

# THE MILITANT

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## Young Socialists Indicted in Hoosier State Explain Ideas in Bloomington Press

— See text of interview, page 4 —

## Algerians Wrest Concessions from French

— See story from Paris, page 6 —

# Birmingham Racists Press Provocations; Southwide 'Freedom Now' Battle Mounts

## Youth Lead Fight In N.C. and Miss.

MAY 22 — The events in Birmingham have precipitated a new wave of mass demonstrations in cities across the South, including Knoxville and Nashville, Tenn., Greensboro and Durham, N.C., and Cambridge, Maryland. In addition, the well organized, militant boycott movement in Jackson, Miss., is preparing "intense direct action" if desegregation is not begun "forthwith" in Mississippi's biggest city.

Over 100 high school and college-age Negroes have been arrested in Knoxville since May 10 for demonstrating at a movie theatre. In Nashville, some 1,000 Negro teenagers demonstrated in the downtown area, were attacked by racists and groups of them defended themselves. Nashville Mayor Ben West subsequently appointed a bi-racial committee to work out further desegregation, thus granting one of the movement's chief demands. The Nashville movement is headed by John Lewis, chairman of the Nashville Student Nonviolent Movement and Rev. Kelly Smith.

At Durham, N.C., some 2,000 Negroes gathered outside city hall May 20. The newly-elected administration asked for two-weeks time to attempt a solution to demands for further desegregation. The Negroes refused, scattered over the downtown area, and staged sit-ins. About 1,000 were arrested. The day before there had been 700 arrests. With the jails bulging, the mayor promised desegregation of seven restaurants May 21 and demonstrations were temporarily suspended.

In nearby Greensboro, some 1,400 arrests have been made since May 15. A rally May 20 approved a boycott of all white stores. James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, told the rally that demonstrations would continue until "we get across-the-board desegregation." Rev. Richard Hicks declared: "This boycott is no child's play. This is war. This is revolution."

As this meeting took place in Greensboro — scene of the beginning of the sit-in movement over three years ago — the U.S. Supreme Court threw out the con-

(Continued on Page 8)

## Judge Drops Dead

Charles H. Brown, Birmingham's most hated judge, dropped dead May 16. He had given freedom fighters maximum 180-day sentences and encouraged police to say "nigger" in court. He died while trying two Negroes arrested for having guarded a Negro minister's home. While the body was being removed, Rev. A. D. King hastily organized a prayer meeting for him in the corridor, but the Negro community was soon chanting, "One is gone, only 'Bull' to go."



**HARLEM PROTESTS RACISM NORTH AND SOUTH.** Despite rain huge crowd gathered in front of Harlem's Hotel Theresa to hear wide range of civil rights spokesmen condemn open racism of South and somewhat disguised but equally virulent discrimination of North.

## Kennedy Name Is Mud at Northern Rallies

MAY 22 — The Birmingham events have produced the largest demonstrations in the North on behalf of Negro equality since the meetings protesting the Mississippi lynching of Emmett Till in 1955. While the present demonstrations have not been as massive as those around the Till case, they have been more widespread and the slogans and speeches have been of a much more radical character, with President John F. Kennedy coming in for heavy criticism.

The country's largest demonstration in support of the Birmingham Negroes occurred in Boston May 12, the day after the night of the Birmingham bombings. Ten thousand persons, a majority of them Negroes, marched from various points in and around Boston onto the famous Common for a meeting. Local NAACP leaders denounced the "quiet segregation" that exists in Boston, but Rev. James Bevel, who had flown up from Birmingham, stole the show. He criticized President Kennedy for saying the Birmingham demonstrations were ill-timed. "Segregation is what is ill-timed," he countered. He predicted that after June 1 Alabama jails will be overflowing and urged students to join the movement saying: "There's no better way to spend your summer vacation than in jail."

In Chicago, May 13, a protest march of 1,500 singing and chanting demonstrators, a majority Negro, marched through the center of town, tying up all Loop rush-hour traffic and attracting thousands of spectators along the way.

They carried slogans protesting segregation in the North and South. Some of these were: "Birmingham is Everywhere," "Freedom Now In Birmingham, Miss., and Chicago," "Isn't Birmingham Part of the New Frontier?" and "You Want Free Elections In Cuba? What About Mississippi?"

The outdoor rally, which wound up the march, was opened by Bob Johnston, director of United Auto Workers Region 4, who promised support of the UAW to the movement. Sylvia Fisher, of the Chi-

cago-area friends of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, demanded of Mayor Daley that he publicly denounce the use of dogs and fire hoses; that he urge President Kennedy not to negotiate private settlements with the racists as he had in Greenwood; that the Mayor urge the president to call a national conference on civil rights to be held in the South and to be addressed by the president; that he urge the president to accompany some Negroes to the registration offices in

(Continued on Page 6)

## The Indiana 'Subversive' Case

# Smears Fail to Stem Support for Students

By Charles Gardner

Late developments in the case of the three officers of the Indiana University branch of the Young Socialist Alliance indicted for "subversion" range from smear stories in the local papers to growing support for the defendants by academic figures and students. The smear jobs in the press, while intensifying the witch-hunt atmosphere, reveal the true aim of the prosecutor in the case — to intimidate dissenters.

The Sunday, May 19, *Indianapolis Star* — owned by wealthy Goldwater-supporter Eugene Pulliam — ran a special "inside" story on "leftist activities" at IU. This imaginative article conjures up an intricate, undercover "Communist conspiracy" busy at work in Bloomington. To encourage expressions of any hostile, local feel-

ings against the students, the paper gave names, addresses and other details about YSA members, their parents, friends, acquaintances and those defending them.

The smear was especially designed to harass people working in defense of the indicted students. It singled out Paulann and William Groninger, officers of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students — which is handling the defense. It charged that they were YSA members and that they were living in an apartment (in a house on a highway outside Bloomington) which actually served as a "secluded retreat" for campus "leftists." The location and address of the house were given and a photo of it printed, showing the Groningers' car outside.

The article had its intended ef-

fect. The next day's issue of the *Indianapolis Star* jubilantly front-paged its triumph: "Landlord Tells Two YSA Members to Leave." The owner of the house, it reported, had padlocked the apartment as a consequence of all the publicity. He would not comment to the press but prosecutor Hoadley spoke up for him. The landlord had acted, Hoadley said, from fear that the Groningers would be "a bad influence" on his children. Hoadley added that when the young couple were forced to move, they had taken "two carloads of subversive literature" with them.

Hoadley's fertile imagination has given the press many such lurid "inside-dope" stories. Indiana papers have printed his reports of a "Communist apparatus"

(Continued on Page 5)

## 'Bull' Connor's Gang Seeks to Kill Settlement

By Fred Halstead

MAY 22 — Birmingham's racist officials continue to sabotage the flimsy desegregation agreement made by Rev. Martin Luther King and representatives of the steel city's white businessmen and industrialists ten days ago.

The weak nature of the agreement provides the hard-core racists with many opportunities to attempt to explode it, while leaving the Negroes in a poor tactical position to resist these attacks. According to the agreement, Negroes are to refrain from demonstrating — the only thing that gives them a position of strength from which to bargain — while the businessmen take 90 days to institute limited desegregation measures.

But the businessmen are not held responsible for the actions of the racist city and state officials. Therefore a section of the segregationist whites are completely free to attack the Negroes while the Negro leadership presently in control has agreed that the Negroes will not use their independent strength.

Rev. King evidently is relying on the hope of federal pressure behind the scenes. He may also be hoping for an early court decision which will replace the intransigent city administration of Mayor Haynes and Commissioner "Bull" Connor with the so-called moderate regime of Mayor-elect Albert Boutwell. But in the meantime, the racists are slashing away at the rank and file of the Negro movement with punishing and provocative moves designed to demoralize and scatter the mass movement. Brutal state troopers have been terrorizing Negroes as they patrol the Negro district. Rev.

(Continued on Page 2)



## BOOK REVIEW

## Vincent Hallinan's Dramatic Life Story

A LION IN COURT. By Vincent Hallinan. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 319 pp. \$4.95.

Nervous radicals who need a dose of courage should treat themselves to a reading of Vincent Hallinan's book, *A Lion in Court*.

From its first chapter called "Hallinan vs. Heaven" where he tells of his Catholic miseducation, to the last sentence, addressed to the prison he is leaving — "At least, you son of a bitch, you're a better place because I went through you" — this is the account of an honest man and a courageous fighter.

Strangely enough, Hallinan's is a Horatio Alger story — from rags to riches. He worked his way through a Jesuit college and through law school. His very first year as a lawyer he received a \$20,000 fee. He was the main support of his father, mother, brother and six sisters. He was a semi-professional football player. He does not smoke or drink.

Un-Alger like, however, he did not join the side of the rich and powerful. Instead, when he discovered that the San Francisco courts were corrupt and that powerful interests were buying off judges and juries he brought charges before the bar association.

Here is how the author describes the plight of the reformer who undertakes to expose an established injustice: "When some conscientious soul finds it intolerable and undertakes to root it out, he runs into unexpected consequences. His motives may be unselfish and disinterested; they are examined closely, and it will be suggested — if not openly charged — that they are evil and personal. His antics, first regarded with amusement, are now surveyed with indignation. He is built up as a chronic malcontent, a troublemaker, and eventually, a clown. He finds himself assailed by the most powerful forces in the community, and what is worse, avoided by the ones he thought he could count on for support."

This book is filled with such quotable paragraphs, but what makes them especially interesting is that they are illustrated by some fine descriptions of lawyers, judges and witnesses at work.

Hallinan worked for many years as a criminal lawyer. He relates



Vincent Hallinan

fascinating anecdotes of cases in which he or his colleagues were involved. Some were sensational such as that of a Stanford instructor accused of murdering his wife in the bathtub.

The big change that made Hallinan a socialist and lit up the world around him like a lightning flash took place during his defense of Harry Bridges, the longshore union president whom the government repeatedly tried to deport. The witch hunters were determined to get Bridges by any and all means. At the end of the trial (which was won on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court), Hallinan was sentenced to six months in prison for contempt of court, although his conduct during the case was upheld by the bar association.

What Hallinan realized was that for all the babble about democracy, the United States is an oligarchy. The law is designed "to preserve the positions, privileges and prerogatives of a small, immensely wealthy segment of the American people, and to insure the status of society which it con-

ceives to be most beneficial to itself."

Hallinan writes eloquently of the *Dead Command* — ancient customs imposed on the living, such as laws against abortion and homosexuality. He describes the press as a cynical instrument of the powerful interests which is only concerned with selling papers. He tells about one case in which the press had whipped the courtroom into such a lynching frenzy against his client that Hallinan came in to hear the jury's verdict with a loaded revolver in his pocket "ready to use it if a lynching attempt were made."

Hallinan was in prison for contempt of court while running for president on the Progressive Party ticket in 1952, but his wife and two older sons conducted the campaign for him. He again paid the price for his non-conformity when the witch hunt was at its height — this time being sent to prison for income-tax violation.

Originally, both he and his wife, Vivian, were indicted. Mrs. Hallinan outlined their strategy. If they were both convicted, he would appeal and she would go right to prison. The appeal would take a couple of years; by that time she would be out and thus one of them would always be with the children. Happily, however, she was acquitted. Hallinan served 18 months. On the basis of his first hand experience he draws up a searing indictment of the U.S. penal system.

Hallinan believes that the world today is in transition to socialism and he is full of hope. He says that we live in an heroic time and closes his book with the thought that American imperialism is the main enemy of the people of the world who are taking to the mountains, deserts and jungles, determined to fulfill their aspirations though they perish in the attempt.

—Constance Weissman

## ... Situation in Birmingham

(Continued from Page 1)

King announced that Negroes are guarding their homes and churches against threatened bombings.

The latest attack came Monday morning, May 30, in the form of an order by the board of education — appointed by Connor — expelling or suspending some 1,100 Negro children from school. The children had been arrested during demonstrations. School superintendent Dr. Thee R. Wright denounced the action of the board, but his office proceeded to carry out the order with a vengeance. It announced that no expelled student would be allowed to re-enter school until his or her case was disposed of in court — a process that could take months.

Immediately following the board's announcement local Negro leaders issued a call for a total boycott beginning Tuesday of the city's Negro schools. This move — a peaceful one — would have begun to restore the mass movement and the Negroes' position of strength.

King was in Atlanta at the time these events occurred. He immediately flew back to Birmingham and Monday night called off the boycott. He asserted that it would be the wrong move at this time, that the federal courts would reinstate the students, and that the Negroes must not be provoked into throwing over the settlement he had agreed to.

Whether King's strategy will save the agreement remains to be seen. The logic of the strategy, however, is, at best, gradualism. King has so far refused to employ the revolutionary strategy of responding to the blows of the racists by deepening the mass movement and aiming for higher goals than at first. This response would

profoundly strengthen the Negroes' position, but of course, it would be frowned upon by King's "friends" in the Kennedy administration. Reportedly there is much dissatisfaction with the current strategy among young Negro leaders, the students, and many local Birmingham adults. Important lessons are being learned by Negro militants in Birmingham.

## Speakers Blast HUAC's Aid to Monroe Racists

NEW YORK — Some 250 people at Community Church May 15 heard the House Un-American Committee roundly denounced for its efforts to aid the racists of Monroe, N.C., by its grilling of Conrad Lynn, attorney for the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants. Besides the framed-up "kidnap" case in North Carolina, speakers dwelt on HUAC's record as an enemy of civil liberties and Birmingham.

Speakers were: Conrad Lynn; Maxwell Geismar, literary critic; James Farmer, national director of CORE; Paul Krassner, editor of the *Realist*; Afro-American correspondent William Worth; and ACLU National Legal Director Melvin Wulf. The chairman was David Dellinger, an editor of the pacifist magazine *Liberation*.

Dellinger announced that in another case in Monroe, N.C., Jayvan Covington had failed to appear for trial thus forfeiting \$10,000 bail which the CAMD had arranged. Dellinger attributed the youth's action to unreasoning fear resulting from his terrible experiences in the Monroe jail where he had earlier been held for months and had been shot and wounded by a guard.



## Rank-and-File Rumblings in NMU

National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran tried to put one over on the membership without anyone noticing last month. But somebody noticed and had the courage to speak up. So for the first time in several years the Curran machine found itself facing serious opposition within the union — on a bread and butter issue.

Under existing agreements, NMU ocean-going seamen are due to get a 2 1/4 per cent wage increase this June and another in June 1964. At port union meetings April 29, Curran's supporters introduced a resolution to apply this raise to a pension fund instead of having the seamen take it in money. In addition, the resolution committed the union to apply an additional 3 1/2 per cent of any wage increase negotiated in 1965 to the pension plan. By 1965 then, eight per cent of seamen's wages would be deducted for pensions.

The idea, according to Curran, is to allow NMU seamen to retire on \$125 per month after 25 years service (after 20 years from 1965 on) at any age instead of only at age 65. This, according to Curran, will relieve the unemployment situation for seamen.

The resolution was presented without much advance notice and discussed only briefly at the April 29 meetings, and it passed in the major ports. When the plan was introduced to the meeting of the crew of the big United States Lines passenger ship *America*, however, a number of questions were asked. A number of objections were then raised and the crew voted the resolution down. Reportedly, the vote was 233 to 16 with 10 abstentions and the meeting notified a number of other ships by cablegram of the crew's objections to the proposal. These ships also reportedly rejected the resolution by large majorities.

## Comments

The following are some comments heard in opposition to the proposal:

1) "This plan gives away our money. We were supposed to get a raise and now we won't get it. What we get in return amounts to almost nothing, but they say we'll still have to pay income taxes on the raise that we aren't going to get."

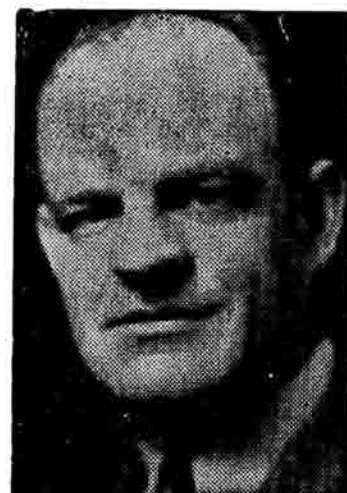
2) "The pension plan used to be financed entirely by the companies, but now we pay and it's still only \$125 per month."

3) "We pay in, but we can't get our money out. If we quit sailing or if we never become eligible for the pension, we lose our money. There's no vested interest."

4) "The eligibility for the pensions is stiffer in some ways under this new plan. Before, you got the pension at 65 if you had 200 days of sea time every three years for 20 years. Now they say you'll have to have 200 days sea time each year for 20 years. With the turnover that you always have in shipping, thousands of men paying into the fund will never get their money out."

5) "Some of us will make half again or even twice the payments that others make because it's figured on a percentage of wages. But no matter how much you pay, you only get the minimum pension of \$125."

6) "This is just Curran's gimmick for ducking the issue of unemployment and for getting a bigger pension fund to play investment banker with. It isn't going to make many jobs open up, because of the new eligibility re-



Curran

quirements for one thing. Besides, not many men are going to quit going to sea when they are young and able-bodied just to get a \$125 a month pension. You can't live on that, and if you have to work part time anyway, you might as well stay a seaman."

On May 14, Curran announced that the results of the vote — dominated by the well-controlled port meetings — was ten to one for the plan. But he was obviously embarrassed by the revolt on the ships. On May 16 the *America* — which had sailed shortly after the crew voted down the proposal — docked again in New York. Curran's officials showed up in force and held up the pay off, insisting that a crew meeting be held and the vote reconsidered. They were booed. An attempt was reportedly made by a Curran official to prefer charges against the chairman of the previous crew meeting on the grounds that he had sent cablegrams to other ships without Curran's permission. The meeting broke up without a vote as over 100 police were called to the dock. The *America* sailed again without Curran's men being able to put down the revolt.

The Curran pension plan is of a piece with the other anti-unemployment plans dreamed up recently by "labor statesmen," like Walter Reuther and David J. McDonald, as substitutes for the shorter work-week demand. They are devices designed to give the appearance of doing something while actually ducking the key problem of a reduction in hours with no reduction in pay.

Another possible reason for Curran's move at this time is an attempt to appear "reasonable" during the series of congressional hearings now scheduled on shipping subsidies. There is heavy congressional pressure to cut subsidies on the allegation that subsidized shipping companies are too generous with wage increases.

## Anti-Colonial Committee To Hold Harlem Rally

NEW YORK — The Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee will hold a rally on Saturday, June 1, 2 p.m., at 125th St. and Seventh Ave. The meeting will protest the persecutions of the Black Muslims; the attempt to extradite Mae Mallory from Ohio for trial in the Monroe, N.C., "kidnap" frame-up; and the conviction of Afro-American correspondent William Worth for "illegal return" to the country of his birth after visiting Cuba.

A partial list of speakers at the rally include Mae Mallory's mother, Mrs. Willie Lee Brown; William Jones; civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn; William Worth; and William C. Raines, the "Mayor of Harlem."

## Weekly Calendar

## CHICAGO

What Causes Juvenile Delinquency?—Speaker, Beverly Webber. Fri., May 31, 8 p.m. Debs Hall 210, 302 S. Canal St. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

## DETROIT

Hear the Issues in the Bloomington "Subversive" Case. Speaker, James Birmingham, one of the three indicted Young Socialists. Fri., May 31, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

## NEW YORK

Chamber Music Concert featuring prize-winning Julliard School of Music students. Sat., May 25, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Reception to follow performance. Contrib. \$1.50 (students \$1). Aup. Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance.

TWO VIEWS ON THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE. Speakers, Eugene Genovese, editorial board member, Science & Society, and William F. Ward, contributor to The Militant and International Socialist Review. MONDAY, MAY 27, 8:30 P.M. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

HARLEM STREET RALLY AND DEMONSTRATION. Protest persecution of Black Muslims; threatened extradition of Mae Mallory to North Carolina; conviction of William Worth. Partial speakers list: Mrs. Willie Lee Brown, Mae Mallory's mother; William Jones; civil-rights attorney Conrad J. Lynn; William Worth; William C. Raines, Mayor of Harlem. Sat., June 1, 2 p.m. 125th St. & 7th Ave. Aup. Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee.



# THE MILITANT

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Vol. 27 - No. 21

345

Monday, May 27, 1963

## Self-Defense in Birmingham

Because it would have looked too bad otherwise, President Kennedy made a long-scheduled trip to the South — for one day — a week after the bombings and street fighting in Birmingham. This pretended "Profile in Courage" even dared stick his toe across the Alabama state line where he met Negro-hating Gov. George C. Wallace and had an "amicable" conversation with him.

But the main feature of the trip was his address in Nashville at Vanderbilt University's 90th anniversary exercises. In this speech Kennedy made no direct reference to Negroes, the events in Birmingham or federal troops. With great delicacy of phrasing—to give the Southern press no quotes it could use against his administration's assiduous courting of the Southern Democrats — he referred to the struggle for civil rights in the abstract.

One of Kennedy's circumlocutions deserves some comment. He spoke of this country's "continuing debate about the rights of a portion of its citizens." This "debate" in plain English is the Negroes' struggle for their rights and the racists' opposition.

This is an odd kind of "debate." On one side are white supremacist state and city officials, police, judges, White Citizens Councils, KKK and such. Their arguments consist of clubs, fire-hoses, vicious dogs, carbines, shotguns, submachine guns, an armored car, etc.

On the other side of the "debate" are the Negroes. They stand practically barehanded before the "arguments" of the city police, state troopers and deputized white supremacists.

Doesn't Kennedy think a debate should be conducted fairly? If so, why doesn't he heed the demand of the Socialist Workers Party's national committee that the federal government deputize Birmingham Negroes for self-defense of their community?

The basic law of every country, including the U.S., recognizes the right of self-defense. No people have greater need of such defense than the Negro people of the South, particularly in Birmingham, where helmeted state troopers and deputized white supremacists are terrorizing the Negro neighborhood like Nazi stormtroopers in a Jewish ghetto.

Without being deputized, Birmingham Negroes have to some extent been posting guards, believed to be armed, around buildings they consider targets for bombings. This is to be commended and such protection should be extended to the whole Negro community.

Self-defense by Negroes in this country is not new. During the Montgomery bus boycott, homes of leaders believed marked for attack were lit by floodlamps at night and guarded. Negroes in Monroe, N. C., under the leadership of Robert F. Williams, put an end to Ku Klux Klan invasions of their community by publicly creating an armed self-defense corps. Though the NAACP leadership treated Williams shabbily because of his forthright militancy on this issue, it should be noted that today it is defending a Negro leader in Caswell County, N. C., who wounded two white men in self-defense. When police ignored local NAACP requests for police protection at a school which was to be desegregated, this man had accompanied Negro children to the school and wounded two whites who attacked him.

But individual self defense is not enough now. Nor is support of the right of self-defense after the deed sufficient. Self-defense should be collective and support for it by all friends of the Negro struggle should be proclaimed beforehand.

All Negro, civil-rights and labor organizations should immediately let the Negro people of Birmingham and the whole South know that they support 100% their right to arm themselves for self-defense against racist attacks.

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Per cent
Chicago	\$ 1,400	\$ 1,155	83
General	395	287	73
San Francisco	750	512	68
St. Louis	100	66	66
Boston	750	484	65
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	580	58
San Diego	400	233	58
Detroit	900	500	55
Newark	225	123	54
Connecticut	200	107	54
Oakland-Berkeley	750	383	51
New York	5,800	2,913	50
Allentown	150	75	50
Milwaukee	350	160	46
Cleveland	500	211	42
Los Angeles	6,300	2,300	37
Philadelphia	300	103	34
Seattle	600	135	23
Denver	130	15	12
Totals to May 20	\$21,000	\$10,342	49%

## LONDON LETTER

# British Labor Gains at Polls

LONDON — The Labor Party gained sweeping election victories in the nation-wide poll for local and municipal offices last week. Conservatives got a setback that wiped off nearly all of the grinning image they tried to give themselves ever since their "I'm-alright-Jack" win in the parliamentary election of 1959. Labor's gains are the greatest since 1945, the year of the postwar socialist landslide. The computers reckon that if there were a contest for parliament today another landslide would carry the party to power with a huge majority.

Labor now controls Britain's 15 largest cities. Besides London, which has been an impregnable stronghold since 1934, such cities as Liverpool, Nottingham and Leicester now return to the Labor fold. Exactly 3,122 city, town and borough councillors have been swept into office for a net gain of 878 seats. The party recaptured 637 seats lost in 1960 and added another 250 to the total gained. Some industrial towns, like Rochdale, appear for the first time in the Labor column. In the London suburbs the party regained many marginal areas previously lost to the Tories by the shift in the white-collar vote. The Liberals, insofar as they have held their recent spurt of revival, made inroads almost exclusively into the Conservative vote.

Only some sensational "red-scare" stunt, in which the Tory rulers are the most experienced and polished practitioners — or incredibly stupid tactics on the part of the Labor Party leadership — can now prevent a change of government here within the next year.

The annual national conference of the Union of Post Office Workers this week took steps to "mobilize for industrial action" to obtain wage rises for postal employees and telephone operators and linesmen (the telephone system is nationalized and comes under post office control). Go-slow actions last year produced some improvement in wage scales, but turned out to be inadequate.

The 1,400 delegates were roused to cheers when one of their number demanded the expulsion of the "scabs and blacklegs who were doing their best to aid the post office while the majority of their colleagues were fighting on their behalf." The executive committee was defeated in several votes with resolutions calling for militant action and strict enforcement of union discipline on the

## Note to Birmingham Rights Fighters

LONDON — When the East Anglia Committee of 100 invaded Norfolk missile station, they warded off police paired with dogs by feeding the animals rolls soaked in aniseed. To the outcry of abusing the animals, Peter Cadogan replied: "The use of dogs against us is a filthy trick — a damned insult. I admit we had aniseed buns. All that happens is that the dogs lick the aniseed and get very affectionate. The most sensible thing to do is to use aniseed, which is a love potion. They will save any trouble to the dog or demonstrators."

job. This was just another demonstration of the fighting mood now prevailing in the British working class.

More than in any other country, the movement for nuclear disarmament in Britain is a mass movement involving tens and perhaps hundreds of thousands of people seriously groping for a way to end the peril of atomic annihilation. Although it has some points of support in the labor movement — and this is probably its greatest source of strength and accounts for its continuity and mass character — it is still largely white-collar and even middle-class. The need to sink roots in the working class and to obtain the active support of the industrial workers has recently become part of the official doctrine of the movement.

A turn in this direction was adopted at recent conferences of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, to give it its formal title, sponsored by more radical but otherwise unaffiliated leaders like Miss Pat Arrowsmith and supported by rank-and-file delegates against the resistance of CND president, Canon L. John Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral and some of the Labor parliamentarians associated with him. It has been supported also by Bertrand Russell and the Committee of 100.

Industrial [strike] action on anything connected with nuclear arms has hardly ever been attempted in any direct way and trade-union support has remained relatively small and mostly platonic up to the present. The more radical sections of CND and the

Committee of 100 have engaged in a number of spectacular activities recently which have, however, not only aroused universal interest and admiration, but also indicate some active and devoted participation of working-class supporters.

This past weekend saw two more sensational moves by the nuclear disarmers. The British Secret Service headquarters were the target of a flood of phone calls which tied up its telephone lines (some 40 of them the *Guardian* reports) for over eight hours; disarmers entered secret premises without passes, and photographed personnel entering and leaving. The intruders openly proclaimed their views. Some, like David Boulton, editor of the CND paper *Sanity*, and Adam Roberts, editor of *Peace News*, have also made their names known. The *Guardian* adds: "It is also possible that girls or engineers [linesmen] working in the Post Office took part."

## Official Frenzy

Editorially, the liberal *Guardian* reflected the frenzy in government offices and even expressed the opinion that the deed was done under "directions from Moscow." That this is hardly likely is made plain not only by the fact that leading participants, like those mentioned, have since revealed their identity, but by the publication of a statement issued by Bertrand Russell's secretary expressing his hope that "Many thousands [would] render the telephones useless and photograph all the faceless ones." The official CND and Committee of 100 leaderships have, however, disclaimed any responsibility for initiative in these actions, although they defended them as useful.

In the other action, hundreds of demonstrators led by Peter Cadogan, secretary of the East Anglia Committee of 100, invaded the RAF Marham V-Bomber missile station at Norfolk, another secret establishment. Sixty-eight of the demonstrators were arrested and charged with violating the Official Secrets Act, which carries heavy penalties of imprisonment. A similar and more massive demonstration has been announced for next weekend.

—T. J. Peters

## Veteran Socialist Union Leader Dies

Comrade Joe Ollman died of a cerebral hemorrhage in Balsom Lake, Wisconsin, on May 9, 1963.

Early in life he went to work in the Hormel Co. plant in Austin, Minn. He soon became a skilled packinghouse worker and an outstanding militant in the Union Of All Workers which was organized in Austin, Minn., in 1933. This pre-CIO industrial union organized workers in all industries and trades in the small city and conducted a spectacular strike in which the workers practically took over the city and won a victory in a few days.

Joe led the way for the UOAW to join the newly-formed CIO United Packinghouse Workers. It was one of the first solidly organized unions to join and participate in the CIO's national organizational drive.

Joe subsequently devoted the major part of his time and energy to union work as the UPWA mid-west director and later on the West Coast. He was also a member of the UPWA national executive board.

A memorial meeting for Joe Ollman will be held by the Twin Cities branch of the Socialist Workers Party, Hall 240, 704 Hennepin, Minneapolis, May 29 at 9 p.m. V. R. Dunne, Minnesota state chairman of the SWP, will speak.

## Militant Fund Drive

# General Advances to No. 2 Spot

By Marvel Scholl

National Fund Drive Director

With this issue the Militant Fund Campaign to raise a minimum of \$21,000 goes into its last three weeks. The percentage today — May 20 — shows we have collected only 49 per cent, so a real push to collect the balance of this vitally necessary money must be made by everyone. We are confident that all pledges will be paid up in full and on time, but June 15 is approaching very fast so the word is *hurry!*

Chicago maintains its place at the top of the list — but watch the General! Individual Militant readers pushed that category up a magnificent 27 per cent this week!

One contribution of \$50 came from H. W. of Prospect, Kentucky. Thanks, and thanks again.

Another reader from Toronto sent in a renewal, saying: "Keep the balance as a contribution. Enjoy your articles. They give an uplift since they made me con-

vinced that perhaps the future of mankind is not so bleak — at least not as bleak as depicted in our amoral, degenerate, popular press. Three cheers — for the cause of socialism!"

A letter from our friends in Cleveland is heartening: "Add the enclosed to our special Militant Fund quota. The last check for \$45 was from an old friend. This \$50 is from a new one!"

K. F. from Pennsylvania wrote this, along with a contribution of good size: "The paper is simply excellent."

I wish it were possible to mention all the people who sent in Truth Dollars this past week but the wonderful truth is that there are just too many!

You can join this growing number of Militant Readers who believe in helping spread the truth with your Truth Dollars. Send them to 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.



SHOULD THESE IDEAS BE 'EXTERMINATED'?

# Indicted Indiana Young Socialists

[The following is the text of a May 10 Bloomington, Indiana, Herald-Telephone interview with James Bingham, Ralph Levitt and Tom Morgan, the three students indicted on charges of violating the state's "Anti-Communist" Act.]

**Q. Do you advocate violent overthrow of the government?**

A. Absolutely not. We never have.

**Q. How long has the YSA been organized on campus?**

A. Since December of 1961.

**Q. Did you have difficulty becoming recognized by the University?**

A. Yes, a lot.

**Q. How long did it take the YSA to be recognized?**

A. About nine months.

**Q. Was the YSA's request for recognition turned down by the Student Senate?**

A. Our request was turned down twice.

**Q. On what grounds?**

A. We think at first the University didn't want us to be organized. It is our understanding that Dean Shaffer (dean of students Robert H. Shaffer) sent each Student Senator a personal note requesting that the YSA not be recognized.

**Q. Why would Dean Shaffer do that?**

A. We don't know.

**Q. Did you appeal for recognition to the committee on student affairs, which is a higher body than the Student Senate?**

A. Yes.

**Q. And were finally recognized?**

A. Yes.

**Q. Why?**

A. We don't know. The University seemed to have a complete change of heart. We think they wanted us to enjoy equal opportunity.

**Q. Did the Student Senate do anything out of the ordinary to refuse the YSA recognition?**

A. Yes, they passed a law that every group seeking recognition must prove a membership of at least 15. This law was aimed at the YSA.

**Q. What is the YSA membership?**

A. Less than 20.

**Q. What is the membership nationally?**

A. Less than 1,000.

**Q. What is the purpose of the YSA?**

A. Primarily an education

group. We try to influence people. We try to show them an alternate to the existing political structure.

**Q. How can you achieve your goals?**

A. The YSA is an agency for fundamental change. We advocate the formation of a labor party.

**Q. Can you achieve your goals without violence?**

A. We hope so.

**Q. What could cause violence?**

A. Hoadley's taking away of democratic facilities. That might cause violence.



PAULANN GRONINGER, Indiana U student, is secretary of Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students.

**Q. Does the YSA believe in democracy?**

A. No group could offer more democracy. We would not be socialists if we didn't. But we've got to have economic democracy before we can have political democracy.

**Q. Where are there other YSA groups?**

A. At most major colleges.

**Q. What is a local YSA called?**

A. A "local."

**Q. Was the YSA at I.U. organized by two persons trained in Moscow?**

A. Absolutely not. That's ridiculous.

**Q. Do you have any connection with Moscow?**

A. None. That's absurd.

**Q. Has the person who helped organize the YSA here ever been in Russia?**

A. Not until after he left I.U.

**Q. Is anyone in the YSA being paid by Russian agents?**

A. Utterly absurd.

**Q. Would you be welcome in Russia?**

A. We would be persecuted in Russia for our political beliefs. We would be legal criminals.

**Q. Why is Hoadley seeking to eliminate the YSA?**

A. For personal and political reasons.

**Q. What has been your chief objection in this case?**

A. The complete throwing out of ethics. The attempt to link the YSA with the Nancy Dillingham case.

**Q. Is she a member?**

A. No. She's never been to a meeting.

**Q. Do YSA members use narcotics?**

A. No.

**Q. How do you think public opinion is going?**

A. We think we have the overwhelming support of the students and of most of the faculty.

**Q. Is the YSA on the attorney general's list?**

A. No.

**Q. Where did you get the \$1,000 to post bond?**

A. It was loaned to us by friends.

**Q. Have you had offers of help?**

A. Yes.

**Q. Where were you (Levitt and Morgan) during the Grand Jury session?**

A. I was in Chicago in connection with a job — Levitt. I was home — Morgan.

**Q. How did you learn of your indictments?**

A. Through the newspapers and from friends who read about it.

**Q. Did the YSA organize the demonstration on campus last year in connection with the Cuban blockade?**

A. No, but some of our members helped.

**Q. Why?**

A. We joined the demonstration because we wanted to prevent World War III, which we knew would be nuclear. We favor negotiation instead of intimidation. We support Cuban sovereignty. Our country was violating UN treaties and international law. The blockade was against the opinion of the majority of Americans. We are partisans of the Cuban revolution.

**Q. Are there Negroes in the YSA?**

A. Nationally there are many.

**Q. Why did you join the YSA?**

A. We think it offered the answers we were seeking and had concrete solutions.

**Q. What will the effect of the indictments be on the YSA?**

A. It will strengthen it. It should double or triple our membership.

**Q. Why?**

A. It will present revolutionary socialist ideas to thousands.

**Q. Do you believe in freedom of religion?**

A. Yes.

**Q. Is there any connection with the YSA and the Dillingham case?**

A. None.

**Q. Do you know Miss Dillingham personally?**

A. No. We are not acquainted with her personally.

**Q. What about the charge that the YSA uses marijuana to recruit members?**

A. That's the height of Hoadley's unethical accusations. It's a complete and total fabrication.

**Q. Do you think you know to whom Hoadley is referring when**

he mentions a "Moscow trained" couple coming here to organize the YSA?

A. No one we know fits the description.

**Q. Have any YSA members been trained in Moscow?**

A. Absolutely none.

**Q. What is the YSA's connection with the Socialist Workers Party, if any.**

A. There are absolutely no organizational, financial or administrative ties. The YSA is a completely independent organization of young students and young workers.

**Q. Do you advocate government ownership of property?**

A. We advocate social ownership. That of course would have to be based on a completely democratic government of the working people. Not government as we know it today.

**Q. What is social ownership?**

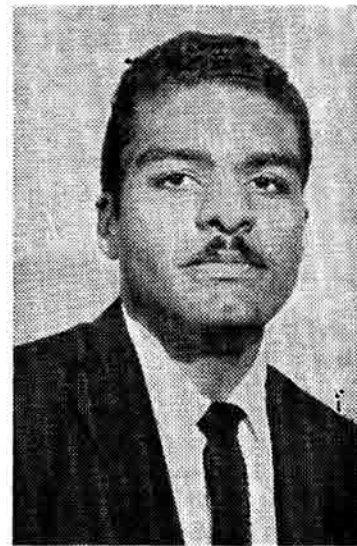
A. What we mean by social ownership is democratic ownership by all the people. That is ownership of large industry, such as railroads, utilities, minerals resources, mines, giant farming enterprises, and all other such properties today that are used to produce solely for profit instead of for social use.

**Q. What about government ownership of small farms, or small homes?**

A. Socialists generally believe that such properties should be owned by the individual.

**Q. Could you sum up your views about the difference between public and private ownership?**

A. We're against private ownership because it merely seeks profit for a minority of business interests against the interests of a majority of working people. For the same reason that we think it ill advised for a small minority to make important political decisions, we also believe that the basic economic decisions affecting all Americans should be made by the population democratically.



UNLAWFUL? When YSA officer Leroy McRae addressed public meeting at Indiana U local grand jury decided attendance constituted plotting to overthrow government of state and nation.

**Q. Do you have an organized campaign to write letters to editors of newspapers?**

A. Absolutely not.

**Q. Do you support the existing system of government in Russia?**

A. No.

**Q. What is wrong with it?**

A. There are certain parts of Russian society which were gained by the workers after the 1917 revolution which we do support and defend. That part is their planned economy, elimination of unemployment, illiteracy and other such

## Victims of India Need Help in

In this interview — as you Alliance members outspokenly of an outrageous attack. They hysterical "anti-subversive" legislature during the days of. If convicted under this law, w to "exterminate Communism all teachings of the same," th prison.

You can help these students right to speak. You can help t unconstitutional "extermination test. The Committee to Aid t gently needs the help of all v free speech. Funds are espec and to publicize the case. Join P.O. Box 382, Bloomington, In

things which always accompany capitalism. However, the Soviet Union is presently ruled by a small minority and we strongly advocate the reinstitution of democracy in that country. We are strongly critical of the present ruling bureaucracy.

**Q. Are there aspects of the U.S. governmental system with which you find yourself in agreement?**

A. The Bill of Rights. We as Socialists have always been at the forefront in the battle to defend the Bill of Rights and the democratic process.

**Q. Who do you think is attacking the Bill of Rights?**

A. Hoadley by his actions is not only encroaching on the Bill of Rights, but through his disregard of the democratic process has flaunted his charges in the newspapers, not the courts, even including some which he was under oath to keep secret.

**Q. Do you advocate the formation of a third political party in America?**

A. We wish to see a labor party based on the working people, the small farmers, and the Negro people.

**Q. What political philosophy would this labor party embrace?**

A. Of course that would be its own decision, but as socialists we feel our ideas would be relevant to their struggle. Its basic consideration would be to represent the interests of the common man.

**Q. How are the Republican and Democratic parties failing today to represent the interests of the common man?**

A. Neither offers any realistic answer to the drastic problems of chronic unemployment, automation, racial prejudice, small farm-

## Local D

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3800, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

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

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

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE, 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday. Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

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# its Explain Views in Local Press

## Indiana Witch Hunt Fighting Back

will see — Young Socialist defend their views in the face have been indicted under an passed by Indiana's state :Carthy and Jenner, in 1951. h declares it "public policy" d Communists, and any or face one to three years in

defend their — and your — fight to abolish the clearly law," in this, its first court : Bloomington Students ur- o believe in democracy and y needed for legal expenses nd contribute to the CABS,

ers being pushed off the land, and the threat of nuclear destruction.

**Q. Who do the parties represent, as you see the situation?**

A. Both represent giant industrial and financial interests in this country which are owned by a tiny minority of the population.

**Q. Would members of the YSA serve in the Armed Forces?**

A. We're not individual law breakers, and since the draft is the law, we would of course serve with the rest of our generation. However, we reserve the constitutional right to criticize much of the military policy which is sending Americans soldiers to fight and die in unpopular wars in places like South Vietnam. Only recently, several months after the crisis itself, did Gen. Taylor of the Army admit that the Indians were largely responsible for the recent Sino-Indian border dispute. We were told the truth two months too late. This further clarifies our position of the American people being involved in any war without the foreknowledge of ALL the facts.

**Q. Have YSA members attempted to hide any of their activities?**

A. No. We operate publicly and openly on the campus. All of our literature is readily available to any Bloomington citizen.

**Q. Does the YSA have a national newspaper?**

A. Yes. *The Young Socialist*. It can be obtained by sending \$1 for a year's subscription to *The Young Socialist*, P.O. Box 471, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y.

**Q. Are the three officers of the IU YSA the first to be indicted or charged with any kind of subversion?**

## rectory

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 116, Newark, New Jersey.

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

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Labor Book Shop and Socialist Workers Party, 563 8th St., Oakland 12, Calif. TE 6-2077. If no answer call 261-5642.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 412, Philadelphia 1, Pa.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum meets second and fourth Fridays at Pioneer Book Store, 1488 Fulton St. VE 1-9867.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-2669. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books, Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

SEATTLE. 3815 5th N.E. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays.

A. Yes, we are.

**Q. Do you have any moral beliefs that would be considered "beatnik"?**

A. No. As socialists we advocate political ideas which we think are in the interests of the working class. Any morality they find repugnant we do, also.

**Q. Are you going to accept help from the Indiana Civil Liberties Union if it is offered?**

A. Such help has been offered and we have accepted, with great appreciation.

**Q. Do you think this case will ever go to trial?**

A. We don't know.

**Q. Do you think the indictments will hurt your future as far as employment is concerned?**

A. We hope not. We should hope that prospective employers will view this matter on the basis of the facts.

**Q. Are you optimistic about the future of YSA political beliefs?**

A. Absolutely. Most definitely.

**Q. Why?**

A. We think socialism is the trend for the future. It is the only rational solution to the big problems which plague our times. More and more Americans are becoming aware of this and eventually the majority of the American people will decide for socialism.

**Q. Do you have any estimate in number of years about how long it will take before YSA political goals are achieved?**

A. We can't give any blueprint of the future. There are too many unknown factors. But the sooner the better.

**Q. Why are students the principal members of the YSA?**

A. Students are primarily members, as well as young workers. But you'll find that in the last three years on the campuses across the country there has been a phenomenon called the student movement. This is a rise from the placid, apathetic '50s. Many students are most concerned with the threat of nuclear war, rampant racial discrimination more than a hundred years after the Civil War, the fact that over six million Americans are unemployed and live in a state of near poverty, and the anti-colonial revolution taking place all over the world and led by fellow students.

**Q. What is the anti-colonial revolution?**

A. It is the underdeveloped countries throwing off the yoke of imperialistic domination. Many students have found that the basis for most of these ills can be traced back to the system known as capitalism.

**Q. What methods would the YSA use to achieve international peace?**

A. We feel that the prime cause of war has been the economic system of capitalism which by its very nature must expand its domain over ever increasing foreign markets. What threatens the peace is that this is done in a tyrannical nature over the colonial people who are rising up against it now, and as Socialists we warn Americans that Kennedy's capitalist government is conducting a war drive to suppress these people and their popular demands. Evidence of this trend can be amply illustrated by the history of the world since 1945; the Chinese revolution, the Korean War, the war in Vietnam, the Suez crisis, the Algerian revolution, the present revolution in Angola, the Cuban revolution, and the popular uprisings that are going on all over Latin America.



FACE TRIAL IN HOOSIERLAND. From left to right, Ralph Levitt, 25, Thomas Morgan, 22, and James Bingham, 24, the three Indiana U students indicted for "subversion."

**Q. What methods would the YSA use to eliminate racial discrimination?**

A. Eliminate its economic roots, the profit system which pits white against Negro for the benefit of neither. The basis of racial discrimination in the South is to keep a reserve of cheap Negro labor. "White labor can never be free while the Negro is in chains."

**Q. The prosecutor has charged that violent overthrow of the government was advocated at the campus meeting sponsored by the YSA at which Leroy McRae, national YSA organizational secretary, spoke. Is this true?**

A. No.

**Q. What was advocated at this meeting?**

A. Mr. McRae, who is both a socialist and a Negro, made the PREDICTION that the Negro in America would achieve equality by non-violence or violence. The events in Birmingham, Ala., during the last week testify to the accuracy of his prediction. If Prosecutor Hoadley's charge is true, then it would follow that the YSA is the force behind the Birmingham events.

**Q. Is the YSA the force behind the Birmingham events?**

A. No. But we support the courageous battle of the Southern Negro in his quest for equality both in Birmingham and elsewhere.

**Q. Has any development in the case come as a complete surprise?**

A. Yes.

**Q. What?**

A. The outrageous fabrications concerning narcotics, Moscow trained organizers, "jockeying mimeograph machines," switching cars, and other charges against the YSA were a complete surprise. They are a surprise because we haven't done anything of the kind.

**Q. Is there any question you would not answer for a grand jury?**

A. We have nothing to hide and that is why we have challenged Prosecutor Hoadley on three separate occasions to a public debate. On every occasion the prosecutor by his refusal indicated that there were things he did not wish to reveal before the Bloomington public.

**Q. Are you communists?**

A. No. We are revolutionary socialists.

**Q. You don't mean armed revolution?**

A. No. We mean in the great American tradition of Eugene Debs, Bill Haywood and James Cannon.

**Q. These three were all great labor leaders, weren't they?**

A. Yes.

**Q. The prosecutor has said that there are some things that will come out only in the courtroom.**

Can you think of anything in this case that has not already been discussed in public?

A. No. We leave plenty of room, however, for new heights of Hoadley's misinformation to come out.

**Q. Do you keep open minds on political philosophies?**

A. We're students of history and political science and we think we can stand on our academic record. We've studied various political ideologies.

## ...Support for Students Grows

(Continued from Page 1)

operating on campus, complete with "cell meetings" and "speakers imported from Moscow"; of FBI surveillance of students; of YSA members "switching cars to hinder surveillance," "jockeying a mimeograph to grind out propaganda from auto to auto," and "using narcotics to recruit members."

Such incredible tales — and the personal harassment they incite — are an eloquent comment on the small town narrow-mindedness and rustic gullibility which Hoadley's "crusade" to "stamp out Communism on the campus" is calculated to exploit.

"Where the Bible Belt and the Corn Belt intersect." That's how a vivid description of Hoadleyism's "socio-intellectual" base begins in the May 25 *Nation* magazine. Written by Prof. Norwood Russell Hanson, chairman of IU's Dept. of History and Logic of Science, the article emphatically denounces Hoadley's "crusade" and energetically defends the students' rights.

### Blasts Hoadley

Hanson declares: "I am troubled by Hoadley — a man of the law — seeking to 'try' three students via his own lurid newspaper accounts . . ." He also scores with special vigor the hesitancy of IU's administration, faculty and student body to defend forthrightly the indicted students.

Perhaps stirred by knowledge that Hanson's comments would soon appear in a national magazine, 150 IU professors took out a half-page ad in the May 21 Bloomington paper to publicize their opposition to Hoadley's attack on free speech.

The same day, the *New York Times* reported IU President Stahr's first public comment on the case. Stahr warned against

unleashing "the forces of suppression under the guise of protecting freedom." "The wrong kind of hunt," he said, could be "more damaging to freedom than the [presumed] villain himself."

Elsewhere in the nation's academic community there were signs of growing student support for and interest in the case. The Illinois-Wisconsin Region of the National Student Association issued a policy statement deploring the indictment as "a violation of basic rights of speech and assembly" and urging all member schools to provide aid to the defense. It also urged NSA action on the national level "to defend the IU students."

Meanwhile, the three defendants are touring different areas of the East and Mid-West, describing the case to student audiences. And sales of a special issue of the *Young Socialist*, which reports the case in detail, mounted into the thousands.

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## Evian Pact Proves Not So Binding

# Algerians Wrest Concessions from French

By Joseph Hansen

PARIS — The movement of mass forces in Algeria disrupted the attempt of French imperialism to tie down the Algerian Revolution with the strings of the Evian accords.

France could impose this one-sided cease-fire agreement only because of Algeria's exhaustion after more than seven years of one of the bloodiest suppressions in history. During the war, conducted under various French governments, villages by the thousands were turned into ovens with napalm; ten million anti-personnel mines were sown in vast fields closing off the frontiers; tortures worthy of the Nazis were inflicted on prisoners who were not murdered on capture. Algerian casualties reached an estimated million and a half out of a population of some ten million. The unfavorable character of the Evian accords was thus one of the consequences of the terror employed in previous years by the French.

But the terror had consequences completely unforeseen by French imperialism. The colonials, continuing in the logic of the years of the "dirty war," undertook on their own initiative to prevent de Gaulle from making the concession of a cease-fire. Their method was a mad bloodletting which paled everything that had gone before.

### Colonials Panicked

When this fearful orgy failed to block the Algerians from winning national independence, the colonials, panicked by fear of reprisal from their victims, fled the country. Out of one million, 800,000 returned to France, abandoning their properties. These constituted the most fertile holdings, the heart of Algeria's agricultural economy.

For all their calculations, the French imperialists had not taken this possibility into account when they wrote up the Evian accords.

Out of sheer necessity to get things going, the peasants on the big estates began to take them over and run them. Masses of Algerian peasants who had held out in the mountains or had gone into refuge in Tunisia and Morocco, came back to their home country, ragged, hungry and desperate. They took over land without waiting for anyone's permission and began cultivating it to get in the earliest possible crop. Tens of thousands, demobilized from the freedom army last fall, joined them. Algeria's agrarian reform was underway. The years of ter-

ror which had delayed it served to make its final outcome extraordinarily swift.

The agrarian reform was a massive movement of tremendous power, involving nine-tenths of the population. In addition, the movement proved to have a certain socialist consciousness. The example of the Soviet Union has become a living factor in mass politics in many parts of the world. In Algeria, sympathetic support from China and the example of Cuba gave powerful reinforcement to this general phenomenon. Besides, the Algerians have absorbed a good deal of the best of European culture, not least of which is a favorable appreciation of socialism.

### Practical Needs

Management committees, called for by the most practical needs, began to appear spontaneously here and there. The Ben Bella wing of the government supported these in conscious opposition to dangerous signs of neo-colonialism which also began appearing and which were fostered by French imperialism. It was this course that began to attract the masses to Ben Bella, finally winning him enormous popularity.

The process reached its decisive point in March and April. On March 18 the French exploded a test nuclear bomb at d'In-Ekker in the Sahara. This flagrant violation of Algeria's sovereignty was perfectly legal, the French claimed, because it was covered by the Evian accords. Why they chose the first anniversary of the signing of the agreement as the most propitious occasion to flaunt this "legality" was never explained.

In face of the popular indignation over this nuclear test that swept all of North Africa and, indeed, countries throughout the world, the Algerian government had little choice but to act. Its counter-thrust was a series of measures which had been in preparation for some months.

The most significant was the conversion of the "vacated properties," which the colonials had left behind when they fled to France, into national property. Up to this point legal ownership had remained with the colonials even though their farms and other enterprises were being operated by management committees. Under the law the colonials could return and claim their properties although they had to work out arrangements with the management committees about profits. This

possibility was ended by the announcement March 29 of a decree that the "vacated properties" had been "definitively" and without "recourse" transferred to the management committees of the workers.

Within the next day large holdings of both French and Algerian owners that had not been "vacated" were likewise nationalized and turned over to management committees.

The committees today run some 12,000 farms embracing 3,750,000 acres. This is about half of all the land held by the colonialists. The balance consists of the smaller enterprises.

What further steps will be taken in the agrarian reform has not yet been announced. Amar Ouzegane, Minister of Agriculture, has indicated that maximum size of private farms may soon be set by law. The figures he indicated were from 100 to 125 acres for grains, 25 to 37½ acres for orchards and 5 to 12½ acres for truck gardens. If this were to go into effect, it would finish the smaller colonial landholders.

The decrees announced March 29 involved much more than ending private ownership of the "vacated properties." They also made Management Committees a legal entity and provided for Workers' Councils and General Assemblies of Workers, all of which are to be democratically elected.

### No Pious Declaration

The decree was not a pious declaration meant for the record. On the one hand it recognized and made into law what had already been happening all over Algeria. On the other hand, it gave fresh impetus to this same movement, widening and deepening it, giving it a definite structure, linking it to the state, and bringing it clearly into national consciousness as a big move towards socialism.

Ben Bella summed up the significance of the new laws on April 22 as follows:

"The socialist policy inscribed in the Tripoli program and begun in a concrete way by the government is now irreversible. It will be followed up in the coming days and weeks by a national campaign for the democratic reorganization of the Management Committees and by the preparation, in the best



**ALGERIAN HERITAGE.** Some of the countless refugees during Algeria's costly war for independence. When the French decided to call it quits, Algeria was so exhausted from blood-letting that it was compelled to accept harsh peace terms at Evian. Now Algerian people are pressing for revision of the Evian accord.

conditions, of their National Congress, the first step toward the realization of the popular structures of the agrarian reform."

The response of the masses was spectacular. In a national tour made by Ben Bella immediately following enactment of the measures, the turnout of crowds resembled the great moments in the Cuban Revolution when the populace poured into the streets and plazas to back revolutionary steps undertaken by the government. The burst of popular enthusiasm in Algeria, ending months of cool reserve toward Ben Bella, in itself became a new political factor. Its immediate effect was to significantly bolster the Ben Bella wing in the government. In a wider sense it registered national recognition that the main lines had been laid down of an agrarian reform even more radical than the one carried out in Cuba.

The Algerian Revolution has been greatly strengthened by the leftward development of government power, by the direct intervention of the masses in taking over the land and organizing Management Committees, by the

favorable response of Ben Bella to this development, and by the new upsurge of the mass movement which his action touched off in turn. While Algeria remains exceedingly vulnerable to French financial pressure, the relation of forces has been altered, Algeria's demand for revision of the Evian accords reflected this improvement in its position.

The process begun with the definitive step forward in carrying out the agrarian reform will, as it continues, further strengthen the hand of the Algerian people in seeking to win a more favorable "contract" from the imperialist boss than the one they were forced to sign at Evian.

### Next week: Where Ben Bella Stands

"In those wretched countries where a man cannot call his tongue his own, he can scarce call anything his own. Whoever would overthrow the liberty of a nation must begin by subduing the freedom of speech; a thing terrible to publick traitors." — Benjamin Franklin (1706-1798)

## ... Kennedy Rapped at Northern Rallies

(Continued from Page 1)  
Mississippi and Georgia for voting.

Dick Gregory, the main speaker, drew the longest and warmest applause. His arm was in a sling from the brutal beating he received in the Birmingham jail. He said everyone was wondering how President Kennedy had finally found a way to send troops when the previous two weeks he couldn't find the legal right to do so. Gregory said: "They'd been beating the hell out of Negroes for two weeks, but they only consider it violence when a white man gets hurt." There is a simple formula, said Gregory, "Just stab one white cop and turn over one white cab, and troops will be there, in the morning."

The same point was made at an emergency rally in San Francisco, the day the Birmingham truce was broken. The rally, at the civic plaza, was called with virtually no notice but some 1,000 persons attended. Most of them were Negroes. The day before pickets protested the use of dogs by police in Birmingham and in San Francisco in minority neighborhoods. "Rights, Not Bites!" said one slogan.

In Hartford, Conn., about 2,000 persons demonstrated on the lawn of the capitol May 19 in a protest organized by the local NAACP branch. In White Plains, N.Y.,

about 800 persons marched through town carrying signs saying, "We won't wait another 100 years," "Police Dogs Must Go," and "Kennedy is President of Alabama Too."

The Englewood, N.J., movement, which has been fighting *de facto* segregation in elementary schools for several years, increased in militancy as the Birmingham events unfolded. Negro parents who have been boycotting an inferior and virtually all-Negro school sent their children on "sit-ins" at a modern and virtually all-white school. Unless a new state integration ruling is applied immediately, the parents say, the sit-ins will be intensified. The movement's attorney, Paul Zuber, last week declared that Northern Negroes would have to resort to Birmingham-type mass movements to gain equality.

In Detroit, the Trade Union Leadership Council, an affiliate of the Negro American Labor Council, proposed a March on Washington to press for decisive federal action. The AFL-CIO executive council, meeting in St. Louis, finally expressed moral support of the Birmingham Negroes in a statement last week.

Discussing the Birmingham situation at a meeting in Cleveland May 20, National Urban League director, Whitney M. Young Jr., criticized President Kennedy for

calling on white advisors only, when he was deciding what action to take in Alabama. Young also declared that Negroes need more than equal rights. They need, he said, "a dramatic demand for compensation." "Industry must employ Negroes because they are Negroes," he declared.

Young also characterized the Birmingham settlement as a failure. A mere absence of conflict where the Negro people have suffered so much is not a victory, he said.

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## Notables Back Aid to Algeria

Encouraging progress in preparations for a conference to be held in Algiers June 15-19 to consider ways and means of bringing non-government aid to Algeria was reported at a meeting held in the capital of the newly independent country April 11.

Among prominent European figures who have endorsed the conference, according to Michel Raptis, who made the report, are Bertrand Russell, Fenner Brockway, Michael Scott, Konni Zilliacus, Basil Davidson, Ian Mikardo, Claude Bourdet, René Dumont, Alfred Sauvy and Pierre Lebrun.

"This conference will be above all a political demonstration of solidarity with the socialist Algeria that is being born," said Raptis.

The conference will be opened by Ben Bella after which commissions will be set up to work with government specialists in surveying needs in various fields such as agriculture, industrialization, finance, etc. On the basis of these studies, full sessions of the conference will discuss possible plans of action.

Among Algeria's most acute needs are technicians, teachers, doctors, and skilled mechanics.

One of the speakers expressed the hope that the conference will consider the feasibility of organizing voluntary brigades to come to Algeria and help particularly in giving maximum impulsion to the socialist sector of its economy.

Anyone interested in getting in touch with the committee in charge of preparations for the conference should write Gilles Viali, 102 Boulevard du Télemly, Algiers, Algeria.



# Letters From Our Readers

## Birmingham and Barbarism

Seattle, Wash.

During the decay of the Roman Empire rebellious slaves were cast into the arena to be torn apart by lions and other wild beasts for the sport of the Patricians, and as a deterrent to slave revolts. Modern civilized people shudder at the history of these brutish affairs and properly so.

But when the police of Birmingham, Ala., used trained vicious dogs to rend and tear human flesh it is odd that we do not hear a resounding protest throughout the nation. Are we a nation of barbarians? Are we to allow people who resist bombings and murder to be torn apart by vicious dogs? Whatever one may think of the justice of the Negro liberation

movement his conscience has sunk to a low depth if he does not protest the using of dogs by police. I have heard "commentators" bemoaning the fact that the Birmingham Negroes stabbed some of these dogs. (In self-defense.) This is "cruelty to animals." Have these people forgotten that self-preservation is the first law of nature? Do they know that it is cruelty to humans to be torn by vicious dogs?

When these things are resorted to by so-called Christian civilized people it makes one wonder if we are not slipping back into the dark ages of primitive savagery. It is the surest sign of intellectual decay and moral bankruptcy. It is proof positive of the complete decadence of bourgeois democracy. By degrees we have been made accustomed to one form of brutality after another and if we do not call a halt to this sort of fiendish treatment of human beings we might as well inscribe the skull and crossbone on the banner of the nation and raise the slogan "Back to Barbarism."

Jack Wright

## Criticizes Halstead Article

Pueblo, Colo.

I have subscribed to *The Militant* for two years. I have not always agreed with your editorials nor some of the views put forth in your articles. But, on the whole, I very highly regard your reporting and selection of subjects.

My criticism of the current May 6 issue of *The Militant* is concerned with Fred Halstead's article, "Why No Stand on Vietnam?"

It seems to me the first thing to be considered for maximum sympathy and support for Peace and ban-the-bomb and anti-nuclear walks and demonstrations is to keep the public eye focused on a first-things-first subject — i.e., Nuclear War and Mass Destruction. How are we going to do this when, at the wrong time and at the wrong place, a subject is allowed to enter that can create grounds — no matter how flimsy — in the peace movement as a whole for ideological and political differences of opinion? This weakens the purpose.

Why is it that one of the world's most militant socialist movements is so adept at being out of timing with reality?

P.S.

## Halstead's Reply

New York, N.Y.

The peace movement does not have to raise the issue of Vietnam at every demonstration. For example, the Women Strike for Peace was perfectly in order to stick to the question of nuclear testing at its recent Washington demonstration. But it is scandalous for the peace movement as a whole to ignore the Vietnam war. Certainly it must be raised at general peace demonstrations such as the Easter Peace Walks.

It is true that the danger of nuclear war is primary. And that is the point on which there is the widest agreement — at least verbally. Even Kennedy and his Pentagon generals say they agree to that. But they go right on preparing for nuclear war. And the Soviet Union follows suit. Not only that, but Kennedy and his generals go right on trying to control the world and starting wars in the process.

## Thought for the Week

"Were there a vengefully selective atom weapon, killing only those whose names had appeared in opposition to it on letterheads of peace organizations, action appeals and full-page newspaper ads, the nation would be deprived of many of its leading scientists . . . whole university departments, college presidents, writers, artists, editors, and so on. Significantly, there would be almost no casualties in the Congress of the United States . . ." — Arthur Herzog in the May 19 *New York Times*.

They ready nuclear weapons just in case one of the small wars escalates into the big one. They do all this in the name of "peace." Even their slogan for Armed Forces Day this year is "Power for Peace."

The point is that in order to be effective in fighting the big nuclear war it is necessary to fight against each concrete move that brings the world closer to the brink of that war — i.e., such moves as the U.S. intervention in Vietnam.

Some peace leaders insist on limiting the movement to abstract propaganda about the danger of nuclear war. This is but a futile effort to maintain collaboration with pro-cold-war elements who are embarrassed by any opposition to Kennedy's concrete warlike acts.

This is a disastrous policy. The fact is that the pro-cold-war elements make up only a tiny portion of the activists of the movement. They must not be allowed to silence the rest.

The peace movement should educate the American people by exposing each warlike policy. It should seek to drive a wedge between the warmakers and the young people who are attracted in significant numbers by the peace demonstrations. It can do this in a variety of ways. But one of them should certainly be an exposure of the U.S. role in Vietnam.

Finally, how can a peace movement realistically hope to win significant support for opposition to future wars if it proves itself incapable of opposing one that is going on right now?

Fred Halstead

## From the Wilderness

Jamaica, N.Y.

Sorry to be late with the money for my renewal but I was saving for the Young Socialist fund drive.

*The Militant* is like a flame in the night out here in the capitalist wilderness.

A.K.

## Disagrees on 'Great Debate'

Brooklyn, N.Y.

It takes a most peculiar sort of Marxism to write a multi-paged pamphlet on Russia and China while mentioning such microscopic entities as the Russian and Chinese peasantry but once. Yet this feat appears to have been accomplished by the Marxist author of the pamphlet entitled: *Moscow vs. Peking: The Meaning of the Great Debate*.

"The great debate!" For, as it also appears in the dictionary of Huberman and Sweezy, cutting down of any aid to a virtual zero or supplying a virtual enemy with arms is a metaphysical "debate" to be sure, not an earthly quarrel. But let this be as it is.

Meanwhile, whatever might be the "essential meaning" of the Sino-Soviet dispute, the contention here is that the above mentioned pamphlet contains less than a surmise of the real conditions prevailing presently in Russia and China as well. For in antique Marxism-Leninism, the differentiation of peasantry, being no secret whatsoever, was always considered as a matter of historical necessity so long as the world market existed and was dominated by the capitalist class. According to this kind of Marxism-Leninism, the strong suspicion is that, in the

decomposition of the "Stalinist monolith," the hitherto concealed process of the differentiation of the peasantry, which Stalinism sought to check at any cost, breaks at last to the surface causing the center of gravity of the state power to shift from the main, petty peasant bulk of peasantry toward the middle and well-to-do peasant fractions of the entire class.

Moreover, what happens to be suspected by the Chinese is that the real "essential meaning" of the so-called de-Stalinization might prove to be an ideological and political introduction to de-collectivization. Yet without the rigid framework of Stalinist collectivization or "monolith" the entire peasant class can never maintain itself as a class because peasantry, even "collectivized," is constantly pregnant with an irrepressible tendency to its own disintegration and thus "begets capitalism day in, day out."

It is, further, more than a suspicion on the part of the Chinese, leaders of the greatest petty peasant nation of the world, that in contrast to Stalin, the late master of the so-called socialist camp, his former office boys like Khrushchev and Tito no longer represent the total interest of the peasant class as a whole but pursue the particular interests of the latter's middle and well-to-do sections and thus act as traitors to the peasant cause in general. The "essential meaning" of the "great debate" could be understood this way if Marxism were not a foreign language among the modern socialists.

M. Main

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Pentagon Meets Match?** — The Pentagon has informed Hollywood that in the future if it wants to use the military in its films it will have to submit each request in detail. Retorted Frank Freeman, vice president of Paramount and an industry spokesman: "I think the smart thing for the industry to do is to just sit pat. The movie industry has done more for the armed forces than the armed forces has done for the movie industry."

**Progress Report** — Senator Philip A. Hart (D-Mich.) says his campaign for more cherries in frozen cherry pies is gaining attention. He told a May 16 news conference that the Food and Drug Administration is investigating the possibility of setting standards for the number of cherries in the pies.

**The War to Civilize Vietnam** — At a recent Senate Armed Services Committee hearing on Vietnam, Senator Richard Russell (D-Ga.) had this to say to Marine Gen. David Shoup: "I think you should call to the attention of the people running the show out there the advisability of offering rewards to the peasants who will come in and reveal the location of these people [the guerrilla fighters]. We might promise them a couple of water buffalo or a new wife or some money or three or four acres of rice land — almost anything would be cheaper than what we are doing."

**They'll Stop at Nothing** — A press release from the Institute

for the Study of the USSR almost escaped our notice because it was addressed to the sports editor. The release solemnly warns: "Brainwashing, yoga, and deep breathing of ionized air in special chambers are being applied to shape up Soviet athletes for the 1964 Olympic games, according to an analysis by the Institute for the Study of the USSR."

**Think You've Got It Tough?** — To indicate the difficulties that beset the higher stratum of society, we quote the following from the May 17 column of *New York Herald Tribune* women's-feature editor Eugenia Sheppard: "The most nervous man in the big crowd at Princess Alexandra's wedding the other day was John Cavanagh. 'I breathed one sigh of relief when she got back down the aisle from the altar safely,' Cavanagh says. 'There were all kinds of things that could have happened, like her stepping on the hem or disarranging the veil . . . The whole performance was such a strain that the English designer

had to drop everything and take a vacation in Ireland afterwards. Only by long walks in the country and no telephone calls could he forget what he went through keeping the dress secret from newspaper reporters."

**Note to Jobless** — Ewan Clague of the Bureau of Labor Statistics predicts that by 1970 the demand will have doubled for astronomers and oceanographers.

**It Might Have Crippled Sales** — Thalidomide, the drug that resulted in the birth of deformed babies, was withdrawn from sale in Germany in November 1961 "and made front-page news all over the country," says Dr. Helen B. Taussig, noted pediatrician. "Not one word was leaked to the United States [of] what was going on, or that a drug was suspected," Dr. Taussig said, according to the May 10 *Baltimore Sun*. Thalidomide didn't hit the headlines in the U.S. until the following summer when a number of cases of deformed births came to light here.

## 10 YEARS AGO

### IN THE MILITANT

"*Labor's Daily* states that 'Sen. Joseph McCarthy's 1953 inquisition became even more frightening with the government announcement that a network of detention camps for dangerous subversives will be ready for occupancy next year . . .'

"The paper quotes Sen. Herbert H. Lehman of New York, a liberal Democrat, who said at the time the bill was before Congress that it 'will, in fact, distract from our internal security.'

"But the original bill presented by McCarran did not contain any concentration-camp provisions. These were introduced and sponsored by Sen. Lehman himself and his Democratic associates, Senators Kilgore (W. Va.), Douglas (Ill.), Humphrey (Minn.), and Kefauver (Tenn.). McCarran merely incorporated their bill for detention of alleged 'subversives' without jury trial into his own witch-hunt measure.

"If the labor and liberal forces want to save themselves, they've got to unite and fight to do away with this detention-camp law altogether. Such camps are just as vicious and repressive and against all democratic rights whether they are filled by a McCarthy or some allegedly more 'liberal' exponent of concentration-camps for 'Communists' and 'subversives.' — May 25, 1953.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"Like all practical liars, [columnist Walter] Winchell uses one kernel of truth: *The Militant* has been deprived of its second-class mailing privileges. Not, however for fascist connections, as Winchell lyingly claims, but for the exact opposite reason. The persecution of *The Militant* is a continuation of the persecution which began in the famous Minneapolis labor trial, in which eighteen trade unionists and Trotskyists were convicted because they are followers of Lenin — i.e., they are revolutionary Marxists, the opposite of fascists.

"As for the rest of Winchell's lies, Jacques Doriot is not and never was a Trotskyist — he was a Stalinist leader before he became a fascist; Quisling's wife may be a 'Ukrainian Party leader,' but not of a Trotskyist party; and the only connection between Norwegian Trotskyists and the Nazis is that any Trotskyist caught in Nazi-held territory or in Germany is executed or imprisoned — our list of such martyrs is unfortunately all too long. . . .

"We Trotskyists were fighting and dying in the struggle against fascism when Mr. Winchell thought that fascism was the latest dance step from Cuba." — May 22, 1943.

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## ...Southern Freedom Fight

(Continued from Page 1)  
victions of sit-inners in six test cases. In effect, the court ruled local segregation laws unconstitutional.

In Cambridge, Maryland, a fighting leadership and a militant local rank and file, aided by student demonstrators from several states, have won a significant victory. The latest round of demonstrations began six weeks ago and were stepped up May 13. The jails were bulging as a result of the "jail until victory" policy of demonstrators led by Miss Gloria Richardson, chairman of the

**Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Negro civil-rights fighter of Birmingham, has been elected president of the militant pro-integration Southern Conference Education Fund. He succeeds Bishop Edgar A. Love of Baltimore who resigned because of ill health.**

Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee. While she sat in jail, Reginald Robinson, 23-year-old field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, took charge of the demonstrations.

Police were getting edgy and reaching for their guns as they confronted lines of singing demonstrators. A local adult Negro leader, Herbert St. Clair, a member of an old Cambridge family with many members in the movement, declared to the press: "We are not going to invite violence, but if we are attacked, we are not going to turn the other cheek... our people aren't going to run anymore."

County Judge W. Laird Henry Jr. offered to arrange negotiations, provided the demonstrations were called off. Said Robinson: "We can't do it. The last time we stopped demonstrating in order for the town's leaders to take action the truce lasted 18 months and nothing happened."

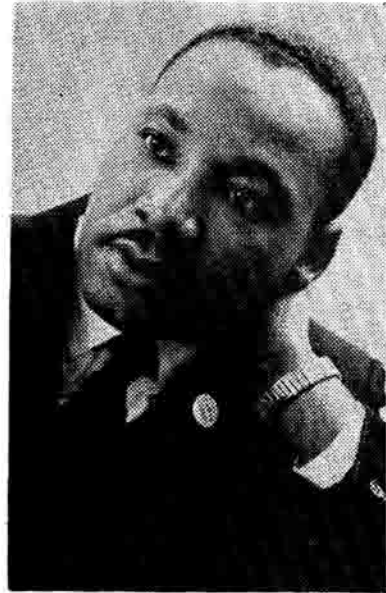
Judge Henry then arranged for negotiations anyway. The Negroes won some agreement on all their demands, including no prosecution

for the 79 persons arrested since May 13, desegregation of all public facilities, promises of a housing project in a Negro neighborhood and job opportunities. Then on May 19, Robinson "suspended" the demonstrations.

In Jackson, Mississippi, where the North Jackson NAACP Youth Council has been sponsoring a boycott for five months, Negroes demanded good-faith negotiations May 13 and threatened "heavy and intense direct action." Jackson Mayor Allen Thompson replied by refusing negotiations and declaring that the city would meet demonstrators with police, dogs, fire hoses, state troopers and the national guard.

Replied the North Jackson Youth Council: "We have made it very clear that racism is going to be discarded — forthwith... If good-faith negotiations do not take place, or if their results are intangible or non-substantial — then we are prepared fully for the most large-scale type of demonstrations. We are mobilizing now for heavy action in the very near future."

The boycott movement has set up a formal strategy committee with Miss Pearlina Lewis and Mr. John Salter — both of the North Jackson Youth Council — as co-chairmen.



Rev. M. L. King

## Ford Co. Penalizes Chicago Unionists For Refusing to Work Unsafe Machine

MAY 20 — Cook County Court in Chicago issued an injunction to United Auto Workers Local 588 ordering an immediate end to the nine-day strike over safety conditions. Local officers said they would comply.

By Beatrice Hansen

CHICAGO, May 19 — The Ford Motor Company is threatening to fire 3,700 members of United Auto Workers Local 588 at its Chicago Heights Stamping Plant. Workers there have been on strike since May 11 over the suspension of five local officials.

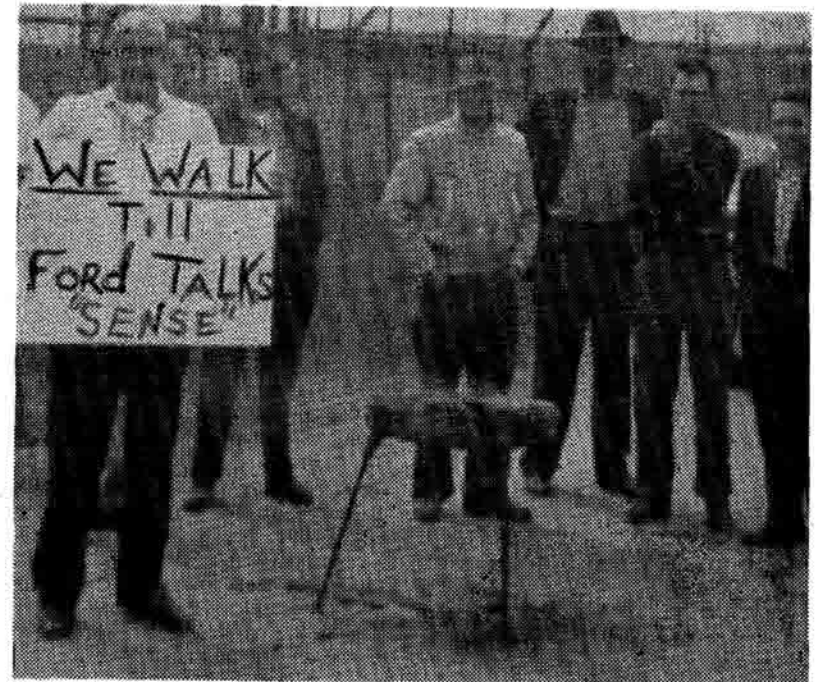
Company officials sent registered letters to all workers warning that their absence violates the agreement with the UAW and that failure to report for work will subject them to discharge.

### Closed Plant

The workers closed the plant down tight May 11, after five officials of their local, including the president, were given disciplinary layoffs for "impeding production." They had refused to let an 800-ton stamp press operate after its automatic loading device had been removed. The removal forced the men on the press to crawl under the machine to load it — a very dangerous operation.

This is one of 220 health and safety grievances pending against the company, a seven-year high according to the local president. The union has no representation on the safety committees in the plant and no voice in safety matters.

Bernard Fox, president of Local 588, and John Conway, unit committeeman, were given two-months suspension each, and three other committeemen received two-weeks suspension on May 9. On May 10, and again on May 13, over 3,000 workers voted unanimously to support their officers. The workers said they would not go back to work until all union officers were back and the company agreed not to discipline any union members. A telegram was sent asking UAW President Wal-



Militant photo by Beverly Webber

**DEMANDED SAFETY. Pickets at Ford's Chicago Heights Stamping Plant who walked out when five local union officers were fired for refusing to permit operation of giant press with safety device removed.**

ter Reuther and National Ford Director Ken Bannon to attend the meeting, and also requesting strike authorization. Neither Reuther nor Bannon came to the meeting. Instead they sent a telegram asking the men to return to work.

Because of anti-labor laws, no union funds can be used in this strike and the men are just "on vacation" or "go in fishing," as they put it. But there is 24-hour picket duty at all the plant gates and picket signs say: "We Walk 'til Ford Talks Sense" and "No Safety, No Union; No Union, No Work." The Teamsters and railroad workers are honoring the picket lines. The local had a similar strike over safety about a year and a half ago.

International officials met with the company on May 17 and agreed that the strike is "un-

authorized and illegal." They worked out a compromise to reduce the two-month suspensions to 30 days, to discipline only 16 and not to fire any strikers. Bannon and Robert Johnston of Region 4 said the offer was good only if accepted that day. It was rejected at a membership meeting. The members then marched to the company gates to demonstrate their solidarity. The workers are very angry about the International's refusal to authorize their strike.

According to the May 19 *Chicago Tribune*, Local 588 President Bernard Fox predicted the UAW would appoint an administrator to replace him in the next few days, adding that "union members are very downhearted at the International's position. When they are overruling 3,700 people over a simple safety clause, they had better reconsider."

### Specter of Great Depression

## Chicago's Needy Go Hungry in Aid Cutoff

By Howard Sievers

CHICAGO, May 18 — Nearly 230,000 welfare recipients, most of them children, are on the edge of starvation in this Midwest metropolis, while the state legislature wrangles over new restrictions in the public-aid laws. Failure to appropriate needed emergency funds has held up relief checks since the first week of May and left thousands of families helpless in the face of eviction and utility-termination notices.

Spectres of the Great Depression hovered over Chicago as urgent appeals for food donations went out via radio, TV, church pulpits and welfare organizations. When the results proved pitifully inadequate, government food surpluses of dried beans, corn meal, flour, butter, lard, dried milk and canned hash were requisitioned for allotment at hastily designated distribution centers to families with children.

However, unbelievable official bungling led to chaos of scandalous proportions as thousands of recipients milled about anxiously for many hours in front of closed distribution centers. Mayor Daley ordered extra trucks, but forgot to get drivers. Trucks were dispatched to the wrong warehouses, chased in all directions by re-

lief recipients sent to load them.

As limited quantities of some food items finally became available, families were required to accept a whole month's supply of whatever came in. Some stations doled out only bags of flour and corn meal, while other distributed butter, lard and dried beans. No baby food was available for the thousands of infants on the relief rolls. Special recipes required to prepare the difficult-to-cook foodstuffs never arrived. Violence flared intermittently as frustrated and humiliated throngs of food seekers, most of them Negro, grew resentful and desperate.

Meanwhile, the Democratic working majority in the Illinois House of Representatives, as well as Democratic Governor Kerner, have capitulated at every stage of the debate which has held the legislature deadlocked for more than two months. The Republican majority in the state Senate, demanding that ceilings be set on the amount of relief payments, has withheld approval of the emergency funds required by the Illinois Public Aid Commission (IPAC). These ceilings would, in the case of large families, push their budget below 11 cents per meal per family member.

When Arnold Maremont, a Democratic industrialist, newly

chosen as IPAC chairman, accused the Republicans of "racism" and "Hitlerism," they promptly withdrew their Senate confirmation of his appointment. The Democrats gave their tacit consent by abstaining on the vote.

Meanwhile, the victims of poverty in Chicago, one of the world's richest cities, remain ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed. One silver-haired social worker, surveying the crowds of hungry men, women and children, burst out with tears in his eyes, "This is just like the 1930s."

Reactions varied among the people directly affected. A 38-year-old Negro father of eight, who was formerly an unskilled construction laborer until a back injury forced him out of this line of work, said grimly: "My children are going to eat. I'll see to that — even if I have to go to jail for it!"

A man in his fifties, thrown on the human scrap heap after years of work in the stockyards, and now living alone in a one-room flat in the Negro ghetto, will have exhausted his meager groceries by next week. Ineligible for surplus food because he has no children, he said: "There's probably some things in the garbage cans in the alley I can pick up."

## ACLU Assails Coast Guard Screening; 'Risk' Wins Fight as Gov't Ducks Test

NEW YORK — The American Civil Liberties Union has called upon the federal government to halt and rectify abuses of civil liberties in the Coast Guard's screening of workers out of maritime jobs for possible left-wing views.

The ACLU action came in the form of a letter to Secretary of Treasury Dillon (who has jurisdiction over the Coast Guard), with a copy to Attorney General Kennedy, citing the outcome of the case of Roderick Colman. Colman was screened out of employment as a merchant seaman because of past membership in the Socialist Workers Party.

Colman, who admitted membership in the SWP from 1939 to 1952 and who had been an official of the National Maritime Union, had been denied validation of his seaman's papers by the Coast Guard. Under the witch-hunting "port security" program, lack of such validation prevents a seaman from shipping out.

For six years Colman, denied the right to work at his trade, contested the program's constitutionality under the supposedly "fairer" procedures announced by the Coast Guard after adverse court decisions in 1955 and 1956.

Those hearings completed, the ACLU this February filed a brief in federal court here charging that

Colman had been unconstitutionally deprived of his job. The Coast Guard case was so weak that it preferred to dodge a court decision and on April 29 it announced it was sending Colman validated papers.

In his letter to Secretary Dillon, ACLU Executive Secretary John de J. Pemberton Jr. said deprivation of Colman's right to work for so long was a "disgrace." He added: "We dare say that many ex-seamen of a variety of left-of-center political groups are on the beach today because they are the victims of the same frivolous practices to which Mr. Colman was subjected."

At least 3,788 other seamen and dock workers have been denied validated papers. Calling for an immediate review of their cases, Pemberton warned: "We would be remiss in our responsibilities if we failed to have the benefits of this particular case applied to the others who have been unconstitutionally deprived of their livelihood."

The Coast Guard's screening program is but one of the poisonous products of the "subversive" list, inaugurated by the Truman administration, under which literally hundreds of organizations have been branded as disloyal. People in actual or alleged association with such organizations have been widely victimized.