

# Administration in Cold Sweat Over Rising Negro Militancy

By Fred Halstead

MAY 29 — The meeting in New York on May 24 between Attorney General Robert Kennedy and a group of Negroes invited by novelist James Baldwin has thrown a scare into the Kennedy administration. The meeting was designed as part of the attempt of the Kennedys to head off and control the struggle for Negro equality and keep it within the bounds of gradualism. But it did not work out that way.

The Negroes present gave Kennedy a glimpse of the real mood of the country's black masses and the attorney general's reaction exposed his prejudice, arrogance and ignorance, as well as his unwillingness to commit the government to the necessary fundamental changes. The meeting reportedly ended with a young Negro Freedom Rider shaking his finger angrily in Kennedy's face.

The gathering had been arranged by Baldwin on Robert Kennedy's suggestion after the novelist had written Kennedy criticizing the administration's lack of forthright action in Birmingham. With the attorney general's approval, Baldwin invited about a dozen guests, mostly his personal friends, including the following Negroes: Harry Bela-



James Baldwin

the three-hour session, with Kennedy on one side and the Negroes on the other.

Dr. Clark reported that Jerome Smith — who has faced Southern racist police — said he felt "nauseous" at having to beg the attorney general for protection from segregationist violence. Smith declared he felt no moral obligation to help the federal government "liberate" Cuba while the federal government refused to liberate the Negroes in this country.

At this point, Clark reported, Robert Kennedy expressed shock and outrage. "We were shocked that he was shocked," said Clark, "and that he seemed genuinely unable to understand what Smith was trying to say."

Clark said a "recurrent theme" of the session was the point that the Kennedy administration's actions on civil rights are based on Democratic Party political considerations rather than on a moral commitment against segregation. Kennedy spent his time explaining how gains could gradually be made here and there in discussions with "moderate" whites.

Said Clark: "There were times when we just broke out into hysterical laughter. It was the laughter of desperation. I didn't know whether to laugh or cry or both. We were unable to communicate clearly and skillfully that this was not a group of Negroes begging

the white power structure to be nice to Negroes. We were trying to say that this was an emergency for our country, as Americans. This never got over."

Kennedy was told that since "the FBI uses Southern agents in investigations of civil-rights abuses, the role of the FBI is coercive rather than protective" to Negroes. Dr. Clark said Kennedy wouldn't answer this point, and that "at one point Lena Horne asked him straight out: 'Are you not the boss of the FBI?'"

## A Shocker

Kennedy's shocking attitude may be judged from the following report by *New York Post* columnist James Wechsler who interviewed Dr. Clark at length about the meeting: "The tension slowly increased. When discussion arose of the impact of recent events on male Southern Negroes, playwright Lorraine Hansberry exploded. She said the country ought to be worrying about the 'specimens of white manhood' recently immortalized in photographs showing their knees on the breasts of Negro women who had been dragged to the ground. Then she walked out, and didn't return."

Searching for a positive note about the meeting, Dr. Clark declared: "The fact that Bobby Kennedy sat through such an ordeal for three hours proves he is among the best the white power structure has to offer."

But the point is that the struggle  
(Continued on Page 2)



Robert F. Kennedy

## U.S. Double Talk About Duvalier

# Seeks Pretext for Intervention in Haiti

By Steve Graham

The U.S. government and press, with shameless suddenness, became concerned about the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti and began to press for its overthrow. State Department actions to this end have included cutting the foreign-aid dole, calling for OAS intervention and sanctions, stationing of battleships with Marines off Haiti's shores, suspending diplomatic relations, winking at Dominican President Bosch's massing of troops on Haiti's border, permitting a government-in-exile to be formed in Puerto Rico and maintaining contact with anti-Duvalier forces in Haiti through the U.S. military mission there.

The righteous indignation against the Haitian regime which has accompanied these acts marks a new low in hypocrisy for U.S. diplomacy. Not a word is said about other dictatorships and military regimes — in Paraguay, Nicaragua, Argentina, Guatemala and Peru — all of which enjoy "Alliance for Progress" aid, and military and diplomatic ties with the U.S. Nor is it mentioned that

until recently the Duvalier regime enjoyed U.S. support.

In fact, Duvalier was a creature of U.S. maneuvering in the crisis that shook Haiti in 1956 and 1957. Then, all candidates, upon whom the U.S. interests frowned, were driven out by the U.S.-recognized military "provisional" regime. Duvalier's predecessor was the dictator Paul Magloire. He had promised economic improvements but done nothing to alleviate the extreme poverty imposed on the mass of Haitian small farmers by the cultivation of coffee as the only cash crop. That crop is controlled by U.S. banks and shipping companies. A general strike in the capital, Port-au-Prince, drove Magloire out.

A junta of army officers replaced Magloire. They represented a military establishment built by U.S. Marines during their 19-year occupation, 1915-1934. Similar military establishments, heritage of U.S. occupation, were the basis of the Trujillo and Batista dictatorships and still is for Somoza in Nicaragua.

But the quiet physician, Duva-

# THE MILITANT

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## Defense Scores Legal Point In Indiana 'Subversive' Case

By Charles Gardner

MAY 28 — The defense has won a preliminary legal move in the case of James Bingham, Ralph Levitt and Tom Morgan, the three officers of the Young Socialist Alliance at Indiana University indicted under Indiana's "extermination of Communism" law.

Judge Nat U. Hill of the Monroe County Circuit Court on May 23 granted a motion to strike surplus wording from the indictment. Defense attorney James R. Cotner filed this motion on the grounds that part of the wording of the indictment was detrimental to the defense and irrelevant to the charge.

The defendants were indicted May Day on the charge of assembling for the purpose of "advocating or teaching the doctrine that the government of the United States, or of the State of Indiana, should be overthrown by force, violence, or any unlawful means..." Cotner moved to strike the two following lines "and as officers of the Young Socialist Alliance, youth group of the Socialist Workers Party."

Citing numerous precedents, the defense motion argued that if any charge besides that of unlawful assembly were allowed to stand in the indictment, this would permit placing before the jury allegations which did not necessarily meet standards of admissible evidence.

Prosecutor Thomas A. Hoadley's failure to contest the motion revealed how extraneous had been his inclusion in the indictment of references to officership in the YSA as well as the falseness of his description of the organizationally independent YSA as "youth group of the Socialist Workers Party." This latter bit of misinformation, had been taken by him, incidentally, from the notoriously worthless files of the House



Prosecutor Hoadley

Un-American Activities Committee.

The removal of these phrases from the indictment will now make somewhat more difficult Hoadley's obvious intent of bringing in irrelevant matters to inflame the witch-hunt atmosphere and get convictions of the three young students.

The American Association of University Professors chapter at  
(Continued on Page 5)

## Algeria Move Adds To French Jitters

PARIS — A new and important decree affecting property rights in Algeria was published in the May 14 issue of the *Journal Officiel*. It has aroused fresh alarm among French imperialist circles, who feel that it may signal the beginning of the nationalization of the industrial sector of the Algerian economy.

The new law specifies that the government can place under its "protection" any property "whose acquisition, management, exploitation or utilization are susceptible of disturbing the public order or the social peace."

Up to now the Ben Bella government has taken over only "vacated" properties; that is, holdings abandoned by the owners; or "insufficiently exploited" properties. The "vacated" properties involved principally agricultural holdings which the *colons* left when they fled to France a year ago. Under the other category Algerian as well as French holdings have been seized.

## Repeated Assurances

The Algerian government has given repeated assurances that it does not intend to nationalize the industrial sector and that it will guarantee foreign investments made in industry. The new law places a question mark on these assurances. That, at least, is how the French interpret it.

André Pautard, special correspondent of *Le Monde*, calls attention (May 18) to the fact that the "field of application is not limited to the agricultural sector alone... from now on it affects

(Continued on Page 6)

## Jailer Drops Dead

Police in Durham, North Carolina, arrested so many anti-segregation demonstrators on the night of May 20 that they ran out of room in the Durham City jail. Some 740 singing, clapping Negro students from North Carolina College and 50 white Duke University students filled the jail full to the bursting point. It was all too much for the 55-year-old Durham City jailer, who died on the spot of a heart attack.



## Nation's Biggest Local Union Votes

## Stellato May Lose Ford Plant Presidency

DETROIT — Carl Stellato, president of UAW Ford Local 600 since 1950, came close to losing his post in the local election held May 20-23, and may yet lose it in a runoff election June 19-20.

Stellato ran second in the election, receiving 11,471 votes. Ahead of him in the tally, with 11,657, was Harry Becker, a relative unknown making his first bid for top office. Becker failed to get a clear majority, and a runoff will be held, because a third candidate polled 383 votes.

Stellato's position in the nation's largest local union thus has definitely declined further since the last election two years ago. At that time he was able to win, 12,466 to 10,528, over a slate headed by Harry Philo.

The Philo slate in 1961 ran on a generally progressive program, stressing the need to fight for 30-for-40, against speedup, for union democracy, etc. Stellato's campaign against Philo hit a new low in vileness, going all-out in race-baiting and red-baiting. He accused "outside Negroes" of trying to take over the local, ran a lily-white slate for the top offices, and smeared Philo for having refused to cooperate with the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Despite this, Philo got a majority of the votes of the workers in the Rouge plant. Stellato won in 1961 because he was supported by a big majority of the retired members, who are less concerned by deteriorating conditions on the job and tend to be more conservative. Stellato also had the backing of Reuther and his machine at Solidarity House.

Afraid that they might again be faced with a strong progressive opposition in 1963, Stellato and the Reuther machine set out last year to break up the forces previously headed by Philo (who had meantime withdrawn from union activity to practice law). Under the pretext of preventing the kind of scandalous campaign that Stellato had conducted in 1961, they offered a deal to the various caucuses in the local — an amendment to the constitution outlawing slanders in election campaigns, and — more enticing — the offer of places to some of the opposition leaders on the Stellato slate in this year's election.

Unfortunately, this maneuver



Stellato

was successful. Some of the leaders of the former opposition went over to Stellato, including people who used to be considered radicals. Others couldn't stomach this capitulation, but they also didn't have the courage or the resources to run a ticket of their own, and they ended up by going over to the Becker group. A majority of the workers in the plant voted for Becker, and Stellato made the runoff this time only because he again got most of the retiree vote.

Becker is strictly an opportunist, like Stellato. It was hard to tell their programs apart. Both endorse Reuther's profit-sharing schemes. Both, like Reuther, pay lip service to a shorter week while opposing all efforts to fight for it and while supporting the Kennedy administration which opposes any shortening of the week. Both

are 100% supporters of the Reuther bureaucracy which hamstring the auto union — the only difference being that Stellato, as incumbent, had the inside track to Solidarity House. Becker complained pitifully that he couldn't understand why the Reuther machine wasn't supporting him, because Reuther knows how "responsible" Becker is.

## Anti-Stellato Vote

The vote for Becker must be viewed primarily as an anti-Stellato vote, sparked by a wish to get rid of an incumbent bureaucrat, whoever his opponent was. Similar developments have taken place recently in other Detroit area locals, including Local 212, where incumbent president Tony Czerwinski was also forced into a runoff.

The desire to get "ins" out undoubtedly has positive aspects and healthy motives, but it cannot lead to the solution of any problems if the "ins" are replaced by equally conservative bureaucrats whose main aims are to feather their own nests and to block the revival of militancy in the labor movement.

Whatever happens in the runoff, Stellato's grip on the local has been weakened. The unfortunate thing is that simultaneously the opposition has been broken up. What is needed is a new opposition, built on firmer foundations than the old, cemented together by militant class-struggle principles, and presenting a fighting alternative to Reutherism. A real left wing opposition, mobilizing the rank and file to challenge the economic and political dominance of the bosses and their labor lieutenants, is as badly needed in Local 600 as in the rest of the labor movement.

## ... Rising Negro Militancy

(Continued from Page 1)

gle for Negro equality is threatening to upset the white power structure, the establishment, the U.S. capitalist system — they are but different phrases for the same thing — and Kennedy is loyal above all to the white power structure. It is this that blinds him and that makes him an enemy, not a friend, of the desires of the Afro-American masses for fundamental change.

For Kennedy, the meeting was a fiasco. Instead of being publicized in Northern papers as a good fellow willing to rub shoulders with Negro intellectuals, Robert Kennedy stands exposed for just what he is — an arrogant, imperialistic, ignorant, spoiled-rich, prejudiced white man. All proportions guarded, the meeting was — so to speak — Bobby Kennedy's very own little Playa Giron.

The newspaper columnists were still commenting on "the New York conversations" when a fresh example of the militant mood among Northern Negroes about which Baldwin was talking ap-

peared in Philadelphia. Pickets organized by the local NAACP have been stopping trucks and workers from entering the site of a school-construction project because some of the building trade craft unions bar Negroes. Police broke through the picket line May 28 to allow some workers to enter, but trucks carrying supplies to the site were stopped. Declared Cecil Moore, president of the local NAACP chapter, which is demanding job rights for Negroes, "We'll picket the entire city. There are not enough police to stop us."

LOS ANGELES, May 26 — This city's largest-ever civil-rights rally took place at Wrigley Field, in the heart of the Negro ghetto today. More than 30,000 persons turned out at a rally organized by the local NAACP and supported by more than 40 organizations, including ten international unions. Martin Luther King, featured speaker and hero of the day, demanded that President John F. Kennedy escort the two Negro students into the University of Alabama.

Dick Gregory, still nursing bruises received in the Birmingham jail, also spoke. "I believe in non-violence along with Rev. King," he said, "and many people accuse all Negroes of carrying switchblade knives — which just isn't true. However, I am an exception and I hope Martin Luther King doesn't ask me to give it up, because I would just hate to refuse Rev. King."

SAN FRANCISCO, May 26 — More than 20,000 persons took part in a parade and rally here today in sympathy with Negroes in Alabama. Twelve thousand marched through the downtown area. Marchers carried signs denouncing segregation in the South and job discrimination in San Francisco.

## Documents of the Negro Struggle

Texts of discussions on question with Leon Trotsky and of analytical resolutions adopted by conventions of Socialist Workers Party.

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A picture of Walter Reuther was ripped from the wall of the union hall after a meeting May 20 of angry members of United Auto Workers Local 588 in Chicago. The Ford stamping plant workers had just reluctantly voted to yield to a court injunction and return to work after a nine-day strike which UAW president Reuther had refused to authorize. The strike began after the local's president, Bernard Fox, was given a two-month disciplinary layoff for stopping an unsafe stamping press. Reuther declared the issue must be settled through the grievance procedure, but the procedure is bogged down with 220 health and safety grievances which the company has refused to settle.

A meeting of United Rubber Workers Local 2 at Akron was held May 19 at which, it is said, the 2,500 members present accepted a contract proposal that had been rejected two weeks earlier. It was a standing vote with no tally recorded. The earlier vote was challenged by International President George B. Burden on the grounds that less than ten per cent of the local's 9,423 members voted. Local 2, with nearly half the union's membership at eleven Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co. locations across the country, held the balance for or against the contract. With the reversal, the vote now stands: locals with 16,000 members in favor and locals with 4,000 members opposed. The contract calls for a 16 cent-an-hour raise for tire workers and 13 cents for others over two years. The unexpected difficulty URW International officials encountered in selling the contract to the rank and file is another instance in a growing pattern in many industrial unions across the country.

A shorter work week has been won by Local 174 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen in New York City. Some 1,700 meat cutters were on strike for 20 days beginning May 1 to win a reduction in hours from 40 to 37½ with no reduction in pay.

Ernest Holmes, the Negro garment worker whose charges against the International Ladies Garment Workers Union precipitated the NAACP revelations of racial discrimination in the garment industry, has signed a conciliation agreement with the union's Local 10 — the cutters local. Holmes agreed to drop the charges before a state agency and the union promised to "use its good offices" to secure training for Holmes and get him into the local.

Holmes had worked in a garment shop as a helper, was assigned to certain tasks generally done by cutters, but got the run-around when he tried to get up-graded and get a book in the cutters local. This is a common situation in New York City's garment industry, where Negroes and Puerto Ricans make up close to a majority of the workers but have very few of the better-paying jobs.

What is particularly infuriating to black garment workers is that this situation exists despite the fact that the unions involved and most of the employers are very loud in their claims that they oppose racial discrimination.

In the Holmes case, the ILGWU leaders are interpreting the agreement as an admission by Holmes that there is no discrimination by the cutters local. As proof, ILGWU leaders cite the fact that the statement, which Holmes signed, acknowledges that some 250 of the local's 7,500 members are Negro or Puerto Rican. That is, less than four per cent. The local has Negroes and Puerto Ricans in it,

and is officially opposed to discrimination, and that is enough, say its leaders.

But it isn't enough. The union should fight discrimination by the employers. It should take special measures to train Negroes and Puerto Ricans for more skilled jobs. It should insist that employers upgrade Negro and Puerto Rican workers already in the shops instead of going outside to get trainees for skilled positions. It should insist that Negroes and Puerto Ricans get first crack at openings in the better shops as long as the present disproportion exists. But instead, David Dubinsky loudly asserts that the problem doesn't exist.

Leonard Woodcock, a vice president of the United Auto Workers, gave a little free advice to the U.S. capitalist class May 16 in a speech before a group of executives in Hartford, Conn. He said nothing short of national, long-range, economic planning would solve the problems now facing the U.S. economy and that employers should encourage, not resist this. "America's social progress has been marked by great forward movements, propelled from deep crisis," pointed out Woodcock, but, he continued, "with the enemy at the outer gate, we simply cannot run the risk of deep social crisis."

But Lennie, don't you remember? The bosses always go too far.

Hospital Workers Local 1199 won a landslide victory in a collective bargaining election at New York City's Mount Sinai Hospital May 22. The vote was 990 for Local 1199 to 130 for "no union" and 50 for Local 144 of the Building Service International. Mount Sinai was one of the seven hospitals struck by Local 1199 in its first big organizing attempt in the spring of 1959.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which adopted a demand for a shorter work week in this year's negotiations, has agreed to a new three year contract at the same old 40-hour week. ACW President Jacob Potofsky explained it away saying that competition from unorganized shops would be too great if the union got its 35-hour week at 40 hours pay. He said the work week would have to be cut by congress so that it would apply equally to organized and unorganized shops. But the Kennedy administration, which Potofsky supports, is adamantly opposed to any such legislation.

The Massachusetts union movement failed in its drive to get a state law passed granting unemployment compensation benefits for strikers. The proposed bill was defeated last month in the state legislature by a 144 to 88 vote in the House of Representatives. The bill would have made strikers eligible if the struck employer refused arbitration. Strikers can collect unemployment benefits under certain circumstances in only two states at present — New York and Rhode Island.

## Weekly Calendar

## CHICAGO

The Coming Revolution in Peru. Speaker, Robert Stewart. Fri., June 7, 8 p.m. Debs Hall 210, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

## LOS ANGELES

PANEL DISCUSSION on Racial Terror in Birmingham. Discussion of tactics and trends by leading Los Angeles civil-rights fighters. Speakers: Thomas Allen, student of African history, recently returned from Africa; Harold Grant, chairman Committee to Aid Monroe Defendants; Otto Farrar, representative of Militant Labor Forum; and a CORE representative. Sat., June 8, 8:30 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 East 4th St. Door contrib. only. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## NEW YORK

TRUMAN NELSON, distinguished scholar of Abolitionism, author of "Sin of the Prophet," biographer of John Brown and a leading defender of Monroe, N.C., frame-up victims, speaks on Revolutionary Separatism: From Pilgrim to Muslim. Fri., June 7, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## OAKLAND

DEBATE: What Road Ahead — Democratic Party or a Socialist Alternative? Speakers: Tom Winnett, co-editor, The Liberal Democrat, and Asher Harer, former exec. sec'y, Bay Area Fair Play for Cuba Comm. Fri., June 7, 8 p.m. 563 16th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

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## Charges Letter Was Mutilated

## Bertrand Russell Blasts N.Y. Times

NEW YORK, May 28 — The New York City (off campus chapter) Student Peace Union disclosed today a letter in which British philosopher Lord Bertrand Russell accuses the N. Y. Times of suppressing information relating to the use of chemical warfare in Vietnam. Russell claimed that "the relative sections (were) carefully deleted" from his May 4th letter to the Times on the war in South Vietnam.

Russell said that the U.S. government is conducting "a war of annihilation." He urged support of the South Vietnam Liberation Red Cross' demand for "international inspection of the situation."

A spokesman for the Student Peace Union said that the group would hold a demonstration on Saturday afternoon, June 29, in support of Russell's demands. "The demonstration will be held in front of the U.S. mission to the U.N.," he said.

## Text of Letter

The following is the text of Lord Russell's letter to the SPU:

"When I first wrote to the New York Times on this subject, the Times saw fit to attack me editorially and pressed me to reveal the sources and details of my information. This I did in a further letter, which was published on Saturday, May 4th, with the relative sections carefully deleted. Here is the main section of my letter which the New York Times saw fit not to publish:

"In your fifth paragraph (the editorial attack) you also endeavour to minimise the effect of 'defoliation chemicals' by calling them 'common weed killers.' If sprayed, as they must be to achieve the end for which you say they are intended, certain common weed killers would destroy many crops and animals.



But, in fact, chemicals other than common weed killers have been used (some of these were once used as 'common weed killers,' but were found to be too dangerous).

"The U. S. Government has been charged by the South Vietnam Liberation Red Cross, after a year's study by them of the chemicals sprayed in South Vietnam and their effect upon the health of human beings, animals and crops, with using weed killers which, in the large doses used, are harmful; with using white arsenic, various kinds of arsenite sodium and arsenite calcium, lead manganese arsenates, D.N.P. and D.N.C. (which inflame and eat into human flesh), and calcic cyanamide (which has 'caused leaves, flowers and fruit to fall, killed big cattle like buffaloes and cows, and seriously affected thousands' of the inhabitants of South Vietnam); with having spread these poisonous chemicals on large and densely populated areas of South Vietnam

"Admittedly, the South Viet-

nam Liberation Red Cross is, as its name suggests, allied with those opposing the U.S. supported Diem regime, but its published findings cannot be ignored since it has urged international investigation of the situation. The use of these weapons, Napalm bombs and chemicals, constitutes and results in atrocities, and points to the fact that this is 'a war of annihilation.'

## Demands Publication

"I have written further to the New York Times demanding that this be published and stating that in a long experience of correspondence with many newspapers, including Pravda and Isvestia, I have never been treated so shamefully as by the New York Times."

The SPU group announced that the letter would be published as part of a pamphlet titled: *Bertrand Russell on the War in Vietnam*. Copies may be ordered for 15¢ (10 for \$1) from: SPU, c/o Kirsch, 1108 Grant Avenue, Bronx 56, New York. For information phone: SH 8-6152.

## A Negro Leader Dissents on Non-Violence

CLEVELAND, May 21 — After more than 15,000 Negroes demonstrated their support of the Birmingham freedom fighters by overflowing the meeting places where Rev. Martin Luther King spoke last Tuesday on "We shall overcome," a much smaller meeting, Saturday night, ignored by the newspaper, radio and TV media, presented a potentially much more significant discussion.

## Speech by Cleage

Rev. Albert Cleage Jr. of Detroit, guest speaker at a meeting sponsored by the Freedom Fighters of Ohio, told the audience, "We shall overcome someday, but we are, I think, increasingly throughout America concerned with the method by which we are to overcome. I don't think we are to overcome automatically. I don't think just because our cause is a righteous cause that we are necessarily to overcome by virtue of the righteousness of our cause, so you may gather that my position, my conclusions are perhaps a trifle different than Mr. King's..."

"If Mr. Kennedy is irked by the 'extremists' in Birmingham," Cleage said, "he's got a whole lot of irking coming!"

The speaker pointed out that the people of Birmingham are not non-violent, that the majority of the Negroes in America are not

committed, that non-violence is un-American, counter to the whole tradition of struggle, from the American Revolution which freed this country from British domination, on.

He said he simply cannot understand King's statement: "If blood must flow in the streets of Birmingham, let it be our blood, not the blood of our white brothers." He pointed out how neither Gandhiism nor Christianity can justify such a statement.

"It was a wonderful thing to get Negroes worked up to a dedication such as they had in Birmingham," Cleage said. "But to get a Negro out on a limb where he is following the Constitution of the United States, without the protection of the United States federal government is actually a sin!" (A tremendous burst of applause expressed the agreement of the audience.)

## Perspectives

Cleage expressed his own concept of the perspectives of the Negro struggle in these terms: First, the Negro has to recognize the fact of struggle, that he is involved in a power struggle, a conflict. Second, that the struggle is against something, some body, against the anti-Negro policy and all who direct it and uphold it. Third, the strategy of the struggle has not yet been determined, and that's what is in dispute all over America in every Negro community. The strategy of the established organizations and leadership is inadequate and that is why so many new organizations and groups are springing up.

The strategy of the struggle, he said, involves three things: political action which is meaningful because of its mobility and used to "punish our enemies"; economic action based on selective patronage or boycott to win jobs; mass

demonstrations against all forms of discrimination, North and South, which indicate the spiritual power of the movement.

"Now I'm not saying that a Negro should have a non-violent mass demonstration to the point where he gets himself killed," he hastened to add. "I think that when they come in to kill you, then you've got to defend yourself... But I think that the mass demonstration in the spiritual power of Martin Luther King and his movement is tremendous and I think we've got to continue to use it. Because I think it shows all over the world the real caliber of American democracy... They're afraid of it, so we've got to use it as another weapon. Political power, economic power and this spiritual power..."

## Sponsoring Group

The group which sponsored the meeting to hear Rev. Cleage, the Freedom Fighters of Ohio, identified itself on a brochure distributed at the meeting as follows:

"A chartered organization, active for about two-and-a-half years in the struggle for 'Freedom Now.' It has been a direct action group concentrating on hiring practices and consequent boycotts and picketing. It also participates with other groups along the broad front of civil-rights actions.

"The purpose of the Committee of Correspondence of the Freedom Fighters is to keep in contact with other groups, exchange ideas and news, offer and solicit support whenever proper, and offer hospitality and friendship to those others seriously engaged in the struggle."

Vice chairman of the Committee of Correspondence is James M. Russell, 14715 Darwin Ave., Cleveland 10, Ohio.

## Heroic Miss. Rights Fighters Stand Up to Racist Thugs

MAY 29 — A campaign of direct action has begun against segregation in Jackson, Mississippi. It started yesterday when several Negro youths, a white girl and a white professor at Tougaloo College sat down at a lunch counter in an F. W. Woolworth store in Mississippi's largest city. While city police stood by without interfering, the sit-inners were brutally attacked by white racists. Memphis Norman, 21, was repeatedly kicked in the face before police finally stepped in and arrested both the Negro youth and his assailant.

John R. Slater, the white professor, was struck by racists, his cheek cut, and the wound sprinkled with salt and pepper as he sat on the lunch-counter stool. Miss Annie Moody, 22, and Pearlina Lewis, 21, were knocked off their stools onto the floor. Joan Trumpauer, the white girl, was manhandled by a white man but managed to return to her stool. The sit-inners held their ground until the store was closed by police. At another store, eight Negroes were arrested for picketing.

Thus began the sustained attempt to desegregate Jackson, the capital of Mississippi. The campaign has long been planned by the North Jackson NAACP Youth Council, which is based among students at Tougaloo. The campaign is being supported by the state NAACP, headed by Medgar Evers, and by a broad united front of leaders from every section of the Jackson Negro Community. Miss Lewis and Mr. Slater are co-chairmen of the direct-action strategy committee.

The Youth Council has been leading a boycott of downtown stores since last Dec. 12 when several NAACP pickets were arrested for picketing. The boycott was immediately supported by the NAACP on all levels, by the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee and by CORE.

On May 12, the state NAACP

adopted a resolution submitted by John Slater that direct action be instituted if white businessmen and politicians refused to negotiate in good faith.

The racist Mayor Allen Thompson since then has attempted through a series of complicated maneuvers, threats and promises, to sow confusion in the leadership of the movement and to get the direct-action campaign called off without any tangible concessions being made.

The presence on the scene, however, of tested leaders of the boycott, assures the movement a good chance of developing successfully.

Jackson has a population of 150,000 of whom 35 per cent are Negroes. At present Negroes are excluded from downtown movie theatres, the main library, "white" public parks, playgrounds and other facilities. They are refused service in restaurants and at lunch counters. Police brutality is routine. There are no Negro policemen or firemen. Negroes are largely excluded from industrial and professional employment in the area, and all public schools are segregated.

## More Repressive, Racist Laws in South Africa

One of the most vicious measures of modern times became law in South Africa May 2 within ten days after it was introduced in the legislature.

The "anti-sabotage" law gives Justice Minister Balthazar Johannes Vorster, who was interned for more than a year during World War II because of his pro-Nazi views, extraordinary powers. He can:

- Detain up to 90 days at a time anyone suspected of having information about offenses threatening the state's security. Neither charges nor a trial are required.

- Repeat the 90-day detention indefinitely. The courts cannot interfere.

These powers are to be reviewed in a year but the President can extend them a year at a time or put them in force at any time if they have lapsed.

In addition, Vorster can:

- Detain indefinitely members of banned organizations and advocates of "Communism" even after they have completed their sentences.

- Impose from a minimum of five years up to the death penalty on South Africans who have advocated forcible intervention in South Africa's affairs at any time since 1950, including in the United Nations.

- Order summary trials without any preparatory examination.

- Seize suspected letters, telegrams or parcels sent by mail.

- Declare a state of emergency and issue emergency decrees which have the force of law.

- Prohibit assemblies and gatherings and ban people from attending public meetings.

- Designate anyone a "Communist" under the "Suppression of Communism" law.

## How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers  
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New York 3, N. Y.





# THE MILITANT

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Vol. 27 - No. 22



Monday, June 3, 1963

## A 'Rumbling Fear' in D.C.

The top policy makers of the Kennedy Administration are alarmed by the increasingly militant fight of American Negroes for equality now and their refusal to "cool off" with a few concessions.

They are getting scared.

They are especially fearful of the situation in Washington, D.C., where there now is a black majority, which explains why Congress refuses to grant that city self-rule.

"The residents of this capital city," reports the Manchester Guardian's Washington correspondent, Alistair Cooke, "dread the day when Washington, D.C., might be the worst battleground of all." "This rumbling fear has been greatly stirred by the promise of the only national Negro labor leader [A. Philip Randolph] to head a protest march on this city in the autumn."

The experienced British correspondent predicts that between now and autumn, "the White House will be in anxious touch with the Governors and the Mayors and the Reuthers to try to dissuade Philip Randolph, the head of the Negro railroad union, from his plan to lead colored contingents from the 50 states in a march on the Capitol."

This is all the more reason for Negroes to redouble their determination to march. A show of real determination will bolster Randolph and further impress the powers that be. It will also win powerful support in the union ranks for labor's joining the march.

As the British journalist notes, the threat of such a march in 1941 forced Roosevelt to grant the Fair Employment Practices order. The unemployment crisis in the Negro community today makes a March on Washington a necessity.

## Cuba Rebutts Latest OAS Smear

In the midst of world protest over conditions in Birmingham, Washington — through its ventriloquist's dummy, the Organization of American States — has accused Cuba of maltreatment of political prisoners. Significantly, neither the International Red Cross nor the Swiss Embassy, which represents U.S. interests in Cuba, has supported these charges.

Carlos Lechuga, Cuban Ambassador to the United Nations, on May 24 indignantly denounced the OAS charges and accused it of "keeping a pious silence over the events in Birmingham, Ala., where in fact political prisoners have been brutally beaten up by the police, and the cruel and uncivilized spectacle of dogs, trained for repressive purposes, being charged against citizens who were demonstrating for their rights, has taken place."

Lechuga finds "astonishing" the manner in which the OAS overlooks the trampling of human rights and flagrant police brutality in Birmingham. In his statement he accused the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, the OAS advisory body responsible for the recent red-herring report on Cuban prisons, of being blind to the use of dogs and firehoses against Negroes in the South.

It would be naive to expect anything but the most blatant double standard on the part of the "made in America by American craftsmen" of the OAS, or of the U.S. delegate to the OAS, DeLesseps Morrison, former mayor of Jim Crow New Orleans and pal of the late Dominican dictator, Trujillo.

We submit that these charges, like the now disproved atrocity stories about the Bay of Pigs prisoners, are a slander against Cuba and a smokescreen to divert attention from real violations of human rights in Birmingham.

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Baltimore	\$ 120	\$ 120	100
Chicago	1,400	1,255	90
Allentown	150	125	83
Newark	225	176	79
Detroit	900	682	76
The General	395	273	69
San Diego	400	271	68
San Francisco	750	512	68
St. Louis	100	66	66
Boston	750	484	65
Twin Cities	1,000	580	58
Milwaukee	350	195	56
Oakland-Berkeley	750	414	55
New York	5,800	3,124	54
Connecticut	200	107	54
Los Angeles	6,300	2,928	46
Cleveland	500	211	42
Philadelphia	300	103	34
Seattle	600	188	31
Denver	130	15	12
Totals through May 27	\$21,120	\$11,229	53%

# What Life Is Like in Hazard

[The writer of the following article worked in the southeast Kentucky coal field until he went into the army. Since then he has left the mining industry but keeps in close touch with the miners of the Hazard area on whose conditions and struggle he has written the following first-hand report.]

The miners of eastern Kentucky and their families are forced to live out their lives in poverty, victims of organizations that serve the interests of the wealthy class. In time past these organizations were company gun thugs, the local police and the state police.

Now the National Labor Relations Board has set up hearings concerning the activities of the eastern Kentucky roving pickets who want to organize or close down the non-union truck mines. Attorneys for the government are attempting to prove that the roving pickets are a labor organization and that the pickets, with the help of some members of the United Mine Workers of America, violated federal labor laws last year during the drive to close down or organize the non-union mines.

The pickets claim they are not a labor organization and did not violate any labor laws. The hearings are an outgrowth of the labor unrest in eastern Kentucky which stems from more factors than the fact that the UMW canceled the welfare and retirement cards of miners employed at non-union mines last August. The other factors go much deeper.

State police, testifying for the government, said there were times when the roving pickets blocked roads near coal mines. The miners have a different story — that they could not set up peaceful picket lines because of the state troopers, gun thugs and scabs. They allege that in Perry County, the owner of a number of truck mines, at one point had more than 50 deputies, better known as gun thugs, to beat back the pickets. Sergeant Mitchell, commander of the state police barracks in Hazard, testified there were days when police had to control the pickets and that the pickets roamed all over, blocking some roads and questioning the authority of state police to keep them off private property.

Facts prove beyond a doubt that the miners' demands are just and that the unrest will grow worse in the months and years ahead because of the conditions forcing them to act.

Here is a picture of conditions in the area.

There are so many unemployed



Militant photo by Jack Arnold

**FEDERAL HANDOUT.** Unemployed Hazard, Ky., miner at surplus commodity distribution depot to collect meager monthly rations.

coal miners that wages have dropped to \$12 a day tops, but there have been cases where men have worked for a little as \$3 for an 8-hour day in the truck mines. This is the term for mines where the coal is hauled to the coal ramp by truck. Often the truck mine is ten or more miles from the loading ramp where the coal is dumped into railroad cars.

Many of the truck mines and ramps are owned by the business people in the coal fields who have always been anti-labor. The high sheriff of one county owns a number of scab mines and the brother-in-law of a high state official runs a whole county and owns a great number of rat holes or scab mines.

One can see the attitude of the public officials towards those living in poverty by their refusal to grant people welfare when their condition is absolutely desperate. In one case a man has cancer of the bone and cannot work. He cannot get any aid. There are a great number of these people who can get no aid other than the federal surplus food stamp program. In another case, a husband,

with a wife and four children, is unable to work and needs medical treatment. All they get a month is \$56 worth of stamps, if they pay in \$2 in money with these stamps. They cannot buy coffee, soap, wash powder, etc. It seems as if these people have given up all hope. You can see the same look in all their faces.

There are a great number of disabled coal miners in these coal fields, but as long as they are able to stand on their feet the state, county and town officials turn them down for any aid. These people have no one to turn to and they cannot afford to hire lawyers to fight for them.

### Front Men

Whole families are living in poverty where the husband has been killed or died from his work in the mines. Many of the small mines are owned by businessmen and run by a front man. Many do not pay the unemployment compensation or other benefits, so when a worker is killed or is dying on his feet or in bed his family has nowhere to turn.

There is nothing but poverty among the unemployed coal miners and their families. It can be seen from the look on their faces, the clothes they wear and the houses they live in. It can be seen even in the faces of the small children. It seems as if these people have no hope whatsoever because they have nothing to live on but the food-stamp program. In order to get work and feed their families, many miners are forced to undercut other workers by telling the mine boss they will work for less. And the mines in which these people are forced to work look like death traps.

Side by side with the hunger and poverty you see the new homes, cars, fine clothing of the mine owners and their families. What a contrast with the families of the miners — their employees — and those who are employed! The people of the USA should be shocked at the conditions that exist. Families of six must live for a week on as little as \$2.15 worth of food per person.

Most of these people have lost faith in their unions and their political leaders. Many state that there will have to be blood spilled to change things. Some say there is no point in trying to do anything, that their hands are tied. Others state that if they have to die they would rather die by being shot than to starve.

## Militant Fund Drive

# The General of the Militant Army

By Marvel Scholl

National Fund Drive Director

This week a new city takes its place on the Militant Fund scoreboard — right at the top! Welcome aboard, Baltimore! Both Chicago and The General forgive you for beating them.

Someone suggested that it would be a good idea to explain just who and what the category "general" (The General) represents. The General is a mythical leader but his Army is by no means imaginary — it is one large segment of The Militant Army. The soldiers in this army are from far-flung places where there are no socialist groups with which to work — places like the embattled Negro ghettos in Birmingham and Montgomery, Ala., Greensboro, N.C., New Orleans and Baton Rouge, Little Rock and Houston; impoverished small farmers from the wheat belts of the Mississippi valley and the Northwest; miners from Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and Minnesota; readers in Alaska, Puerto Rico, the West Indies and provinces of Canada.

Many contributions to The Gen-

eral come in anonymously with nothing but the postmark to tell from whence they came. Others express their appreciation for the paper — "a cool drink of fresh water in a desert of no-news, half-truths and outright lies fed by the brainwashing daily press."

In a recent letter to all Militant readers I compared the paper to little David who slew the giant Goliath with only a slingshot and pebbles. The Militant slingshot is the truth, the pebbles the Truth Dollars needed to keep the paper going. The response of "pebbles" has been good indeed but many more are needed.

An army marches on its stomach — The Militant's stomach (the printers, photoengravers, mailers and the post office) is insatiable. Everytime we think we've got it sufficiently fed, its appetite increases — prices go up and up and up. So if you haven't already sent in your Truth Dollars do so now. Send them to 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.



## Jamaican Gov't in New Attack Against Ras Tafari Cult

KINGSTON, Jamaica — The Ras Tafari Brethren Repatriation Front, a "back-to-Africa" movement, has been singled out by the Bustamante government for savage repressive measures.

The government drive began after six alleged members of the organization conducted a guerrilla raid April 11 in the tourist area of Montego Bay. They burned a gasoline station. In the fighting, two white civilians were killed. Followed by the police into the hills, they fought resolutely, killing three officers and suffering the loss of half their band.

The government seized this local incident as a pretext for a nation-wide drive against the Ras Tafarians. A leaflet put out by the organization says:

"Right now in this country — Jamaica — along the North Coast from Montego Bay to St. Ann's Bay, many hundreds of Ras Tafarians are being imprisoned, beaten and tortured — some brethren are being tied by hands and feet in the jail yards, in the sun and

cold, molasses is thrown over their skin attracting insects to bite them — this inhuman treatment has caused the death of three Ras Tafarians in jail at the time of making this report, and more are subjected to die within the next few days."

The guerrilla incident mentioned above "was an isolated event," declares the leaflet, which stemmed out of previous violence inflicted on those involved.

Bustamante ordered a round-up. "This started the brutal campaign of the police and soldiers — police operating in the towns and soldiers in the hills — beating with gun butts and jailing almost everyone with beards and who have been freshly trimmed and shaven; and anyone who opposed this ruthless action of the police are also beaten and carried off to jail. The breaking of human bones with rifle butts is a common occurrence, and no medical treatment given.

### Charge Genocide

"Meanwhile, many areas in the hills are sealed off by soldiers, and no one is able to tell the gruesome happenings."

The Ras Tafarians charge the Bustamante government with attempting to commit genocide. "We declare that if the Jamaican Government does not want us here then send us back home to Africa where we want to go — it is the Government which is keeping us here against our will."

The movement demands that an impartial body "of just citizens and Ras Tafarians be allowed to go into the areas of unrest to investigate the truth."

The leaflet charges that the radio and the press have been muzzled to prevent the facts from becoming known.

"We, Ras Tafarians, charge the Jamaican Government with attempting to use Ras Tafarians as a scapegoat to distract attention from its incompetence of not being able to give the masses of this country food, clothing and shelter and to resolve the country's economic problems. Today it is the Ras Tafarians — tomorrow it will be everyone."

## Court Clears Council Of 'Subversive' Charge

A victory over the witch-hunting Subversive Activities Control Board was won May 16 by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. A three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit ruled that the organization was not a Communist-front organization.

The board had contended that six of the council's directors were members of the Communist Party and that therefore it was "dominated or controlled by a Communist-action organization, a Communist foreign government, or the world Communist movement."

The court said that the point to be proved was the extent to which the directors of the council were under the management, direction or supervision of the Communist Party.

The decision said: "We are of opinion that this extent, as shown by material, probative evidence in this record, is negligible."

## ... Indiana 'Subversive' Case

(Continued from Page 1)

Indiana has voted to support the defendants. This news follows the printing in the May 21 *Bloomington Herald-Telephone* of a statement by 142 of Indiana University faculty members, declaring their joint conviction that "the use of coercion to silence an opposing view is entirely alien to the basic democratic traditions of our country" and that "freedom to express one's view is the right of every American, but it is especially necessary to the life of a university."

Hoadley's prosecution of the IU students "has not been motivated by zeal for law enforcement," they pointed out, "but by a desire to dictate to Indiana University that it shall not permit the use of University facilities for the expression of ideas repugnant to the Prosecutor." Citing a statement by Hoadley which had appeared in the newspapers, they concluded, "his aim is obviously the suppression of ideas on campus."

### Guest Speaker

They especially denounced the fact that "members of a campus organization should be indicted for remarks made by a guest speaker whom the organization had invited to present his ideas. This principle . . . could paralyze the intellectual life of the community by discouraging . . . challenging or stimulating guest speakers."

The faculty members expressed satisfaction that the university had refused to take action against

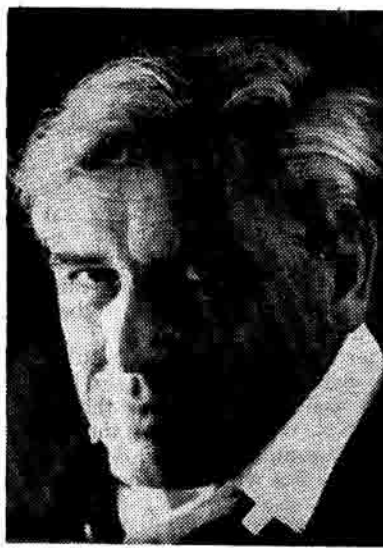
the indicted students or their organization "until and unless they are proven guilty."

Three Young Socialist Alliance members, Joel and Linda Britton of Chicago and David Fender, an IU student, were picked up for questioning by West Lafayette (Ind.) police May 20. They had been selling the special issue of the *Young Socialist* on the "subversion" case to Purdue University students. The police told them a permit was needed to sell papers in the city.

The three *Young Socialist* salesmen were picked up while talking to a reporter from the *Purdue Exponent*, the campus paper. The *Exponent* reported the incident on its front page the next day with a photo of the three YSA members and quoted one of them as saying, "You know darn well that they wouldn't have picked us up if we were selling the *Indianapolis Star*."

The May 21 *Herald-Telephone* of *Bloomington* also reported the Purdue incident, announcing that the *Young Socialist* was being sold on the IU campus that same day. It reported, in addition, that Hoadley "planned to contact Lafayette authorities later in the day," but to what purpose was not clear.

Hoadley further announced to the *Herald-Telephone* that he had arranged a conference with Indiana Governor Matthew E. Welsh for May 21. Hoadley said he would report to the governor on his probe of the YSA. The purpose of this conference was not explained.



**TO SPEAK IN NEW YORK.** Truman Nelson, outstanding scholar of Abolitionism, speaks on "Revolutionary Separatism: From Pilgrim to Muslim," at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, Friday, June 7, 8:30 p.m. Nelson is author of "The Sin of the Prophet," "A Passion By the Brook," and "The Surveyor," the first novel in a cycle on John Brown. His recent pamphlet, "People With Strength," tells the story of the Monroe kidnap frame-up. Active in struggle for Negro rights, he is chairman of the Boston chapter of the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants.

## ECLC Supporting Bloomington Case

NEW YORK — Dr. Corliss Lamont, chairman of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, announced May 18 that the ECLC had agreed to sponsor the case of the three Indiana University students indicted for assembling March 25, 1963 "for the purpose of advocating or teaching the doctrine that the Government . . . should be overthrown by force, violence or any unlawful means."

The agreement of ECLC to sponsor the case as a test of constitutionality of the 1951 Indiana law, followed a meeting of James R. Cotner, Bloomington attorney for the defendants, and Leonard B. Boudin, general counsel for ECLC and noted constitutional lawyer, in Mr. Boudin's New York office.

### Constitutional Test

The lawyers, Dr. Lamont said, will challenge the constitutionality of the Indiana statute in motions which will be filed shortly. The written motions will be followed by oral arguments before Judge Nat U. Hill, Monroe County (Ind.) district judge, probably in June.

The Indiana statute violates the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the federal constitution, Dr. Lamont added, and further a clear precedent for its illegality has been set by the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Steve Nelson* of Pennsylvania. Carl Braden, who was convicted of sedition under a similar Kentucky law was acquitted by the Court of Appeals of Kentucky on the ground that the Nelson case had established the fact that the federal government had preempted the field of subversion by passing the Smith Act. Mr. Boudin was defense attorney in the Braden case.

Also planning to enter the case — if granted permission by the court — is the Indiana Civil Liberties Union. The ICLU would file a "friend of the court" brief likewise arguing the unconstitutionality of the 1951 "anti-subversive" law. Such a brief would probably be filed by Dr. Ralph Fuchs, IU law professor and president of the American Association of University Professors, and Alan Nolan, Indianapolis civil liberties attorney.

"Had I been present at the creation of the world I would have proposed some improvements." — Alfonso X (Alfonso the Wise, 1226-1284, King of Castile)

## Miner's Mission Accomplished

## Wins Cleveland Union Aid

CLEVELAND, May 21 — Berman Gibson and Charles Moore, leaders of the nine-month strike of rank-and-file miners in southeastern Kentucky, left for home this morning after a three-day visit here with their "mission accomplished." They had appealed to the spirit of solidarity in the labor movement and won support and pledges of even more substantial aid.

Students at nearby Oberlin College started the ball rolling for the Cleveland area by raising \$500 for food for the striking miners in and around Hazard, Ky. The Teamsters Union matched the students with another \$500 and provided a truck and driver to take the thousand dollars worth of food to Hazard.

An ad hoc committee arranged for Gibson's and Moore's visit to Cleveland. They told the grim story of the striking miners in southeastern Kentucky and their fight for survival. They told it to meetings and to informal house gatherings, to reporters and on two television programs.

Last night they spoke to the District Auto Council, which voted a \$500 contribution and set up a committee, headed by President John DeVito of UAW Local 45, to co-ordinate additional aid from the unions in this area. They also spoke to the Teamsters Joint Council, which has already provided substantial aid and will now circularize its local unions for further support.

Gibson's and Moore's visit to Cleveland was almost cut short early Monday morning, when they received word that Gibson's trailer home had been bombed. Gibson was preparing to leave immediately until he received a phone call from his wife.

She told how explosives had been thrown from a car speeding by so fast that the guards, standing watch to protect Gibson's family, were unable to do anything. However, neither she nor their two daughters had been hurt, although they had been shaken up. But the damage to the trailer was considerable.

When he said he would come home immediately, she told him, "Honey, you stay right there until you accomplish your mission." So he did.

Contributions to aid the striking miners can be sent to Berman Gibson, Box 514, Hazard, Ky.

See related story on Page 4



Berman Gibson

## ...Behind U.S. Stand on Haiti

(Continued from Page 1)

affect adversely the already depressed Haitian economy. Richard Alexander reports in the Feb. 2, 1962 *Nation*, "Virtually every business is in a state of bankruptcy, as is the government."

Duvalier himself gave a masterly example of international extortion at the 1962 Punta del Este Conference. He announced that the U.S. was neglecting Haiti in its aid program. The Haitian delegate then deserted the hard-line 13 favoring sanctions against Cuba and joined the six opposed. A promise of \$6 million in "loans" for an airport and hospital had to be made by the U.S. then and there to buy Haiti's vote which gave Kennedy's anti-Cuba policy the necessary two-thirds majority of the OAS.

The U.S. is embarrassed by the brutality and annoyed by the high-priced unruliness of its former puppet. It would like to find a more "democratic" and co-operative figurehead.

Moreover, Haiti, with its grinding poverty and a regime whose terror and corruption have estranged even the upper crust, is obviously drifting towards explosion. Duvalier cannot last, and the U.S. wants to designate his successor. But the usual tool for controlling a "post-dictator" situation is the army and Duvalier is destroying it. The danger of a situation out of U.S. control, in which forces hostile to U.S. domination might develop, gives Washington nightmares of a second Cuba.

In this crisis, the State Department has a deeper motive than its quarrel with Duvalier. It wishes to set further precedents for intervention in the Caribbean and Latin America — to be used against Cuba and any other country in the hemisphere where revolution breaks out. It is making the OAS an instrument for this purpose.

Dominican President Bosch's threats of invasion were designed to bring OAS intervention. The

"long-range object," reports Tad Szulc of the *N.Y. Times*, "clearly appears to be to force the OAS to enter the Haitian case, perhaps in a way somewhat resembling the United Nations' intervention in the Congo." Bosch's object accorded exactly with Washington's.

A number of Latin nations have thus far refused to give in to the U.S. pressure in the OAS. Classic opposition to Yankee intervention by countries like Mexico and Brazil was supplemented by fear on the part of puppet governments of the precedents the U.S. sought in Haiti. The Kennedy administration has not given up hope, however, of leading the OAS "toward the acceptance of responsibility for Haiti's future," as Tad Szulc delicately puts it.

In this situation, American socialists must take a position of unconditional opposition to intervention in Haiti's affairs by the OAS, the "democratic," saber-rattling Bosch, or by direct landing of U.S. Marines. The Haitian people have the right to work out their own destiny and be free to handle the Duvalier regime as they see fit.

## Just Out Moscow vs. Peking The Meaning Of the Great Debate

By William F. Warde

The first comprehensive appraisal of the Sino-Soviet dispute from a Marxist standpoint

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## A Developing Personality

## Pen Portrait of Ben Bella

By Joseph Hansen

PARIS — Imperialism, primarily through the French, is seeking to stem the deep-going tendency in Algeria to carry the Revolution beyond the limits of capitalism. But it is not at all sure it can succeed.

The Algerian government, which the French hoped would prove to be the most effective block to socialism, has itself evolved farther and farther to the left since the Evian accords were signed, the changes being marked by the rise of the most radical wing at the expense of the neo-colonialist tendency.

Ben Bella, who now holds the principal levers of power, was not envisioned by the French at the time of the Evian accords as the man they would eventually have to deal with.

## Unusual Figure

Ben Bella is an unusual figure, deserving the most serious attention. How humble his origin was can be judged from the fact that his mother saw the city of Algiers for the first time only after he was in power. She knows neither her own birth date nor that of her son. Ben Bella's schooling was primitive. A true product of the 20th Century, his higher education began as a soldier in World War II. He fought in the Italian campaign, receiving a decoration. He then became a revolutionary nationalist. Besides fighting in the underground, he spent years in prison, being released only after the cease-fire.

The sophisticated reporter of *Le Monde*, the well-known Paris daily, who interviewed the head of the Algerian government in his modest quarters in Algiers recently, writes: "In the room with bare walls which could serve as a dining room for six, or eight guests at most, dinner was set for two. A plate of *couscous* [a North African cereal dish eaten by the poor], some fruit, a decanter of water. Concern about dinner arrangements does not trouble the Algerian premier, who is without the least ostentation. This son of poor peasants knows simply that one must eat to live."

As others have noted, Ben Bella is the incarnation in power of the poor Algerian peasant.

It does not take much research to prove that he is not a Marxist. Algeria's radical leader is quite frank about his views on this subject. In the interview cited above (*Le Monde*, April 28-29), a typical statement of his opinion is quoted:

"Because it is Arab, our socialism is not Marxist. Marxism is completely impossible in Algeria. This socialism here, it seems to me, should never prevent co-operation with France, even if France, for its part, does not help it. But we must suppress the privileges of the big landholders. As for industry, we will go step by step and we do not envisage the suppression of the private sector."

In his May Day speech, Ben



Ahmed Ben Bella

Bella again made a typical declaration. "We say in all frankness, we are not communists; we are Moslems and Arabs. We want Islam, the Islam of the first caliphs, the Islam which wants equality among men."

This attitude toward Marxism shapes government policy on some vital questions. For instance, Khelifa Laroussi, Minister of Industrialization and Energy, promised on April 26 that the Algerian government would soon give guarantees to industrialists desirous of investing in Algeria. Nationalization, he indicated, would not be extended to industry but would be confined to the land.

"The land," he declared, "is not industry. Certain industrialists say that they don't know where we are headed. President Ben Bella has given them reassurances. There is nothing in common between an honest industrialist who works and the monopolists like Borgeaud who took the land of the Algerians. Industry is not the land. The agrarian reform was provided for at Tripoli." [In the Tripoli program.]

## Faithful Reflection

This is a faithful reflection of Ben Bella's views. At the end of April, de Gaulle sent Jean de Broglie, French Secretary of State for Algerian Affairs, to probe the intentions of the Ben Bella government concerning the nationalization of industry. On his return, de Broglie told the Council of Ministers May 7 that his trip had been successful. He indicated, according to *Le Monde*, "that he had obtained from the Algerian government new assurances concerning the oil holdings in the Sahara, to which Paris attaches particular importance. The Algerian Premier apparently reaffirmed first of all that if certain sectors would be placed under state management (for example, cork, tobacco, fodder), there was no question whatever of extending the nationalizations to the production of oil."

In view of such reassuring declarations, it would seem that the brokers would list Algeria as a blue-ribbon area and that French and American capital would pour into the newly independent country. This is not the case, however. In fact, the French government, despite its bland assurances about being all in favor of Algeria's "agrarian socialism" — if applied slowly and in a limited way — has penalized the Ben Bella government for its sweeping nationalization of French holdings in the land. From the annual \$200,000,000 aid program, specified in the Evian accords, the French are deducting one-fifth to pay off the expropriated landholders. A balance of \$80,000,000 due this year was changed from a grant to a long-term loan.

The truth is that, while the im-

perialists welcome Ben Bella's promises to guarantee capitalist investments, they remain skeptical. Such guarantees, probably given in sincerity, were also heard at a certain stage of the Cuban Revolution.

After the experience of Cuba, the imperialist statesmen have become sensitive to the fact that a revolution, which stirs the masses to the bottom, puts in motion certain processes which are not easily contained and which tend to pass across the boundary lines of capitalism.

They also note that distrust of Marxism is not all that goes into Ben Bella's make-up. In contrast is his evident responsiveness to the revolutionary will of the masses and his readiness to take the most radical measures. A good example of this is the decrees setting up the Management Committees which Ben Bella explained as follows to a huge crowd at Bône April 9:

"We have promulgated them in order to remain faithful to the objectives which our Revolution assigned the first of November 1954, in order to remain faithful to our million martyrs, in order to remain faithful to this valorous blood that enriched our soil. We did not accept the sacrifice of a million martyrs, of 500,000 widows, of thousands of women and children thrown into the streets without shelter, solely for a flag of green, white and red. There is the independence of Fidel Castro or that of Fulbert Youlou [puppet president of the Congo Republic]. We must give a content to our independence and this is socialism, the well-being of the people. In the seven months since the government was established we have had to lay the base of a solid state, in keeping with the sacrifices of our people. This now being done, we have begun to translate into facts the sacred aims of our revolution: socialism."

A climate fostering such radicalism is not exactly the kind that imperialist bankers and investment agents find attractive.

Next week: Which Way for Algeria?

## ... French Get New Jitters

(Continued from Page 1)

all real estate, all enterprises no matter what their nature."

"Without being able at the moment," he continues, "to determine the real intentions of the Algerian government on how this powerful instrument is to be utilized, and without being able to tell either how the text can be reconciled with recent official declarations aimed at allaying the uneasiness of industrialists about their future, one can nevertheless assume that this decree will mark the beginning of a new 'wave' of nationalizations, of which the remaining European agriculturalists will shortly bear the brunt."

The March 18 decree which "definitively" turned over the "vacated" properties to management committees, was subject in theory to court appeal. The new decree excludes any appeal except to a "commission" to be set up by the government.

André Pautard analyzes the various provisions under which properties can be seized. He notes that the immense farms held by Borgeaud were nationalized because they gave rise to a threat of "disturbing the public order." Dozens of commercial establishments, cafés, hotels and restaurants were taken over because of the manner of "acquisition," i.e., they had been purchased by Algerians in collusion with fleeing European owners.

"But the concept which has just been established is so wide," Pautard notes, "that it can lead to many interpretations actually passing beyond the initial framework and beyond the agricultural sector, affecting the industrial sector where official assurances had been given."

The special correspondent of *Le Monde*, who displays exquisite sensitivity to the security of French property holdings in Algeria, comes to some unhappy conclusions about the situation:

"In fact for several days an aggravation of social conflicts in industrial enterprises has been observable. In the establishments of Michelin d'Alger the workers have stopped work. These strikes, unleashed in pursuit of demands, can constitute disturbances of the public order or violations of social

peace... Thus through each labor demand the perspective can appear of 'punitive nationalization.' This, without the least doubt, can considerably chill the zeal of industrialists already in business and make even more hesitant those who were ready to invest in Algeria. It underlines the fact that the only assurances which have been given are verbal declarations and that the 'code of investments,' which will fix Algeria's doctrine in relation to private capital and private property has not yet been published."

"In French circles of the Algerian capital, where comment on these recent measures in uneasy, future perspectives are questioned... and they think of leaving. They fear, in brief, that the publication of these texts will serve as the basis for a campaign directed against all French private property, for strikes and demonstrations whose logical end will be nationalizations imposed by the government. Of course it may already consider that the maintenance in a socialist country of 'capitalist' establishments in itself constitutes a disturbance of the public order, a menace to social peace."



De Gaulle

## World Events

## 100,000 Mourn Greek Leftist

The government of Greek Premier Constantine Caramanlis is being rocked by huge demonstrations protesting the murder of a leftist member of parliament. Gregory G. Lambrakis was killed by a motorcyclist who ran him down as he emerged from a nuclear disarmament rally in Salonika May 22. His party, the United Left Democratic Party, and numerous other groups have charged that the motorcyclist, a well-known right-wing terrorist, deliberately murdered Lambrakis. Even the pro-Western Center Union, the main opposition party, has denounced Premier Caramanlis as "the moral instigator of the political murder of Deputy Lambrakis." Frightened by the wave of national indignation, which is already beginning to demand new elections to overturn those rigged by the government in 1961, Caramanlis suspended the chief of police in Salonika and kept the police force carefully in the background when 100,000 people in Athens turned out on May 28 for Lambrakis' funeral.

## Warning in South Rhodesia

Africans in Southern Rhodesia, the British colony ruled by a white minority, threatened a civil-disobedience campaign in the rural areas after white-supremacist Prime Minister Winston Field flew to London to demand the colony's independence.

## Martial Law in Oil Fields

The government of Colombia sent troops into the oil fields and declared a state of siege following what it termed rioting on May 22. The area affected is the center of the country's oil production. Strikes against U.S.-owned oil companies had brought a wave of sympathy walkouts by workers in other industries.

## Ceylon's May Day

The May Day rally in Colombo exceeded all expectations. Galle Face green was almost completely filled. It may have been the largest rally ever held in Ceylon. Even conservative estimates put the crowd at 100,000. The huge turnout was attributed to enthusiasm among the masses at the prospect of a united front between the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Trotzkyist), the Communist Party and the NEP (a smaller group led by Philip Gunawardene) — the organizations which jointly sponsored the rally. Separate rallies were staged by the SLFP (left bourgeois party now holding government power) and the UNP (right wing bourgeois party). The SLFP rally drew an audience of about 2,000; the UNP drew an audience of 5,000 to 6,000.

## Japan Plans Sales to Cuba

Official Tokyo sources have indicated that Japan is willing to sell factory and shipyard equipment to Cuba, according to a May 25 UPI dispatch. The report

said that Trade Ministry officials "did not believe that the export of such equipment to Cuba would violate the allied ban on strategic sales to Communist countries."

## Mexico in Auto Field

Mexican capitalists are entering the big time in the auto industry. *Impulsa Mexicana Automotriz* has just bought the dies from the defunct West German Borgward car company for a rumored \$40 million. The Mexican entrepreneurs hope to start production in mid-1964 and supply not only the domestic market but the Borgward assembly plants in West Germany, Argentina, Spain and South Africa.

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# Letters From Our Readers

## Curran Building Own Monument

New York, N. Y.

The arguments you quoted last week [May 27 article on National Maritime Union] against the new NMU pension plan may or may not be right. We won't know until the details are in. But why does Joe Curran want to take the members' wage raises for the next three years and add it to the pension fund?

Joe is 60 years old now and a little tired. He wants to control the union not by fighting the ship-owners and delivering the goods to the seamen but, instead, by controlling the members through the union machinery.

Would an NMU member vote for the Paul Hall SIU [Seafarers International Union] if it meant

losing out on a bigger, better pension? Would a member risk fighting Joe Curran if it meant risking getting thrown out of the union (and they do it in the NMU) if he knew getting thrown out meant losing the new 20-year pension?

Some of the men would keep sailing after they were eligible for the pension. Joe would have the pension hanging over each of these men's head like a sword.

There is nothing wrong with union pensions in a democratic union. But in Joe Curran's NMU they are a club against the workers. Not only is Joe tired but he wants to be respectable. And what's more respectable than money? Having lots of it to control. Look how respectable Dubinsky is with lousy contracts, a membership that hates his guts, but plenty of welfare-fund money invested in housing projects.

Joe is building a big new multi-million-dollar headquarters on 13th Street and Seventh Avenue. He is planning on tearing down the present headquarters and replacing it with a middle-income housing project just like the respectable unions are doing. That big pension and welfare fund will help swing the deal. The Pilot even announced the name of the new project: The Joseph Curran Housing Project!

What do you think of old Joe's modesty? And he has a lot that he ought to be modest about. Even Albert Einstein wouldn't let anybody name anything after him while he was still alive.

The present pension fund could be probably pyramided up to \$100 million under the new plan. But all the pieces of silver Joe gets won't clean him up. This is one move that some members caught onto in time and he's hurtin' — but good.

A. Seaman

## Minneapolis Peace Walk

Minneapolis, Minn.

The article in *The Militant* May 6 on the peace walks was important. It correctly showed the two sides of the peace walks. The good side is that there were bigger turnouts of high school and college youth. The bad side was that the officials were opposed to signs against the war in Vietnam.

The Minneapolis peace walk showed the same thing. There was a larger turnout of high school and college students than ever before. And here, too, the leadership was opposed to signs against the war in Vietnam. Their plans in organizing the walk called for the banning of "issue-oriented" signs. This ban would have made it impossible to have any signs against the war in Vietnam.

*The Militant's* article quoted the *Minneapolis Tribune* which reported that officials of the peace walk tried to ban members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance from the walk. But this is not correct. The leaders wanted to do so. Their plans called for it and later one of the leaders wrote to the *Tribune* expressing agreement with the article. But the fact is that when large numbers of students showed up carrying signs with militant slogans, no protests were made by the walk leaders.

There was one incident, and it was an instructive one. In the last part of the walk there was some ultra-right opposition. A group of people associated with the Social-

Democratic viewpoint panicked and turned on one of those bearing a militant sign and demanded that he go to the back of the line. He refused to comply.

The real division in the peace movement is between those who want a pro-Democratic Party orientation and those who want an independent struggle against the war actions of U.S. imperialism.

Joseph Johnson

## Objects to —

Detroit, Mich.  
Re May 13 *Militant*, Chronicle of Mississippi Terror: "Get your — off the front porch and don't come back on."

Why?! And in a Socialist paper. Get off your —es [sic] and eschew such capitalist prudery. Reality was never an enemy of the people. I trust *The Militant* will henceforth forego the urge to be Puritanical by the use of blanks.

A. N.

[The article referred to was reproduced as it originally appeared in the *Congressional Record*. A.N.'s letter is similarly printed. — Editor.]

## Mississippi Aid Plan

Los Angeles, Calif.

President Kennedy has rejected the proposal of his Civil Rights Commission that federal aid be withheld from the state of Mississippi unless Negroes are accorded a greater degree of rights there.

Critics of the Commission's proposal range from those who claim Mississippi should not be treated like a foreign country, to those who claim that stopping the aid

program would hurt precisely the people who need the aid most, that is, the Negroes.

A simple amendment of the Commission's proposal should solve this contradiction and satisfy all sides. The federal government should continue to aid Mississippi, but the funds should be put at the disposal of a committee to be elected solely by the Negro people of the state. This method would take care of both sides of the problem; Mississippi would not be "cut off" from the Union and those who most need the aid would be certain of getting it.

M. A.

## Detroit Student Action

Detroit, Mich.

I have just finished reading the umpteenth million news article about a college party raid. I couldn't help comparing this kind of student activity with the Southern Negro students' struggle for civil rights, the Indiana University students' struggle for civil liberties, and a picket line that we had here at Wayne State University last Friday, May 17.

About 85 Wayne students picketed the University in protest against the quarter system that was put into effect September 1962. Semesters used to run for 20 weeks and tuition ran \$10 a credit hour. Under the eleven-week quarter system, tuition still remains \$10 a credit hour — but here's the catch: you have to take 1½ credit hours now to equal the old semester hour. So, in effect, you are paying \$15 per credit hour. The main gripe of the pickets

wasn't financial, however, but the fact that 20 weeks of educational material is now being crammed into eleven weeks.

The *Daily Collegian* (student daily paper) quoted one student as complaining, "They left us the meat and potatoes like marks and tests, but took out the frills like learning, assimilation, and time for discussing with fellow students."

The week before the demonstration chalked signs appeared on classroom blackboards urging the students to support the Strike Against the Quarter System by boycotting all classes on Friday and joining the picket line. Although there has been widespread dissatisfaction with the new system among students, faculty members and even administration personnel, only 85 students picketed. Most classes reported normal attendance.

One Wayne alumnus supplied some constructive criticism of the action, "A printed statement in clear terms should have been made up and distributed. Also, I think petitions should have been circulated."

The Strike wasn't a world-shaking event but it had its own importance. The main significance was that the students were trying to take part in the decision-making processes at the university. Like the students in the South who are insisting: "We want to have our say on where we learn, eat, live and work," the Wayne students are saying: "We want to have our say in the vital decisions that affect our present and our future."

Evelyn Sell

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Indiana, USA** — A front-page photo in the *Indianapolis News* shows some youngsters in Attica, Ind., in front of a foreign-made car with such inscriptions on it as "Smash Me" and "Wipe Out Communism." The caption under the photo explains: "Scores of boys and adults 'satisfied their hate' of Communism by battering this old car with sledge hammers at a day-long anti-Communist rally here Saturday. The car, furnished by the American Legion, was a symbol of the Iron Curtain. Hundreds gathered here for a parade and demonstration of how a small town fights Communism."

**Venceremos!** — By overwhelming vote, the Michigan State University Model United Nations adopted a resolution introduced by "Cuba" protesting the "subversion" indictment of the three Indiana U Young Socialists.

**Progress Report** — Joseph R. L. Sterne, Washington correspondent of the *Baltimore Sun*, reported May 22 that "the decline of coffee earnings by the 15 coffee-producing countries of Latin America in the year ended last June was greater than the total United States contribution to the Alliance for Progress during the same period."

**Fairly Free-Flowing** — The government has assured a House Information subcommittee that it is doing all it can to arrange a free flow of news from South Vietnam where newsmen are currently barred by a State Department di-

rective from covering certain areas and phases of the war. The government assurance on free-flowing news was given at a closed door session of the House committee. Newsmen were barred.

**Let the Visitor Beware** — Via the May 25 *New Yorker* we picked up this *Boston Globe* report: "MONTPELIER, Vt. (UPI) — A bill to exempt fallout shelter owners from liability for injuries to sheltered guests is before a Senate committee. The House-passed measure provides that a guest would be unable to sue the host if the shelter collapsed during an attack."

**A Contagious Disease** — When a party raid broke out May 17 at Arlington State College in Arlington, Texas, police used dogs and fire hoses to subdue the students.

**Button Up Your Overcoat** — Atomic explosions are not a sufficient explanation for the unusual world weather this year, according to Eugenio Manalo, chief of the Philippines Weather Bureau's Climatological Division. But, he

added, if 2,000 atomic bombs are exploded in the next ten years there will be sufficient radioactive dust in the atmosphere to reduce the temperature by 27 degrees. This, he observed, "would be the beginning of the ice age."

**Better Wash Those Brains** — Students at Junior High School 278 in Brooklyn thought they were poking good American fun at Khrushchev in a school show when they indicated in song that he was an evil but effective personality. But Brooklyn's American Legion Post told the school principal it was "red" propaganda and the song was promptly dropped. The Legion also expressed ire at a song in which the students said they would do anything to avoid a nuclear war. This was viewed as an expression of the "better red than dead" philosophy. The word "almost" was put in front of "anything." The Legion boys were gratified at the changes but were concerned that some of the pupils had memorized the objectionable song. The principal insisted they hadn't.

## 10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"The immediate fate of hundreds of millions may hinge on the secret U.S. truce proposals on Korea. Our fate too — life or death for you and me and our loved ones — is being haggled over in Panmunjom behind closed doors. And we are not permitted to have a say about it: we are not even allowed to know what is going on.

"At the same time, the warlords of the U.S., Britain and France, disguised in the garb of diplomacy, are preparing to confer next month in Bermuda — in total secrecy, of course — on the best means to carry out the designs of Wall Street and its allies to make the whole world safe for the capitalist profiteers, exploiters and imperialists . . .

"Humanity's fate is being sealed behind locked doors. We must break them down. We must demand an end to all secret diplomacy. Expose the secret connivers of world war to public view!" — June 1, 1953.

## 20 YEARS AGO

The Wright Aeronautical Corporation's plant at Lockland, Ohio, has joined the fast-growing list of the business concerns who have been caught producing defective war materials and thereby increasing war profits while endangering the lives of men in the armed forces and merchant marine.

According to a statement issued on May 20 by the Senate Truman Committee, the Wright Corporation placed "unsafe and defective material in completed engines ready for shipment."

The Department of Justice is now making an investigation based upon the evidence unearthed by the Truman Committee.

Meanwhile, officials of the National Bronze and Aluminum Foundry in Cleveland, Ohio, were formally indicted on charges of sabotage. Last month this company, the country's largest manufacturer of aluminum castings, was caught in the act of deliberately passing onto airplane assemblers defective superchargers. Testimony of the plant's workers revealed that the fraud originated with the company's top officials.

If the investigations and "prosecution" of previous production scandals set the precedent, the officials of the Wright Corporation will get off with a light tap on the wrist. Severe measures are reserved for the workers — such as the case of the welders in a Baltimore ship yard who were victims of the speed-up. Last month they were accused of faulty welding and thrown into prison as saboteurs — June 2, 1943

## Thought for the Week

The survivor leaving his fallout shelter after a major nuclear attack might emerge on a landscape populated largely by crabgrass, pigweed and hungry, leaf-eating insects. Recent studies have shown that important forest plants are considerably more sensitive to radiation damage than had been thought . . . Because a forest is a complex system of many interdependent species, disastrous effects on a few major components might upset the whole balance of nature in the region." — The May 27 *New York Times*.

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## LOS ANGELES MUSLIM TRIAL

## Defense Rips Prosecution Case to Bits

LOS ANGELES, May 25 — The frame-up case of 14 Black Muslims went to the jury yesterday after a trial lasting six weeks. All 14 defendants have been charged with assaulting police. An additional charge of assault with intent to commit murder was brought against John Morris, minister of the Los Angeles mosque.

The defendants are victims of a shooting and clubbing spree by Los Angeles cops last year, which left seven unarmed Muslims strewn on the sidewalk, bleeding from bullet wounds. One died and another was paralyzed for life.

When defense testimony was completed May 21, the prosecution case was in tatters and a blood-curdling account of police savagery and anti-Negro sadism had been placed in the record.

Besides the numerous contradictions, gross errors in identification and patent impossibilities (such as being "jumped" by defendants from a non-existent staircase in the mosque) in the police testimony under cross-examination, the defense completely discredited the chief witness for the prosecution.

This figure is one William Tribble, Jr., who passed himself off as a special officer licensed by the city. He had joined the police in the midst of the attack on the Muslims and at the trial made, for example, a "positive identification" of Muslim Minister John Morris. Tribble's testimony was especially valued by the prosecution because he is himself a Negro.

Cross-examination of Tribble brought out that he had not possessed a license as a special officer since 1959, although he applied and was turned down in 1960. In his identification of Morris he swore the latter had worn a light suit, almost white. The police photo taken of Morris after the arrest shows him in a dark suit.

Most dramatic was the testi-



**RESISTING HATE CAMPAIGN.** Black Muslims in New York picket at courthouse to protest trial of brothers arrested while selling movement's paper. Throughout country, cops have helped whip up hatred against Muslims by trying to falsely portray them as "dangerous fanatics."

mony of the defendants. Charles H. Zeno, 36, told how he had come to the mosque to pick up his wife, leaving his three sons in the car. Upon entering the building he was tackled from behind by police and then hit in the face. Then he was lined up against the wall with other Muslims. While standing there he was kicked in the crotch, his coat was torn up the back and his trousers were ripped down the seams.

Another defendant, Troy Augustine, also described the ripping of their clothes. He quoted one of the cops as saying: "We ought to shoot these niggers. We got them lined up and we ought to kill every one of them." Another taunted: "We just killed some of your brothers outside."

William Rogers, 27, paralyzed from a bullet at the base of his

spine, testified from a wheel chair. He told of being wounded four times in the Korean War. He said that when he went out of the door of the Muslim temple April 27, 1962 he saw a cop pointing a gun at him and he began to run. Then he felt an explosion in his back. "I fell to the ground," he said. "An officer started to beat me across the head with a club . . . Then I went out."

Rogers' brother, Robert, 19, was shot four times and lay on the ground unconscious. When he began to come to, he saw his brother lying near him. "I put out my hand and we held hands . . . My brother said, 'They got me, too.' Then someone came by and kicked our hands apart. I was told to get up but I couldn't move. My brother said he couldn't move either. Someone kicked me over . . ."

Minister John Morris testified that he was upstairs in the mosque, conferring with Ronald Stokes, who was later shot and killed by the police, when he heard his name called. He went to the stairs where Roosevelt Walker, another defendant, said to him, "I'm shot."

## Phoned for Help

Morris went to the phone to call for medical help, when he heard his name called from the street. He looked out the window and a Muslim called up to him: "We've got Brother Clarence in the car. He's shot. What shall we do?" Then he felt a gun in his back. The cop holding it yelled, "Let's tear those pretty suits off those niggers." Morris was then handcuffed, his pants were pulled down, and he was put in a police car. Though left alone in it he did not try to get out.

Summations by prosecution and defense began May 21 and lasted till yesterday. One prosecutor asserted: "There is nothing in this case that has racial overtones." The other declared that some of his very good friends were Negroes.

Defense Attorney Broady, however, pointed out: white judge, white jury, white prosecutors — Negro defendants, Negro defense attorneys. The prosecutor's summation singled out the Muslim precept of "Help your brother," as the pernicious doctrine underlying the case. Defense attorneys Broady and Loren Miller, however, methodically reviewed the evidence proving the innocence of each of the 14 defendants.

## Castro-Khrushchev Statement Is Twisted by U.S. News Media

William Bundy

On the occasion of the end of the formal part of Cuban Premier Fidel Castro's visit to the Soviet Union, a joint statement was issued in Moscow May 25 signed by Castro and Soviet Communist Party First Secretary Nikita Khrushchev. This statement was widely interpreted by major news media in the United States as a declaration by Castro of support to Khrushchev in the dispute between the Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties.

The *New York Times*, for example, said: "The statement also left little doubt that Dr. Castro, who had wavered between loyalty to Moscow and Peking, was now in the Soviet camp." Actually, Castro has never "wavered" between Moscow and Peking. His position has been an independent one which was closer to Moscow's on some points and to Peking's on others. There is nothing in the May 25 joint statement to indicate any change in Castro's previous position.

## Diplomatic Statement

The statement is a diplomatic document in which points of common agreement are emphasized and in which the Sino-Soviet dispute is not mentioned — either directly or through double talk about Yugoslavia or Albania. Insofar as issues in the Sino-Soviet dispute are touched on, the formulations are non-polemical and sufficiently imprecise to include both the previously enunciated Khrushchev and Castro positions.

The tone of the statement is hard regarding U.S. aggression against Cuba. It says that the Declarations of Havana "correctly indicate the course of events" in Latin America. It also reports that the Soviet Union will pay a higher price for Cuban sugar than was stipulated in the original trade agreements. The world sugar price has gone up since the agreements were concluded.

## On U.S. Threat

The statement says that Cuba desires to return to normal relations with the United States and that Cuba and the Soviet Union "note that although the direct danger of a military intervention on Cuba was eliminated, the tension in the Caribbean Sea area still remains."

The statement continues: "In the course of talks between comrades N. S. Khrushchev and Fidel Castro it was confirmed by the Soviet side that if an attack was made on Cuba in violation of the commitments undertaken by the United States President not to invade Cuba, the Soviet Union will fulfill its international duty to the fraternal Cuban people and will render it the necessary aid for the defense of the freedom and independence of the Cuban Republic."

## Union Solidarity Brings Victory in Minn. Strike

MINNEAPOLIS, May 21 — After 51 days, the strike of United Steelworkers Local 2175 against Westinghouse has ended in victory for the union.

The workers did not win all of their demands, but they retained and improved the most important features of the previous contract which the company had threatened to take away. They also won wage increases, thus achieving a net gain.

The workers' militancy and solidarity surprised everybody, most especially the company, which had conducted a propaganda barrage by mail and telephone to divide the union and undermine the negotiating committee.



Fidel Castro

with all the means at its disposal. The organizers of aggression should remember that an invasion of Cuba will place mankind before a devastating nuclear-missile war."

## N.Y. Forum Hears Moscow-Peking Dispute Discussed

NEW YORK, May 28 — An intensely interested audience packed the Militant Labor Forum to capacity last night to hear "Two Views on the Sino-Soviet Dispute." Presenting the views were Eugene Genovese, a member of the editorial board of *Science and Society*, and William F. Warde, a contributor to *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*.

"The forces for unity," in the dispute, Genovese said, "are more fundamental than their differences and this sets limits to their dispute." He felt that on all the key questions Peking was correct as against Moscow.

Regarding Warde's presentation of views, Genovese gave the opinion that the area of agreement between them was far larger than that of disagreement and that they should agree to disagree on those points separating them. "The sooner the obstacles dividing us are removed the better off we shall be," he declared.

## International Issues

Warde said that on most of the international issues the Chinese were much more correct than the Khrushchev leadership.

He pointed out that the Soviet and Yugoslav leaderships, on the one hand, and the Chinese and the Albanian, on the other, were accusing one another of holding Trotskyist views in the present controversy. Obviously they all could not, he said. And despite any agreement any of them might have with Trotskyism on this or that point, none had positions coinciding with the complete Trotskyist position program.

Warde welcomed the Peking-Moscow debate, saying: "The shattering of Moscow's monolithic control over world communism is wholly beneficial. It is encouraging anti-bureaucratic sentiments and democratic discussion on a global scale. It is preparing a realignment of revolutionary forces in many countries."

Warde expressed gratification at Genovese's declaration of the need for a continuing discussion aimed at forging the unity of revolutionary forces in this country. Warde said the Trotskyist movement could be relied on to do all it could to realize such an aim.



Photo by J. A.

**DEMANDED LESS EATING, MORE ACTION.** When President Kennedy celebrated his birthday at a \$1,000-a-plate Democratic Party dinner at New York's Waldorf Astoria Hotel May 23 some 300 pickets gathered to voice their demand for action on a series of key social and political issues. A central theme of the demonstration was the demand that the administration act in defense of the rights of Birmingham Negroes. Among the groups represented in the demonstration were the Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee, Progressive Labor, Socialist Workers Party, the off-campus chapter of Student Peace Union, Young Socialist Alliance, Youth Against War and Fascism and Workers World. A group of supporters of CORE demonstrated for presidential action on civil rights at another entrance to the swank hotel.