McCarthy witch-hunt hysteria of a decade ago. Morton Sobell has been fighting for justice ever since. A meeting sponsored by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell will be held June 19 — just ten years after the execution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg — at Carnegie Hall in New York. The committee's address is 940 Broadway, N. Y. 10, phone: AL 4-9983.