

# Deputize, Arm Birmingham Negroes For Self-Defense Against Racists!

Birmingham's black community has no police protection whatsoever. Just the contrary! The city police, the state troopers, and the deputized white irregulars are the Negro community's worst enemies. They boast of their hatred of colored people. They are a danger to every Negro in the city. They are the equivalent of a lynch mob patrolling the streets.

Safety Commissioner "Bull" Connor, who commands the city's police and fire departments, is one of America's most notorious racists. Colonel A. J. Lingo, who commands the State Highway Patrol and that motley troop in sportshirts and helmets imported from Dallas County and sworn in as special deputies, is the white-supremacist who originated the use of electric prod poles (used to drive cattle in the stockyards) against Freedom Walkers.

Here are two examples of the "protection" these forces are giving Birmingham's Negro community:

1) "Bull" Connor's police were conveniently absent when the home of Rev. A. D. King and the Gaston-Motel (headquarters of Martin Luther King

and his associates) were bombed after the big KKK rally. This can be explained only by outright collusion with the bombers or by deliberate removal of police to give the bombers a green light. All Birmingham knew that if there were any bombing these two places would be among the prime targets. Moreover, city police had been informed earlier that day of a bomb threat to the motel and the fact that suspicious-acting whites had been reconnoitering it.

2) Upon arrival the state troopers and deputized irregulars began attacking Negroes. *New York Times* correspondent Claude Sitton describes the scene as follows: "The irregulars, accompanied by a squad of state troopers, charged across the street minutes later and into the motel enclosure. Negroes fled in terror as they were clubbed with gun butts and nightsticks. The 'thunk' of clubs striking heads could be heard across the street."

The end of their night's reign of terror was described by *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent Charles Portis: "It was pretty much all over at

3:40, when the state troopers began clubbing Negroes sitting on their porches. They had been sitting there watching all along, taking no part in the fight. 'Get in the house, God damn it, get, get,' shouted the troopers, punching and pounding them with their nightsticks."

Kennedy, whose cowardly inaction is largely responsible for the development in Birmingham, finally invoked federal authority. But only as a threat — in the form of federal troops 40 miles away.

The right of self-defense is a basic human right. It is sanctioned by all American law including the Constitution's Bill of Rights.

Able-bodied men chosen by Birmingham's Negro community should be immediately deputized and armed by the federal government for that community's self-defense and to exercise police powers therein.

The time for President Kennedy to act is NOW!

National Committee, Socialist Workers Party



**TELL MAYOR TO TELL KENNEDY.** Civil-rights groups sponsored this rally at New York's City Hall Park May 7. Speakers demanded that Mayor Wagner and city administration call upon Kennedy to get off his rocker and send troops to Birmingham.

## Rallies Demand That Kennedy Act

NEW YORK, May 15 — Several thousand persons attended a Harlem street-corner rally here last night and demanded that federal troops be used to support the Negroes of Birmingham. The rally adopted a series of demands including:

1) The sending of federal troops to Alabama; 2) the arrest and jailing of any government official using dogs or fire hoses against demonstrators; 3) immediate release of all arrested demonstrators and a federal promise that none will be prosecuted; 4) an end to job discrimination.

The speakers included Rev. A. D. King from Birmingham, CORE National Director James Farmer, Muslim Minister Malcolm X, William Mahoney of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale and De-

partment Store Union, and many other community leaders.

The two themes that got the biggest response from the audience were that the problem of racial injustice is intolerable in the North too, and that neither Democrats nor Republicans deserve the support of Negroes. There was also general agreement among most of the speakers that President John F. Kennedy was failing his duty in Birmingham.

Malcolm X, who spoke only briefly and in the early part of the meeting, observed that Kennedy had not acted until the Negroes struck back at the white violence. This point was picked up by the speakers who followed.

Union-leader Robinson criticized the bulk of the union movement for its failure to give meaningful support to Birmingham Negroes. He bitterly denounced Steelworkers' President David J. McDonald

saying: "Have you heard him raise his voice once during this whole thing?"

The loudest cheers went to the speakers representing the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee. Congressman William Fitz Ryan (D-N.Y.) also spoke. He was given polite applause except when he said that the problem of inequality would "take time" to solve. Then he was booed.

LOS ANGELES, May 10 — A "Freedom March" sponsored by CORE drew 1,500 to 2,000 persons to a midnight rally here in front of the city hall. The march began at 9 p.m. at Vernon and Central Avenue in the heart of the Negro district. Posters were carried with pictures of police using fire hoses and dogs in Birmingham as well as pictures of the police shooting

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## THE MILITANT

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## National Pressure Is Needed to Win In Birmingham

By Fred Halstead

MAY 15 — A victory for the Negro struggle for equality — even a token victory — is yet to be won in Birmingham. The May 10 settlement, which was hailed by Rev. Martin Luther King as "a great victory," has been sabotaged by the violence of Birmingham's white-supremacist officials. Even so-called "moderates" like Mayor-elect Albert Boutwell have publicly dissociated themselves from the settlement.

In addition, the white businessmen with whom the agreement was negotiated have now revealed its terms — at least their version of its terms — to be much less generous than Rev. Martin Luther King originally announced.

### No Guarantees for Negroes

It is now clear that the agreement guarantees nothing for the Negroes. Whether anything positive comes of it depends on what mass pressure the Negroes can still bring to bear both in Birmingham and nationally — that is in forcing the federal government to put the heat on Birmingham's economic and financial rulers.

According to Sidney Smeyer, the representative of Birmingham's white businessmen, the agreement provided for integration of facilities in downtown department stores within 90 days, but only on a trial basis. The stores agreed to the principle of hiring Negro sales help sooner or later, but guaranteed to hire only one Negro clerk in the entire city within the specified period. Even this clerk would be removed, said Smeyer,

in case of "violence on either side."

Even if all the terms of such an agreement were fulfilled in good faith, the Negroes of Birmingham would have gained only a token victory. So once again, just as before the mass demonstrations were called off in return for the settlement, everything now depends on the Negroes maintaining — in Rev. M. L. King's words — "a position of strength" from which to bargain.

A key problem in this regard is that the positions of armed strength on the scene are held entirely by the white racists — the various city, county and state police forces. These do not protect Negroes in their lawful demonstrations, but attack them. Since last Sunday, indeed, the state troopers stand poised, not with fire hoses, but with shotguns and carbines.

As one of Birmingham's Negro leaders, Rev. A. D. King, pointed out to newsmen May 14, it was known that the police would not protect them from racist violence, that caused Birmingham's Negroes to fight back after racists exploded two bombs the night of May 11.

With the explosion of those bombs the question of self-defense ceased to be an academic issue and became the pivot around which the life or death of the movement — not to mention the lives of the Negroes involved in it — turned. President Kennedy's failure to provide federal protec-

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## In Solidarity With Unemployed

## Chrysler Unionists Say No to Overtime

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — Auto workers here took a bold step in an effort to ease some of the problems of their unemployed union brothers and sisters.

On April 27 about 3,500 members of United Auto Workers Local 212 refused to report for scheduled overtime work at five Chrysler auto plants. The one-day strike was ordered by the officers, executive board, shop-committee members and chief stewards of the local. Plant bulletin boards were posted with leaflets reading: "No overtime — by action of a special executive board meeting, due to the great amount of Local 212 members being on layoff and the corporation sched-



uling unnecessary overtime." This ban on Saturday and Sunday overtime work is in effect until further notice.

The president of Local 212, Tony Czerwinski, explained, "For the last six or seven years there have been layoffs of borderline employes in March and April. We have a letter of intent from the 1961 bargaining session in which the management said it would try to avoid such situations.

"But 1,000 persons have been laid off since March 1. They won't qualify for vacation pay because they worked less than eight months out of the last 12 and will not be on the payroll May 1. Many won't qualify for unemployment compensation because they didn't work 14 weeks.

"Meanwhile more and more persons are being asked to work overtime. This is cheating on the part of the management and we can't put up with it any longer."

Another Chrysler Corporation division, Dodge, presented its workers with the very same situation and was answered with the same militancy. On April 5 local officers, committeemen and shop stewards of Dodge Local 3 distributed this leaflet at the plant gates:

"Let's help our Unemployed Members . . . When the Officers of this Local Union were notified by the Company that they intended to work on a nine-hour schedule for fourteen days, a special meeting with the Management was requested. Your Local Officers and Plant Committeemen protested vigorously the action of the Management and their irresponsible attitude toward their 2,500 workers who are still on layoff from the Dodge Main Plant . . . THE COMPANY VERY EMPHATICALLY TOLD YOUR COMMITTEE THAT THEY INTENDED TO WORK ANYWAY BECAUSE THEY HAD NO INTENTION OF PAYING FOR THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS COVERED IN OUR CONTRACT WHICH WOULD BE NECESSARY IF THEY CALLED ANY LAID-OFF WORKERS BACK. They admit that they will not call them back because they would have to pay them vacation pay and it would cost the Corporation thousands of dollars in fringe benefits . . .

"This sort of action on the part of Management cannot be condoned any longer. THE EXECU-

TIVE BOARD OF DODGE LOCAL No. 3 ASK YOU TO REFUSE THIS OVERTIME AND LEAVE THE PLANT AT THE END OF YOUR REGULAR EIGHT (8) HOUR SHIFT . . .

"HELP YOUR SISTERS AND BROTHERS WHO ARE STILL UNEMPLOYED — LET'S SHARE OUR GOOD FORTUNE WITH THEM . . ." (All emphasis in the original.)

In an article in the *Dodge Main News* of April 20, Local 3 President Steve Pasica reported: "The response from our working members was terrific and I am happy to announce that the company changed their minds and canceled all overtime and are currently in the process of compiling a list of employes to be called back . . ." These recalled men and women are still working and are now able to share in vacation pay and fringe benefits.

UAW officials have been protesting for years about companies scheduling overtime instead of calling back laid-off workers and hiring the unemployed. Reuther told auto workers that he would try to get higher overtime rates in the 1964 contracts in order to discourage the companies from this unfair policy. Years of talk and pie-in-the-sky promises for the future have accomplished exactly nothing. The companies scheduled overtime until they were stopped dead by the direct action of the workers.

The fight against overtime is not over and the problems of the unemployed will not be solved by eliminating overtime, but the recent actions of the Chrysler and Dodge workers are significant. Both the employed and the unemployed suffer from capitalism's permanent army of unemployed. The bosses use the threat of the unemployed to drive down the wages and the working conditions of those who are on the job. The bosses try to undermine union strength by setting one group against another. When an employed worker fights for his laid-off brother he is really helping protect his own future — for who knows how long his own job will last?

It's always good news when workers join hands in their fight against their common enemy. Each victory helps show the way and give heart to workers throughout the country. Tell every worker you know about the good news from Detroit.

## ...Birmingham

(Continued from Page 1)  
tion to Birmingham's Negroes sharpened the crisis.

When those bombs exploded, the Negroes correctly understood that to do nothing would be to invite disaster. The local police were not on the side of law and order. They could not be expected to apprehend the bombers or to stop the organization of further attacks. The Negroes could have been picked off piecemeal, intimidated, and the movement demoralized and scattered while the local police stood by and the FBI engaged in its usual stalling tactics.

The tactical problem posed to the Negroes at that point was not a simple one. But one thing is certain: mere preaching about non-violence under such conditions is dangerously irresponsible and is no substitute for serious, disciplined preparations for self-defense. Only confidence on the Negroes' part that such preparations were being made, could have averted the riot which followed the bombings.

That confidence did not exist and the Negroes' pent-up anger burst out spontaneously when their racist oppressors, using the bombings as a pretext, invaded the Negro community like a punitive expedition, beating people indiscriminately with rifle butts and nightsticks. The Negro community's fighting back shocked the nation into a realization of the seriousness of the Birmingham situation and partially forced President Kennedy's hand on the sending of troops.

## Weekly Calendar

## DETROIT

Hear Rev. Erwin A. Gaede, First Unitarian Church, Ann Arbor, on the current campaign to free Morton Sobell. See the documentary film *Morton Sobell — A Plea For Justice*. Fri., May 24, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

## NEW YORK

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

Invited Latin Americans and friends. Get acquainted at a Spanish Fiesta. Benefit of *La Nueva Voz*, progressive Spanish-language paper. Hostess, Marianna Best, 838 Park Place, Brooklyn. Sat., May 25, 8 p.m. (7th Ave. subway to Nostrand Station.)

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

## Local Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 296 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

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

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 23, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

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

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

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

MILWAUKEE, 150 E. Juneau Ave.

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

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

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

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Labor Book Shop and Socialist Workers Party, 563 18th St., Oakland 12, Calif. TE 6-2077. If no answer call 261-5642.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 8412, Philadelphia 1, Pa.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum meets second and fourth Fridays at Pioneer Book Store, 1488 Fulton St. WE 1-9987.

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

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

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

## THE NATIONAL

## PICKET LINE

At the ripe old age of 32 airline stewardesses are considered too old for the job by American Airlines Corp. Except for a few who advance to administrative positions or are transferred to other work, stewardesses are simply fired by American when they reach 32. And they don't get retirement pay either.

The stewardess section of the Transport Workers Union is conducting a campaign for removal of the age rule. Company officials claim youthful attractiveness is a key attribute of stewardesses. The union says an opinion sampling of airline customers put "willingness to be of service" first and "youthfulness" last. As for "attractiveness," says the union, if Hollywood had the same rule, Sofia Loren and Elizabeth Taylor would be ready for the scrap heap this year, and Ingrid Bergman would have been chucked out 15 years ago.

The United Mine Workers Welfare and Retirement Fund has reached an understanding with the Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of the USA that the church group will take over ten hospitals previously financed by the fund. The church group is seeking funds from both federal and state governments to help finance continued operation of the hospitals.

The UMW fund has been running low because of a failure of many mine operators to pay the per-ton royalty required by the union contract, and because of the growth of non-union operations in some areas. A plan by the fund to shut down several of the hospitals last year precipitated the "wildcat" strike movement of Southeastern Kentucky miners.

The John L. Lewis-authored policy of relying on royalty payments to the Welfare and Retirement Fund to deal with the problem of automation has completely failed in several areas. Thousands of miners are out of work or actually forced back into marginal mines at non-union wages and under non-union working conditions. The shutting down of the union hospitals — some of the finest medical-welfare institutions in the country — was the last straw for many of the miners. Whether the new arrangement will keep the hospitals in operation remains to be seen.

Hospitals in Harlan, Hazard, McDowell, Middlesboro and Whitesburg are to be transferred to the church group by Oct. 1, 1963.

In recent years, government circles in the U.S. have proclaimed May 1 as "Law Day" as a substitute for what used to be here — and still is in the rest of the world — the international workers' holiday. At this year's Law Day observance in Detroit, one of those honored with a Liberty Bell citation was Ernest Mazey, executive director of the Detroit chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union. Mazey, a long-time member of the United Auto Workers and the CIO, explained the labor background of May 1 in his acceptance speech. He recalled how May 1 was first celebrated by U.S. trade unionists in the 1880s as an annual observance of the fight for the eight-hour day. May Day was picked up by the international socialist movement as a memorial to the Chicago anarchists and unionists who were sentenced to hang on trumped-up charges in 1886, and it has become the most widespread single holiday celebrated by humanity.

Lack of job opportunities for Puerto Rican and Negro youth

poses the danger of "racial explosions," according to a conference held in New York City last week under the auspices of the Workers Defense League. The conference opened a drive by the league and some union leaders and job counselors to open job opportunities to Negro and Puerto Rican youth in areas now virtually closed to them. The League is distributing a pamphlet listing 30 occupations in which there is a shortage of apprentices, with the unions to which youngsters should apply for training. The pamphlet may be obtained from Workers Defense League, 112 East 19th St., New York, N.Y.

Offices of the Mobilization for Youth in New York City were picketed last week by unemployed youth. The agency is financed by federal grants and operated by the city for the stated purpose of combatting juvenile delinquency and providing employment opportunities for young people in slum neighborhoods.

The pickets complained that the jobs given out were not much good and that the agency was mainly a "soft berth for social workers." Said one picket: "Hell man, I don't need no social worker to send me out on a job for 75c or \$1.15 an hour where you do nothing but bull work and get fired as soon as you ask for a raise. What we want is some jobs we can live with."

Said a social worker: "I think we are making progress. It's better to have them picketing than throwing bricks through our window."

The use of fire hoses against Negro demonstrators in Birmingham, Ala., has been condemned by the Detroit Fire Fighters Association (DFFA). The 1,700 member union sent a strongly worded letter to its parent organization, the International Fire Fighters Association, AFL-CIO, declaring that it was "appalled" that members of their profession would take part in "such a blot on American history." The letter was signed by Robert E. Tighe and Dutch Hollen, DFFA president and secretary, who said they were speaking for the organization's board of directors.

They said the tradition of fire fighting is the protection of lives and property, that the IFFA has been publicly recorded as opposed to racial discrimination, and that fire fighters and their equipment should not "be called upon as a law enforcement agency of this nature." They called on the International president to intervene with the local organization in Birmingham.

## Chamber Music Concert To Be Held in New York

The Militant Labor Forum and the Young Socialist Alliance are sponsoring a chamber music concert on Saturday, May 25, 8:30 p.m. The concert will feature a string quartet comprised of award-winning students of Juilliard School of Music. Three of the musicians — violinist Mark Ginsberg, violist Ronald Sabaroff and 'cellist David Levine — are former members of the International String Congress which is held in Puerto Rico every year. Violinist Richard Luby is the winner of the Chautauqua prize.

Following the program, which will include works by Mozart, Bach and Dvorak, a reception for the musicians will be held. The concert will be held at 116 University Place.



A Victory for GOAL

# Detroit Gets Honest Negro History Text

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — This city's Board of Education has finally issued its promised booklet giving a more truthful picture of the Negro in American history. A little over a year ago the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL) began pressing school officials to get rid of seventh and eighth-grade history books that lied about the American Negro. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People joined in this fight after GOAL asked for their support. The main target of attack was the school book, *Our United States*. Even the conservative *Detroit News*, the major daily newspaper, said that this text gave "an inadequate and inaccurate view of the Negro in America."

Faced with continued attacks from GOAL and the NAACP and the growing public indignation, the Board of Education promised that supplementary material would be issued which would correct the false picture taught Detroit schoolchildren. However, Superintendent Brownell stated that no history book in the United States gave an accurate picture of the American Negro — a statement backed up by an independent survey which had been made by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

A special staff of four Detroit teachers had to write a completely new booklet to satisfy the Negroes' demands. Leaders of Negro groups were shown page proofs of the new booklet and their suggestions were included in the finished work. Supt. Brownell has notified publishing houses throughout the country that Detroit schools would no longer purchase racially unfair textbooks.

The new booklet is called "The Struggle for Freedom and Rights" and is sub-titled, "The Negro in American History." For the first time Detroit schoolchildren will read in a school text the names of such Negroes as Nat Turner, Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver. The students will now study material dealing with the Supreme Court school desegregation ruling, the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott, freedom riders and sit-ins.

For the first time Detroit schoolchildren will be able to read in a history class that more than 186,000 Negroes enrolled in the Union Army; that there were Ne-

gro officers in that army; that 14 Negro soldiers received the Congressional Medal of Honor during the Civil War.

Here is an example of how this new booklet differs from the chapters it replaces. In *Our United States*, the authors describe how a Union Army officer reads the Emancipation Proclamation to a Southern plantation owner, Mrs. Austin, and her faithful slaves. "To his surprise, the Austin slaves showed no joy over their new freedom . . . Finally old Uncle Josephus stepped timidly forward.

"Please, sir," he said, cap in hand, 'may we please go back to our work now?'"

The new booklet tells the children: "Thousands left the plantations and did not return. The Emancipation Proclamation caused many more thousands to leave

their masters and head for the Union armies."

The *Detroit News* of May 2 reported reactions to the new booklet by leaders in the fight. Richard Henry, the president of GOAL, said, "This book will be of real use and should set a good precedent in other cities where the need for correction is as great as it was in Detroit."

Everyone who participated in the fight to win a fair textbook can congratulate himself on a job well done. This victory should encourage everyone engaged in the current struggle to gain fair treatment for Negroes in other areas of public schooling — teacher placement and hiring, gerrymandering of school districts to keep some schools lily-white, and overcrowding in predominantly Negro schools.

## BOOK REVIEW

### A Cry of Outrage Against Jim Crow

BURN, KILLER, BURN. By Paul Crump. Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 392 pp., \$4.95.

The author of this novel is 32 years old. When he was 22 he was convicted and sentenced to death for robbery and murder. For ten years he fought for his life and won that battle.

During the ten years Paul Crump lived on the Cook County prison's infamous Death Row, he underwent what is described by Warden Jack Johnson as a "renaissance." Both the author and the publisher give much credit to the warden for that change. On Aug. 1, 1962 Governor Otto Kern of Illinois commuted Crump's sentence to 199 years — from which there is no possibility of parole despite Warden Johnson's statement that he would "put Paul back on the street tomorrow."

Whoever or whatever is responsible for Crump's "renaissance" it is obvious that he has not become an Uncle Tom. His book is a cry of outrage against an economic and political system which has walled the Negro people into a ghetto of second-class citizenship more tightly than any Iron Curtain.

*Burn, Killer, Burn* is a novel in form only; in essence it is a raw, clinical study of Negro youth. It

rips aside the myth that the "enlightened" North has no — or only minor — Jim Crow segregation. The locale in which the story of the protagonist, Guy Morgan, unfolds its tragic course is Chicago's Morgan Park — a very real community. But it might very well have been laid in the ghetto of any large city in the U.S.

Paul Crump has written his own autobiography in this novel. He was born and raised, one of 13 children in a poverty-stricken family, in Morgan Park. Both Paul Crump and Guy Morgan got only about one year of high school, the rest of their education being on the streets — with the main courses in crime and punishment. Paul Crump was sentenced to death at the age of 22, Guy Morgan was convicted for killing a policeman at the age of 19.

While you are reading the short and tragic story of Guy Morgan, keep this in mind — Guy Morgan of Morgan Park is not just one Negro youth, he is legion. Nor is he only Negro, he is Puerto Rican, he is Mexican, he is Caucasian. Morgan Park is not unique to Chicago. It exists in any city in any state of the U.S. After you have read this book, take a walk through the slums in your own city. You will see what I mean.

Marvel Scholl

# Why Italian Communists Made Gains in National Elections

The results of the Italian elections have been featured in the world press everywhere. How, in Italy, under the surge of industrial modernization, with an "opening to the left," that is, a center-left government combination supported by the Socialist Party of Nenni, how could it be, under such conditions, which would certainly appear to be unfavorable to communism, that the Italian Communist Party was strengthened, not only in the south from which the unemployed emigrate, but in the north where there is full employment?

Instead of a strengthening of the combination on which the government relied, the extremes were reinforced—the Communist Party on the left, the liberals on the right, while the Christian Democrats lost support, Nenni's Socialist Party stagnated and Saragat's Social-Democratic party made a slight gain.

The most current explanation among the bourgeoisie is very simple: it was the fault of the Pope who received Khrushchev's son-in-law. Papal infallibility suffered a serious blow. It is not our task to defend St. Peter's successor, but to offer an explanation worth a bit more, a little more profound.

The capitalist world believes that the years of prosperity have "Americanized" the European workers. While without doubt they have very appreciably reduced their revolutionary fervor, they have not destroyed their tradi-

tions, and in face of certain indications of a threat to the gains obtained, the standard of living to which they have become accustomed, the workers' combativeness reappears.

All these movements, occurring only on the economic level, must not be overestimated, but they are nevertheless symptomatic. And, on the electoral level, a certain polarization is evident, although limited, toward the left. In Italy and France the Communist candidates benefit from this; in Britain and Germany, the Socialists.

Against this general European background must be placed the national peculiarities. The Christian Democracy in power in Italy for such a long time, is undergoing wear and tear. Sounding the taut Nenni string can above all raise doubts among the workers. The reformist and electoral policy of the Italian Communist Party is not below the present political level of the bulk of the working class. In voting Communist, the Italian workers indicate what direction they will take tomorrow; which is not — it must be said at once — the direction desired by the leadership of the Italian CP, which extols the virtues of the country's bourgeois constitution.

## Italian C.P. Publish a Work By Leon Trotsky

*Editori Riuniti*, the publishing house of the Italian Communist Party has just brought out a new volume in its *Socialist Thought and Action* series. It was as part of this series that just a few months ago an account of the meetings of the Bolshevik Central Committee from July 1917 to March 1918 was published.

The new volume is entitled *The Permanent Revolution and Socialism in One Country*. It contains the following: *The Lessons of October* by Leon Trotsky (in full), *On the Theory of the Permanent Revolution* by Nicolai Bukharin (in full), four chapters of *Leninism* by Gregory Zinoviev, *The October Revolution and Tactics of the Russian Communists* and some extracts from *Problems of Leninism* by Joseph Stalin.

Bukharin and Zinoviev, among the top leaders of the Bolshevik Party, were executed by Stalin after the frame-up trials of the mid-1930s. Trotsky was assassinated by Stalin's GPU in Mexico in 1940.

The introduction to the new volume as well as the notes on the various articles are written by Giuliani Procacci, a member of the Italian Communist Party and a well-known historian. They are characterized by a noteworthy factual honesty, even though certain of his evaluations will not be accepted by revolutionary Marxists.



PALMIRO TOGLIATTI, head of Italian Communist Party.

# Young Birmingham Negro to Judge: Thanks for Nothing

[The following is from a May 9 *Associated Press* dispatch from Birmingham.]

Here, in a juvenile judge's office, many sides of the Birmingham story emerged today.

Judge Talbot Ellis sat behind his desk. He has crisp grey hair, a clean-cut profile. He speaks in a low, kindly voice.

On the other side of the desk was a 15-year-old Negro boy, Grosbeck Preer Parham. He is big

for his age. He was arrested five days ago for participating in the integration demonstrations here.

A sign on the desk bore the motto: "prayer changes everything."

Behind Judge Ellis was the boy's mother, Mrs. Aileen Parham.

The conversation among the three went like this:

**Judge:** Grosbeck, I'm going to let you go. Your mother must have been mighty worried when she couldn't find you. Why did you tell the officer you were 17? That's why they put you in jail instead of bringing you here.

**Boy:** I said I was 15.

**Judge:** Well, anyway, I'm letting you go.

**Judge:** Now, Grosbeck, you know that violence in the streets is not the answer to this. Attorney General Kennedy said this problem 'won't be solved in the streets.' And I often think of what one of the founding fathers said: 'There is no freedom without restraint.' Now I want you to go home and go back to school. Will you do that?

There was no answer. The boy stared at the judge, unblinking.

**Judge:** Are you mad at me?

**Boy:** Can I say something?

**Judge:** Anything you like.

**Boy:** Well, you can say that about freedom because you've got your freedom. The Constitution says we're all equal. But Negroes aren't equal.

**Judge:** But your people have made great gains and they still are. It takes time.

**Boy:** We've been waiting over 100 years.

The judge told him about attending legal conferences, working there with Negro judges and attorneys.

**Judge:** Now we were all equal there, not because the Constitution says so, but because we are equal in our profession.

**Mother:** May I say something? I don't approve of street violence either. But after a civil-rights meeting we did try to get in touch with city officials and they would not see us. And I know this, judge — these younger people are not going to take what we took. I have another son in Oberlin [College], and he'll never want to come back here.

She described her experience as a shopper in downtown Birmingham and said, if I'm going to spend my money in the stores, I

should have the right to sit down and eat a sandwich in them.

**Judge:** Mrs. Parham, what do you think of Booker T. Washington?

**Mother:** I think he was a fine man. But his day is past. The younger people won't take what we did.

**Boy:** Does Birmingham have a health board? Are they concerned about what happens to Negroes in jail?

The judge nodded affirmatively.

**Boy:** We were picked up at 2:30 and didn't get anything to eat all day. The next morning we would not have gotten anything either if we hadn't gotten together and beaten on the bars and yelled.

A juvenile court officer asked, would your mother have had food for over 100 people if they had all come at once to your home?

**Boy:** Maybe not. But you should have seen the slop they fed us. It wasn't fit for a human being to eat.

**Judge:** Well, I guess we could talk all day about these things. I want you to go now and I hope you'll go back to school.

**Mother:** Thank you, judge.

**Boy:** (under his breath) Thanks for nothing.

## He's Had It

"I have been invited often by the State Department to represent the U.S. at international student meetings abroad . . . but when I got back here with the team I couldn't ride in the same taxi with white runners . . . I say to President Kennedy: Don't invite me to go to Vietnam or to Venezuela. Don't invite me to join the peace corps and go abroad to help other nations solve their problems. I say send me to Alabama or Mississippi." — former track star and honor student Marvin Robinson in Birmingham last week.

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# THE MILITANT

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Vol. 27 - No. 20



Monday, May 20, 1963

## Pioneer Socialist Realizes Dream

# Sees Foundations of New Society in Cuba

By Ernest Tate

Most of us dream. Some dream for a lifetime without ever seeing their dreams come true. But George Faulkner, who is probably one of Western Canada's oldest socialists — he joined the Western Federation of Miners in April 1899 and the Socialist Party in 1900 — saw his dream come alive.

A homesteader in Northern Alberta, he sold his farm a year ago and has been visiting old comrades all over the country. Recently he decided to visit Cuba and see for himself what is happening there.

"I've agitated for the socialist system for over half a century and I went down there and looked at it straight in the face," he told me when I went to visit him on his return. "The trip cost me \$500 but it was worth a million."

In his own right he is something of a specialist in farming problems and he paid particular attention to Cuban agriculture, particularly the feeding of cattle that the Cubans are buying in Canada. He had been back two days and was anxiously waiting to get his 89th birthday celebration over so that he could leave for Edmonton to have tests made on samples of quack grass he had brought back with him.

"The Cubans made me welcome," he said, "and provided me with an interpreter. When I told them that I wanted to see their farming, they were only too willing to show me around."

Cattle from Canada were not doing too well, he said. They were getting no production, they were thin and short of meat. Not that they were particularly bad in quality, but it seemed to him that there was something lacking in the diet.

### Listened Carefully

"They were having little success growing clover," he said, "but alfalfa can be cut at least ten times a year." He said the Cubans listened carefully to everything he said.

He had an opportunity to talk to the heads of the agricultural ministry in several provinces. "I was busy — going all the time and talking to everyone. I didn't go to talk politics . . . I went to talk about the agricultural industry. The people must have something to eat and they are short of dairy products. The revolution will only succeed if it feeds the people."

He was of the opinion that there was a wrong emphasis in the buying of cattle and he told them so. He told them that they should concentrate on getting the cattle they had already bought into condition.



**CUBAN FARMER.** He has lots of problems in developing land and livestock in face of U.S. embargo, but he has incentive of knowing entire people will benefit from his efforts and that he has friends who want to help.

There had been carelessness in the shipment of heards which had been expensive to them. In one consignment from Ontario, 19 died on the way when a ship hit a storm and 20 aborted their calves. Nineteen others died after they came off the boat.

"There are lots of cattle in Cuba," he said, "as many as you would see in the Chicago stockyards." He felt that they would be much better off if they concentrated on production instead of pedigree stock. A beautiful Holstein bull from one of Canada's top herds had been bought at Alliston, Ontario. A prize specimen, in beautiful condition, a show animal, for which the Cubans paid \$28,000. It weighed 3,100 pounds. "A lot of bull for a lot of money," he said.

The Cuban economy under the old regime was based on one crop — sugar — and everything else was secondary. Most agricultural products were bought from the United States and the science of stock raising was neglected. As Fidel Castro said, they were exporting hide to buy shoes, and sugar to buy candy. The Cubans, having made their revolution, are

still experimenting to find the best cattle suitable for Cuban conditions and to overcome the centuries of neglect.

Everywhere he went he was welcomed.

He said he visited some of the houses of the rich who had fled after the revolution. "Fat-bellied parasites," he called them. "The ceilings were high, large rooms, with floors imported from Italy at the cost of millions of dollars — now it's the property of the workers . . ."

### Many Guns?

I asked him about recent reports by a columnist in the local press to the effect that Cuba was bristling with guns and the economy collapsing. He said he had read the reports. "It doesn't seem to me he was there . . . either that, or else there are two Cubas — he visited one and I visited the other. I saw the guns — they're for protection — they have to do that — the parasites killed a boy just as I arrived. On the day I came to Cuba four of these hoodlums attacked a family of four, killing two and wounding two others. Last week, fishing boats were fishing outside of Cuba and hoodlums overran them and took them to an island. They held the crew on Cayo Elbow, an island just off Cuba outside of Havana. But the Cubans got them back. The papers in Havana were full of the news. They had pictures of the United States weapons and money."

George Faulkner has the enthusiasm of a man half his age. In his 90th year, he plans to aid the Cuban people in the most material way possible. He has undertaken a commitment on behalf of the Cuban government to buy a flock of sheep in the fall auctions in Alberta. He will get them into condition and then take them to Montreal, and from there to Havana. He is intending to stay the remainder of his life in Cuba and give the Revolution the benefit of his life's experience in farming and attempt to introduce sheep-raising on the island.

It will require a lot of experimenting, he says, but he thinks it can be done. It won't fail for lack of effort on George Faulkner's part. He has been inspired by the youthful enthusiasm of the greatest experiment in this hemisphere.

[Reprinted from the May 1963 *Workers Vanguard*, Toronto, Canada.]

## Needed: March on Washington By Labor and Negro Movements

Birmingham is an industrial city with a higher proportion of union membership than Chicago.

The largest union in the Birmingham area is the United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO.

Yet through all the events which have rocked that city since the beginning of April, President David J. McDonald of the Steelworkers union has not, to our knowledge, uttered one mumbling word in support of the heroic struggle of the Negro people there.

The May issue of *Steel Labor*, the union's monthly newspaper, does not carry a single line about the events in the steel city of the South.

This miserable, cowardly failure to mobilize union support for a cause labor should be championing is not limited to McDonald.

The May 11 issue of the *AFL-CIO News*, the official weekly publication of the AFL-CIO — which was being written while Negroes in Birmingham were being hosed, set upon by dogs, and arrested by the thousands merely for demonstrating — likewise fails to devote even one line to the Birmingham situation.

That issue, however, finds room for an article on a "Citizens' Committee for a Free Cuba" whose purpose is to spread State Department propaganda against the Cuban Revolution. It also finds room to urge unionists to join the "Peace Corps" to spread "freedom" in foreign lands.

*AFL-CIO News* boasts that the anti-Cuba committee includes a number of union leaders, including President Paul Hall of the Seafarers International Union, President Joseph A. Beirne of the Communications Workers, and — to his everlasting shame — Vice President Benjamin F. McLaurin of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. The AFL-CIO tops are too busy currying favor with Kennedy by attacking the only country in the Western hemisphere which has eliminated racial discrimination to pay any attention to Birmingham.

This inaction on Birmingham is an outrage, not only from the point of view of labor's moral duty but from that of its material interests, which would be advanced enormously by a victory of the Negroes against the Southern power structure.

Last February, Teamster President James R. Hoffa called for a March on Washington by unionists and their wives to protest pending anti-labor legislation. In Congress, the staunchest advocates of these bills are the Southern racists.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, recently proposed "a job-rights march and mobilization on Washington to wake up Negro America to the job crisis now upon it."

And as Marvin Robinson, a young CORE field secretary in Birmingham told the press last week: "a lot of jails will be filled this summer and when they are, there will be a march on Washington of such an enormity that something's got to give."

These are excellent proposals which should be combined and supported by the AFL-CIO. What this country needs is a combined mass March on Washington by the unions and the Negro movement. Such a demonstration could pack terrific power in forcing the federal government to act on jobs and civil rights. It would also set the anti-labor forces back on their heels.

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Per cent
Chicago	\$ 1,400	\$1,005	72
San Francisco	750	512	68
San Diego	400	233	58
Detroit	900	500	55
Newark	225	123	54
Connecticut	200	107	54
Boston	750	399	53
Allentown	150	75	50
General	395	180	46
New York	5,800	2,591	45
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	430	43
Milwaukee	350	135	39
Oakland-Berkeley	750	272	38
Philadelphia	300	101	34
Cleveland	500	161	32
Los Angeles	6,300	2,000	32
St. Louis	100	26	26
Seattle	600	135	23
Denver	130	15	12
Totals to May 13	\$21,000	\$9,000	43%

## Militant Fund Drive

# 'On Behalf of Our Youngest Son'

By Marvel Scholl

National Fund Drive Director

This week the Militant Fund Campaign to raise \$21,000 took an 11 per cent leap upward — the largest since the beginning. General more than doubled. Responses to the fund stories and to a letter to all *Militant* readers brought a flood of Truth Dollars.

We give special thanks to C. and M. H. of Bloomington, Ind., who sent in a renewal of their sub and a contribution with this note: "Thanks for carrying us along . . . We can now send a small token of our appreciation for your newspaper — which, more than anything else, helps to bring the word of the spreading revolution to us in this oft-isolated community . . . On behalf of our youngest son (David, age 6 weeks) whom we hope will grow to live in a socialist world . . . Thanks."

H.H.D. of Stockton, Calif., sent in a Truth Dollar with these words: "I'm a pensioner and 83.

I've worked all my life to make this country what it is by producing abundance for all. But the high muckamucks permit us to have a mere subsistence."

An old-time subscriber from Spokane, S.P.L., wrote that he has only \$1.50 a day to live on so cannot contribute but will keep on subscribing as long as he can. We thank him for that promise and send along our promise that one day a socialist society will abolish this kind of cruelty to the old people who spent their lives building the country.

We heard from readers in Montana, Vermont, New York state and city, New Jersey, Minnesota, and Michigan. We thank them collectively. There are too many to mention individually!

You can send your Truth Dollars to 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Every one will help spread the truth that much farther.



**German Metal Workers Strike**

**Compromise Settlement Averts Showdown**

[The following article was written by our German correspondent before Minister of Economics Ludwig Erhard, who has been designated to succeed aged Chancellor Adenauer, intervened in the strike to bring it to an end, halting it from spreading to the Ruhr and developing into a major test of strength. We have not yet received our correspondent's views on this settlement, but it appears that the West German government, through Erhard, exerted heavy pressure on both sides in order to avert by a compromise a situation which would have paralyzed a considerable sector of the German economy.]

In taking this action, the government in reality expressed its fear of the power of the German working class, which, had it gone ahead in the struggle, would have experienced its biggest combat since 1928-29!

As for the leadership of the IG Metall trade union, although it is today the last bastion of the left in the German labor movement, it was probably fearful of the perspective of the combat and of losing the enormous financial resources which the union has accumulated. It accepted a compromise which permitted it to save face before the workers.

In any case, the strike of the metal workers of Baden Württemberg marks the first stage in the revival of the German labor movement, which will experience wider and tougher struggles in the days to come.]



Adenauer

unions as a factor of "order" and about "social capitalism." Not only in the eyes of the workers about to go into action, that is those belonging to IG Metall, but also in the eyes of the mass of trade unionists and a part of the unorganized, nebulous conceptions about economic citizenship have been dissipated.

No matter how it ends — and we have no doubt it will be victorious — the mask of the "economic miracle" has been torn off, the faces which were hidden are again seen clearly with their real features.

**May Day**

One could sense this in the May Day demonstrations. Not only was participation much more extensive, but there was less of the atmosphere of a popular holiday. They showed that May Day, despite all the oratory, has not lost its meaning as a day of struggle for working-class demands. The big test over wage demands was the main theme of the discussions and speeches during the demonstrations. Even the trade-union leaders who sought to practice social co-operation and friendship between the unions, and the employers and the state, had to insert phrases about the class struggle when they made defensive moral criticisms of the bosses. In areas of the Federal Republic which were not drawn into the strike, the spirit of the demonstrators was likewise influenced by the strike and lock-out.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to say that the workers hoped for more from these demonstrations than they actually received.

What kind of spirit have the workers on strike displayed?

It must be underlined that they entered the strike with ranks closed. The number of strike-breakers was extremely low. In the first days not more than about three per cent scabbed.

In general the strikers have confined themselves solely to trade-union demands. Only in the Mannheim district was a stronger political note observable. (At Daimler-Benz the strikers hoisted a red flag over their headquarters; while everywhere else the black-red-gold flag of the Federal Republic was visible.) Typical slogans are: "The strike will stop the state of emergency." "To be polite today means a gag tomorrow." "They use the lock-out today; tomorrow the prison."

**Simple Deduction**

A simple deduction shows that the bosses wanted this test of strength. In the last negotiations, the leadership of the metal-workers union not only lowered wage demands to six per cent, they also offered a longer contract. The bosses offered three-and-a-half per cent now and three-and-a-half per cent next year, the contract to extend to the end of 1964.

At the end of the negotiations it was not so much the difference between the offer of the bosses

and the demand of the IG Metall which was at stake as the calculated determination of the bosses to win capitulation from IG Metall. And since this did not succeed — despite the hesitation in the leadership of IG Metall, which all the world could see, they were not prepared to give in beyond a certain point — the bosses provoked the strike. It became at once clear that they were going to reply by a lock-out in order to force a test of strength.

**Not Paralyzed**

The human, trade-union consciousness of the working class of today is not paralyzed despite all claims to the contrary. The German working class has not undergone any great defeat since 1945 when fresh struggles began. The defeats (organization of the enterprise; co-management; remilitarization, etc.) were not defeats in combat but resulted from the fact that the working class was prevented from struggling by its leadership.

The youth who find themselves in today's combat have no consciousness of history, but they do have in return a stronger spirit of combativeness and a keener consciousness of democracy, and they have no illusions about the leadership.

Industrialization has swept the furthest corners of the Federal Republic and caught up everyone in the social movements. Hence the disappearance of the opposition between town and country. This is particularly apparent in the case of workers of the advanced cities and the workers of the backward countryside.

Prosperity has created a relatively high standard of living which the workers want to maintain at all costs. The need for new things, created by a society of consumption, has become a real need, engendering a new economic consciousness on the base of a highly industrialized society.

Because of the default in political leadership, the German working class has not reached a high political level. But people learn quickly in a struggle. The working class, held politically passive, will enter through the school of trade-union struggles onto the political road. The working class which appears as a political infant today will show itself to be a union giant. It will acquire political consciousness.

**Sino-Soviet Meeting Slated; Unity Prospects Remain Dim**

By William F. Warde

Premier Chou En-Lai informed the Soviet Ambassador on May 9 that Peking would be glad to start bilateral discussions on the differences between the two governments June 15. This is a month later than the date suggested in a letter from the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party last March 30.

Khrushchev had previously rejected a Chinese bid to go to Peking for a summit conference with Mao Tse-tung and proposed instead that the Chinese leader come to Moscow. However, the Chinese delegation will be headed, not by Mao, but by Teng Hsiao-ping, secretary-general of the Chinese CP. The cool and belated acceptance of the Soviet invitation and the composition of the Chinese mission indicate that the negotiations will be held in an atmosphere of extreme reserve on both sides.

This was confirmed by the publication in the Peking *People's Daily*, immediately after the announcement, of an attack upon the Yugoslavs. The paper charged that the new Yugoslav constitution, adopted April 7, is "not a socialist constitution at all. On the contrary, it is a constitution to protect the restoration of capitalism." It was designed "to cover up the revisionist features and the fact that capitalism has been restored" in the country.

**Veiled Attack**

The false allegation that the Yugoslav Communists have brought back capitalism is a veiled attack upon Khrushchev who shares Tito's "modern revisionism." At the same time the Peking radio has blasted Khrushchev for trying to bring Yugoslavia back into the Soviet camp.

In a speech on May 12 at Hanoi, the capital of North Vietnam, the Chinese chief of state, Liu Shao-chi, urged the Communist countries to "treat each other with equality" and "refrain from interfering in each other's internal affairs." This slam at the Kremlin was coupled with a sharp criticism of the Soviet line on "peaceful co-existence." Liu said: "In order to realize peaceful co-existence, what is required is first of all to carry out the revolutionary struggle against imperialist policies of aggression and war and not to liquidate this struggle. And it is even more impermissible to liquidate the revolutionary struggle



Mao Tse-tung

of oppressed nations and peoples."

The importance which the Soviet leaders attach to the projected meeting can be seen in the postponement of the plenary session of the CP Central Committee from May 18 to June 18, three days after the meeting is scheduled to begin.

Both Peking and Moscow would prefer to stop short of an outright and irreparable break and each would like to place the responsibility for a split upon the other party. It is difficult to see what important concessions either side could make to heal the breach. If another compromise is achieved in June, it should prove precarious since it would not remove the deep differences which have provoked the present rift.

Both the Russians and Chinese ignored each other at their May Day celebrations. At an African-Asian journalists' conference held in Indonesia at the end of April, the Chinese Communists threatened to walk out unless the Russians were barred. The Soviet delegation was not permitted to vote but was finally seated as "observers." The Japanese Communists, who sympathize with Peking, recently announced their withdrawal from the pro-Kremlin international journal, *Problems of Peace and Socialism*, in protest against criticism of China and Albania.

Such signs are not a good augury for the success of the forthcoming parley.

**... Nationwide Rallies Demand Kennedy Act**

(Continued from Page 1)

of seven unarmed Black Muslims here last year.

The Marchers chanted "Jim Crow Must Go," "Freedom, Freedom, Freedom," and "Stop Police Brutality." Crowds gathered to watch and literally thousands shouted encouragement to the demonstrators. Hundreds of police in patrol cars and wagons drove along the line of march but did not interfere.

Spokesmen for CORE addressed the rally at city hall and called for a fight to end segregation here as well as in the South. As the rally was about to break up, shouts came from the crowd demanding that John Shabazz, Minister of the Muslim Mosque, be allowed to speak. The chairman, Danny Gray, agreed. In introducing Shabazz, he said: "The Los Angeles police would like to have you believe that the Muslims have been rejected by the Negro community and represent no one — this is not true. They speak for many, and have a rightful place here tonight."

CLEVELAND, May 11 — The Ohio Freedom Fighters today held a picket line demonstrating solidarity with the struggle in Bir-

mingham. They carried signs around the Public Square here saying: "Help Change Passive Resistance into Massive Resistance," and "Fight Tooth and Nail, Let's Get Our Brothers Out of Jail."

The Cleveland Federation of Labor approved a resolution presented by United Auto Workers Local 45 criticizing the Birmingham officials for using inhumane tactics against demonstrators.

SAN DIEGO, May 5 — Three hundred people turned out here today for a rally called on very short notice. The speakers, including several Negro ministers and one white rabbi, were bitter about the various levels of government which participated in repressing the Birmingham demonstrators. They urged federal intervention. Mayor Dail of San Diego showed up and promised to send a message to President Kennedy expressing the sentiment of the meeting.

In Boston, 5,000 persons marched on the State House May 12 in a "support Birmingham movement." The crowd was addressed by Governor Endicott Pea-

body and State Attorney General Edward W. Brooke, a Negro. The audience cheered when Brooke said that if a state couldn't or wouldn't protect civil rights, then the federal government should intervene.

In Chicago, some 2,000 demonstrators marched through downtown May 13 in support of the Birmingham struggle. The demonstrators, most of them college or high-school students and about half Negroes, danced as they marched, chanted "Jim Crow Must Go," and sang freedom songs.

In Philadelphia May 12 over 5,000 Negro church members held a mass prayer meeting and demonstration behind Independence Hall in support of the Negroes of Birmingham. Earlier in the week, some 700 persons picketed outside city hall in a demonstration sponsored by the NAACP and CORE. One sign read: "End Dog Government in Alabama."

Five hundred persons marched on the Stamford, Conn., city hall May 12, in support of integration in Birmingham. In New Rochelle, N.Y., 800 Negroes paraded to the city hall in a demonstration calling for President Kennedy to act in Birmingham. In Syracuse, N.Y., some 250 persons demonstrated May 12.

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# New Negotiations by Algerians and French Brings Adjustments of Evian Accord Terms

By Joseph Hansen

On arriving in Paris May 2 after two days of informal negotiations with the Ben Bella government, Jean de Broglie, French Secretary of State for Algerian Affairs, told the press, "It was not a question in any way of a revision of the Evian accords which remain the basis and foundation of our relations with Algeria."

All that was involved, the spokesman of the de Gaulle regime said, was "some adjustments on the economic level, adjustments imposed by measures marked by agrarian socialism, wide ones and too rapid in our opinion, taken by the Algerian government."

De Broglie was of the opinion that an understanding had been reached which should prove reassuring to the French still living in Algeria. "It does not appear," he said, "that the Algerian government wants, at present, in this matter, to move towards a new stage. I think that a phase of stabilization has been reached."

The minister added: "The French government is not opposed to the experiment in agrarian socialism undertaken in Algeria, but it is concerned about seeing to it that the legitimate interests of the French are maintained in the spirit of the Evian accords . . ."

In Algiers, the same afternoon, Minister of Information Mouloud Belaouane stressed a different side of the negotiations. He pointed out that de Broglie had agreed that the French would pull their troops out of Constantinois before the end of this year and advance the final withdrawal of the rest of the 80,000 troops still in Algeria six months earlier than specified in the Evian accords; that is, by the end of 1964 instead of by July 1965.

The Algerians agreed that about one-fifth of the yearly aid which



Ben Bella

France was to grant Algeria, as specified in the Evian accords, would be utilized by the French to reimburse Europeans whose Algerian properties have been nationalized. This would amount to about \$40,000,000 a year. In return, the de Gaulle regime agreed to end the stalling tactics in making the agreed upon aid available.

A key question — French nuclear tests in the Sahara — remained unanswered. The Algerian reaction to the March 18 test was quick and vigorous. It ended with extensive nationalizations of both French and Algerian holdings in the land. Since then, the Algerians have reiterated their bitter opposition to any more tests, which they consider to be in violation of their national sovereignty. Belaouane said that a press release on this would be made in the near future.

In response to a specific question, the Algerian minister declared that the joint communiqué issued after the talks "modified" the Evian accords. "One could say

that in effect it came within the framework of their partial revision."

It seems in fact that the Algerian government has won its point and has succeeded in compelling the French government to acknowledge in principle that the Evian accords are not sacrosanct and, like any contract signed under duress, are subject to revision in the light of a change in the relation of forces.

On the other hand, the joint communiqué contains a significant concession made by the Algerian government: "President Ben Bella confirmed that at the side of a public sector, of which the framework is to be specified, the Algerian government intends to facilitate the maintenance or renewal of activity for French industrial enterprises."

The joint communiqué also indicates that the Algerian government is soon to give fresh assurances concerning French holdings in the oil fields in the Sahara.

It would thus seem that if de Broglie put it up to the Algerians to state their intentions concerning industrial properties and the French stake in Saharan oil, the answer he got was that these have not been marked for nationalization.

If this should represent the reality for the coming period, the Algerian Revolution will have presented the world with an extraordinary phenomenon: an agrarian reform that is quite clearly socialist in character, even to democratically elected workers' councils; and along with this the maintenance of capitalist relations in commanding sectors of the economy.

How is such a peculiarity to be explained?

Next week: What Evian Accords Could Not Prevent

## To Reorganize Management Committees

# Algerians to Hold New Elections

PARIS — The Algerian government has announced a campaign to reorganize the Management Committees which in many cases were appointed when they first began to form. The campaign will begin May 10 in meetings throughout the country with the participation of the Party of the National Liberation Front, national organizations, local government officials, the trade unions, commissioners of the National Office of Agrarian Reform, and representatives of the Bureau of Socialist Enterprise and the National Popular Army.

The text of a circular issued by the government, specifying how Workers' Councils and Management Committees are to be elected in accordance with the reorganization campaign is as follows:

In view of the establishment of the first Councils and Management Committees provided for in Decree 63-95 of March 22, 1963,

concerning the organization and management of industrial and mining enterprises as well as vacated agricultural holdings; and within the framework of the national campaign which will soon open for the democratic reorganization of the organs of self-management, it is necessary to undertake the following safeguards and measures.

1) An electoral commission composed of three to five members unanimously designated by the workers of each enterprise or holding, or by the community in the case of small holdings, shall be charged with drawing up the electoral slates and conducting the balloting. No member of such a commission can be a candidate in the elections.

2) The elections in the Workers' Councils and the Management Committees shall be made on the basis of slates of candidates chosen among those who have the right to be considered as members of the General Assembly of Workers.

3) These lists shall be drawn up either by representatives of the UGTA [trade unions] in each enterprise or holding or by groups of workers, or by joint action.

4) In enterprises or holdings comprising up to 50 permanent workers, each possible group of ten workers has the right to present its own complete or partial slate of candidates for the Workers' Council or the Management Committee (in cases where a Management Committee is to be elected) different from that which may be presented by the UGTA.

5) The election of Management Committees by the Workers' Councils shall be done similarly on the

basis of slates. Each member of the Workers' Council has the right to propose a complete or partial slate of candidates for the Management Committee.

6) The slates of candidates for the Workers' Council or for the Management Committee, once established, are accepted by the electoral commission which posts them in the enterprise or holding for three days prior to the day of voting. On the day of the vote, the electoral commission will conduct a secret poll by ballots.

Each ballot must contain the name of all the candidates, separated according to the slates. On the ballot, the elector indicates the candidate for whom he is voting by encircling the number of order preceding the name of the candidate, and choosing among the different slates a number equivalent to the number of members of the Workers' Council or the Management Committee.

7) If the elector is illiterate, he can present himself to the place of vote accompanied by a member of his choice among the electoral commission, who will help him to indicate in the desired manner, the name of the candidate of his choice. He himself then places the ballot in the box.

8) Counting of the ballots as well as announcement of the results is done by the electoral commission at the assembly of the workers.

9) The electoral commission enters in the record, during the three days following the announcement of the results of the vote, any disputes and then submits its papers to the authorities charged with legalizing or rejecting the results of the vote.

## To Aid Algerian People Solidarity Group to Hold Parley

Delegates from various European countries met in Brussels May 4 to consider further plans for developing international aid for Algeria. The specific project is to help organize a broad conference in Algiers June 15-19 which will make a survey of the most acute requirements. Especially needed are technicians and health teams. Help for Algeria's orphans is also high on the agenda.

Reports were heard at the Brussels conference from trade unionists, members of the Socialist, Social-Democratic and Communist parties, and liberals, who have been active in the preliminary work.

In Algiers, reports *Alger Républicain*, a group of European militants, who are keenly interested in making the projected conference as big a success as possible, issued an appeal May 7 "to all manual and intellectual European workers who are conscious of the necessities of proletarian solidarity and the anti-imperialist struggle in Algeria and their own country to enlarge the group of local participants in the preparations and work of the conference."

Inquiries about participating in the June conference in Algiers or in going to Algeria as a technician should be sent to Gilles Viali, 102 Blvd. du Félemy, Algiers, Algeria.

## People in Algiers Demonstrate Against Would-Be Capitalists

PARIS — Any efforts of would-be capitalists to form a rallying center against the moves toward socialism taken by the Algerian government appear certain to meet with stiff resistance from the people. This was proved April 29 when merchants in Algiers shut down their establishments during the afternoon to attend ceremonies inaugurating the new headquarters of the UGCA (*Union Générale des Commerçants*).

Distinguished figures were among the audience, including ambassadors of the Soviet-bloc countries, heads of Algerian trade unions, the chairman of the Red Crescent [Algeria's Red Cross] and the attorney general.

At about 2:30 p.m. a crowd began to form in the street outside the building, which is near the Casbah. As Boy Scouts sang patriotic songs, the crowd swelled until it reached 20,000, according to the estimate of *Le Peuple*.

Banners began appearing here and there: "Against any neo-colonialism"; "Maintain the unity of the Algerian people"; "For the Tripoli program to the end."

### Couldn't Be Heard

Apparently waiting for the noise outside to die down, the businessmen didn't get started with their speeches for the occasion until five o'clock. The speakers still could not be heard over the roar of the crowd chanting, "The bourgeoisie to the steam bath!" "Yahia, Ben Bella!"

Omar Aïchoun, chairman of the UGCA, cited the "immense sacrifices" made by Algerian businessmen in fighting the French colonialists. He stressed the fact that the UGCA was "the first" to support the FLN [National Liberation Front].

The dense crowd outside became more vociferous: "The bourgeoisie to the firing squad!" "Vive Ben Bella!" "Vive the Political Bureau!"

Aïchoun came to the balcony and the crowd quieted down. He invited them to shout, "Vive l'UGCA!"

A unanimous roar came back, "Vive Ben Bella!"

Part of the crowd surged forward, breaking through the police lines. Scuffles occurred. The crowd began tearing up banners, setting fire to the cloth and throwing the sticks at the police. *Le Peuple* said, however, that the demonstration did not take an ugly turn at any time.

Aïchoun apologized to those present at the ceremonies for "this mishap," saying that it was due to "a handful of provocateurs."

The report given by *Alger Républicain* indicates that the crowd grew more boisterous:

"All at once the barriers, al-

though solid, were overturned and broken and the forces of order overwhelmed. The door of the UGCA was hastily shut.

"Missiles, originating for the most part from the broken barriers, were thrown in the direction of the balcony where the Venetian shutters had now been drawn. For more than an hour, the crowd in this way manifested its support for the policy of Ben Bella. Each time the police lines were formed, they were as quickly broken . . . The windows of the 'Tatonville' cafe flew to pieces."

### Lassel Makes Fiery Speech

Mustapha Lassel, former national secretary of the UGTA [trade unions], borne aloft on the shoulders of a demonstrator, made a fiery speech. Other union leaders in the midst of the crowd followed up with more speeches.

When Ben Bella heard about the demonstration, according to *Le Monde*, he hurriedly went there in an automobile. Appearing on the balcony, he gestured for silence. The roars of greetings to him died down and he made a short speech.

"My brothers and sisters, I ask you in these days when the Algerian people are united as nowhere else in the world, I ask you to be calm so as not to dig a moat with ill-suited words.

"I want to tell you," he said, "that the Algerian Revolution is not for the merchants, and to be frank, plain, precise, it's the revolution of the fellahs [peasants] and the shoeshiners.

"The small merchants and artisans are not a problem. I think they have a place in Algerian society, on condition that they understand well that . . . [they] must not live . . . from the sweat of the Algerians; we don't want new colonialists. It is necessary that the merchants and artisans understand that the co-operatives are not a danger to the small merchants and that they must share with the poor. We have taken the lands of the Borgeaud's, we will take the properties of the profiteers. I swear before God and the Algerian people, that the Algerian Revolution will be socialist."

[According to *Le Monde*, Ben Bella also said, "Algeria will be socialist. It will have socialism à la Castro. No force in the world can stop the advance of our country along this road."]

The head of the Algerian government took up a number of other points and finally said that he had to leave to meet representatives of President Nasser who were arriving. He asked the demonstrators to return to their homes peacefully.

When Ben Bella left the balcony, the assemblage dispersed. They had made their point.

A key pamphlet

In Defense of the Cuban Revolution

An Answer to the State Department and Theodore Draper

By Joseph Hansen  
32 pages 25¢

PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.



# Letters From Our Readers

## The Kennedy Profile

New York, N.Y.

James Reston, N.Y. Times columnist, wrote on May 9 that President Kennedy is being reminded by his liberal friends, who are worried by his inaction in the Birmingham situation, of his 1960 campaign speeches in which he declared that an American President in the 1960s "would demand more than ringing manifestos from the rear of the battle." "It will demand," he added, "that the president place himself in the very thick of the fight, that he care passionately about the fate of the people he leads, that he be willing to serve them at the risk of incurring their momentary displeasure."

Kennedy's ringing manifesto for the day from the rear of the battle (at Arlington Cemetery) was a statement that "you have to be a free man to be a great artist." Good! How about incurring the

momentary displeasure of the racists in Alabama by extending the thought and saying that to be a free human being you have to at least have elementary civil rights?

Civil rights! After leaving Arlington Cemetery Kennedy paid a visit to the hospital to see congressman Francis Walter, arch enemy of civil rights, co-author of the infamous McCarran-Walter Act and leading member of HUAC. That's how Kennedy shows that he is in the "thick of the fight" and "cares passionately about the fate of the people he leads," in Alabama or anywhere else.

The liberals, who are being used and kicked in the teeth and still come back for more of the same, should throw away *Profiles in Courage* and start writing their own book — *Profile of a Liberal or Lack of Courage*.

Outraged

## Senators and Birmingham

New York, N.Y.

Every once in a while a Senator tells the truth, and when they do it should be well noted. Such is the case with the statements made last week in the Senate by Senator John Sherman Cooper, a Kentucky Republican, and Senator Wayne Morse, Democrat of Oregon, in response to the use of police dogs and power hoses against the predominantly student marchers demonstrating peacefully against segregation in Birmingham, Alabama.

Senator Cooper said both major parties are paying lip service to the cause of civil rights. He attacked the Kennedy administration for not having sought legislative power to act in civil-rights cases such as the one in Birmingham. He said of his own party that he didn't know whether it was for the purpose of getting more votes in the South, but that the Republicans are compromising on the issue of civil rights.

Senator Morse said Birmingham would disgrace the Union of South Africa and Angola. But more important than that, he said that there is already enough authority for the Justice Department to intervene.

I believe these senators are shaken up by all this. As one of them said, we can't believe these demonstrations will end until the demonstrators obtain their constitutional rights.

They should be shaken up. They, too, offered no more than lip service as thousands of young high school students and younger marched, singing songs of freedom and chanting "Don't mind walking because I want my freedom now," as they entered the police patrol wagons with their toothbrushes in their pockets.

P.R.

## A N. Y. Post Analysis

New York, N.Y.

The columnists on the liberal Democratic *New York Post* have an unusual batting average when it comes to deep thinking and incisive analysis. But rarely have I seen an analysis by a *Post* columnist so quickly and so brilliantly confirmed as that of Mary McGroarty who wrote the following in the issue of Sunday, May 12:

"Ten days ago when children were being sent to jail and Negro marchers were facing police dogs and fire hoses, Attorney General

Robert Kennedy made an important decision.

"He decided to send Burke Marshall to Birmingham instead of federal marshals.

"The decision was triumphantly vindicated.

"The marches have stopped, the prisoners are released, the demands have been met. And quiet bespectacled Burke Marshall, a 40-year-old graduate of Yale and Yale Law School, is being hailed as a national hero.

"He not only brought quiet to the city; he set a pattern for negotiating racial differences on a local level without federal intervention by force."

Sunday, May 12, was, of course, the day the racists set off their bombs and all hell bust loose in Birmingham.

H.C.

## From a Veteran Socialist

Milnes Landing, Canada

Was in a shop for fish and chips reading the April 22 *Militant*. We showed our host the front page, *British Peace Marchers Set International Pace*. That led to a few enjoyable minutes of discussion. Where is that paper published, he asked. I replied, that he should give me \$1 and I would send it in for a trial subscription. He was all for the new society and we made a sale.

*The Militant* is the best item of a considerable mail the wife and

I get. We quote it freely and with confidence.

As a greying socialist I miss most of all the class consciousness of the workers — so strong up to the last war. I miss the soapbox and the rebel who always tried to explain, always distributing class ideas and literature.

It is easy to agree with Trotsky that America will finally raise Marxism to its highest level. The American Negroes are contributing a glowing chapter right now. As in most of the world, the young people here are taking hold politically. In Canada we have an amalgam of grievances that Pearson and Co. cannot begin to touch.

We need more labor papers for the heroic, the devoted, the most self-sacrificing comrades whose ranks will swell rapidly in the days ahead. "Back to Lenin" is a good slogan. China will save the Russian Revolution from being betrayed further.

The world is heaving under our feet. More power to *The Militant*.

B. P. Johnson

## Life in Latin America

Denver, Colo.

On Oct. 18, 1962, in the Santa Teresa Women's prison of Guatemala the nuns who run the prison escorted one of the prisoners out to attend her grandmother's funeral. In the evening they returned. The prisoner was very upset and could not be calmed by the efforts of the nuns, so one of the policemen guarding the front

gate was called in. He hit her over the head with his club. The nun commented afterward: "Now the poor thing can get some rest."

In Mexico there are no public orphanages, so the church has taken it upon itself to provide the few that do exist there. With only a few, it was necessary to restrict the intake. They only take in male orphans.

In Vera Cruz, Mexico, there are two jails — one for men, one for women. These are separated by a cement wall. The male prisoners are allowed to have sex relations with their wives or girl friends who come in from the outside. Or, in case the wife is also a prisoner on the other side of the wall, the two are allowed one overnight visit per week. When I asked if this privilege was extended to women prisoners I was told, "No." It might cause a pregnancy.

Shortly after the meeting of the Organization of American States and after the acceptance of the "Alliance for Progress" by Mexico, the Mexican government put into effect certain laws. One of which makes it illegal to discuss Cuban labor unions in Mexican labor union meetings.

In September of 1962, only one bank in Guatemala City would cash a \$20 American Express Traveler's check for me, the Bank of America. They, however, would not cash it for dollars, saying they had none.

E.G.

## 10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"Many people are already aware that McCarthyism must be fought. They are eager to launch a vigorous counter-attack. But, unfortunately, they will get little aid or inspiration from the example of James A. Wechsler, N. Y. *Post* editor, in his responses to McCarthy's smear questions . . . .

"Wechsler's 'brave' stand, as his newspaper has tried to represent it, boils down to his objection to the fact that McCarthy smears some anti-communists as 'Communists.' But Wechsler did not disapprove the persecution and witch-hunting of real Communists. He just wants immunity from political victimization for himself and his associates . . . .

"An effective fight against McCarthyism must begin with an understanding that the political rights and civil liberties of Communists or persons of any other unpopular political persuasion are as sacred as the rights of Republicans and Democrats. We must uphold the Bill of Rights for everyone without exception. We must contest the 'right' of the heresy-hunters and secret political police to investigate anyone for any political views. We must defend positively the rights of all." — May 18, 1953

## 20 YEARS AGO

"May 10 marked the tenth anniversary of the infamous book-burning night when the Nazi party 'cleansed' German culture of 'subversive' literature, including the works of Leon Trotsky . . . .

"Ten years after the Nazi book-burning the American ruling class employed a similar method for suppressing working class protests when it banned *The Militant* from the second class mails and destroyed a number of issues. As far as we know, no demonstrative bonfires have been made of *The Militant*, but this is only because the American labor movement is still strong and capable of defending itself.

"But the authorities in Washington have shown that they share with the Nazis a police mind which thinks that truth and human progress can be prohibited by force.

"That force can delay progress and make the creation of a just society more costly in human lives, is true. But all the night-sticks and all the burning of 'dangerous thoughts' cannot long prop up this capitalist system and its terror, hunger, and bloodshed." — May 15, 1943

## It Was Reported in the Press

**And Rightly So** — Credit-stores in Birmingham reportedly suffered a slowdown of collections while the police were using hoses and dogs against Negro demonstrators. The May 10 *Wall Street Journal* reported that the white proprietor of a jewelry shop said: "A lot of my Negro credit customers have been calling up to say they're afraid to come down and make their payments right now."

**March-of-Civilization Dep't** — The British Royal family is converting the dungeons of Windsor Castle into fallout shelters.

**'Am Not Now and Never Will Be'** — A new Idaho "loyalty" oath requires state employees, including those at the two state universities, to swear that they are not, and for the duration of their employment will not become, members of organizations advocating armed overthrow of the government. University faculty members are planning a legal challenge of the oath. In a speech, Prof. Albert E. Taylor recalled Hitler's legal assumption of power and said: ". . . are we going to suppose that there is no possibility of the need ever arising to overthrow legally constituted authority?"

**Don't Bother to Run** — A proclamation signed by New York's Gov. Rockefeller April 23 and divulged to the public May 11 establishes official state policy in the event of nuclear attack. The policy is to "stay where you are" and take advantage of whatever cover is available.

**Mental Health Dep't** — A lot of people may not be able to secure necessary mental care but some

apparently can afford the most specialized kind of help. According to the May 13 *National Observer*, Dr. Carl Adatto, a New Orleans psychoanalyst, has had a number of golf enthusiasts visit his couch. The *Observer* cites a case history: "A woman had a bad slice. Was it a case of wandering elbow, a wobbly backswing, or a turned wrist? Not at all. Says Dr. Adatto: She was knocking them into the rough because she was subconsciously searching for her deceased mother."

**Hear, Hear!** — In urging the Senate to adopt legislation to curb drug prices, Senator Kevauver declared last month: "What the heads of the drug companies cannot seem to understand is that it is simply immoral to continue to gouge the American people for a product which spells the difference between sickness and health and, indeed, life and death. Since they refuse to recognize this fundamental fact, it is the duty and obligation of the Congress to act."

**Unemployment and Suicides** — Unemployment is a main cause of suicide, according to the findings of a group of university professors. Their study, confirming a previous similar one in Great Britain,

showed that unemployment and suicide rates are closely related. They found the relationship of suicide rates and falling with the jobless rate had held for the 30-year period from 1929 to 1959.

**Opportunity for Some** — Women hold 25 per cent of the federal civil-service jobs, but only two per cent of the top positions, reports Dr. Paul V.P. Van Riper of Cornell University. His study of the situation showed, he said, that in the federal government women "have not achieved anything like equal opportunity with men in competition for the higher executive levels."

**Keeping Record Straight** — On page 69 of its May 13 issue, *Newsweek* reports that Lisa Howard, who did the TV interview with Fidel Castro, told him Kennedy was "a very progressive man." On page 25 of the same *Newsweek*, columnist Walter Lippman explains: "President Kennedy, we must remember, is himself a man of the center . . . by any serious measure and in any other country, he would be called an enlightened conservative." And in any enlightened country, we submit, he would be called a thoroughgoing reactionary.

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**DEMAND NUCLEAR TEST BAN.** Part of crowd of more than 2,000 women on steps of nation's capitol May 7 as Women Strike for Peace staged mass lobbying for halt to tests. Group had arranged for talk by liberal New York Senator Javits. They booed him vigorously when he spoke of "dangers" of test-ban treaty with USSR and red-baited group with dark query about its "political auspices." It was learned later that HUAC, which unsuccessfully sought to smear WSP last October, had warned Congressmen to stay clear of the lobbyists. It was also reported that Senate Internal Security subcommittee had warned Javits that "agitators" in group were preparing to create an "incident."

## Minn. Steel Strike Enters Sixth Week

MINNEAPOLIS, May 8 — Over 600 workers, members of United Steelworkers Local 2175 are now in the sixth week of a strike against Thermo King Corporation, subsidiary of the union-hating Westinghouse Co.

The present strike is the third in five years against this profit-bloated company. Three years ago the workers struck for two weeks and achieved among other notable gains, a health-insurance plan that pays the entire hospital bill together with \$50-a-week compensation.

Job evaluation, supposed to have been instituted two years ago, had not been settled before contract expiration. Agreement has been reached on this issue, finally.

When negotiations began for a new contract, the company threatened to take back the gains which had been achieved in the previous contract, thus provoking the strike.

The workers are struggling to retain all of their previous gains and to win some modest improvements. The company has yielded on some points, but the union wants to tighten the job-security provisions and further improve the wording of the basic agreement.

Before and during the strike the company has conducted a brisk letter-writing campaign to undermine the union and drive a wedge between the negotiating committee and the membership. Supervisory personnel call workers on the telephone to sound out back-to-work sentiment.

There has been no overt strike-breaking, no violence on the picketline, maintained only by token pickets. Union truck drivers honor the picketline, thus stopping the movement of materials in or out. Foremen and other non-union personnel are permitted to work. They are suspected of trying to build units with what materials were on hand, but this has not been proven.

## Castro on TV Makes Offer To Negotiate With Kennedy

Cuban Premier Fidel Castro told an American television audience that he was willing to meet with President Kennedy to discuss all disputes between his country and the U.S. in an effort to end tensions between the two nations.

The statement was made in the course of an exclusive filmed interview which Cuba's revolutionary leader had granted to Lisa Howard, an American journalist, in Havana April 24, shortly before he left for his current visit in the Soviet Union.

The interview was shown over the ABC television network the evening of May 10. Though the network had secured an important news scoop through its enterprising correspondent, it went to ludicrous lengths with disclaimers to forestall charges that by showing the film it was furthering Cuba's cause. Immediately after the interview was completed, two political hacks — Democratic Senator Humphrey and Republican Senator Keating — were put on the screen to negate by their sneering "analyses" the possible effect of Castro's statements on the U.S. public.

### Prisoner Swap

Castro answered some of the questions in halting English but later switched to Spanish and an interpreter.

Asked if the recent prisoner swap showed "a beginning of a rapprochement" between Cuba and the U.S., the Cuban leader replied: "It is possible if we can use it, if the United States wants it, it is the beginning of better relations . . . a way of diminishing tension . . . It's one way — and just as all the other steps that the United States government has given are other steps — like stopping the piratical attacks against Cuba — all these are steps in the right direction I believe they are wise and intelligent steps . . ."



Fidel Castro

Asked if his willingness to discuss issues would include the subject of expropriated U.S.-owned property, Castro answered that his government had already compensated many Cuban businessmen. He added: "If they [the U.S.] want to speak with us about indemnification, in honorable conditions for Cuba and for the U.S., we can speak."

On the subject of Soviet troops in Cuba, Castro emphasized that these were technicians, there for the purpose of training the Cuban personnel and the armed forces and that he thought Cuba would need them "until we are truly and sincerely assured of a policy of peace toward us." He also said: "I think that if we are attacked, these technicians are going to fight with us against any aggressor."

Castro condemned U.S. efforts to negotiate the issue of Soviet troops solely with the USSR, leaving Cuba out of the discussions.

In the Peking-Moscow dispute, Castro saw "no absolute or insoluble contradiction," and likened the dispute to that in the capitalist camp between Kennedy and de Gaulle. "Obviously, our position," he said, "must be to struggle in order to strengthen and improve the relations between these two great countries of the socialist camp."

## Two Special Meetings Are Slated in Cleveland

CLEVELAND — Two important public meetings are slated to be held here.

On Saturday, May 18, the Rev. Albert Cleage, Jr., of Detroit, will speak on *The Future of the Negro in America — Power Through Unity*. The meeting will be held at 8 p.m. at St. Mathew Methodist Church, E. 86th St. and Wade Park, under the auspices of the Freedom Fighters of Ohio. Rev. Cleage is co-founder and contributing editor of *The Illustrated News*, a widely circulated, militant voice in the Negro struggle.

On Sunday, May 19, at 8 p.m. Berman Gibson, a leader of the striking Hazard, Ky., miners, will address a meeting at the Unitarian Society at E. 82nd and Euclid. The meeting is sponsored by the Cleveland Committee to Aid the Striking Kentucky Miners.

"So long as society is founded on injustice, the function of the laws will be to defend and sustain injustice. And the more unjust they are the most respectable they will seem." — Anatole France (1844-1924).

## Drive Opened in Virginia To End Death Penalty

A campaign is underway in Virginia to abolish the death penalty. It has been inspired by the case of Thomas C. Wansley, 18-year-old Negro youth of Lynchburg, sentenced to die in the electric chair June 7.

Wansley was sentenced on a rape charge on the basis of flimsy evidence in a trial marked by unfairness. Civil-rights figures have voiced doubt of his guilt. Carl Braden of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, for example, urged a campaign to save the youth "from dying in a classic frame-up."

Two weeks ago a delegation went to Richmond to see Governor Albertis Harrison to urge clemency for five men under sentence of death. One of these is young Wansley. All the others are white. They include Frank Snider Jr., convicted of rape, execution set for this month; and J. Richard Timmons, charged with murder, execution set for May 31.

Death to Death, as the anti-capital punishment movement calls itself, is asking Virginians to wire or write Gov. Harrison, Executive Mansion, Richmond, immediately, asking him to commute the sentences of these men or to use his influence to win them new trials.



MRS. WILLIE MAE THORNTON is fighting to save her 18-year-old son, Thomas Wansley, from Virginia's electric chair.

It is also asking Virginians to urge their representatives in the state Senate and House of Delegates to repeal the death penalty.

Further information on the cases of Thomas Wansley and the other men facing execution in Virginia, as well as about the whole campaign to end the death penalty may be obtained by writing to: Death to Death, P.O. Box 1152, Lynchburg, Va.

## The 'Plot' to Overthrow Indiana

# Bloomington Case Educating Public

The case of the three officers of the Indiana University branch of the Young Socialist Alliance, indicted on May Day under the state's "subversion" law, began its course through the legal maze on May 9 when the three students appeared in Monroe County Court for arraignment.

The defendants — James Bingham, 25, of Indianapolis, Ralph Levitt, 25, of Indianapolis, and Thomas Morgan, 22, of Terre Haute — who are out on \$1,000 bail each, were represented by Attorney James R. Cotner who has been retained by the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students.

Cotner filed a brief to strike the prejudicial language from the indictment. He also informed the court of his intention to file a motion to quash the proceedings on the grounds that Indiana's Communism Act, under which the YSA students have been indicted, is unconstitutional on its face. The judge set May 23 for the next hearing.

Indiana, long noted for its conservatism and in recent years for strong Goldwater and Birchite influence, has been set abuzz by the case. Socialism has reared its horrendous head right in the heart of the Hoosier state. Though most of the newspapers back Bloomington prosecutor Hoadley's determination to "exterminate" (the actual language of the law) communism and socialism in Indiana, a minority of the press condemns the prosecution as a violation of civil liberties and in some cases are giving a fair reportage of the de-

fendants' views. Thus Prosecutor Hoadley is indirectly responsible for causing thousands of Indianans to read and hear the actual views of socialists for the first time.

For example, Bloomington's *Daily Herald-Telephone* on May 10 carried a verbatim account of an extensive interview with the three defendants. Here are a few of the questions and answers:

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

**A.** Utterly absurd.

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

**A.** No, but some of our members helped.

**Q.** Why?

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

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

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

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

**A.** Students are primarily members as well as young workers.

But you'll find that in the last three years on the campuses across the country there has been a phenomenon called the student movement. This is a rise from the placid, apathetic '50s. Many students are most concerned with the threat of nuclear war, rampant racial discrimination more than 100 years after the Civil War, the fact that over six million Americans are unemployed and live in a state of near poverty, and the anti-colonial revolution taking place all over the world and led by fellow students.



Tom Morgan