

Army Will Try Three Antiwar GIs; SWP Nominee Urges Their Support

By Judy White

JULY 20 — The U.S. army has moved to court-martial three antiwar GIs before they could complete legal proceedings in the civilian courts which would seek to prevent the army from sending them to Vietnam. This new development in the case makes it doubly urgent for the antiwar movement nationally to come to their support.

The three GIs, Pfc. James Johnson, Pvt. Dennis Mora and Pvt. David Samas, are being held at Fort Dix, N. J., awaiting a preliminary investigative hearing on July 22 which will decide what kind of court-martial they will face.

The soldiers had announced, at a New York press conference on June 30, their plans to seek an injunction preventing the army from sending them to Vietnam.

The Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, which organized the two massive antiwar demonstrations Oct. 16 and March 26 in New York, planned a rally for the soldiers on July 7 in Community Church. But as the soldiers were on their way to the rally, military police seized them and rushed them to Fort Dix, where they were held for "investigation."

Crowd Backs Soldiers

It was obvious to the 800 people gathered at the rally that the army was afraid to allow the soldiers to present their case to the public. But the arrest only solidarized the crowd even more with the soldiers, and \$1,300 was raised on the spot for the Ft. Hood Three Defense Committee, which is raising funds for the legal costs of the soldiers' case. After listening to relatives and friends of the soldiers read the speeches they were prevented from giving, the rally decided to march to Times Square in protest of their arrest. Even though the hour was



Judy White
Candidate for Governor of New York

late, 500 people demonstrated until 11:30, demanding that the soldiers be freed.

On Saturday, July 9, several hundred people boarded buses in New York and went to Fort Dix to distribute a leaflet on the facts of the case to the soldiers. Two hours before the demonstrators arrived, the army went through the town with sound trucks to herd the soldiers back onto the base. Nevertheless, many soldiers received the leaflet, and many were taken into the base. The following day, leafleters went to the Port Authority bus terminal in New York where many GIs enter and leave the city. The general response from the soldiers was friendly, and the facts of the case are beginning to be known among the GIs in the area.

Leafleting Fort Dix

Antiwar activists in Philadelphia and New Jersey intend to keep up leafleting activities at Fort Dix, and in New York there will be more leafleting in places where GIs congregate.

Before they were arrested, the soldiers, who were on leave awaiting final orders to board ship for Vietnam, were followed and harassed by federal agents. There was an attempt to bribe one of them. In response to this harassment, the officers of the Parade Committee protested to the Justice and Defense Departments:

"We are reliably informed that on July 4, an officer of the Modesto, Calif., police force visited the parents of Pvt. Samas. The officer said he had been contacted by 'higher authorities' and that if Pvt. Samas

would rescind his action and his statement against the war, and in effect abandon his fellows, he would not be prosecuted and would receive an army discharge. The officer obviously acted under instructions of federal agents in proposing such a bribe.

"... The peace movement will continue to aid in every possible lawful way, anyone, civilian, soldier, sailor or Marine, who opposes this illegal and immoral war. The young men in the armed services are entitled to know the truth about the war and to engage in discussions about it. Citizens are likewise entitled to communicate the truth about the war to servicemen, and the peace movement is determined to exercise that right."

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THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 30 - No. 28

Monday, July 25, 1966

Price 10c

N.Y. State Candidates Selected By Socialists

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, July 20 — The New York Socialist Workers Party announced today that it would run a full slate of candidates in the New York gubernatorial elections this fall. The ticket will be headed by Judy White, a leading activist in the national antiwar movement. Miss White, 28, has been co-chairman of the Cambridge-Boston Committee to End the War in Vietnam and she co-edits the nationally-circulated *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter*. She has recently moved to New York City.

"The central purpose of our campaign," Miss White stated in a press release issued today, "is to bring the truth about the Vietnam war to the people — particularly the troops themselves — and to further the antiwar movement. The Democratic and Republican Parties, New York and nationally, are pro-war down the line. It is essential for those who are against the war to break with the ruling parties."

Youth Drafted

"Tens of thousands of young men, 18, 19 and 20, are recruited in this country every month to be thrown into the battlefields of Vietnam. We're against this war, we're against conscription for this war, and we're for bringing our men home now."

"The case of the three GI's who face court-martial for their refusal to go to Vietnam is the most important one in the country," Miss White continued. "We support them; we urge other troops to support them; and we will do our best to get the facts about this case into the hands of the soldiers."

The Socialist Workers Party campaign announcement also



Paul Boutelle

stressed the importance of independent political action for black freedom. "We support such movements as the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, (Black Panther party)," Miss White explained, "which seek to replace white racist rule with black political power. That program — and that's what 'black power' means — is the answer for black ghettos of the North as well as the Dixiecrat counties in the South."

Judy White was born in Boston in 1936. She received her B.A. degree from Brandeis University in 1960. In that year she visited Cuba and became convinced of the necessity of a socialist transformation of society. After returning to this country, she joined the Young Socialist Alliance in 1961 and the Socialist Workers Party in 1963.

Miss White is a founding member of the Greater Boston Coordinating Committee, formed during the first International Days of Protest against the Vietnam war in October, 1965, and which organized the second Boston International Days of Protest in March of this year. She has written frequently on the Vietnam war in the *Newsletter*. She has worked

(Continued on Page 2)



SOLDIER reads leaflet on antiwar GIs at Ft. Dix.

Build The International Protest August 6-9!

These instructions have been released for the New York rally, Aug. 6: Feeder marches, which will converge on Times Square at 12:30 p.m., originate from the following locations: Upper West Side, 72nd and Riverside, 10:30; Greenwich Village, Sheridan Square, 10:30; "Upper" Lower East Side, Tompkins Square, 10:30; "Lower" Lower East Side, Educational Alliance, East Broadway and Jefferson, 10:30; St. Clemens Church, 423 West 46th, 12:00; Trade Unionists and Religious Groups, United Nations, 11:30.

Other marches are planned from Queens, Brooklyn, Long Island, Westchester and Harlem.

Chicago has announced a mass rally to be held Aug. 6 at 2:30 p.m. at the Federal Building Plaza, at Jackson and Dearborn.

Find out about the march in your area!

For further information write the Fifth Ave. Vietnam Peace Parade Committee, Room 922, 5 Beekman St., New York, N. Y. 10038. Contributions are urgently needed.

Our Schedule For the Summer

During the months of July and August, **THE MILITANT** is published every other week. Our next issue will be dated Aug. 8. Regular weekly publication will resume with the issue of Sept. 5.

Rising Negro Militancy ... State Candidates Seen in Chicago Rally

By Herman Porter

CHICAGO — The massive civil rights rally held here July 10, before the ghetto outbreak, to kick off a campaign for an "open city," showed signs that the slogan of "black power" is beginning to be taken up by Northern ghetto militants as well as the Southern movement.

The rally in Soldiers Field was organized jointly by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, headed by the Rev. Martin Luther King, and the Co-ordinating Council of Community Organizations, convened by Al Raby. Estimates of the number attending the rally varied between 35,000 and 65,000. Tremendous publicity and organizational efforts were made to mobilize the huge audience.

The SCLC and CCCO have been working together in Chicago since last fall in an effort to build a movement in a Northern ghetto. According to Sol Ice, a full-time worker for the CCCO, the SCLC has a staff of about 40 full-time paid workers in Chicago, and the CCCO has five paid field organizers.

They have apparently made very little headway in an effort to organize around the highly abstract slogan of "End Slums." They claim to have gotten 150 jobs for Negroes through boycotts of milk companies they organized. Few of their other projects have yielded even such small "tangible" results.

The July 10 rally marks the end of the "first phase" of King's efforts to build a base in Chicago. A campaign of mass direct action, modeled after SCLC's efforts in the South, is to follow. An attack on housing discrimination is to be the focus of the campaign.

The huge crowd turned out at Soldiers Field to demonstrate their conviction that changes were needed in Chicago and to hear the program King had to offer for bringing them about.

The audience sat through a long and very hot afternoon in the sun, and listened to Dick Gregory, Floyd McKissick, James Meredith, Al Raby and others — and finally, to King himself.

Most of the speeches showed the effects of rising nationalist consciousness in the ghettos. In contrast with earlier civil rights rallies, the speakers turned repeatedly to the theme of being pro-black — to the importance of feeling pride and self-esteem in being black — themes character-

istic of Malcolm X and the nationalists.

The theme of McKissick's speech was black power, and other speakers talked of it. More dramatic, however, was the intervention of several hundred young people, who marched down the field behind a banner with the words "Black Power" and took up a position in front of the speakers stand. They refused to move when officials tried to get them back into the stands.

Most of the demonstrators were teen-age members of the Blackstone Rangers, a ghetto gang which SCLC has tried to involve in the civil rights movement.

Several picket signs were carried with slogans like: "Black Lackeys Must Go," "No More Reverends — Deacons Now." A few large emblems of the Black Panther party were displayed.

The rally was followed by a spirited march of many thousands to city hall, where a statement of demands King is raising was fixed to the door.

How U.S. Teaches Freedom to Viets

Writing from Saigon, July 13, New York Times correspondent Eric Pace reported the following information about how the U.S. warns Vietnamese villages before bombing them: "One widely broadcast message," Pace writes, "follows a bit of Buddhist funeral music with a woman's voice saying:

"Each day that passes brings you closer to death. All men must die sometime, but if you stay with the Vietcong, you will die soon by bombs or bullets. It is much better to spend the rest of your life among your family and friends. Come home. Make your plans to leave the Vietcong now. Come home before you die. Come home."

"Other broadcasts," Pace continues, "follow a 30-page 'Open Arms' Inducement Program manual prepared in April by the United States mission here . . . The manual recommends that the message to potential defectors contain 'fear output,' exploiting, for example, 'specific fear of the B-52 bomber, particularly the surprise elements in B-52 raids, the sheer destructiveness of the bombs and the inadequacy of shelters once considered safe.'"

(Continued from Page 1) as a high school teacher and college instructor.

The other candidates announced were Richard Garza for lieutenant governor; Paul Boutelle for attorney general; Ralph Levitt for comptroller; and Hedda Garza, for congresswoman from the 17th Assembly District.

Levitt, who is also 28, is one of the three students who were indicted at Indiana University in 1963 for "assembling" to advocate "violent overthrow" of Indiana and the United States government. The witchhunt received nationwide publicity. The case is supported by leading academic figures all over the country, and is still in the courts. At the time of the indictment, Levitt was working on his doctorate degree in the Russian Institute of Indiana University under an honorary grant.

Born in Indianapolis, Levitt received his B.A. from the University of Wisconsin and his M.A. from Indiana University in 1962. Since 1964, Levitt has been living in New York. He is presently a member of the Washington Heights Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

Paul Boutelle is a 32-year-old



Ralph Levitt

taxi driver who was born in Harlem. He was the SWP's candidate for Manhattan Borough president in the 1965 mayoralty campaign and before that a founding member of the Harlem Freedom Now Party. Boutelle also helped organize the Afro-American Committee Against the War in Vietnam, of which he is presently the chairman.

"Everybody knows," Boutelle told this correspondent, "that over twice as many Negroes are drafted proportional to whites and over twice as many are killed. We are clubbed here and murdered there, but I have yet to hear one good reason why a black man should fight in Johnson's war."

The man and wife team who fill out the SWP slate have both been active in previous New York campaigns. Hedda Garza, who is the 36-year-old mother of four children, is a full-time editorial worker. In 1965, she ran for the office of comptroller.

Dick Garza was the SWP candidate for governor in 1962. That was during the period of the Cuban missile crisis, and Garza made "Hands Off Cuba" the number one platform of his program. Both of the Garzas are members of the West Side Committee to Bring the Troops Home, of which Dick Garza is the treasurer.



Hedda Garza

Disorderly-Assembly Charge Rejected in Cleveland Case

CLEVELAND, July 17 — Disorderly assembly charges were dismissed last week against all 29 defendants arrested in a midnight raid by police and state liquor agents at Eugene V. Debs Hall here last November. Another defendant was found not guilty of the charge that he was keeper of an establishment for illegal sale of liquor.

On separate charges, two defendants were found guilty of minor liquor law violations by Municipal Judge Theodore M. Williams and each fined the minimum of \$100 and court costs of \$9.

Debs Hall Buffet

Herman Kirsch, Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party of Ohio, testified that his organization maintains Debs Hall, where a benefit buffet for The Militant was held last Nov. 13. He was also fined the minimum of \$100 and court costs of \$9.50 as keeper of the hall where "a liquor law violation occurred the night of Nov. 13."

In dismissing the disorderly assembly charges, Judge Williams ruled in favor of the contention of defense counsel that the police affidavits were defective.

The cases of four defendants charged with assault as a result of the police raid remain to be heard Aug. 9.

"The court hearings last week, economic and other pressures on the defendants in the past eight months, and the police-inspired sensational treatment of the raid

and its aftermath in the local press confirm my original statement that the raid on Debs Hall was a new low in crude political harassment," Mr. Kirsch said.

"They used an unnamed informant's tip that a technical violation of the liquor law might occur as an excuse for setting up a raid, breaking up a private party, creating disorder, then charging the guests with the situation they created, assaulting four of the guests and charging their victims with assault."

"In support of their most brazen charges, the arresting officers had only the self-serving testimony of members of the raiding party."

Garza Defends Cuban Policies In N. Y. Debate

Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Lt. governor of New York, defended the Cuban revolution in a debate with Jose Salazar on "Cuba, Myth and Realities," at Trinity College in Connecticut on July 11. Salazar claimed to have attended college with Fidel Castro and to have held a position in the Revolutionary Government until Oct., 1960.

Salazar tried to prove the Cuban revolution was unnecessary because Cuba, he claimed, was not an underdeveloped country. He also said the revolution had been betrayed.

Defended SDS

Garza quoted capitalist sources which detailed the educational achievements of the revolution and the improved status of the peasants, workers and youth. He also defended the Students for a Democratic Society, which came under attack from Salazar during the discussion because of SDS's non-exclusionist policy.

The discussion lasted until 11:30. Among the questions raised by the student audience were the whereabouts of Che Guevara. They also expressed interest in Garza's discussion of the Tricontinental Congress, and the killing of a Cuban soldier near the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo, about which they had heard little.



Richard Garza

CNVA Member To Talk On Vietnam Trip in N.Y.

NEW YORK — William Wingell, free-lance correspondent and photographer who was in Saigon and Hue during the Buddhist demonstrations last spring, will speak at the Militant Labor Forum here Friday evening, Aug. 5, at 8:30, on "The Vietnam I Saw; The Vietnamese I Spoke With." The forum is at 873 Broadway.

As an executive committee member of the Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) and as the reporter for the Rev. A. J. Muste's group of pacifists during their stay in Vietnam, Mr. Wingell was able to attend the secret sessions that these pacifists had with the Vietnam peace movement.

Mr. Wingell stayed on in Vietnam after Muste's group was expelled and had long conversations with leaders in the Vietnamese peace movement, students in the Struggle Movement and Dr. Bui Huan, president of Hue University, and other leading Buddhists. He was the first Western reporter with whom these Vietnamese were able to speak frankly.

Weekly Calendar

NEW YORK

THE NEW CHINA AS I SAW IT. Speaker, William C. White. Fri., July 29, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

THE VIETNAM I SAW; THE VIETNAMESE I SPOKE WITH. Speaker, William Wingell, free-lance correspondent, exec. comm. member CNVA, who was in Saigon and Hue during the Buddhist demonstrations last spring. Fri., Aug. 5, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Socialism on Trial

By James P. Cannon

Transcript of testimony in first Smith Act trial

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What I Saw in Lowndes County, Alabama

By Elizabeth Barnes

HAYNEVILLE, Ala. — The black people of Lowndes County, Ala., have taken seriously the idea of black power and are organizing a political party independent of the Democrats and Republicans. This party, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (also known as the Black Panther party because of its ballot symbol), is running its candidates in the next general election with the object of taking over the county.

Before my visit to Lowndes County, I had heard the story of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization and knew about the ideas of the leadership. What my trip showed me was that the people in Lowndes not only have good ideas, but they know how to put these ideas into practice. A lot can be learned by watching the leaders of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization as they go about their work. They are real mass leaders who are organizing the black people there to rely on themselves.

I found that many of the leaders and activists in the Lowndes County Freedom Organization have gained experience in other working-class struggles. Many are veterans of the trade union movement. Others played key roles in the Montgomery bus boycott of 1956. Most of the men who are activists in the Freedom Organization, like most of the black men in Lowndes County, are workers in heavy labor occupations in the building trades. The majority of them go into nearby Montgomery for work.

The leaders of the Freedom Organization are all from Lowndes County. There is a thin layer of middle-class Negroes who live in Lowndes, but they are not leaders in the Freedom Organization. The leaders are working people who have roots in the communi-



Frank Miles
Candidate for Tax Assessor

ty. They have suffered the same things that the masses of black people in Lowndes have been suffering for years — inadequate housing, schools, food and clothes. They know what the problems are, and they know how to go about changing things.

The median income for Negro families is \$935. What this means is that the homes are run down and unpainted, with collapsing porches and not enough room inside. It means little furniture and four or five children in a bed. It means few windows and fewer glass windows. It means getting all your water for cooking and bathing from an outside pump and using outside toilets.

The children go to broken down one-room schools with inadequate supplies and inferior instruction. Mrs. R. L. Strickland, who is running as Freedom Organization candidate for the board of educa-

tion, told me that the children have to take up school time in the winter to gather wood to heat the school buildings. Their school buses are unheated and often break down because they are in bad repair. Mrs. Strickland said that one night when her small children did not arrive home from school, she and her husband found them abandoned in the dark in a school bus which had broken down.

Eighty-six white families own 90 percent of the county's land. Much of this is rented out to Negroes to farm. But the number of Negro families supporting themselves by farming is declining because the price of cash crops is going down due to the growing mechanization of farming. Many of the women farm while their husbands work, to supplement the income. From their farm work, they usually get several hundred dollars a year. Most of the Negro farms have to use draft animals.

The people in the Freedom Organization have one belief which is key to everything they are doing. That is the idea that "if we want to make progress, we must rely on ourselves." This became apparent to me when I went with John Hulett, chairman of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, to visit homes in the county, organizing people to register. At that time, the Mississippi march had just been completed. Mr. Hulett explained to the people that on the Mississippi march, outside people had gone into communities to help register voters. He told them that in Lowndes, "We are registering the people ourselves." He said, "Then, we won't need any marchers through here."

Having been on the last leg of the march, I was able to contrast the voter registration done on the march with that being done in Lowndes. On the march, the people in the communities showed a distrust toward those who wanted them to register. Often they would say that they had registered when they had not.

In Lowndes, the overwhelming majority of the Negroes worked with John Hulett to get as many people registered as possible. More important, they are motivated to register because they have their own party to vote for in the fall — a party that provides a real alternative to the racists.

Registration work is considered the primary task of the Freedom Organization at this time. Mr. Hulett estimated that thus far, 2,600 Negroes have been registered in the county. He explained that 2,200 whites are registered — a figure greater than the number of whites over 21 that live in the county. Some of them are even believed to be dead people. The Freedom Organization intends to investigate and challenge some of these white names.

One of the prime tasks of the Freedom Organization is to politically educate its members. The leaders of the Freedom Organization believe only if the masses of people understand the reality of their situation, can they play a meaningful role in the organization.

Education is carried on in many different ways. Freedom Organization leaders and activists are continually canvassing the community, going house to house, talking to people about what they are trying to do. Besides this, there are frequent meetings of the Freedom Organization held in the various communities. (Lowndes County is divided into 21 communities.) Here the candidates speak and political questions are discussed. These meetings usually attract from 175 to 200 people.

In addition to the Freedom Organization, there is an organization in Lowndes called the Lowndes County Christian Movement. The Christian Movement is

a broader organization than the Freedom Organization. Anyone may belong whether they support the Freedom Organization or not. Most of the activists do support the Freedom Organization and its candidates, and there is overlapping leadership between the two organizations. Once a week, the Lowndes County Christian Movement has a meeting in each community. People are less hesitant about coming to the smaller community meetings held by the Christian Movement than to the Freedom Organization, and these meetings often become a stepping stone to the Freedom Organization itself.

As he canvassed the community, Mr. Hulett encouraged people to come to the community meetings, reminding them of the time and place. He told them that they could bring up any topics that they wanted to discuss.

At the community meetings, someone from the community is chairman. At a meeting in Moses Community I attended, they discussed plans for building a playground, a library, outhouses for the church and the purchase of an icebox for the school to keep the children's milk from souring. Many of these projects were already well-launched with committees working on them. An announcement was made at the meeting that voting machines would be brought to a future meeting so that people could learn how to use them.

There were about 35 to 40 people present at the meeting, including children. Most of the adults participated in some way — by giving suggestions or by volunteering to work on committees.

Importance of Organization

At the meeting, a collection was taken which came to \$37. This represented big sacrifices for the people there. Both the Freedom Organization and the Christian Movement rely on their members to supply the funds to keep the organization going and most of the money is collected at meetings such as this one.

To the people in Lowndes, it is the Freedom Organization which is important — not any particular leader or candidate. They do not rely on any one person to make decisions, but on the team of people that make up the broad leadership of the organization, and ultimately on themselves. Mr. Hulett explains this to people as he visits them. He says that the Freedom Organization builds a fence around its candidates — and that the candidates must do what the organization wants them to.

There are frequent executive committee meetings, where things are discussed and the decisions are made. The leadership knows what the people in the organization want, and it is responsible to carry that out. That does not mean that the leaders do not feel responsible for trying to be sure that the right decisions are made. The leaders argue for their point of view, just like everyone else.

The leaders of the Freedom Organization see the elections as an important test for the organization. But they realize that there are tremendous obstacles in the way of reaching their goal of electing their candidates, and they understand if they are unable to do this, it will not mean that the organization has failed or that it was wrong to build it. They realize that the struggle is a hard and long one, and that victory cannot be won overnight. They are prepared to protect themselves against terror, fraud and any contingency. They also realize that this is the first time the black people of Lowndes will have voted and that there will be some fear.

In addition to these problems, there are the Uncle Toms. At one of the community meetings, some-



Mrs. Willie Strickland
Candidate for Board of Education

one spoke against a certain retired teacher who was "running his mouth off" about the Freedom Organization. It seems that the white community was putting up this teacher as the "leader" to tell the black people how to vote and whom to vote for, despite the fact that he had never been active in the struggle.

The people in Lowndes County feel they are building something for future generations. As he visited the homes of the people, Mr. Hulett would often point to the children and say, "Think of these children here, of their future. Do you want them to get the kind of education that you and I got?"

At an executive board meeting of the Lowndes County Christian Movement, the chairman, Charles Smith, explained that it would take a long time to achieve what they wanted; probably the balance of their lives. The work has only begun, he said. The white man is very tricky.

The activists in the Freedom Organization work hard. They see all this effort as worthwhile in winning a better life for their children — and for black people around the country, as well. They see their organization as an example for others to follow. As Mr. Hulett told many of those he visited, "We want to show right here in Lowndes County that it is possible to build a clean political organization."

A meeting in Blackbelt Community was ended with Hulett pointing out that Johnson and Wallace were essentially the same. Johnson didn't do anything about the tear-gassing of the marchers, he pointed out.

Although the Freedom Organization has deep roots in Lowndes County, it is isolated from the rest of the country by the fact that there are no other such organizations nationally independent of the Republicans and Democrats with which it can link up. There have been attempts in three other black-belt counties, thus far, to set up freedom organizations, but these have not gotten off the ground yet.

The fact that they have carried through their struggle on their own, while others have failed, is a tribute to the leadership in Lowndes County. Others around the country would do well to learn more about how they did it, and to follow their example.

Why Hubert Humphrey Attacked 'Black Power'

By Clifton DeBerry

The white capitalist rulers of this country are aware of the revolutionary implications of the demand for black power, and that's why they are doing what they can to distort and smear the concept.

This is what is behind Hubert H. Humphrey's denouncing of so-called black racism at the NAACP convention where he aligned himself with Roy Wilkins against the advocates of black power. "Black racism" is not the problem and the Johnson administration knows it. But the rulers are making an issue of it, as a smokescreen to hide their real aim of heading off the developing independence of the Negro movement expressed by "black power."

Those freedom fighters who advocate black power are opposed to the United States' role in Vietnam and black people killing their colored brothers to uphold the "American Way."

They are opposed to gradualism, and opposed to whites telling Negroes what they should do. They

are for Negroes leading and controlling their own organizations and struggles. They believe in defending themselves against racist attack. The most consistent advocates of black power are for independent black political action against the Democrats and Republicans, like the organizers of the Black Panther party in Alabama. The whole thrust of black power is toward increasing independence from the racist rulers.

This is what the Johnson administration and the Roy Wilkins are really opposed to.

At the NAACP convention, the delegates cheered when Humphrey said, "Racism is racism — and there's no room in America for racism of any color."

I don't know where these delegates have been. There's plenty of room for racism in America — white racism. Blacks do not oppress whites here, and the whole concept of "black racism" is foolish. The facts are, it is white racism which causes Negroes to be the last hired and the first fired; white racism which denies Negroes equal job opportunities; white racism which compels Negroes to live in slums and pay exorbitant rents; white racism which brutalizes and murders Negroes and civil rights workers in the South. White racism is a fact of life for Negroes in America.

Black power expresses the willingness of the black masses to fight white racism, "by any means necessary," as Malcolm X used to say. It should be supported by all partisans of the black struggle for equality.

America's Road To Socialism

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THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 673 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003. Phone 633-6414. Second-class postage paid at New York, N. Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 30 - No. 28

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Monday, July 25, 1966

Justice Department Retracts Alexander Committee Charge

As we go to press, word has been received that the U.S. Justice Department is retracting its order to the Alexander Defense Committee to register as an agent of a "foreign principal." The ADC raises funds for the legal defense and family support of victims of South African apartheid.

It was named after Dr. Neville Alexander — the alleged "foreign principal" — who is a young African scholar now imprisoned in the notorious Robben Island concentration camp. The ADC had refused to comply with the Justice Department order, and had been backed on a national scale by civil rights, civil liberties and various political organizations.

Floyd McKissick, national director of CORE, had recently become an ADC sponsor, and Carl Oglesby, chairman of SDS, had become an ADC officer — making him liable to legal punishment — in order to solidarize his organization with the ADC effort.

The committee is presently planning a national tour for Franz J. T. Lee, a close friend of Dr. Alexander's, who left South Africa in 1962 to study in Germany.

... 3 Gls Face Trial

(Continued from Page 1)

It was also learned through soldiers that the army has been giving indoctrination courses on the case, in which they call A. J. Muste a communist. Muste is chairman of the Parade Committee, and he sent another telegram to the army, demanding equal time before the troops to answer this slander.

On July 8, a hearing was held in federal district court in Washington on the soldiers' motion seeking an injunction stopping their shipment to Vietnam. The judge interrupted attorney Stanley Faulkner's presentation of the soldiers' case and denied the motion. Faulkner was preparing to appeal this grotesque procedure and take the injunction to higher courts, when the army swiftly ordered the soldiers to Vietnam. When they refused to go, the army arrested them and announced it would court-martial them.

Pfc. James Johnson is 20 years old and a Negro. He was raised in Harlem, and was a student at Bronx Community College when he was drafted.

Pvt. Dennis Mora, 25, was born in East Harlem, and graduated from the City College of New York. He is Puerto Rican.

Pvt. David Samas, 20, is a native of Chicago and was a student at Modesto Junior College in California when drafted. He was married in June. All three were enrolled in the 142nd Signal Battalion, Second Armored Division.

The families of the men are strongly supporting them. Marlene Samas, Pvt. Samas' 17-year-old bride, read his prepared speech for him at the Community Church rally. The speech ended with the

following appeal to the peace movement:

"The GI should be reached somehow. He doesn't want to fight. He has no reason to risk his life. Yet he doesn't realize that the peace movement is dedicated to his safety. Give the GI something to believe in and he will fight for that belief. Let them know in Vietnam that you want them home, let them know that you are concerned about their lives also. Tell them you want them to live, not die. Bring home our men in Vietnam!"

"The three of us here, James, Dennis and I, came to the movement for help and we received help. We asked for support in our stand and we received that support. We asked for money for the case and have gotten some. The legal aspects of our case are numerous and complex, but we cannot depend alone upon our legal stand. The war in Vietnam cannot be stopped just by legal action. The war can only be stopped by the efforts of the movement with the sympathy of the public.

"In the end, we depend entirely upon the public. We have placed ourselves in the hands of the people of the United States, and all our hopes lie with them. We win or lose depending upon how the people respond. We risk our futures and maybe our lives on the hopes of the American public. We ask your help."

The Ft. Hood Three Defense Committee needs your aid. The legal battle facing the three soldiers will be costly. Please send your contributions to the committee at: 5 Beekman St., 10th floor, New York, N. Y. 10038.

DiGiorgio Company Beaten On Union Elections Stand

By Roberta Speel

A victory for the cause of unionism and of oppressed Americans was achieved last week in Delano, Calif. The giant DiGiorgio Fruit Corporation reached an agreement with the National Farm Workers Association, which has been on strike against the grape growers of the San Joaquin Valley for 11 months. DiGiorgio, largest of all the grape growers in the area, has agreed to legitimate elections for union representation of its workers, to be supervised by an arbitration board. The election date is set for Aug. 30, after which negotiations on a contract are to begin.

Leader of the resistance to the union in the Valley, DiGiorgio had waged a bitter campaign of violence, injunctions, and fraudulent elections against the strikers. Responsible for the corporation's change of heart were the combined pressures of the start of the harvest season, vital to the firm's profits, and of a successful boycott against the company's products conducted by the NFWA. NFWA staff workers were vigorously organizing the boycott in many major cities and achieving outstanding victories, with supermarkets agreeing one after another to remove DiGiorgio products from their shelves and to cancel orders.

Strike Background

I spoke with NFWA staff worker Will LeBlanc, who was in New York City to help organize the DiGiorgio boycott. He discussed the background of the strike with me.

The Delano grape strike began in September 1965 when the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee called a strike against the powerful Delano grape industry. The AWOC, established in 1959, is an AFL-CIO affiliated union with a membership primarily of Filipino emigrants. The original demand of the strikers was for the \$1.40 per hour base wage that the Labor Department instructed California growers to advertise in recruiting domestic labor, if they wanted permission to import foreign workers (e.g., Mexican braceros). Naturally, the California farm workers reasoned that they must be worth at least that much, whether their bosses asked for foreign labor or not.

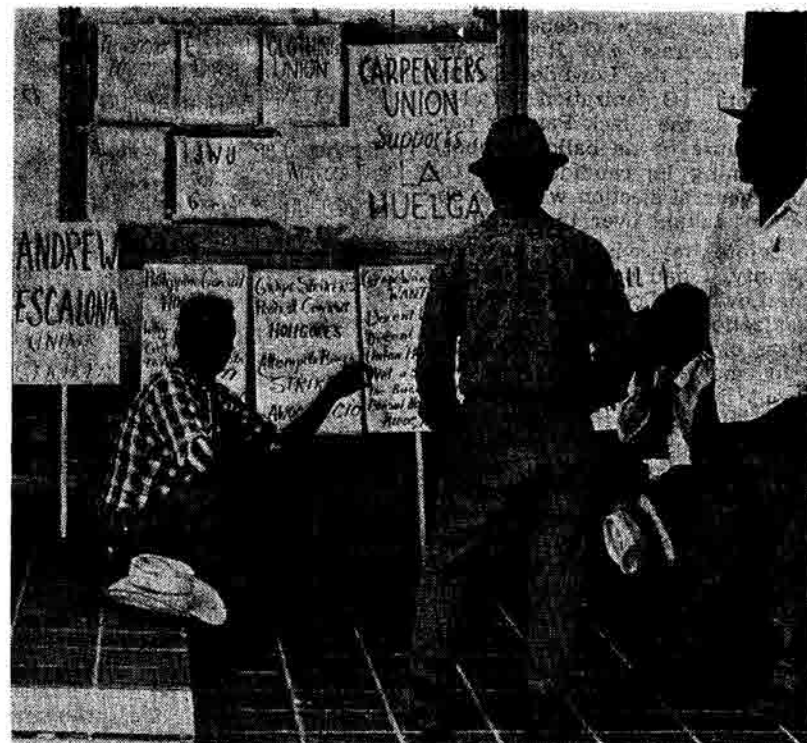
The strike has developed into an effective and organized campaign with the goals of decent wages and working conditions, and protections that organized labor has enjoyed for decades. Over 5,000 migratory farm workers are now involved. With the battle cry of "¡Viva la Huelga!" ("huelga" is Spanish for "strike"), their numbers are resolutely opposing the overwhelming power of the huge corporate grape ranches, literal "factories in the field."

NFWA Joins Up

A few days after the call by the AWOC, the National Farm Workers Association joined the strike.

The NFWA is hardly a union in the conventional sense. Organized in 1962 by Cesar Chavez, its president, it has more affinity to SNCC than to most unions in the AFL-CIO. Its membership is almost exclusively Mexican-American and its perspective is strongly nationalistic.

Chavez's concept of organization is centered on building a strong, independent base in the Mexican-American community. He started his crusade by aiding people with their immediate needs. The Farm Workers Association initiated a program of social services, insurance, a credit union, and a newspaper, all supported by membership dues. However, Chavez was heading toward greater political



STRIKE HEADQUARTERS. Scene in front of striking grape pickers' headquarters. "Huelga" is Spanish for "strike."

and economic consciousness and self-direction on the part of the families he organized.

In the fall of 1965, with two paid employees and \$85 in the bank, the NFWA found itself involved in its first major strike. Chavez was apprehensive; he felt the Association was unprepared for such a challenge. However, the spirit of the Association members was so great that they quickly voted to join the AWOC workers in their walkout, although the latter had only asked the Associationists for support.

Unique Situation

With the participation of the NFWA, all the dynamic and unique features of this struggle emerged. The strikers had to respond to a unique situation. No federal legislation or California state legislation guarantees any labor rights whatever to migratory farm workers. This means no rights to a minimum wage, collective bargaining, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, etc. Further, the rancheros, or owners of the grape plantations, have utilized all of the vicious tactics devised by the ruling class over the years to fight this strike. Hired guards to bash in strikers' heads, complete complicity of the local cops and other authorities with the bosses, mass importation of scabs and all sorts of trickery are the common arsenal of the growers.

300-Mile March

The reactionary thrust of the opposition has been parried by the NFWA with such novel tactics as the 300-mile march to Sacramento, Calif., in April. This "pilgrimage" gained national publicity for the strikers' demands and the whole cause of justice for the farm workers. The NFWA has also succeeded in gathering support from civil rights, religious, student and civic groups.

These supporters have been invaluable in aiding the NFWA. Their contributions have been money, food, and manning picket lines at docks and in front of supermarkets. They have been instrumental in setting up the boycotts which are a mainstay of the union's campaign against the growers.

Chavez has proven that his ideas work. The NFWA has done something no other group had ever succeeded in doing. With the strike still in progress, it has under its belt union recognition and contracts from two of the major employers in the area. These are the first union contracts for mi-

gratory farm labor ever to be negotiated.

After seven months of hard struggle by the strikers, Schenley Industries, second largest grape producer in the Valley, succumbed to the strike and boycott called against it. A contract was signed that will give workers a wage of about \$2.00 per hour. Christian Bros. has signed a similar contract without having had a strike called against it.

Workers Movement

However, the greatest breakthrough of the struggle has been the awakening of the consciousness of farm workers in the entire Southwest. A viable farm workers' movement is being established in Colorado; Texas melon workers (whose wages were about 70 cents per hour) have struck and gotten union recognition, and have affiliated with the NFWA. Farm workers all over the state of California are clamoring to be organized; according to an observer, they are already organized in spirit. The Delano strikers are confident that their campaign will not end until the entire system that oppresses them is overturned. The hard core of their group don't want to return to the grape fields; they want to go out and organize other farm workers.

Negro Influence

Why has this movement succeeded at this particular time and place? The approach of the NFWA, with its staunch independent unionism, internal democracy, and grass roots base, is certainly a factor. Important also is the end of the uncontrolled bracero program, and the relative stability of the nucleus of grape workers in comparison to other agricultural laborers. The inspiration of the Negro movement to all oppressed minorities is of major significance.

Although the opposition of the DiGiorgio Corporation has crumbled, the strike will continue until all of the struck growers in the San Joaquin Valley yield. Meanwhile, the NFWA, with 2,500 families still on strike, badly needs funds for strike expenses and to expand its activities. Contributions can be sent to: Farm Workers Relief Fund, Box 894, Delano, Calif.

The union publishes an excellent, informative biweekly newspaper, *El Malcriado*, in a Spanish and an English edition, obtainable for \$2 per year from *El Malcriado*, Box 1060, Delano, Calif.

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Why Johnson Decided to Bomb Hanoi

By Dick Roberts

The official reason why the Johnson administration began heavy bombing of the oil-storage depots in Hanoi and Haiphong, June 29, is that "infiltration" by north Vietnamese troops into south Vietnam had greatly increased in recent weeks. This position was maintained by Defense Secretary Robert McNamara in a press conference held the day the bombings began.

McNamara contended that "enemy truck movement to south Vietnam has doubled during the first five months of 1966, compared to the same period in 1965" and the "rate of infiltration [is] about 4,500 a month."

Even at face value, these figures are not very convincing. The 4,500 figure is not new. McNamara gave it at least twice earlier this year: first, at the culmination of the "peace offensive" in January when Johnson ordered renewed bombing of north Vietnam; and, second, in his Chamber of Commerce speech May 2, when he promised the huge increases in U.S. troop commitments, which have subsequently been sent to Vietnam.

As to doubling the rate of truck movements, it need only be commented, comparing the same periods, that U.S. troop commitment had increased almost tenfold; that the bombing of south Vietnam had increased five times; and that the bombing of north Vietnam had tripled — before the oil-storage depot attacks.

McNamara's Concern

Very few observers, if any, have accepted McNamara's contention that the main, or even an important, determinant of the June 29 decision was increased north Vietnamese troop movements. But the question of what really lay behind Washington's drastic escalation of the war is one that is of paramount interest to most people, and not just to war critics alone.

A glance at the leading American newspapers shows that concern about Johnson's decision is deep-going even among those who generally support the war. The *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*, for example, devoted considerable attention to the bombing decision — and the conclusion about its causes that these two newspapers came up with is quite different from the one McNamara gave in his press conference.

In the first place, it was widely noted that the bombing of Haiphong and Hanoi marked a turning point in Washington's tactics that goes far beyond the initial steps of destroying these oil-storage tanks. The *New York Times* treated this question in its main editorial July 3:

Goldwater Policies

"The policies now being followed were those advocated, in essence, by Senator Goldwater in the 1964 campaign and criticized at that time by Mr. Johnson. The once-strong emphasis on negotiations has faded. It appears illogical to escalate the war, as the United States is doing steadily, and still expect the north Vietnamese and Vietcong to 'negotiate.'

"Another change that now requires notice," the *New York Times* continued, "is the shift in emphasis from a war whose main objective was the containment of Communist China to a war aimed almost exclusively at the military defeat of north Vietnam and the Vietcong.

"There is an obvious calculation that Peking will not move, just as there has been, all along, a belief that Moscow would not fight for Hanoi. President Johnson now seems assured that the war can be fought and won exclusively in south and north Vietnam . . ."



NEWS ITEM... IN HIS JUNE 30th SPEECH IN OMAHA, JOHNSON SAID OTHERS COULD CRITICIZE THE VIETNAM WAR BUT "THERE IS ONLY ONE WHO HAS BEEN CHOSEN BY THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO DECIDE."

According to the *New York Times*, therefore, the bombings marked a shift to the all-out war concept long advocated by the Pentagon and supported by Barry Goldwater in the 1964 elections—a concept that leaves little room for a negotiated settlement, short of surrender.

And, according to the *Times*, the bombings showed that for the time being, at least, Washington is confident that neither the Soviet Union nor China will enter the war; and it is this "calculation" that is the main reason why Johnson made the bombing decision at this time.

The two conclusions set forth by the *New York Times* about Washington's policy were corroborated by members of the newspaper's staff who attended various "high-level" press briefings in Washington during the week the bombing began, or who were privy to other inside sources. Arthur Krock, the *Times*' senior correspondent in Washington, devoted a column to the subject June 29.

Krock addressed himself to the question of why President Johnson had chosen to reveal the bombing intentions in a press conference June 10, ten days before they actually took place. "Was the President's purpose . . . to prepare the American people and those of friendly nations for the attack, thereby softening the impact of the policy change?" Krock asked, or, "was the purpose also, or only, to assure Moscow and Peking in advance that the attack on the facilities did not represent a change of policy to unlimited war?" (Emphasis added.)

Krock inclined toward the second answer. "The mere ritual denunciation of the attack by the Soviet Union," he pointed out, "suggests that if this was the objective of the caveat it was comprehended and accepted."

The opinion that Johnson had made the early statement in order to warn the American people and their allies could be rejected, Krock believed, because the reasons for the policy shift of bombing Hanoi and Haiphong were known long beforehand, both to

leading Democrats and Republicans and to Washington's main allies abroad.

"There is another speculative assignment here for its timing," Krock then added. "This is that the internal troubles of the Peking Government have removed any risk there may ever have been of a military response." (Emphasis added.)

To other Washington journalists, the importance of the Chinese and Soviet responses, the internal fighting between them, and the wave of purges in China, were not speculative matters in determining Johnson's move.

Hanoi's Isolation

Wall Street Journal staff reporter Philip Geyelin reported June 30, "Much more than practical military need was involved in the decision, which has been the subject of intense deliberation for weeks . . . To the experts, Hanoi looks to be increasingly isolated from its big Red patrons, Russia and Communist China, as these two concentrate increasingly on their own quarrel and the Chinese are convulsed by purges and internal strains."

New York Times Washington correspondent Max Frankel, who possibly attended the same briefing as Geyelin, spelled out the influence of Moscow and Peking's response (or lack of it) in greater detail. "Strains between the Communist nations and a great political upheaval in Communist China," Frankel reported in the May 30 *New York Times*, "have encouraged the administration to intensify its pressure."

"Far from uniting in support for a Communist ally," Frankel continues, "Moscow and Peking have been quarreling more and more about which is to blame for north Vietnam's unhappy predicament and for the ineffectiveness of Soviet and Chinese help."

And it is not only the polemical exchanges between Moscow and Peking which are carefully watched in Washington: "The Soviet Union has taken pains all along to emphasize that it is supplying only 'defensive' weapons to north Vietnam. These have not proved an effective deterrent to

American air assaults." (Emphasis added.)

"More effective for a time," Frankel then explained, "was the memory of Chinese intervention in the Korean war 16 years ago. In deference to the huge Chinese Army, Washington has repeatedly disavowed any desire to conquer or destroy north Vietnam. To prove its point, it has long spared Hanoi and Haiphong, has tried to stay away from civilian targets and from Chinese frontier areas, and had only gradually expanded the pattern of attack toward the two main cities.

"The fear of Chinese intervention has abated here in recent months," Frankel concluded, "as Peking has apparently toned down its ambiguously worded threats of last year and has spoken more and more of the need for the north Vietnamese to stand on their own feet." (Emphasis added.)

U.S. Strategy

But Washington can never be absolutely certain that the Soviet and Chinese leaders will refrain from defending north Vietnam indefinitely. Each step of the U.S. escalation serves as a further test of Moscow and Peking's resolve. Besides being a significant step towards greater destruction of north Vietnamese material resources, the present bombing attack was also—and perhaps mainly—a test of Soviet and Chinese policy.

Three large air bases capable of landing jet fighters are known to be in the vicinity of Hanoi and Haiphong. "North Vietnam's first reaction to the raids today," Frankel continued in the June 30 analysis, "was viewed here as relatively restrained. Some officials had believed that the best of its Soviet and Chinese-built air force had been committed to the defense of Hanoi. The absence of a serious challenge was taken as a sign that Hanoi feels itself isolated and unsure of more aid . . ."

Washington's "calculation" which lay behind the decision to bomb Haiphong and Hanoi, therefore, had two sides to it: One was the calculation that the Soviet and Chinese leadership would not respond; the other was the decision that this failure to respond would set the stage for a sweeping escalation of the war against Vietnam.

It was clearly the second side of the reasoning which led the *New York Times* to the conclusion cited earlier that a new stage of the war had been opened. The bombings of oil-storage depots are only a preliminary step. Once begun, the Pentagon's plan is to continue escalation until—stopped.

New York Times reporter William Beecher reported the Pentagon's viewpoint as of the first day of bombing, June 29: "Even as black smoke rose over Hanoi and Haiphong after today's air strikes on petroleum installations," Beecher wrote, "top military men at the Pentagon were looking toward further escalation of the war effort." (*New York Times*, June 30.)

Beecher listed the following immediate steps on the Pentagon's agenda:

Pentagon Targets

"Closing of the harbor at Haiphong. It is estimated that two-thirds of north Vietnam's imports, including 95 percent of its oil, pass through Haiphong . . ."

"Destruction of the three largest jet airfields in the Hanoi-Haiphong area. Most of north Vietnam's 70 MIG fighters and 12 IL-28 bombers are based on those fields . . ."

"Bombing of power plants and industrial installations. High on the list would be the Thainguyen steel plant, about 35 miles north of Hanoi . . ."

Beecher also took note of the reason why Johnson had not bombed Hanoi earlier, and what the implications of the present

move were: "For months," he stated, "the Joint Chiefs of Staff pressed for such assaults . . . Their arguments were resisted, however, because of the danger that striking at the heartland of north Vietnam might cause Communist China to enter the war in a bigger way, might force the Soviet Union to step up its material support to Hanoi, and might injure the United States' reputation throughout the world if substantial numbers of civilians were killed in the bombing.

"Now that President Johnson has decided to run those risks . . ." Beecher continued, "some key Pentagon planners feel that, in time, they may be permitted to attack other major military targets in the formerly off-limits areas."

Therefore all eyes in Washington were on the response: Would Moscow finally alter its policy of "ritual denunciation" and de facto "peaceful coexistence" with the West? Would Peking cease its ultra-revolutionary sounding harangues against Moscow, bid for a united front against Johnson and actually come to Hanoi's support? Those were the major questions in the Pentagon war room, and the answers were duly registered.

New York Times correspondent Peter Grose wired the Soviet response from Moscow. "About 20 petitions of protest were handed in yesterday and today at the United States Embassy," Grose reported July 1. "The petitions, all similar in wording, were brought by small delegations. There were no threats of large-scale demonstrations, the [U.S.] official said."

Minimum Support

Grose continued, "To most observers, the initial Soviet reaction to the Hanoi-Haiphong bombings has been guarded and reserved—about the minimum required by the long-standing Soviet policy of giving the Vietnamese Communists full political support while remaining aloof from anything approaching military engagements." (Emphasis added.)

Grose also observed in passing, "Enthusiastic offers of volunteers to fight beside the north Vietnamese, heard in public meetings in months past, have not been reported now."

Washington was not as confident about Peking's reply. No official assessment was made until Hanoi and Haiphong had been pounded with bombs four more days. When hundreds of tons of bombs had produced only one note from Peking, however, Washington was jubilant. The story made the front page.

"Peking's carefully worded reaction to the bombings of Hanoi and Haiphong," Max Frankel wrote in the July 6 *New York Times*, "has reinforced the administration's calculation that China will not directly intervene in the war at this stage."

"That calculation," Frankel continued, "was supported by nearly all of President Johnson's principal advisers before he ordered the attacks." Even the gloomiest Pentagon planners were pleased with the results, Frankel reported: "Those who most feared a Chinese military involvement last year and those who opposed the resumption of bombings last February, find little reason to challenge that judgment now."

And Frankel comes to the crux of the matter: "Far from using tougher language, the Chinese were found here to have held back even from the language they used in the spring of 1965 . . . This was the reaction predicted throughout the top levels of the United States Government. In fact, one of the major purposes of the intensified bombing was to demonstrate to Hanoi that it must stand essentially alone against increasing American pressure." (Emphasis added.)

Eye-Witness Report on Cuba

[The following are excerpts from a series of articles by Jack Scott, a veteran reporter for the *Toronto Daily Star*, which appeared in that paper during the first part of June. They are an antidote to the usual material available from the wire services.]

[Scott's reporting on Cuban internal developments has a special significance, since he is not an uncritical observer of the Cuban scene. Scott laments what he sees as the total subservience of Cuba to the Soviet Union. To reach this conclusion, he has to ignore the fact that the international line of the Castro leadership remains far more militant than that of the Kremlin].

I visited Cuba twice on assignment in 1962, and again in 1963. They were years in which the essential struggle of Fidel Castro and his supporters was for survival.

This time, I came directly from 18 months as *The Toronto Star's* correspondent in South America, in daily contact with a way of life that degrades humanity.

Alone in Latin America, this is now the nation in which the visitor will see not a single child with the distended, bloated stomach of malnutrition.

It is a society in which privilege, exploitation, corruption,

class and color barriers, poverty and feudalism have been removed.

For those whose lives have been bettered by that surgery, the two of every three Cubans who continue to respond enthusiastically to the opportunity for a full and purposeful life, little else matters.

Without it he'd surely go hungry, but the Cuban no longer lives by ration book alone.

One of the many paradoxes in this island is that a people who face continued scarcities of many food items are encouraged to "eat out" at restaurants that offer a varied and bountiful bill of fare. As a form of calculated, psychological warfare against austerity, it seems to be paying off.

For a visitor here, returning after an absence of three years, this is the most spectacular change in the Cuban's day-to-day life.

I remember on that earlier visit, checking into the Hotel Capri and going down to the restaurant for dinner. A butter-less roll, two rubbery discs of salami and a warm imitation Coca-Cola (the beer had run out). That was the entire bill of fare.

On my first visit to a restaurant this time, at the "workers' resort" in Veradero, I found myself contemplating a menu that offered shrimp cocktail, Suprema of Chicken Virginia, Tips of Tenderloin

au Jerez, Broiled Smoked Pork Chops, Lobster a la Catalan, Fresh Moro Crabs with Mayonnaise, mixed green salad with avocados and Russian dressing, Filet of Red Snapper Saute, six flavors of ice cream and an assortment of several other dishes unavailable on that earlier visit.

I asked the waiter whom they were kidding. He took me into the kitchen and it was all there. I had the lobster. The beer was served in a frosted glass.

In Havana, Pinar del Rio, Matanzas and other towns and cities I subsequently visited, I dined equally well.

Restaurants in the leading hotels of the capital, once reserved for Cuba's official guests and other VIPs (another Canadian correspondent remembers that they were "full of north Vietnamese, while I was eating hash down in a place reserved for capitalist beasts"), are now open to the public and are usually crowded.

Over the past 18 months, a crash program has been carried out by the National Tourist Institute (INIT) whose function is described by one official as "putting back some of the fun into life." They operate training schools for restaurant personnel and barmen.

State-operated restaurants, small cafes, snack bars, pizza parlors and soda fountains are being opened at a fast clip.

The objective of all this is to drain off excess purchasing power and to relieve the monotony of the diet on rations.

"The idea," one INIT official told me, "is not to supplement the ration, but to offer a change from it." Thus items in short supply, such as chicken and pork, are featured in many restaurants.

Most urban families I met were eating out once or twice a week.

Rationed items are, in many cases, spread as thinly as they were three and four years ago and in some categories are less.

Because of the break in trade relations with China, the six-pound monthly issue of rice has been halved.

Cuba's agriculture bosses in INRA (the National Agrarian Reform Institute) are countering by stepping up production of macaroni, noodles, spaghetti and other carbohydrate foods, but may fall short of their 1966 goal of a 30 percent increase because of breakdowns and a shortage of parts for U.S.-made processing machinery.

Coffee, which was unrationed, is now being exported for foreign currency and is limited to seven ounces per person monthly — a cause for such considerable belly-aching that Fidel Castro took pains in April to announce that 6,700 new acres of the bean would be planted and that it will be off the ration "after two more crops."

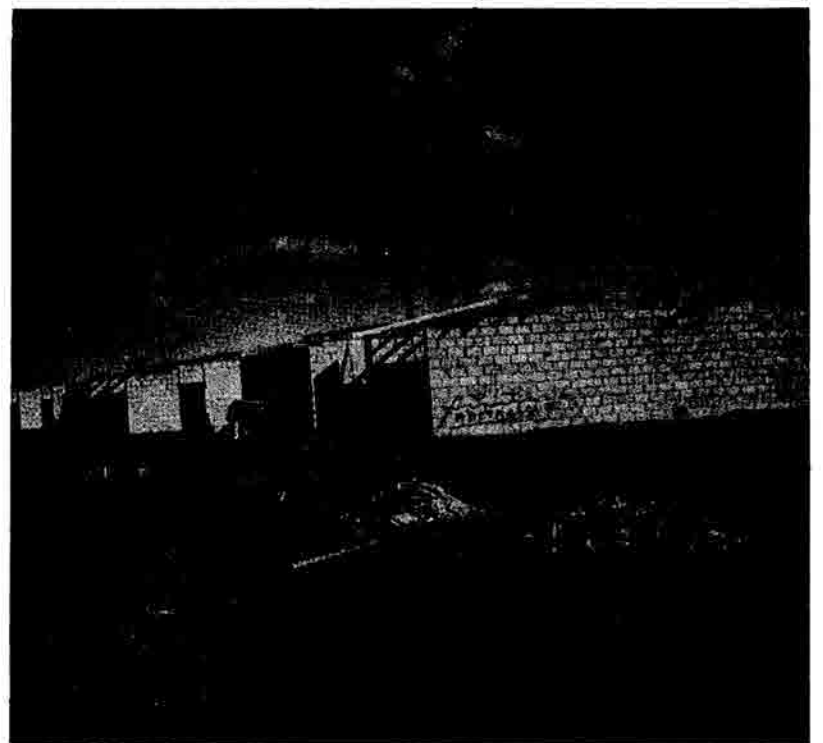
The monthly per-person quota of a single chicken has been eliminated entirely — except for children up to the age of three years, those over 65 and pregnant women.

(Expectant mothers, diabetics and persons with other illnesses are provided with special ration cards to allow them the diet recommended by their doctors.)

What has changed is the considerable list of items that, since my earlier visit, have been removed from controls.

Eggs, which were doled out five to a customer each month, are now in abundant supply and on the "free" list. Fish, limited to a pound per month in 1963, is unrationed. So are bakery products, cheeses and yogurt, fruits and vegetables, including potatoes which had been restricted to 14 pounds per person.

It is in the country areas that you find the most uncritical, very



NEW HOMES. Housing for workers on cooperative farm being built shortly after revolution.

often emotional, support for Castro.

Forty miles west of Havana at a state-run experimental dairy farm called La Recompensa, I talked to 39-year-old Narciso Rodriguez, a tall, gaunt-looking man who is in charge of the operation.

Narciso matter-of-factly described the system of rotating pastures for 250 Holsteins, the progeny of Canadian-imported stock.

But later, over coffee in the new, three-bedroom bungalow that his family is given rent-free and fully furnished (including the first Soviet refrigerator I've seen, called a Mockba) Narciso suddenly became eloquent when I asked him how life was now compared to the pre-revolution days.

"It is the difference of day and night," he said. "I worked on this same farm, you know, when it was owned by one man. I remember the Christmases! He would have us slaughter pigs and take them to the police captains and the generals. There was never a thing for the workers."

"We worked seven days a week, 14 and 15 hours a day for \$2 a day. If you were too sick to work then there was no pay. At that, we were lucky. For most people around here there were only temporary jobs."

"And look what we have now! Our children are in good schools and I, myself, with no education whatever, have passed Grade Three! Our medical needs are cared for. We have, what is best of all, a pride and dignity that no Cuban worker knew before."

"I tell you, they are not idle words when men here say they would die for Fidel Castro!"

The youth of the nation is no less committed.

In Havana one day, I went to the Instituto Pre-Universitario Del Vedado, selected students and spent an afternoon talking with them. They were boys and girls who spend 45 days a year between semesters as volunteer manual workers in the cane fields, orchards and vegetable gardens. I found them engaging, vital and tensely defensive of any criticism from an outsider.

Here, briefly, is a sample of some of their viewpoints in their own often precocious words:

Anna Maria Diaz, aged 16, father an electrician, plans to become a doctor: "Oh, I think we are like teenagers anywhere. We go steady. We do the twist. We conform a lot in our dress. We'd all like to drive cars. We laugh a lot and have love affairs and go to parties."

"If we're more serious than North American kids, as you say, well, it's because we know that so much is expected of us. Cuba needs teachers, doctors, technicians, professional people. That's where we come in. It makes you feel very much that you are parti-

cipating when your country is waiting for you to take part."

Jose Alberto Nunez, aged 18, father a university professor, also plans a career in medicine: "When you say that we're children of the revolution you are not mistaken."

"In 1961, three days before the invasion at the Playa Giron (the Bay of Pigs) the airport at Havana was bombed. My best friend who was in his house was killed when the bombs struck it. I did not fully understand what was happening then, but I vowed to hate the men who threw that bomb. That feeling now, I think, knowing the reasons for it, is constructive."

"Our enemy is the United States, which made possible that bombing. For that reason we must make the revolution strong and able to resist any further attacks."

Francisco Garcia Ucha, 17, father a bus driver, studying to be a chemist: "The actions of the United States continually strengthen and speed the revolution. Look what they are doing in Vietnam! Look at the penetration and control of the Latin American countries!"

"Wherever they sink their claws it is the same. Each country that wants to be free must build the socialism that is best for it. That is the liberty we are defending in Cuba."

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organized a secret "emergency" meeting of his own faction which then proclaimed itself to be the Fourth International.

The Posadists, accused of diverting MR-13 funds, were tried on April 29 and 30, according to the communiqué, at one of the campsites of the *Alejandro De Leon* guerrilla front. The trial body consisted of the Political Bureau, representatives of the guerrillas, chiefs of the Militia and presidents of the peasant committees.

The defendants did not deny the charges, according to the document reprinted in *World Outlook*. Instead, they "justified" their actions on the grounds that the money had been distributed to "parties" of the "world revolution," that is, to sections of their own grouping.

This line of defense is made even clearer in a document issued by the Mexican Posadist group, dated June 24, which is also reprinted in *World Outlook*. The Mexican Posadists launched a sectarian political attack not only on Yon Sosa, but also on the *Guatemalan FAR (Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes)* headed by Luis A. Turcios Lima, and on Fidel Castro.

There is no indication whatsoever in the MR-13 communiqué that the expulsion of the Posadas grouping signals a political shift. On the contrary, the communiqué reaffirms a program of socialist revolution. It appeals to the masses of Guatemala, the workers, students and peasants to arm themselves in preparation for the seizure of power.

A third document included in *World Outlook* is a statement issued by the Mexican Trotskyists expressing solidarity with the MR-13 movement. Expressing their disagreement with Posadas and the actions of his Guatemalan supporters, the Mexican Trotskyists nevertheless appeal for a united defense effort to work for the release of Posadists now imprisoned in Mexico.

They also call for united action to protest the arrest and torture of Adolfo Gilly in Mexico City. Gilly is well known in this country for his penetrating articles on Latin America, published in *Monthly Review*.

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

The Scheer Campaign

Albany, Calif.

Your June 27 editorial gives a sectarian evaluation of the campaign to elect Robert Scheer to Congress in California. After grudgingly admitting that the 45 percent vote is "an encouraging sign for the antiwar movement," you ignore both the specific issues of the campaign and certain local facts of political life.

You are wrong about the Community for New Politics (Scheer for Congress) being "coalitionist"; it is not allied with any Democrat political organization. In California, a complex legal process makes it extremely difficult to get on the ballot as an independent candidate. The campaign's use of the Democratic primary was purely tactical and few around here had any illusions about the campaign's openly anti-party character — certainly no one of the tens of thousands of residents reached by door-to-door precinct workers. Given the virtual two-party limit, the primary, whether Democratic or Republican, here has the character of a public rather than a partisan election. You no more support the Democratic Party by voting for a radical in the primary than you support the Establishment by voting for him as an independent in November. The real issue is the platform.

Rather than having "split" the peace movement (and "aided the rulers in Washington"), the CNP has enlarged and reinforced it, politicizing a great number of new people and sparking international debate. Many of the groups who, like the VDC, SWP and PLP, stayed out, are now accepting collaboration with the CNP. The planned August 6-9 protest march is one instance of this.

However, the CNP looks beyond mere protest and even beyond the war itself to the creation of radical, grass-roots political organizations for the purpose of winning power for the people and to the people. Instead of forecasting our sell-out to Brown, why don't you join with us — and keep us honest?

Gordon M. Poole
Precinct Worker

Course of Action

Los Angeles, Calif.

"But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, their duty, to throw off such government and to provide the new guards for their security." That, fellow workers, is a sentence from the Declaration of Independence of these United States, and is every bit as meaningful today as it was in 1776.

To say that there have been a "long train of abuses" inflicted upon the masses, or minority groups within the masses, would be putting it mildly, to say the least.

Can anyone deny that periodic depressions and recessions are abuses inflicted upon the masses by the capitalist ruling class through their lackies in government?

Can anyone deny that the resort to destructive wars, fought and financed by the masses, are abuses against them inflicted by the ruling class?

Can anyone deny that the creation and use of a secret police-type agency (FBI) by the "Justice" Department, after Congress

had denied the request for this agency, was a blatant usurpation of power? Can anyone deny that our entrance into three different wars under presidents elected as "peace" candidates was an abuse inflicted upon the masses by the ruling class?

Thus, our own declaration of independence points out quite clearly the road that lies ahead, and is today nothing less than a call to revolution. It is the right and the duty of every American, as well as any other group of people in other lands, to replace the old system when it no longer plays a progressive role in the evolution of mankind with something new and more compatible with the realities of the present world conditions.

The first and most important step for anyone to take in attempting to help in this task would be to read and inform yourself as much as possible. Find out what capitalism is really all about, how it works, what it's dependent upon, who it benefits and who it oppresses. Find out what the two-party system is, how it works, who finances both parties. Find out what Marxism is all about.

The second step to take should be to investigate the various non-capitalist political parties. Find out how their program compares with your own thinking. Find out whether their past record has been consistent and above reproach from a humanitarian point of view.

Hal Morgan

Eyes Opened

Detroit, Mich.

I have just completed reading "The Autobiography of Malcolm X," "Two Speeches by Malcolm X," "Malcolm X Talks to Young People," and "When the Word Is Given."

I am 23 years old, and after reading the words of Malcolm X I am ashamed that I, along with so many other Afro-Americans, have been blind and so easily misinformed for so long. I only pray that the spirit of Malcolm will forgive me.

I am interested in the introductory offer to *The Militant* on the back cover of "Two Speeches by Malcolm X." I am also interested in all speeches and lectures given by Malcolm X.

C.D.

Malcolm Vindicated

Gainesville, Fla.

Enclosed is a check for a subscription to *The Militant*. Your advanced and comprehensive coverage of Malcolm X in 1964/65 was excellent. Hope you will continue to do the same with his vindication, i.e., the movement of black power.

D.F.

Anti-Communism in Australia

Manuka, Australia

Those of us involved in the socialist and antiwar movements in Australia are distressed by the reports of hysterical violence which we are receiving from the U.S., in particular, the attack on SWP members in Detroit, of which we have only just obtained details.

Continued and fanatical anti-communism is also a feature of the Australian government and many of the mass media. And despite a recent attempt on the life of the leader of the strong Australian Labor Party (which opposes, at least in part, present U.S. Vietnam policy), this hysteria is reaching greater proportions. This is due at the moment to the presence in Australia of Dean Rusk and his various SEATO cronies.

It is obvious that the only way to defeat this sort of thing (short of controlling the government and media), is to build a movement so powerful that the trite formulae and cliches which are put forward can no longer be accepted unquestioningly by the people. Hoping for resistance against intimidation.

R. E. Jessop
A.N.U. Labor Club
Secretary

Houston Forum

Houston, Texas

On Friday, June 24, the Houston Socialist Forum had as its guest speaker, Otis Brown, Jr., of

Thought for the Week

"The wrong of Ngo Dinh Nhu was not to believe in what the Americans call 'liberty' and which they preach to all. For that is the liberty of the jungle, which profits only the wealthy, only the powerful, and only the arrogant — that is to say, the Americans themselves. To the others they throw a few carrots, seasoned in plenty of humiliation, blackmail, threats and homicide." — Mme. Ngo Dinh Nhu, as quoted in the *New York Times*, July 19, 1966.

Sunflower, Miss. An enthusiastic audience of about 40 responded to his talk about the problems and his experiences in Mississippi with a contribution of \$84 to the building fund of the Sunflower County Community Center. Due to local conditions it will be more like a fort than a conventional building. During his stay here in Houston, he also addressed a Fellowship meeting of the Pure Light Baptist Mission and a school integration rally.

Fred Brode

The Great Society

Dallas, Texas

You hear a lot of hot air about what these charity hospitals do for people. But I can tell that unless you can really pay they do damn little. I'm suffering from cancer of the groin and the doctors just let it grow worse and worse before they tried to do anything.

Poor people have to do without a lot of things they really need. My husband's shoes are no good, so he stepped on a nail and it went right into his foot. He didn't

get a tetanus shot. It probably costs around \$5.

My leg is swelled up and I have nothing to wear on it, so I have to use one of his overshoes.

Mrs. Thelma Lucio

Convinced

Boulder, Colo.

Enclosed please find \$1.50 for a subscription to the *International Socialist Review* and \$3 for a subscription to *The Militant*.

I wish to thank *The Militant* for having convinced me that capitalism, and especially U.S. imperialism, is the biggest exploiter of all the working people of the world.

L. O.

Timely Question

San Diego, Calif.

ATTENTION AMERICANS: President Johnson, with the approval of his rubber-stamp Congress, is using 58 cents of every dollar that the government takes in to feed the war machine that is killing your sons, husbands and brothers. What are you going to do about it?

Thomas Zelner

It Was Reported in the Press

Of Bras and Bridges — Federal agents swooped down on a Chicago company and seized 186 brasieres. They said the manufacturer's claims for the bras were not supported. The government said a pamphlet entitled, "Famous Designer Steals Golden Gate Bridge," described the bras as using the same cantilever engineering principles used on bridges. The company claimed its product could "increase or decrease the size of the bust" and that among other things, "the waistline will become inches smaller and breast cancer would be prevented."

Profitable War — Recent reports that the price of quinine has skyrocketed because of war-created shortages have been refuted by a Senate investigating committee. The committee established that although there is a plentiful supply of the raw material for the anti-malaria drug, a Dutch-controlled international cartel has rigged prices and supplies to the point where they have boosted

their profits by 559 percent in the past two years. Wholesale prices of quinine, a quinine derivative used by heart patients, have jumped from 78 cents an ounce to \$3.86 an ounce.

No Swastika? — The U.S.-financed Saigon regime has purchased a rebuilt four-engine plane for Hitler-loving dictator Ky. Said to cost a cool half million, it features a bar, TV set and stereo sound. It has a big gold stripe running down the side.

The Sociological Imagination — After extensive research, two University of Chicago experts concluded that if you are well off financially and have a good education, you are likely to live longer than if you are poor and have little education. Supported by a \$1,017,000 federal grant, the experts will now seek to determine why this is. One of them did spe-

culate that it may possibly be due "to a variety of things — such as poorer housing, poorer environmental and sanitary conditions, poorer access to modern medicine." He thought "it seemed likely" poor people don't get good medical care.

Those Wily Orientals — Discussing the prospects for negotiations with Hanoi, Seymour Topping of the *New York Times* explained: "It has been characteristic of Asian Communists to remain intransigent in dealings with the West until a moment arrives when some tactical advantage is to be gained by negotiating."

How to Get U.S. Aid — Marshal Arthur Costa, the Brazilian brass hat chosen by dictator Castelo Branco to succeed him as president, says those who are calling for elections by popular vote "just want to put the Communists back in power."

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POLICE VIOLENCE

Behind The Chicago Eruption

By Bill Mollet

CHICAGO — Once again, for the second time in less than a year, a section of Chicago's black ghetto has erupted in seething fury against the white power structure.

This explosive reaction came in the wake of a recent outburst by the Spanish-speaking community in Chicago. They, too, were rebelling against police terrorism and economic deprivation.

While there is always an incident that will spark the eruption — usually a barbaric display of police brutality — the causes for the eruption go deep into the traditional and systematic maltreatment of black people in Chicago and the nation as a whole.

The white capitalist press would have us believe that the cause of the eruption was simple. They theorize that the Negroes became too hot, so they decided to turn on fire hydrants to cool off, like going to the water hole. Now, since it is unlawful to turn on the fire hydrants, when the cops saw them on, they wished to honor the law by enforcing it. Negroes then became enraged and called the officers bad names. Not only that, they even threw rocks and assorted missiles at the police. The police only reluctantly defended themselves, trying not to further inflame passions. And so, according to the press, it was necessary to arrest a couple of people who were stirring up trouble. But otherwise, as the mayor and archbishop of Chicago were to say, "... it was just a juvenile foray."

But the residents of the area described it differently.

Some people turned on a fire

hydrant. The police came and turned it off. The people again turned it on. When the police appeared a second time to turn off the hydrant, a group frolicking in the spray protested. They were protesting because it is a common practice in white neighborhoods to turn on fire hydrants without fear of police reprisal.

Among the protesters was a small 11-year-old black boy. A Negro cop grabbed him roughly, handcuffed him, and began to lead him to a patrol car. As the Negro cop was carrying the youngster to the car, a white cop came and smashed the boy on the head with his billy club, while shouting obscenities at him. This, the residents say, started the whole thing.

King's Pleas

The day was Tuesday, July 12, 1966. Only that past Sunday, Martin Luther King, Jr., had led a protest rally at Soldiers Field and then marched to City Hall, placing his "Thesis for an Open City" on the doors. While it can be argued that King is not the voice of the ghetto, no one can deny that he knows its mood. All during the previous week, he had pleaded with Mayor Daley and his cronies to "give him some concessions and victories" so that violence would not "become inevitable."

When the police clubbing of the 11-year-old boy occurred, it sparked the deep-going outburst against intolerable conditions. Many poor people had grievances against the white shopkeepers who had sold them inferior goods at higher prices. The eruption gathered momentum through Wednesday with continued appropriation

of the goods in the stores in the area.

It reached its peak Thursday when more than 900 cops were unable to subdue and contain the 800 square blocks holding more than 300,000 people.

At this point, the city bosses decided to crush the Negroes. Forty-five thousand national guardsmen were called. Some of these units had just recently undergone special training for Vietnam.

The police and national guard attacked the community with clubs and guns. The people defended themselves as best as they could.

At least 300 black people were taken to the jails. The number of wounded is not known, but it is probably in the hundreds. Six cops required some form of hospitalization, one being seriously wounded. Two Negroes were killed, Raymond Williams and a 14-year-old mother-to-be, Rosalind Howard.

This reporter talked to a person on the scene where Rosalind Howard was shot. He claimed that he and two other persons saw a cop shoot her in cold blood. He went on to say that they were giving depositions to a civil rights lawyer.

Mayor Daley claimed that the eruption was King's fault. King awkwardly countered that Negroes had to be given something. They were. They now will allow Negroes to open their fire hydrants — in fact, they'll even give them sprinklers, too. They're going to provide mobile swimming pools, also. But were these things the cause of the eruption?

There were many attempts to blame the eruption on "outside agitators." Twenty-one members of ACT, a militant civil rights group, were arrested in the home of a friend. They were tentatively booked on treason, a crime punishable by death in Illinois. Supposedly, they had masterminded

ROY WILKINS' ATTACK

NAACP Parley Debates Black Power

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES—The question of "Black power" dominated the convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which ended its sessions here on July 9 after passing a resolution that would soften the more conservative, middle-class organization's attitude toward the militant "young Turks."

Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive director, opened the convention with a keynote speech equating "black power" with "black death." Cries for "black power" and moves like the one to turn Watts into an independent Freedom City "offer a disadvantaged minority little except the chance to shrivel and die," he said.

"Though [black power] be clarified and clarified again . . . in the quick, uncritical and highly emotional adoption it has received from some segments of a beleaguered people, it can mean in the end only black death."

At the same time, Wilkins blasted Los Angeles Mayor Samuel Yorty's anti-riot bill, later passed by the California legislature, as one which "allows a policeman to judge whether an utterance or an act is an incitement to riot," and "provides an easy device for police abuse and denial of constitutional rights of expression."

In one meeting, Wilkins warned officers of branches that they had better be careful of their outside affiliations. This was a reference,



Courtesy Chicago Daily Defender

YOUNG VICTIM OF CHICAGO POLICE. Cops beat very young and old in an effort to "restore order." This blood-spattered youngster who has had his upper front teeth knocked out was backed into by a police car.

the entire West Side disturbance. After posting bond, ACT members were told they would be arrested on sight. One member of the West Side ACT attempted to return home. He was promptly arrested again. He cannot go home.

The conservative *Chicago Tribune* on Sat., July 16, proposed that "the unruly elements ought to be banished from the city." If there were any legal obstacles to banishment, they proposed "the

police department ought to resort to the harassment tactics of the Capone era, when gangsters were jailed whenever they showed their faces."

But the real causes of the outburst are to be found in lack of political representation, substandard housing, high unemployment, police terrorism and the many uncounted daily abuses which accumulate to produce these explosions.

New Cleveland Outbreak Result of White Violence

CLEVELAND, July 20 — Two Negroes have been killed by bullets during the last two nights in the Hough section of Cleveland. National Guardsmen have joined police in attacking the Negro community here during the ghetto outburst.

Killed are Percy Giles, 36, shot through the head, and Mrs. Joyce Arnett, 26, also shot in the head while she was trying to reach her small children.

At least two other Negroes have been wounded by gunfire, and six police and one fireman were injured by rocks and bottles. Over 100 people have been arrested.

By Rachel Towne

CLEVELAND — The ghetto outbreak now in process followed an eruption during the week of June 23.

The outburst centered around the shooting of 10-year-old Steven Griffin by a passing white motorist. Residents of the area are convinced that a local white merchant, Stanley Gale, is responsible, although a grand jury decided not to bring charges against him.

On June 23, a large group of people were standing in front of the Jomo "Freedom" Kenyatta house, a community center in the ghetto. A car with two white men in it drove by and opened fire on the crowd, hitting young Griffin in the stomach. The crowd returned the fire and three bullets hit the car.

Griffin was taken to a hospital (he has since been released and is recovering). The car was identified by residents of the neighborhood as that of Stanley Gale. Gale's car is the same make and model as the assailant's; it has three bullet holes in it, and when

stopped by police, he had a gun in the glove compartment.

The conservative NAACP issued a statement that they were "concerned that police are not following the generally accepted legal procedures" in their investigation of the shooting. The police refused to admit the existence of any witnesses except Griffin and his brother, although many people saw the crime.

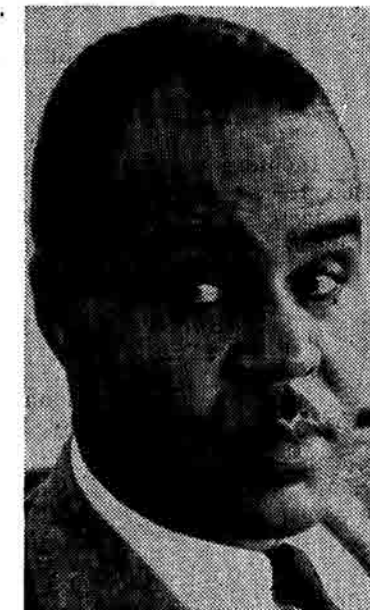
Robert Jones, a witness to the shooting and a counselor at the J "F" K house, explained that the recent clashes stemmed from several weeks of racial conflicts between teenagers in the ghetto and in an all-white area adjacent to the ghetto. Negro youths have been beaten by groups of whites, have been forced out of parks and playgrounds and have been harassed and robbed on the streets.

Appeal Denied

In the white area, signs have been scrawled declaring "No Negroes Allowed." Residents of the ghetto appealed for police protection, according to Jones, but this was denied. When residents realized the police would not aid them, they told the cops they would "protect themselves."

Art Evans, chairman of the United Freedom Movement, feels that "the kids involved here have no fear of the police and understand the problem of dual law enforcement better than the so-called Negro leadership."

He thinks that "the kids on the street have gotten no concessions meaningful to them from the government. They are not interested in working for \$1.25 an hour," as the government training programs prepare people to do. "They want what everyone else wants, and they want it now."



Roy Wilkins