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Washington Fans Anti-Cuba Drive

By George Saunders

MAY 19 — The U.S. is stepping up its anti-Cuba drive.

The past week saw a new raid on Cuba's coast, carried out by U.S.-armed, supplied and directed exiles. The U.S. press is playing up extravagant threats by these counter-revolutionary groups of more attacks on Cuba.

At the same time the U.S. Commerce Department imposed even tighter restrictions on shipment of food and medicines to Cuba, extending the embargo to these items, which in theory though not in fact, had previously been exempted. And the U.S.-backed militarist regime in Brazil broke relations with Cuba, setting the stage for a tighter diplomatic squeeze on the revolution.

All this adds up to an attempt by the Johnson administration, with an eye to the elections, to show it is not "soft" on Cuba. The small exile gangs, totally discredited among the people of Cuba, cannot hope to harm Cuba seriously — unless they get U.S. troops to back them.

The U.S. must bear responsibility for the May 13 raid on a sugar mill at Pilon on Cuba's south coast, although — with the usual straight face — the State Department "categorically denied" any U.S. involvement, and specifically that the CIA financed it.

Raid Leader

The facts indicate the opposite. The raid was led by Manuel Artime. Exiles say he "has close relations" with the CIA, according to the May 14 *New York Times*. The U.S. put Artime in charge of the Bay of Pigs invasion. This former Batista supporter, captured in that fiasco, was one of those exchanged for \$29 million worth of drugs. It is ironic that he was sent back on a raid the same week drug shipments are cut off.

Some people, taking State Department statements at face value, assume that raids like this are made by exiles "on their own" from points outside the U.S. However, a similar raid on Cuba's north coast last Oct. 21 was exposed beyond doubt as a direct CIA operation from U.S. territory. And the recent raid on May 13 was carried out by motor launches operating from a mother ship of the "Rex type" just as the October raid was.

The *Rex* was the mother ship



Fidel Castro

in the October raid. It flew a Nicaraguan flag. Cuban defense forces captured two of its raiding boats. CIA agents caught in them revealed details about the *Rex* and its operations.

Summing up this information in an Oct. 31 speech, Castro revealed that the *Rex* operated from West Palm Beach, not Nicaragua, under direction of a CIA agent named "Captain Wally." "Wally" paid the crew, which was headed by Alejandro Bru, a former commander in Batista's navy. U.S. reporters, checking Castro's charges, found that a ship called *Rex* had returned to port at West Palm Beach Oct. 28, with two motor launches missing from their places on the ship. The port operations director acknowledged that the *Rex* probably belonged to the CIA.

Another counter-revolutionary group getting a big play in the papers now is that led by Manuel Ray. Ray was squeezed out of the Bay of Pigs operation as being too "left," supposedly advocating "Fidelismo without Fidel."

State Department approval of Ray's current operations, however, shows that he, too, is now regarded as a reliable counter-revolutionary in Washington. Anyone desirous of preserving any of the gains of the Cuban revolution would get no arms or support from U.S. imperialism. Ray has been indirectly on the U.S. payroll — with a \$10,000 a year "job" with the Puerto Rican government. U.S. authorities permitted Ray's group to train on Puerto Rican soil.

No exile group, whether Ray's or Artime's, could get an attack off the ground or even exist for long without U.S. government support. Washington therefore is responsible for the harm done to the Cuban people and economy by the destructive piratical raids.

The new order that anyone in the U.S. desiring to ship food or medicine to Cuba must first secure an export license ends the feeble pretense that, for "humanitarian" (Continued on Page 6)

NURSING ANTI-POVERTY 'WAR' TILL NOVEMBER

The Target Is 'E' Day — 'E'lection Day

By Art Preis

Writers and bartenders have a loathing for those characters who buy a cup of coffee or a small beer and then occupy a table sometimes for hours "nursing" it. I am reminded of this type by President Lyndon B. Johnson and the "war on poverty" program he's been touting almost since he inherited the lease on the White House.

People who only scan the headlines or skim through the news columns may be forgiven the impression they have received, and Johnson intends to convey, that he has blown the bugle for the last attack, that in the not distant future poverty in the United States will be just an archaic word in the unabridged dictionary.

What they may not have noticed, bedazzled by all that Johnson press agency, is that his "war on poverty" is to be financed by new appropriations totalling only \$500

"Fire New York Police Head For Anti-Negro Activities!"



AS THOUGH SHE WERE A DANGEROUS CRIMINAL. Cambridge rights leader Gloria Richardson leaves bus under armed guard on return from Armory where she was held after being jailed in May 11 street demonstration.

Gas and Bayonets Disperse Cambridge, Md., Protesters

BALTIMORE — Tear gas and bayonets were used in Cambridge, Md., to disperse civil-rights demonstrators who were protesting the presence of the racist governor of Alabama, George Wallace. Fourteen demonstrators, including Gloria Richardson, the leader of the city's Negro community, were arrested the night of May 11 by National Guardsmen sent in to enforce militia law. (Martial law is forbidden by the Maryland constitution.)

Many demonstrators as well as bystanders were made ill by the tear gas and two demonstrators were hospitalized. Some demonstrators showed reporters cuts and bruises inflicted by bayonets and

rough treatment. Two Swedish reporters were arrested when they attempted to go back into the Negro section of town to get their auto.

An earlier demonstration the same evening by 300 demonstrators who marched toward Governor Wallace's rally in the white section of town, was dispersed when the Guard threatened the use of tear gas. This demonstration followed a freedom rally which heard such militant Negro leaders as Lawrence Landry, leader of the Chicago school boycott and president of ACT, the new coalition of civil-rights leaders; Stanley Branche, head of the (Continued on Page 6)

Socialist Nominee Urges Ouster of Commissioner

NEW YORK, May 19 — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the United States, today demanded the removal from office of New York City Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy on the grounds of "anti-Negro activities" and "the fabrication by Murphy's police department of the 'hate gang' hoax in Harlem."

DeBerry called for a united campaign "by all forces in the struggle for Negro and Puerto

NEW YORK TIMES REFUTED. The Harlem social agency, HARYOU, branded the Times story of "hate gang" in Harlem as without basis in fact. For text of HARYOU statement see page 2.

Rican equality for Murphy's ouster."

In a statement issued through his national campaign headquarters here, DeBerry said the "story about a gang of Negro youths trained by 'dissident Black Muslims' and dedicated to murdering white persons in Harlem is a complete fabrication, manufactured out of whole cloth by Murphy's police and certain daily papers."

DeBerry said Murphy had proven himself to be "involved in the most irresponsible sort of activity — a conspiracy to lie to the public, to whip up anti-Negro hysteria, and to justify police violence against Negroes and Puerto Ricans."

The Negro presidential candidate pointed out that the stories about an organized anti-white murder gang have been flatly denied by all responsible social agencies in a position to know the situation among the youth of Harlem. (See text of statement by HARYOU on page 2.)

"One reason the police officials manufactured this 'hate gang' hoax," said DeBerry, "was to throw a smokescreen over the cases of police brutality which the civil-rights and Puerto Rican organizations have been exposing recently, and to bury the demand for an independent citizen's review board to investigate charges of police brutality."

DeBerry cited the recent killings of three Puerto Ricans by police. (Continued on Page 2)

Ga. Negro Woman Charges Abduction

MILDGEVILLE, Ga., May 2 — A Negro mother of two teen-age boys has sworn out a warrant for the arrest of a white man who, she charged, abducted her and her sons.

The mother asserts that the man stopped the car in which she and her sons were riding and took them to his home where he asked his wife if the two boys were the ones who had allegedly whistled at her. The man's wife reportedly said they were not.

The man was released on bond pending a hearing by the grand jury which meets in July, said Leon Cox, executive secretary of the Atlanta NAACP branch, who journeyed here to assist the mother.

fund in Johnson's January budget message.

One of the big deals Johnson has promised in his poverty program is to train a half-million unemployed, mainly youth, in "new skills." Now, I'm a great believer in education but I was somewhat taken aback when I read what Sargent Shriver, who is related by marriage to the semi-billionaire Kennedy family and who heads the poverty program, told a conference of 100 leading corporation executives. He said that \$300 million of the \$500 million is going to train youths for jobs — "training which will be a failure unless the young people who go into it know they will go to work when they graduate." It seems they will be trained for jobs that don't exist.

In fact, Shriver noted, businesses used to train new workers right on the job and this was especially

(Continued on Page 6)

SCEF Leaders Score Role ... Demands Ouster of New York Police Head

HAPEVILLE, Ga. — "Upside-down justice" in Albany, Ga., was assailed by the board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund at its semi-annual meeting here over the May 17 week end.

The board called upon the Department of Justice to confess error in the conviction and sentencing of leaders and members of the Albany Movement in U.S. District Court.

SCEF, a Southwide civil-rights group based in New Orleans, charged that numerous instances of police brutality against integrationists "have been ignored by the U.S. Department of Justice and the federal grand juries" in Southwest Georgia.

"Yet these same federal agencies move swiftly against members of the Albany Movement after they picketed for one hour the supermarket of a friend of leading politicians in Southwest Georgia."

The SCEF leaders urged President Johnson to "use his influence to right this wrong." They also called upon Johnson and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to protect students and others aiding in voter-registration in the South this summer.

Mississippi Project

"We are especially concerned about the safety of some 1,000 young people who are following the call of conscience to go into Mississippi to aid in voter registration, community work, and tutoring of underprivileged students," the board said.

"We call upon the President and the Attorney General, as head of the Justice Department, to use their powers to the fullest extent to protect the nonviolent. We ask that this be done through the use of federal marshals, augmented by federal troops if necessary. We ask that the private armies of Gov. George Wallace and other officials be abolished."

SCEF also renewed for the fourth year a grant to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to finance work on



Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth

white college campuses in the South. It voted support of a new student organization growing out of this work, the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SS-OC).

President of SCEF is the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, leader of the civil-rights movement in Birmingham, Ala., and secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He presided at the board meeting.

De Gregory Still Target Of N.H. Witch-Hunters

CONCORD, N.H., May 19 — Hugo De Gregory's ten-year fight against the power of New Hampshire legislative committees to inquire into his personal beliefs and associations will continue at Merrimack County Superior Court tomorrow. De Gregory will then be charged with contempt of the state legislature for his refusal on November 22 to answer questions about his past associations and activities.

After exhausting all legal remedies to remain silent — after his case had been in the New Hampshire Supreme Court seven times and in the U.S. Supreme Court twice — he yielded and swore on Nov. 12, 1963 that he is not a member of the Communist Party. He refused, however, to name any associates, and so his persecution by Attorney-General William Maynard, New Hampshire's one-man legislative investigating committee, continues.

(Continued from Page 1)
In all these instances, the police involved were, as is customary, completely cleared despite widespread protests.

"Incidents such as these," said DeBerry "do not stem from civil-rights demonstrations. They are just the everyday result of prejudice and abuse of authority by individual cops. This problem, which has been with us a long time, is reason enough for a citizens' review board. But recently top officials of the police department, especially Commissioner Murphy, have created a new problem and greatly magnified the incidence of police brutality and the danger of irresponsible police violence."

"In an apparently ignorant and hysterical reaction to the growing struggle for Negro equality," DeBerry said, "Commissioner Murphy has launched a concerted campaign to slander the more militant civil-rights leaders, to fan the open and latent anti-Negro prejudice of most white cops, and to prepare for massive repressions — Southern style — of the civil-rights movement."

Communion Message

He cited Murphy's March 15 speech at a communion breakfast for 6,000 policemen here. At that time Murphy denounced as "irresponsible" three of the more militant Negro leaders: black nationalist spokesman Malcolm X, Harlem rent-strike leader Jesse Gray, and Herbert Callender, chairman of Bronx CORE which was involved in mass protests against police brutality.

The Commissioner warned his audience against civil-rights leaders who have "sinister motives" and are out to "create chaos in the community" according to some "bloody blueprint."

That speech, said DeBerry, "was a thinly veiled incitement of the cops to violence against civil-rights demonstrators." At that time DeBerry wrote an article for *The Militant* (March 23) warning of "the possibility of a frame-up — aimed most probably at Malcolm X."

In today's statement, DeBerry said that on April 28 the commissioner "made another of his speeches claiming that the police department was being subjected to a 'planned pattern of attack' in connection with civil-rights demonstrations." DeBerry pointed out that Murphy had also made a speech May 6, at the height of the "hate gang" slander, denouncing a proposal by civil-rights leaders for a civilian review board on police brutality.

"The truth is," said DeBerry, "that the people in the ghettos are fed up with the double standard

Social Agency Refutes N.Y. Times

[On May 6 the *New York Times* reported that a researcher for HARYOU (Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited), a social agency partially subsidized by the federal government, had confirmed that a "hate" gang had been organized in Harlem for the purpose of attacking whites. On May 7 HARYOU issued a denial of the *Times* story. A part of the denial was buried on an inside page of the *Times*. The following is the complete text of the HARYOU statement.]

The story reported in the *New York Times* of May 6, 1964 attributing to a researcher of Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited information indicating the existence of a Harlem gang or gangs indoctrinated and trained by dissident Black Muslims and dedicated to organized anti-white activity has no basis in fact.

The first point of fact is that there is nothing in the data collected by the HARYOU research staff which would support the contention that there exists in the Harlem community a group or groups of young people who are dedicated to organized anti-white violence. The materials and tapes collected by the HARYOU staff do document a general concern of the young people with such specific problems in the community as inadequate education, blocked job opportunities, lack of recreational facilities, poor housing, and alleged police brutality. There is considerable evidence of deep alienation and despair and increasing anti-white feelings among the young people of Central Harlem. This fact has been documented in the HARYOU report, "Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness and a Blueprint for Change."

It must be repeated, however, that there is no specific evidence in the HARYOU files which supports the contention of the existence of an organized anti-white gang in the community and no such statement was made by a HARYOU staff member.

A junior member of the research and program staff of HARYOU did talk with a reporter of the *New York Times* on Tuesday, May 5, 1964. This interview, which was also attended by another person, dealt with the young people's intense concern with allegations of mistreatment by the police. The issue of the existence of an anti-white gang in the Harlem community was raised in the form of questions by the *New York Times* reporter. The HARYOU staff member asserts that his response to these questions was that he had heard rumors to the effect that such a group existed but that he did not have any evidence of their existence.

of law enforcement whereby police break into apartments to help slumlords evict tenants, but find every excuse in the book to avoid enforcing the laws against rats, slumlords, segregation and police brutality. Murphy's reaction to this is the typical reaction of an ignorant, prejudiced, narrow, police mind. He tries to explain away as some kind of 'conspiracy,' what is really a widespread and general revulsion at the role of the police in ghetto life. It is dangerous to have such a man as police commissioner at a time like this."

Raid On Rifle Club

DeBerry cited the May 12 raid on the Tri-Pod Rifle Club in Harlem as another indication of "the outright racial prejudice under Murphy." The socialist candidate pointed out that the Tri-Pod club was identical in every respect to over a hundred other such marksmanship clubs in the city, except that it was composed of Negroes. "He didn't order the other clubs raided," said DeBerry, "only the Negro one."

DeBerry called for a united effort of all civil-rights forces behind the demand for a civilian review board, "with representatives of civil-rights and Puerto Rican groups sitting on it." Such a board, he said, should have "watchdog committees" which will "be available to the ordinary Negro and Puerto Rican right in the ghetto areas, so that complaints can be made any time and somebody can get down to the station to make sure nobody gets beaten up." He said such a board should have the power to subpoena police and to inspect prisoners in stations.

The "hate-gang" scare, which occupied headlines in New York City until last week, began when police arrested six youths and charged them with the April 29 murder of a white storekeeper in Harlem. So far, no evidence directly linking the six youths with that murder has been revealed. Newspapers, however, reported police claims that the six were members of a gang trained by

"dissident Black Muslims" to murder whites.

In today's statement, DeBerry also said it "is in the vital interests of the entire Harlem community to watch closely the treatment accorded the six accused youths, to make sure they have adequate legal representation, and to guard against their trial being turned into a propaganda circus in which the Negro community will be slandered and militant civil-rights forces framed-up."

During the newspaper hysteria about the "hate gang," an ominous statement was made by Queens District Attorney Frank D. O'Connor. He announced May 8 that he was "watching statements and actions by Malcolm X very closely" and accused the black nationalist spokesman of inciting to violence.

Helps Build Scare

Another boost to the hysteria was given by Eric M. Javits, candidate for the Republican nomination for State Senator and nephew of U.S. Senator Jacob K. Javits. He called May 9 for a grand jury investigation of the alleged gang.

All the civil-rights groups, however, denounced the stories about the "hate gang." The New York Branch of the NAACP, for example, challenged the police to "produce the facts to justify the hysteria that has been created."

The real source of the tension in Harlem was indicated by a white merchant quoted in the May 7 *New York Times* as saying: "Years ago, when I first came to Harlem, I thought that you should never show a Negro you're afraid of him. Talk tough, I always thought, and he'll respect you. So I used to talk tough, and I never had any trouble. But today, you talk tough — and they get vicious."

The new situation is simply that the people of Harlem aren't going to be pushed around any more without fighting back. The police, among others, so far have not adjusted themselves to that historic change.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

RACISM AND REVOLT IN SOUTH AFRICA. Speaker, Tom Warren. Fri., May 29, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Aisp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

HEAR SOCIALIST VIEWS ON RADIO. Every Monday, 7:15-7:30 p.m. Station WQRS-FM (105.1).

LOS ANGELES

JUNE 5 — ROBERT BURKART, Organization Co-ordinator, Western Region, United Auto Workers, will speak on the Effects of Cybernation and Automation on American Labor and Industry. Fri., June 5, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Fri., May 29, 6:45 p.m. KPFF-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

Symposium on WHAT'S BEHIND THE HARLEM "HATE-GANG" SCARE. Panelists: CLIFTON DeBERRY, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party; JUNIUS GRIFFIN, author of the N. Y. Times series on the Harlem "hate-gangs"; QUENTIN HAND, Assistant Director, Harlem Action Group; WILLIAM REED, representative of New York CORE; JAMES SHABAZZ, aide to Minister Malcolm X and accused of being "legal advisor" to the "hate-gang." Fri., May 29, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5 — MARC D. SCHLEIFER, answers questions from a panel of artists on Art and Socialism.

THE TRAGEDY of VIETNAM

Where Do We Go From Here?

by Helen B. Lamb

In this pamphlet an economist long familiar with the Far East, deals authoritatively with such questions as:

- Why are Americans fighting and dying in Vietnam?
- Which "freedoms" and whose are at stake in this war?
- Who divided Vietnam into North and South and why?
- Who backs the Liberation Front of the Guerrillas and its program?
- What is the meaning of "Neutralism" for South Vietnam?
- How can the fighting be stopped and peace established?

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15, \$1; 50 or more 40% discount.

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Lovell Hits Mich. Hate Sheet As Attempt to Smear SWP

DETROIT, May 11 — In a statement today, Frank Lovell, state chairman of the Socialist Workers Party and candidate for governor, disclaimed any connection between his party's publications and the "hate letter" cited in the May 10 *Detroit News*. The hate letter, titled "The Michigan Militant," was widely circulated in Detroit and in other midwest cities. In it is a "death list" and "punishment list" aimed at "erring communists" for their failure to carry out "revolutionary violence" and terror.

"We do not believe in individualistic acts of terrorism or violence," said Lovell. "We have a program for socialism and we are trying to win over the majority of the working people to this program, which will provide answers to unemployment, poverty, nuclear and 'limited' war and to race prejudice. These problems are generated by capitalism, and in our view, capitalism cannot be changed and replaced by socialism until the mass of people desire this. In the meantime we support existing struggles for freedom and justice and educate workers about the society in which they live. It is precisely because this hate letter is designed to antagonize, and not win, workers to a socialist viewpoint, that we believe this letter to be the product of right-wingers attempting to smear our party and press and the labor and Negro cause in general."

In Michigan, in 1960, the Socialist Workers Party published a weekly "Michigan Militant" news-



Frank Lovell

letter. Nationally, the party is in agreement with the views expressed in the socialist newspaper, *The Militant*.

"It is not only the similar titles which show this letter as a right-wing smear of our organization," Lovell added. "The pose of 'left-wing critic' of the Communist Party by this phony letter is designed to link us to the letter too. It is known that our party supports many of the ideas of Leon Trotsky, who was a severe critic of the Communist Party and of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union."

Brooklyn Negroes Charge Cop Tried to Choke Woman

By Bob Greger

BROOKLYN, May 18 — According to nine witnesses, a policeman of the 81st Precinct started choking an old lady in an empty doorway early in the afternoon of Saturday, May 9.

Perhaps he was trying to convince her that cries of "police brutality" are, as Police Commissioner Murphy maintains, part of a communist plot to hamper New York cops. But the crowd that rapidly gathered on Broadway near Gates Ave. in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area, Brooklyn's Negro ghetto, saw it differently.

"You wouldn't do that if she were white," called out Mrs. Mary Wright, a 28-year-old expectant mother. The policeman turned from mauling the old woman and

struck Mrs. Wright in the face. Frightened, she started running down the street, the cop in pursuit. A white bystander attempted to hold him back, but he was shaken off. The cop caught the pregnant woman and then, witnesses say, started choking her.

The crowd grew larger and tried to intervene. The policeman got a bloody nose in the ensuing scuffle. He thereupon singled out 16-year-old Raphael Johnson and pulled him from the crowd.

The old woman, whose mistreatment started the whole affair, was accused by police of selling flowers for Mother's Day without a license.

Mrs. Wright went to the police precinct to protest young Johnson's arrest and the mistreatment she had received. Upon making her complaint, she was arrested.

When Johnson got out later on \$500 bail, he displayed numerous bruises covering his face and body. He claimed four cops had beaten him in the station house. Witnesses to his arrest say he was unmarked before being taken to the police station.

Picket Line

On May 15, the next Friday, ten members of Brooklyn CORE started a picket line in front of the 81st Precinct station. It swelled steadily to 300, as residents of the community spontaneously joined the demonstrators. The line continued from 4 in the afternoon till 10 that night. The picket signs read: "New York's Finest Is New York's Worst!" and "It Will Be Worse, July 1st!" That is the date when New York's new "No-Knock" and "Stop-and-Frisk" laws become effective.

This latest instance of police brutality has spurred Brooklyn CORE to draw up a program of action. It includes petitions demanding the arrest of the policeman involved for felonious assault; picketing, beginning June 1, at selected police precincts all over the city; and a mass turnout from the community at the June 15 trial of Johnson and Mrs. Wright.

Agribusiness and Its Workers

America's New Plantations

By Constance Weissman

"There is no better place to begin the war against poverty than in the fields where migrants harvest the crops they cannot afford to buy," writes A. Philip Randolph in a letter to the *New York Times* of March 20. Randolph went on to protest the paying of 55 to 65 cents an hour to agricultural workers from the British West Indies harvesting the Florida crops. He points out that Florida is surrounded by Southern states where unemployment is very high. Last July, the Bureau of Employment Security set a minimum wage of 95 cents an hour to protect domestic farm workers in the area. Under pressure from Florida senators, the White House suspended this 95 cent wage until after the harvest in April. Hence the importation of West Indian workers to Florida.

Randolph, who is a vice president of the AFL-CIO, signed his letter as co-chairman of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor. This committee has issued a pamphlet entitled *Agribusiness and Its Workers*, in which it points out that farm workers have the lowest wage rates and total wages and the highest unemployment rates of any group in the U.S. working force.

These "forgotten Americans" worked an average of 137 days in 1962 if they were not migratory; 116 days if migratory. Furthermore, farm labor families are plagued by diseases related to poor diet and unsanitary living and working conditions. Their work is one of the three most dangerous occupations in terms of job-connected accidents.

Hundreds and thousands of children, many of them not yet teen-agers, work in the fields, often on days when they should be in school.

Youngsters Working

"I saw families working — father, mother, older children, and youngsters who could not have been more than eight or nine," one account in the report relates. "Hanging down from their belts and between their legs were open sacks into which they thrust potatoes with unbelievable speed. The hands of the adults moved like machines, each hand seemingly guided by a separate force. Some moved so rapidly it was hard to follow them. The young children worked at a slower pace, and as the sacks grew heavy they found them more and more difficult to drag . . . As I watched them work, my companion told me that several weeks earlier a baby had died in a prune orchard. Its parents had been picking and the baby, a six-weeks old infant, was lying on a blanket nearby. The coroner said death was from malnutrition and too much exposure to heat."

Farm workers live in squalid, insect-infested shanties. In Hightstown, New Jersey, less than 100 miles from New York City, seven men and women tomato pickers — none of them related — were found living in filth in a ten-foot square tarpaper shack for which they were charged \$10 a week for rent. Some of the states, like California, that pride themselves on their fine new housing for farm workers, have built it all barracks-like, for single men, with no provision for their families.

One of the scandalous aspects of the farm workers' plight is that they are deliberately excluded from the legal protections that other U.S. workers have acquired — such as a minimum wage, a ban on child labor, a guarantee of the right to organize in unions, disability insurance and workmen's compensation.

Given such conditions, why does anyone apply for farm labor? "The answer is often lack of any alternative means of earning a living. Some farm workers are



Photo courtesy Nat'l Committee on Farm Labor

FARM SCENE, USA. Huge farm owners pay field workers minimum subsistence wages and provide no daytime accommodations for children.

born to it, disadvantaged as children, and lacking the elementary training to move into other work. Some are forced into it: the dust-bowl tragedy moved many Anglos off dead land and after crops wherever they might be; and as the agricultural revolution liquidates sharecropping and as marginal small farmers go under, they try to stick to the work they know.

"Some have additional disadvantages which aggravate their poverty and ignorance. It is no coincidence that most migrants and seasonal workers in agriculture today are either Negroes or Mexican-Americans . . . Seasonal workers in agriculture tend to be the poorest and most defenseless of the work force: people with limited access to other occupations, with little education or opportunity for education; people handicapped by race, language, and cultural differences."

Farm employers testify that they have to import foreign workers because Americans won't do "stoop" labor. This is not true. American workers work at many jobs that are just as hot and dirty, just as backbreaking as farm labor. Nor is it right to complain that there are not enough farm workers available. The truth is there is not enough work to go around, ill-rewarded though it is.

Everyone knows that the family farm where the hired man was a social equal to the farmer has died out before the tremendous productivity of the mechanized farm. The latter, called a "plantation," depends on a plentiful supply of cheap labor. Plantation owners have seen to it that the government gives them unlimited freedom to fix wages and hours and keep out unionism and social benefits for the workers.

One-third of the people who made their living as farmers have been forced off the land in the last ten years because they could not make a living. They have to choose between low-paid and sporadic employment in agriculture and the diminishing number of unskilled non-farm jobs.

Meantime, the plantations are in some cases so fabulously big as to defy imagination. For instance, one, in California, owns 2,800 square miles of land. Owners include such giant corporations as Standard Oil and the Southern Pacific Railroad who are thus employers of farm labor. In many cases, it was the government which, by building dams, out of American taxpayers' money, made the land productive. Yet these mighty corporations are exempt from social security and unemployment compensation taxes. They are pressing for the importation of foreign workers and, of course, do not pay a minimum wage.

Arkansas has some of the richest soil in the nation and is a leading cotton producer. The large cotton plantations paid the lowest wages in the U.S. — 30 cents an hour or \$3 for a ten-hour day (not counting travel time although many of the workers came across the river from Memphis). Human labor was cheaper than machinery from 1950 to 1960 and the present mechanization in the area is the employers' answer to attempts to raise substandard wages of the exploited workers.

In case anyone wonders how people can be persuaded to work for 30 cents an hour: the answer is in a headline in a local paper in St. Francis County, Arkansas: "County Judge Slashes Surplus Food List to Provide Local Labor for Cotton Harvest."

The big corporate growers call the domestic workers unreliable and winos, undeserving of decent wages. A California worker comments: "They call us tramps, yeah, they call us tramps, winos, anything else. But if it wasn't for us tramps, that they call us, you would not have no clothes, no food, no sugar, no nothing. We have to go out and make it, thin it, pick it, gather it . . . If it wasn't for us tramps the city people would be in one awful fix."

Answers Bosses

Agribusiness and Its Workers answers all the usual arguments the employers use against decent wages, such as increase of farmers' costs (the increase is in cost of machinery, not labor); the contention that farmers' expenses are more "fixed" than those of other businesses (why is the cost of a tractor more "fixed" than the cost of steel?)

It is an illusion to think — as the giant farm monopolists demagogically claim — that the family farm is threatened if farm workers are included in social legislation. Low wages make it harder for small farmers to compete. They are threatened by competition with low-wage labor.

The charge that farm workers are responsible for their own miserable conditions is not true. They have tried to unionize, they have testified at government hearings, but they are powerless because of their poverty and lack of political and economic organizations — because the AFL-CIO has failed so far to really throw its weight behind them with an all-out organizing drive.

Copies of the 48-page illustrated booklet, *Agribusiness and Its Workers* may be obtained from the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, 112 East 19th St., New York, N.Y. 10003.

No price has been put on the pamphlet but the committee will appreciate a contribution of 25 cents a copy to help defray the cost of publication.

L.A. Forum Will Hear Unionist on Automation

LOS ANGELES — The effects of cybernation and automation upon labor, the civil-rights movement and industry will be discussed at the Militant Labor Forum, 1702 E. 4th St., Friday, June 5 at 8:30 p.m. Featured speaker will be Robert Burkart, Organizing Department Co-ordinator for the Western Region of the United Auto Workers Union. His years of experience as a UAW organizer have afforded him first-hand knowledge of the problems caused by the rapid advance of automation.

The subject is related to a 27-page memorandum submitted recently to President Johnson by some 30 prominent persons, including such figures as Gunnar Myrdal, Linus Pauling, W. H. Ferry, William Worthy, James Boggs, Ralph Helstein, and Michael Harrington, constituting the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution. Their document contends the U.S. faces a crisis of growing poverty and unemployment in the midst of an economy of potential abundance.

THE MILITANT

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George Meany — Hypocrite

AFL-CIO President George Meany proved himself a liar and a hypocrite when he finally made a public statement, May 14, on the racist walkout by white plumbers at the Bronx Terminal Market site. The plumbers — members of Meany's own Plumbers Local 2 — had walked off the job April 30 in a refusal to work with one Negro and three Puerto Rican plumbers hired by the contractor at the request of the New York City Human Rights Commission.

The Negro and Puerto Rican plumbers had tried in vain to get into Local 2. They had been forced — by the racist, job-trust policies of the local — to go to the city agency and the employer in order to get a unionized job.

Instead of demanding an end to the local's policy of racial exclusion, Meany made a statement of all-out support to the racist walkout. Like the local's officials, he tried to justify it as a simple refusal to work with non-union men. Meany lied when he said the four plumbers had never applied for union membership. "We have no record of this," he said, as if such lily-white job-trusts keep a record of each time they give the runaround to somebody who tries to join. The simple facts give the lie to Meany. Local 2 is in an area where the Negro and Puerto Rican population exceeds 20 per cent of the total, yet of its 4,100 members only an estimated three to 16 are from these minorities.

The situation was brought to a head by the civil-rights forces in New York City which organized a sit-in at the Local 2 headquarters, blocking its entrance. On May 15 a "compromise" was worked out by Meany, Mayor Wagner and the City Human Rights Commission, whereby the four non-white plumbers would be given a test in plumbing by the local and, if they passed would be allowed to join the union and work on the Terminal Market construction site.

Plan Legal Challenge

The lawyers for the four at first rejected the proposal for tests — later unsuccessfully taken by three of the men. They correctly pointed out that as long as the racist union officials controlled hiring, no significant number of non-whites would ever be admitted. The lawyers say they plan to challenge the union's control over hiring and insist on enforcement of the Taft-Hartley Act's ban on such control.

The union has only itself to blame for this challenge. As long as the unions abuse their control of hiring to exclude non-whites — and, incidentally, to exclude young people in general who don't have some sort of pull with the union officials — the unions can only expect more such challenges. Indeed, those unions which have made themselves into lily-white job trusts, are creating a reservoir of bitterness among the excluded which can be used by the employers when they choose to take that road, to break strikes.

As for Meany, he knows full well that Local 2 maintains a job trust by excluding, on one pretense or another, all but a trickle of those who apply for membership or apprenticeship, and that this has the effect of excluding virtually all non-white applicants. He knows full well that the "tests" given by such job-trust locals bear a close resemblance in effect to the "literacy" tests designed by Southern registrars to exclude Negroes from voting.

Meany knows the racist policy of Local 2. He has known about it for years. He participated in it as an officer of the local. And when that policy is brought into the glare of publicity, he resorts to a crude subterfuge to justify that racism. All his pronouncements about fair play and equal rights are so much hypocritical hogwash. He has proven that he belongs in racist Local 2, but he doesn't belong at the head of the AFL-CIO.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
St. Louis	\$ 100	\$ 80	80
Detroit	1,000	792	79
Chicago	1,800	1,400	77
Boston	850	651	77
Denver	250	192	77
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	870	73
Baltimore	150	110	73
New York	5,800	3,869	67
San Diego	350	226	65
Philadelphia	300	175	58
Allentown	150	75	50
Milwaukee	350	150	43
Seattle	600	217	36
Los Angeles	5,000	1,727	35
San Francisco	800	263	33
Cleveland	600	191	32
Newark	250	62	24
Oakland-Berkeley	500	107	21
Connecticut	200	00	00
General	300	196	65
Totals through April 19	\$20,550	\$11,354	55

U.S.-VIETNAM COMMUTER

Are McNamara Trips Losing War?

By Joseph Keller

Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara is losing South Vietnam for us! That's as plain as the nose on Jimmy Durante's face. McNamara just made his fifth visit in two years to South Vietnam and if the outcome is the same as followed his previous visits he'll have to make the sixth trip pretty soon if he ever wants to get in again.

As Hedrick Smith explained it in the May 10 *New York Times*, McNamara's junket was intended to "speed up" the war against the winning peasant guerrillas, "but his visit will slow things down temporarily in some of the most critical areas."

Key Areas

Just how critical these areas are was summarized by Smith's colleague C. L. Sulzberger in the May 9 *Times*. In a piece recalling the French defeat just ten years ago at the hands of the same Vietnamese peasant fighters, Sulzberger observes, "Like the French, we have proved unable to capture the allegiance of the Vietnamese people. The pace of fighting intensifies and we seem immutably to be heading toward disaster."

But to get back to McNamara and his personal contribution to this disaster. McNamara's visits, reports *Times* correspondent Smith, "inevitably become major projects for United States officials in the field and they disrupt normal activities."

This time, writes Smith, McNamara sent word ahead "to cut out cocktail parties, receptions and entertainment." But the American military "advisers" and civilian officials aren't paying heed. Smith reports that "the Secretary may not realize what an electric effect the word of his coming has in South Vietnam. Military advisers regard it as an exhausting exercise to prepare for one of his wide-ranging question-and-answer sessions."

Wants to Know

It's not hard to imagine those prosecuting attorney questions McNamara has been shooting out on each of his trips, like, "How come you're letting these peasants run all over you?" and "Don't you know what this is doing to Washington's prestige?"

Smith reports also what happened in connection with McNamara's visit last December. It seems that the American "advisers" in "13 critical provinces" were "already complaining that the burden of filing regular weekly, monthly, quarterly and annual reports . . . was interfering with their regular jobs of advising the Vietnamese." But they were told

SOCIALIST FUND

It's Time for That Final Spurt

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

The Socialist Workers Party fund drive goes into its last month with a decided lag in payments. However, every city listed has given assurance that its quota will be fulfilled, and on time.

As the SWP candidates, DeBerry and Shaw, continue their campaigns in this presidential election, they are drawing more and more new people toward the socialist program. These new people must be reached with socialist literature of all kinds, with more speakers, more teachers.

All of this takes money. The truth is a precious commodity, but it is also an expensive one. Printers take a very dim view of people who don't pay their bills — no matter what their politics. Landlords also like their rent — on the first of the month. The



McNamara

the "McNamara visit required special reports."

Maybe, this time McNamara didn't disrupt the war effort as much as before because it is reported he stayed safely out of the combat area and only in Saigon. And, for the ride from the airport, he prudently donned bullet-proof clothing. Nevertheless, the Pentagon "insisted that his trip did not indicate any sudden deterioration in the Vietnamese situation."

Of course, there are other serious imponderables in the situation besides the effects of McNamara's visits. Take what happened to Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, while he was advising the nominal head of the South Vietnamese government on May 11. According to a Saigon dispatch in the May 12 *Times*, Gen. Taylor "went to play tennis with the South Vietnamese Chief

of State, Gen. Duong Van Minh, but a sudden rain washed out the game."

Everything seems to be working against us, including the weather and most of the Vietnamese people.

It would be unfair, of course, to say that McNamara is the only one who's been disrupting the war effort. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy visited Saigon a while back, as did Lyndon B. Johnson, when he was vice president, and both of them gave glowing testimonials to the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem and assured us of that dictator-president's popularity not long before the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency gave him the coup de grace.

'Little Caesar'

The latest savior of U.S. "prestige" in South Vietnam is a cruddy strutting little Caesar, Gen. Nguyen Khanh, who was in the pay of the French imperialists and got his military training from them before the Vietnamese peasants in arms beat the hell out of a French army of 200,000 and crushed the French despoilers at Dienbienphu.

Unfortunately, imperialists seldom learn from experience. McNamara's trips are designed to stir up an even more murderous onslaught on the Vietnamese people and achieve on the cheap what the French could not do with immensely greater forces. McNamara is trying to con the American people into thinking that Khanh is the man who can save South Vietnam "for us." But it is a safe bet that McNamara's junkets don't impress the Vietnamese people one bit and only intensify their hatred of the Khanh regime as a foreign tool.

New Jewish Group Demands Slumlords' Excommunication

NEW YORK — A Jewish youth group, which calls itself the Zealots, picketed the New York Board of Rabbis April 29. They demanded the excommunication of those Jewish slumlords who are guilty of practices which "bring anguish to the lives of thousands of slum-dwellers."

Terming itself a pan-Semitic Brotherhood, the group considers itself a continuator of a tradition going back to the first century A.D. when Jewish artisans and laborers led a rebellion against Roman occupation and the collaborationist leadership of the Jewish community. Among their spiritual forebears, the Zealots list Isaiah, Jesus, Mohammed, Spinoza, Marx, Emma Goldman, Rosa

Luxemburg, Trotsky, Sergei Eisenstein, and the Warsaw Ghetto fighters.

The Zealots also say they are pledged to work for a brotherhood of Arabs and Jews in the Near East, and to cleanse the Jewish community in America of exploiters of the poor.

Prior to the April 29 picketing, the Zealots had submitted to the rabbis a roster of some 250 landlords with 500 slum properties in Harlem and the Lower East Side. They had tried unsuccessfully to arrange a meeting with Rabbi Harold Gordon, head of the Board of Rabbis.

Picket Signs

The Zealots demonstrated with signs such as "Jerusalem is not a 15 per cent rent increase" and "Better the Poor People of the Book than the Bookkeepers of the Poor."

Among those on the Zealots' picket line were: poet Marc Schleifer, who has written and lectured about Cuba, and who edited Robert F. Williams' book, *Negroes With Guns*; avant-garde film-makers Jack Smith and Ken Jacobs; David Gurin, a young city planner; and writers Norman Fruchter, Hank Heifetz and David Beady.

"The fear of anti-Semitism is the guiding principle of a corrupt Jewish community. Only freedom and service can be our guiding principles," proclaimed a leaflet distributed at the demonstration.

"The Zealots is not an organization. But there are dues to be paid. In deeds."

"Journalism in America is the business and practice of presenting the news of the day in the interest of economic privilege." — Upton Sinclair, American author. (b. 1878).

A Discussion of Malcolm X's Views

Going to UN Can Help, But It's No Cure-All

By George Breitman

Malcolm X says that the Negro people's demand for freedom and equality must be "taken out of the hands" of the U.S. government because the government is controlled by the same forces that oppress the Negro. The alternative is for the Negro to take his case to the United Nations, he said in his April 8 speech at the Militant Labor Forum in New York (printed in the April 27 *Militant*).

His line of reasoning was as follows:

The Negro should change the emphasis in his struggle from "civil rights" (rights of citizens) to "human rights." "We must have human rights before we can secure civil rights. We must be respected as humans before we can be recognized as citizens." The Negro should take his fight not to Washington, where the "court" is controlled by the criminal and rigged against the Negro victim of the criminal, but to the United Nations.

"Once it [the Negro struggle] is expanded beyond the level of civil rights to the level of human rights, it opens the door for all of our brothers and sisters in Africa and Asia, who have their independence, to come to our rescue

"It opens the door to take Uncle Sam to the world court . . . Uncle Sam should be taken into the United Nations and charged with violating the UN charter on human rights

"The only alternative that the black man has in America today is to take it out of Senator Dirksen's and Senator Eastland's and President Johnson's jurisdiction and take it down on the East River (UN headquarters) and place it before that body of men who represent international law and let them know the human rights of black people are being violated in a country that professes to be the moral leader of the free world

"The only way we will get these rights restored is by taking it out of Uncle Sam's hands. Take him to court and charge him with genocide, the mass murder of millions of black people in this country — political murder, economic murder, social murder, mental murder

Socialist Attitude on This

Socialists have always supported moves to take the demands of the Negro into the UN. We did in 1947 when the NAACP tried it; we did again in 1951 when the Civil Rights Congress tried it; and we support such moves today.

We support them because we believe that the UN can be used, under certain conditions, as a forum from which to publicize the Negro's grievances, to expose the phoniness of the U.S. government's pretensions about democracy and to increase pressure on it to meet the Negro's demands.

But not much more. It would be harmful to exaggerate the advantages of going to the UN, to

have illusions about how much it can accomplish. Going to the UN can be a method of advancing the Negro struggle, but it is not a cure-all and it cannot achieve the liberation of the Negro. It should be done, and a mass movement should be mobilized behind it, but without any false expectations.

UN — Fact and Fiction

Malcolm is not at all accurate in calling the UN "that body of men who represent international law." That is the fiction, not the fact. The UN is actually made up of representatives of very different national and class interests — of spokesmen for capitalist and imperialist countries, for countries



Malcolm X

that are still dominated by the imperialists, for countries that have broken loose from both the imperialists and capitalists, etc. A few big nations, including the U.S. first of all, dictate what the UN does, and on important issues can usually prevent it from doing what they do not like. The colored people are a majority of the world, but they do not run the UN.

When the U.S. wanted it, the UN intervened in Korea on the side of the U.S. puppet regime. When the U.S. wanted it, the UN intervened in the Congo to depose the legitimate regime of Patrice Lumumba. When the U.S. does not want it, the UN does not intervene in Vietnam where the U.S., in violation of international treaties, is militarily engaged in an undeclared war. When the U.S. does not want it, the UN does not intervene in Cuba where U.S. air flights violate international law every day of the week.

There is nothing in this record to inspire confidence that American Negroes can look to the UN for much help against the U.S. government.

For several years the UN has been going through the motions of condemning the South African government for its racist barbarism against the black majority of that country. Somehow the UN has not been able to display the vigor or speed against South Africa that it showed in Korea and the Congo. South Africa is much smaller and weaker than the U.S. If the UN isn't able or willing to take effective measures against South African apartheid, why should anyone expect it to take effective measures against the more powerful U.S.?

Window Dressing

The UN record on human rights has been a miserable one from the beginning, in 1945. Article 55 of the UN Charter stipulates that the UN "shall promote respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms," and under Article 56 "all members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with

the Organization for the achievement of the purposes set forth in Article 55." This is the window dressing, but what lies behind the window?

By its treatment of the Negroes, the U.S. government is, as Malcolm says, in violation of the UN charter. But when the NAACP tried to get a UN discussion of the question in 1947, and the Civil Rights Congress tried in 1951, the U.S. representatives had merely to say, "No discussion." And that was that.

In 1949 the UN Economic and Social Council was asked to investigate charges of forced labor in the Soviet Union, and in 1961 the UN voted to send a commission to investigate reports of Portuguese massacre of Angolans. Both the Soviet Union and Portugal refused to let any commissions into their territory to investigate the charges. The UN did nothing about these refusals to permit even an investigation.

"Only a Manifesto"

In 1946, one year after the UN was formed, it set up a Commission on Human Rights to recommend an "international bill of rights" which would spell out what Articles 55 and 56 of the UN Charter meant by "human rights" and create the machinery for enforcing them. The Commission members could not agree on provisions to enforce human rights and punish violators.

Instead, in 1948, the Commission came up with the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." Adopted without opposition, although the Soviet-bloc countries abstained, the Universal Declaration listed 30 rights. But the Universal Declaration was toothless, because the Commission explicitly stated that it was "only a manifesto," which would be followed eventually by "something more legally binding than a mere Declaration," which would be called a "covenant" and would make the 30 rights more specific and set up machinery to implement and enforce them.

Meanwhile, since 1948 and until the covenant is adopted, there is only the Universal Declaration, which by general consent is not considered legally binding on anyone.

U.S. Wouldn't Sign

In 1953, while the covenant was still being worked on, the U.S. member of the Commission on Human Rights announced that the U.S. government did not intend to sign or ratify any covenant or treaty on human rights.

Despite this humiliating defiance, the Commission went ahead and has finally produced not one but two covenants. It won't matter much whether or not the UN will adopt the covenants or individual countries will subscribe to them. Because they are shot full of so many exceptions, conditions, qualifications, ifs and buts that the 30 "human rights" have been turned into "ideals" or "standards," rather than international law that can bind anyone or be enforced.

Therefore a move to bring the Negro's grievances to the UN can end in disappointment and demoralization unless the probable results are weighed and understood in advance. If the point can be got on the UN agenda (and even that will take some doing), it may be possible to expose and denounce the U.S. government for its racism, in the way that Fidel Castro exposed and denounced it at the UN general assembly in 1960 for its colonialist aggression toward revolutionary Cuba.

But that is about all that should be counted on. The Washington "court" is rigged against the Negro, but so is the UN "court." This is not an argument against going to the UN. It is an argument only against expecting more



THROWN OUT. This was the scene at the United Nations Feb. 15, 1961, as Security Council guards forcibly ejected a group of Negroes who sought to demonstrate their anger at the murder of Lumumba. UN forces had disarmed the legally-elected Lumumba government and turned the power over to the U.S.-backed Kasavubu regime. Kasavubu handed Lumumba over to Tshombe to have him murdered.

from such an action than it can produce.

"Bloodless Revolution"

In the same speech, Malcolm talked briefly about another way of taking the Negro's fate out of the hands of his U.S. oppressors — the alternative of "bloodless revolution." He preceded his remarks on this point by stating that "America is not morally equipped" to make such a bloodless revolution. But he mentioned it anyway, as follows:

"America is the only country in history in a position to bring about a revolution without violence or bloodshed." Why? "Because the Negro in this country holds the balance of power and if the Negro in this country were given what the Constitution says he is supposed to have, the added power of the Negro in this country would sweep all of the racists and segregationists out of office. It would change the whole political structure of the country. It would wipe out the Southern segregationism that now controls America's foreign policy, as well as America's domestic policy.

"And the only way without bloodshed that this can be brought about is that the black man has to be given full use of the ballot in every one of the 50 states. But if the black man doesn't get the ballot, then you are going to be faced with another man who forgets the ballot and starts using the bullet."

We would like, for our present purposes, to set aside the question of whether an American revolution will be bloodless or bloody. That will depend more on the forces opposing revolution than on those favoring revolution. At this point we want to restrict ourselves to the variant of revolution, rather than the amount of violence that might accompany it.

Balance of Power?

Anything that would sweep the racists out of office, change the country's whole political structure and drastically alter its domestic and foreign policy would certainly be a revolution, a political revolution at least.

The question is: Can such a revolution be made through the Negro's "added power" because he holds the "balance of power?"

It depends on what is meant by the Negro holding the balance of power. The balance of power between the Democrats and Republicans? Malcolm cannot logically mean that, because elsewhere, often and eloquently he has demonstrated that there is no basic dif-

ference between the two capitalist parties and that the Northern Democrats are in a conspiracy with the Southern Democrats. A balance of power between whom and whom?

And what does Malcolm mean by the Negro's "added power?" The Negro's power added to what? Added to that of the liberals? That too would be inconsistent, with the other things Malcolm says. If it's not the Democrats and if it's not the liberals he has in mind, then who is it? Are there forces which, when combined with those of the Negro, will be able to produce changes as radical as those listed by Malcolm? If so, who or what are they?

We do not know how Malcolm would answer these questions that are raised by his speech. But we believe that answering them is more important than the best-conceived and best-conducted campaign to go to the UN.

Revolutionary Allies

In our opinion, there are forces which, following the lead of the Negro people and together with them, can make a revolution that will end racism along with other evils in this country. The whites are not a single, unanimous, uncrackable bloc. They are divided now by many things, especially by different economic and class interests. There are more poor whites than poor Negroes, more unemployed whites than unemployed Negroes (numerically, not proportionally).

Automation is driving the U.S. to a crisis that will divide the whites further and more sharply. So is the continuing contraction of the U.S. foreign market caused by the spread of the colonial revolution. Negroes are not the only ones being pushed or dragged onto the road to revolution.

Finding revolutionary allies and working out a mutually beneficial alliance with them is not the first and most pressing need of the Negro struggle, but it is a need. Ahead of it, in time and priority, comes the task of creating and unifying a determined and uncompromising Negro leadership able to complete the independent mobilization of the Negro masses around a radical program of emancipation. Such a leadership, such a movement, such a program will inevitably and soon have to cope with the problem of allies and alliances at home and abroad. The sooner and the closer together these two tasks are carried out, the closer will be the day when the fate of all of us will be "taken out of the hands" of the exploiters and oppressors forever.

FREEDOM NOW

New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation

(Socialist Workers Party resolution)

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2 N.Y. Meetings Hear Cleage Discuss Black Political Action

NEW YORK, May 18 — Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr., minister of Detroit's Central Congregational Church and leader of the Michigan Freedom Now Party, spoke twice here this past weekend. On Friday he addressed the Militant Labor Forum, and on Sunday he was the principal speaker at a meeting organized by the Greater New York Metropolitan Committee of the Freedom Now Party.

In his speech to a predominantly white audience at the Forum, Cleage made many of the same points that he made to the Negro audience at St. Luke's Church.

He emphasized to both his mistrust of white people as a group in their relations with Negroes.

"I am a black nationalist," he said at the start of his analysis of the struggle of the Negroes for freedom. He explained that he sought to win for Negroes all their constitutional and other rights rather than assimilation or integration into white society.

Cleage divided the struggle of the Negroes for freedom into the following stages: First the social-work method, as practiced by the Urban League, was tried. Then the NAACP's legal method was tried. Many cases were won, but that didn't eliminate segregation or discrimination. He explained that court decisions and laws must be enforced, and they aren't.

Next the struggle was treated as a moral problem by Dr. King. This involved dramatizing the problem, making evil look so ugly that people would change. But non-violence didn't work. Citing Birmingham, he said: "It is not the intention of white America to give the Negro first class citizenship, freedom and equality. But Negroes are now ready to fight."

"I'm tired of singing *We Shall*



Rev. Albert Cleage

Overcome," he said. "How shall we overcome?" is the question that must be answered.

While united political action by the Negroes is necessary in the fight for freedom, they have no national political organization, he pointed out. They are not even organized politically on a state-wide or city-wide basis anywhere in this country. The Freedom Now Party, he declared, was the beginning of a national political arm for the civil-rights struggle.

Commenting on the World's Fair stall-in, he said:

"We were very much inspired by your stall-in . . .

"Did you ever hear of psychological warfare? Well, that was it."

He explained how the stall-in could be modified for use in Detroit without involving any cars, and how they could be threatened repeatedly before being finally carried out without prior announcement.

"We can't count on anybody but ourselves . . . Our hope lies in the masses of the Negro people," was the point he repeatedly stressed.

The Sunday meeting commemorated the tenth anniversary of the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation and was supported by the Community League of West 159th Street, Inc., the Citizens Care Committee and the Community Council on Housing. Other speakers included: civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn, who chaired the meeting; Les Edmonds, who represented the Queens County Freedom Now Party and spoke on "Negro Workers and Automation"; and Major Williams of the Community Council on Housing.

...Poverty 'War'

(Continued from Page 1)

true during World War II. "The advanced training methods developed by business in shooting wars are needed just as much in this new war on poverty," Shriver pleaded.

Previously, before the U.S. Chamber of Commerce on April 28, Shriver had reassured big business that Johnson's poverty program is "not a Robin Hood program, which takes from the rich and gives to the poor."

At any rate, whenever Johnson or one of his assistants like Shriver talks about "rebuilding Appalachia" or "job training" or "wiping out poverty" in general, remember it's all coming out of the same \$500 million which the *New York Times* said editorially "is scarcely adequate for even an initial skirmish" let alone a war on poverty.

Well, we can expect Johnson to linger over his "war on poverty" for quite a while yet. In fact, he'll be nursing that small beer right up to November 3, Election Day.

Puerto Ricans Hit Land-Grab By U. S. Navy

NEW YORK, May 12 — Antonio Rodriguez Rivera, mayor of Puerto Rico's Vieques Island, proposed in a speech here last week that the theme of New York's annual Puerto Rican Parade this year be a protest against the expropriation of Vieques Island territory from its inhabitants by the U.S. Government for a navy base.

Vieques, a 33,000-acre island 18 miles off the coast of the main island of Puerto Rico, is part of Puerto Rican territory. Over 11,000 Puerto Rican families have already been moved off their Vieques Island land due to the building of a U.S. Naval base occupying 26,000 acres. The Navy is about to expropriate an additional 4,300 acres. In addition the Puerto Rican daily *El Mundo* reported April 25 that a U.S. Marine Colonel on Vieques has declared that eventually all civilians will be removed and the islet entirely devoted to military installations.

Urges a Halt

Mayor Rodriguez Rivera, who represents the remaining civilian population on Vieques, has been speaking in Puerto Rico and the U.S. in an attempt to stop the expropriation of the islet. His meeting here was sponsored by the Sons of Vieques, composed of Puerto Ricans born on the islet.

Rodriguez Rivera pointed out that the move to transform Vieques entirely into a U.S. Naval base is being made at the very time the U.S. is cutting back or abandoning dozens of other military installations in the U.S. itself. Fear is also expressed that Vieques is being set up as a nuclear missile base, which would increase the chances of Puerto Rico becoming a target in a thermonuclear war.

The weekly newsletter of the Manhattan branch of the Puerto Rican Independence Movement (MPI) declared last week that one of Washington's motives in removing the civilian population from the islet is to separate Vieques from Puerto Rico so that if Puerto Rico became independent in the future, the U.S. military would still control Vieques.

...Cuba Raids

(Continued from Page 1)

reasons," Washington was trying not to injure the people of Cuba but only to punish the "evil" Castro government.

The Johnson administration still claims it has not totally cut off food and drug sales from the U.S., but that each proposed shipment will be decided upon "in the light of all relevant circumstances" and "according to the national interests." A May 15 *New York Times* story pointed out: "This would leave Washington room to apply a general embargo on these items gradually."

The break in relations by the Brazilian militarist regime, which charged Cuba with "interfering in Brazil's internal affairs," was expected. The pro-U.S. Argentine military did the same thing after they seized power in 1962.

The Brazilian regime has also accepted the charge by a commission of the Organization of American States that Cuba shipped arms to Venezuelan guerrillas last year. The U.S. has been campaigning for an OAS vote of censure against Cuba, citing this arms cache, so conveniently "discovered" by Venezuelan police during the election campaign.

Invocation by the OAS on this pretext of the Inter-American Mutual Defense Treaty would afford a "legal" cover for a U.S.-backed joint military action against Cuba.

Alfred Rosmer Dies at 88; Was Veteran Revolutionist

By Constance Weissman

Alfred Rosmer, 88, a friend of Lenin and Trotsky, died of a cerebral hemorrhage in Créteil, a suburb of Paris, May 6.

Rosmer was born in California, where his father a French laborer, had emigrated for a time. His real name was Alfred Griot, but he adopted the pen name of Rosmer after the character in Ibsen's play *Rosmersholm* who becomes a freethinker.

Before World War I Rosmer was active in the syndicalist movement organized around *La Vie Ouvrière* (Workers' Life). That was then the most revolutionary wing of the French workers' movement. *La Vie Ouvrière*, which Rosmer helped found, is still the official newspaper of the CGT, the largest trade-union federation in France.

Aided Sedov

Rosmer was among the few supporters of the Zimmerwald conference, which was the first attempt at an international regroupment of socialists opposed to the imperialist war then raging. It was in this struggle in 1914 in Paris that Rosmer first met Trotsky. Trotsky wrote in his autobiography: "Since those days I have been bound to Rosmer by ties of friendship which have stood the test of war, of revolution, of Soviet power, and of the demolition of the opposition . . . Rosmer is a man on whom one can always count in a difficulty."

After World War I, Rosmer represented the French Communist Party on the Executive Committee of the Communist International. He was also in charge of *L'Humanité*, the party newspaper in France.

An opponent of the bureaucratization of the French CP, which was to culminate in its complete Stalinization, Rosmer was among the earliest of those expelled.

Malcolm X's Letters to U.S. Describe Welcome in Africa

NEW YORK — In letters from the Near East and Africa, Malcolm X has reported enthusiastic welcomes given him by peoples who have but recently obtained their political independence from imperialism. The letters from the black nationalist leader were released to the press by the Muslim Mosque Inc., which Malcolm X and his followers in New York recently founded.

"In the Muslim world they loved me once they learned I was an American Muslim, and here in Africa they love me as soon as they learn that I am Malcolm X of the militant American Muslims," reports a letter released May 11. "Africans in general and Muslims in particular love militancy."

He writes that the sentiment of human solidarity finds support in the Muslim holy book, the Koran, which "compels the Muslim World to take a stand on the side of those whose human rights are being violated, no matter what the religious persuasions of the victims are . . . It recognizes all as part of one Human Family."

In Africa, his latest letter continues, "the 22 million American blacks are looked upon as the long-lost brothers of Africa. Our people here are interested in every aspect of our plight and they study our struggle for freedom from every angle."

Concluding this letter from Lagos, Nigeria, Malcolm X says: "Despite Western propaganda to the contrary, our African Brothers and Sisters love us, and are happy to learn that we also are awakening from our long 'sleep' and are developing strong love for them."

When Trotsky was deported from the USSR to Istanbul in 1929, he received a letter from Alfred and Marguerite Rosmer saying that he could count on them body and soul.

Soon thereafter Rosmer toured Belgium and Germany to rally groups of Oppositionists there. He also established contact with Italian, Dutch, American and other anti-Stalinist communists, keeping Trotsky informed about his findings in detailed reports.

A close personal friend to the entire Trotsky family, Rosmer stood unafraid by Trotsky's son, Leon Sedov, in Paris during the terrible days of the Moscow frame-up trials. To oblige Stalin, the Norwegian government had gagged the exile Bolshevik leader, to prevent his exposing the vile charges made at the Moscow "confession" trials. The task of unmasking those lies devolved on Sedov. He did this so ably that, surrounded by Soviet GPU agents, he soon died under mysterious circumstances.

It was at Rosmer's place at Périgny, near Paris, that the Founding Congress of the Fourth International was held in September 1938.

In 1939, the Rosmers visited Trotsky in Mexico, bringing to him his orphaned grandson, Seva, sole survivor among Trotsky's descendants of Stalin's vengeance. After Trotsky's assassination, the Rosmers remained Natalia Trotsky's closest friends until her death in Paris two years ago. Marguerite Rosmer, who had devoted her life to the same goals as her husband, died only a few days before Natalia.

Among Rosmer's writings are the two-volume *Le Mouvement Ouvrier Pendant la Guerre* (The Workers' Movement During the War) and *Moscou Sous Lenin* (Moscow Under Lenin).

An earlier letter from Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, reported Malcolm's feeling at being accepted, for the first time, as a brother by the pilgrims of many countries and "of all colors" who came to perform Islamic ceremonies in the vicinity of the Holy City of Mecca. They "were all participating in the same ritual, displaying a spirit of unity and brotherhood that my experiences in America had led me to believe could never exist between the white and non-white."

Malcolm related his belief that true Islam removes racism, because people of all races and colors who accept its principles and bow down to the One God, Allah, also accept each other as well.

"You may be shocked by these words coming from me, but I have always been a man who tries to face facts, and to accept the reality of life as new experiences and knowledge unfold it."

Militant Labor Forum Seeking White Elephants

NEW YORK — The Militant Labor Forum has appealed to its supporters for contribution of objects suitable for a fund-raising White Elephant Party to be held on June 13.

The types of contributions desired include paintings, sculpture, sketches, prints, pottery, leather goods, jewelry and other handicraft items as well as glassware, housewares, books and records.

Contributions should be brought to the Militant Labor Forum hall at 116 University Place. If a pickup is desired, phone AL 5-7852.

...Cambridge

(Continued from Page 1)

Freedom Now Committee in Chester, Pa.; John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and Rev. Milton Galmison, head of the school-boycotts in New York City.

This rally was being held to counter the one for Gov. Wallace which attracted 1,500 whites who cheered their racist hero's attacks on the U.S. Supreme Court, "the left-wing press" and "pinkos."

The second demonstration began later in the evening, apparently spontaneously. About 200 demonstrators marched from the Negro Elks Hall and got as far as Race Street, which divides the Negro community from the white. There they were met by Guardsmen with gas masks, steel helmets and fixed bayonets. At this point, demonstrators sat down in the street.

Gloria Richardson was literally pulled from the ranks of the demonstrators and told that she and other leaders of the demonstration would be arrested if they did not ask the crowd to disperse. The Guard leaders got a firm refusal.

Then came a shout from one of the demonstrators: "If she goes to jail all of us go!"

"All right then, you'll all go," was the reply of the colonel in charge of the troops.

At this, a number of demonstrators fell upon the ground, holding tightly to each other. As the Guardsmen tried to make the arrests they were harassed by a hail of bottles and bricks.

The order then came for the tear gas, whose white fumes engulfed the demonstrators sitting in the street. Within seconds, the demonstrators broke and ran up the street coughing and spitting. The National Guardsmen moved in with fixed bayonets spraying tear gas where groups of Negroes were congregating. Soon the entire area was enveloped in the nauseating spray and the demonstration was ended.

Letters From Our Readers

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

The Real Hate Gang

New York, N.Y.
About the press coverage of that alleged "hate" gang in Harlem, I've been convinced for a long time that there has been an organized hate gang operating in Harlem and in other parts of the city as well.

There have been many verified

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"The long fight against Jim Crow segregation in the public schools won an important legal and moral victory on May 17 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that such segregation is unconstitutional. But the fight is not yet finished or won.

"... Saying that segregation is unconstitutional is not the same thing as effectively prohibiting it. The Court ruled that school segregation is illegal, but it put off any ruling on WHEN or HOW this illegal practice should be stopped. Some hard fights will have to be fought and some difficult obstacles will have to be cleared away before Jim Crow will actually be driven out of the schools.

"The court had the power to rule on May 17 that since segregation violates the Constitution, it should be discontinued at once. In that case children in the South would be given the right to attend mixed schools at the beginning of the new term in the fall of 1954.

"But the Court did not exercise this power
"That is the question of WHEN. The question of HOW is even more important because it will help to determine whether or not the proposed anti-segregation decree will be effective and fool-proof in abolishing segregation in real life, and not merely on paper" — May 24, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"COMMUNISTS END PARTY, MAP NEW ORGANIZATION." With this front-page banner headline the *Daily Worker* announced May 21 the dissolution of the Communist Party and its conversion into a 'Communist Political Association.' The resolution to dissolve, put forward at the party convention by Earl Browder, was a mere formality . . .

"Needless to add, the convention passed the resolution 'unanimously.' All the known opponents of the step within the ranks had previously been stifled or railroaded out of the party.

"The resolutions and other documents which the convention adopted reveal the abysmal depths of rottenness and cynicism to which this Stalinist organization has sunk in its embrace of capitalism. . . .

"Browder, in his speech to the convention . . . pointed out that the new Stalinist program 'has no element of socialism in it.' . . .

"Browder's resolution stated: ' . . . All patriotic forces, including the adherents of socialism, can and must bend every effort to promote the maximum of economic security, production and employment that CAN AND MUST be achieved under capitalism.'

"But what need is there for socialism at all if economic security can be achieved under capitalism?" — May 27, 1944.

reports of beatings and even killings of innocent citizens by this gang. And members of the gang have been notorious for their tie-up with every kind of vice going, from narcotics to prostitution. For years they have roamed the streets of Harlem, armed with guns and clubs, and creating fear and hatred in the community. This gang doesn't hate whites in general — just those whites who openly take the stand that the human rights of Negro people are long overdue.

I'm talking, of course, about New York's "finest," the trigger-happy, club-swinging cops who act like a colonial force in Harlem.

Their conduct makes it urgent to establish a civilian review board that would see to it that there is trial and punishment for the many acts of police brutality that are a part of the daily life of Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, and the other ghetto areas of the city.

Prayer Break

Baltimore, Md.
If states should have the "right" to have classroom time set aside for prayer then so should workers have the right to take time off during working hours to pray. If it's good enough for the kids, then it's good enough for the parents.

If "our" representatives have the right to filibuster endlessly in the Senate, then workers should have the right to pray endlessly in the shop.

The main topic of such prayers should be: "How to get the bosses to stop praying on the workers."

A. Robert Kaufman

U.S. Children in Vietnam

New York, N.Y.
Almost every war in history has been started by a provocation by one side or the other which has ignited the long-smouldering fears, hates, greeds and jealousies that the leaders have persuaded their people are their sacred "national interests." Not all of these provocations have been military clashes, such as the Alamo, Fort Sumter, Pearl Harbor.

One such non-military type provocation has been set up by us in South Vietnam — ready and waiting; nay, almost asking for the spark that will explode it — so terrible, so dangerous, that its outburst would sweep the people of the United States into a wild frenzy of anger and revenge, bringing immediately a savage, all-out war against the Asian Communists who would be blamed by us — rightly or wrongly — for the atrocity. This provocation is the monumental stupidity of our keeping the several hundred children of U.S. diplomatic, aid and military personnel in our government school in Saigon.

On May 12th, TV commentator Walter Cronkite, expressing his horror at the very thought of what might happen to these American children as the Vietcong step up their bombings of Americans in Saigon, showed on his evening newscast a documentary film, "Terrorism and Teenagers" which pictured this school, its pupils and its lady principal going about their daily routine. The kids were shown as they came skipping and chattering from their classrooms, through lines of helmeted GIs

with fixed bayonets, to the heavily guarded bus that was to take them home.

That these children are in mortal danger is further documented by a dispatch from Wilfred Burchett, well-known correspondent who was for several months behind the Vietcong lines in a base of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front. There, on the night of Feb. 12, 1964, he interviewed three young Vietnamese "patriots" who had just returned from bombing an American Cinema in Saigon. They had shot three U.S. MPs guarding the doors and exploded their bomb, seriously injuring a number of other Americans in the audience. Burchett, whose dispatch appeared in the *National Guardian* of May 16, asked them if they had thought about any American women and children who might have been in the theatre. One of the guerillas replied, "Do they care if our children are killed when their planes, piloted by American officers, bomb our villages and burn our families to death with napalm?" Burchett learned that the 12-year-old sister of one of the men who bombed the cinema had been killed with 16 other children when U.S.-directed planes bombed a school in Tay Ninh province. His comrade said, "He will never forgive them for what they did to our little girls and as long as they stay on our soil, he will take his revenge."

Why do we not unite in an

agonized plea to President Johnson to bring back these small hostages before it is too late. And not to save their lives alone, but the lives of the millions who would die if war should come through our obstinate refusal to follow the clear call of reason.

Taylor Adams

Combat 'Affluent' Ideology

Newark, N.J.

Let me state right off that I think *The Militant* is a fine paper. I don't mean a fine socialist paper, because while it is that, it is also a first-rate piece of journalism. You cover events of real significance and pursue them to their end. Your prose is clear and simple, and refreshingly free of jargon — a chronic ailment of socialist writers.

Yet shortcomings do exist. Many areas of domestic life desperately need exposure and I don't mean the obvious ones such as migrant labor, civil rights, civil liberties, etc. These you handle most adequately. I refer to those things which directly affect the so-called lower and middle, middle class; people who don't even know they are still wage earners much less workers, who are hypnotized by the status effect given off by their mortgaged homes, installment-plan stereo sets. Their electric can openers and carving knives, their ceramic tile bath rooms, their tissue-paper automobiles.

These people — and they constitute a large part of the population — take these things as concrete evidence of "making it." Propaganda has been enormously successful in helping them believe this nonsense; it suppresses their awareness of being bilked and exploited.

But the figure on the paycheck cannot be denied, nor can the cost of the Disneyland living. Give these people the facts on their costs and on the profits of their creditors and suppliers. Then perhaps the long-delayed anger may gush forth.

For a beginning you might tell us about these items:

1. True interest charges on home mortgages, auto loans and other installment buying.
2. The time it takes for the "homeowner" to begin building equity in his home.
3. The relation between the life of a car or appliance and the time necessary to pay for it.
4. The number of workers having pension plans — the number which are portable — the value of the pensions.
5. The number of workers having sick leave — the number of days provided.
6. The number of workers having hospital and doctor-fee insurance paid in full or in part by employers.
7. The actual cost of hospital and medical care in relation to insurance benefit.

C.S.

It Was Reported in the Press

Against Pacifism — Syracuse University Chancellor William P. Tolley was put out when a group of 20 students picketed a ROTC review staged in his honor. In fact he became so enraged that he leaped from the reviewing stand and whacked one of the demonstrators with his cane. The students were protesting the university's military training program.

The Sheltered Life — Overtrick, the trotter that earned nearly a quarter of a million dollars last year, gets treated like royalty and apparently loves it. An enthusiastic *New York Times* writer says Overtrick is so normal he's almost neurotic. "He is not allowed to mingle with other horses and his stall door is always closed. Because of the security he feels no show of curiosity, suspicion or hostility to strangers . . . He has never missed a meal through anxiety . . . Overtrick makes no sound or movement during his sleep. Many horses snort or thresh." But, as we suspected, there's a flaw in all this security: "Females do not interest him."

You-Never-Had-It-So-Good Department — "Employment rose 1,360,000 from March to April . . . About 500,000 of the new jobs went to women, and about half of these were jobs as household servants." — The May 8 *New York Times*.

Aspersions on Free Enterprise? — Somber-looking businessmen will replace bathing beauties, athletes and virile cowpokes in cigarette ads. The switch is in line with an expected new code governing cigarette advertising that will tone

down ads that use a "virility appeal" or suggest that cigarette smoking somehow increases sexual attractiveness. Said one marketing manager: "No one can accuse you of using a virility appeal when you put businessmen in your ads."

Don't Appease Public — A Chicago industrialist told the Broadcast Advertising Club that the advertising business is supposed to operate for a profit, and let the "Federal Communications Commission and Uncle Sam have the responsibility for the public interest." The industrialist, Arnold Maremont, told the ad men to "quit offering the public appeasement, quit offering up sacrifices, quit talking about self-policing your industry and stop being so defensive." Maremont attracted attention last year with a proposal that state welfare agencies distribute birth-control information and devices to people on relief.

Moonlighters — A Citizens School Advisory Committee in Baltimore showed that 83 per cent of the city's public school teachers held two jobs. The committee said this compared with a national moonlighting figure for teachers of 73 per cent compiled by the National Education Association two

years ago. The Baltimore committee feels the figures suggest the need for higher pay for teachers.

Your Own Fault — The Toy Manufacturers of the USA hired a research outfit to study widespread complaints about TV commercials which induce children to bug their parents into buying them expensive toys. Reported the researchers: "Our psychologists believe . . . that it may be that the toy industry is being blamed to some degree for the shortcomings of parents and their ability to communicate with their own children." Comments *New York Herald Tribune* advertising columnist Joseph Kaselow: "What parents need, apparently, is a \$9 million advertising budget and some clown other than the old man hopping around the kitchen. Communication, then would be no problem."

Swedes Get Message — The U.S. Health Department report on cigarette smoking seems to be having more of an effect in Sweden than here. According to the Swedish Information Service, cigarette smoking has dropped there by about ten per cent since publication of the report, while the demand for small cigars has risen by 40 per cent.

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Thought for the Week

"WASHINGTON, May 18 — Poverty proved to be a big drawing card just about everywhere but around Congress today. A crowd gathered at one downtown hotel to discuss the plight of the rural poor. Another crowd gathered in a hotel a few blocks away to talk about how education can wipe out poverty. But on Capitol Hill, efforts to move ahead on the administration's \$962.5 million anti-poverty bill collapsed when a quorum failed to show up for the scheduled session of the House Education and Labor Committee." — The May 19 *New York Times*.

SWP Spokesman in Seattle Answers Ultra-Right Attack

SEATTLE—A Socialist Workers Party official here went on television May 6 to spike an ultra-right attack.

The SWP spokesman was Frank Krasnowsky and he was answering a smear by Laurence Timbers, whose newspaper, *Timbers*, makes the John Birch Society seem almost liberal by comparison. In an interview on the program, "What's the Story," on KING, the NBC television station here, Timbers claimed that at an SWP forum in Seattle he had participated in a discussion about what to do after farm workers are organized. According to him there was disagreement over who should be shot first: the farm owners or the scabs. The consensus, according to this falsified tale, was for shooting the farmers.

Timbers has related similar fictions elsewhere in the course of bragging about his activities as a provocateur and disrupter at leftist meetings as well as in his paper. In the interview over KING-TV, however, he asserted that Frank Krasnowsky, who addressed students at Ballard High School last year, took part in the alleged discussion.

Given TV Time

KING newscaster, Charles Her-ring, who is also the interviewer on "What's the Story," made TV time available to Krasnowsky to reply to the charges.

The SWP spokesman branded Timbers' story a lie. "The discussion referred to never took place," declared Krasnowsky, "and certainly, I never participated in it." He continued: "If Mr. Timbers actually attended the forum he referred to, he would know that the speaker presented a program to alleviate the problems faced by farm workers. He proposed the organization of agricultural labor, minimum wages, social security, unemployment insurance, safety regulations, etc. . . .

"Had anybody proposed that the solution was to shoot the farmers, he would have been sharply rebuked by the speaker; and had

9 Per Cent for DeBerry In Poll at N.J. College

RUTHERFORD, N.J. — For the first time in the history of Fairleigh Dickinson University, the program and candidate of the Socialist Workers Party was presented to the student body during a mock election held the week of April 29.

Mario Ceragioli represented Clifton DeBerry in a speech before a university convocation. At first, as was expected in a university where almost one half are business majors, the audience booed, hissed and laughed; but when Mario called for recognition of the Peoples Republic of China and withdrawal of troops from South Vietnam, the mood changed. Upon completion, the speech for DeBerry received mild applause.

In the election that followed, 383 voted and DeBerry captured 9 per cent. (Johnson got just over 50 per cent; Lodge just over 40. Johnson and Lodge were selected through primaries held prior to the election, in which Wallace got fewer votes than DeBerry did in the election.)

Students were impressed by the Socialist Workers Party platform and several remarked "great," "a party that really states something," and "a real alternative."

"Until when will the fury of tyranny continue to be called justice, and the justice of the people barbarity and rebellion? — Maximilien Robespierre. French Revolutionist. (1758-1794).

such a discussion taken place after the forum, it would have been an elementary responsibility for any member of the Socialist Workers Party present, who was at all familiar with the clearly expressed program of the party, to take issue with such a proposal.

"Had I been present in such a discussion, I would have told the provocateur . . . to peddle his papers elsewhere. My own opinions are a matter of record. I have a regular news commentary over radio station KRAB-FM and have spoken extensively in forums, panels and debates, not only in Seattle, but also in Spokane and Vancouver. Nobody has ever drawn the implication from anything I have said that I advocate personal terrorism as a solution to social problems."

L.A. Woman Convicted For Traveling to Cuba

Mrs. Helen Travis was convicted May 14 in the federal district court in Los Angeles of "illegally" leaving the U.S. to travel to Cuba.

The Los Angeles housewife was charged with entering Cuba from Mexico twice in 1962 without special permission from Washington. Since the State Department in 1961 unconstitutionally declared a ban on travel to Cuba, it has tried to limit such travel to those few people whom it gives special permission to go.

Mrs. Travis told reporters: "I was aware of the ban, but I just don't believe in it."

She plans to appeal the verdict of Judge E. Avery Crane, who will sentence her June 22. Maximum penalty is five years imprisonment and \$5,000 fine on each of the two counts.

In Wake of Jobs Fight

Rights Cases Jam San Francisco Courts

By Gordon Bailey

SAN FRANCISCO — More than 500 civil-rights demonstrators are being paraded through this city's courts by prosecutors seeking their conviction for allegedly resisting arrest, trespassing, disturbing the peace, and other crimes against public order and private property.

The demonstrators' real "crime" is having fought for equal job opportunities for Negroes and other minorities. After pleas to obdurate employers for non-discriminatory hiring had proved unavailing, the civil-rights fighters resorted to sit-ins, lie-ins, and mass picketing to bring the hotel industry and auto agencies to terms.

The 509 defendants were arrested at three separate demonstrations in the course of the last three months: at the Sheraton-Palace lie-in, 167; at the first Cadillac Auto Agency sit-in, 110; at the second Cadillac and other auto-agency sit-ins, 226.

All civil cases have been postponed to clear the municipal court-rooms for the punishment of the civil-rights demonstrators. Retired judges are being called back to the bench to help bear the judicial load.

The demonstrators are being tried in batches of from ten to 15. As many as nine trials are going on at the same time. This procedure has put an impossible strain on the defense lawyers. Vincent Hallinan, chief defense attorney, protested that he could not be in two or more courtrooms at the same time. He demanded that all defendants arrested at the same demonstration be tried together.

N.Y. Cops Attack Demonstration by Harlem Mothers

NEW YORK — A street demonstration by Harlem mothers and their children to win installation of a traffic light near an elementary school was forcibly broken up by cops May 11. Later police set upon a group of enraged Harlem-ites who marched on the local station to protest the brutality against the safety demonstrators.

The mothers and children had blockaded the street at 131st St. and Fifth Avenue when the cops descended on them. Mrs. Vonnie Jordan, president of the local PTA, charged the cops "hit and kicked us while making the arrests." Four demonstrators were grabbed and arrested.

About a hundred people began a march on the police station. They chanted slogans covering the whole field of civil rights: cops and slumlords were denounced; better schools and more jobs were demanded.

Marching in the middle of the street and slowing down traffic, they reached the busy intersection of 125th St. and Lexington Ave. where they were set upon by about 30 cops. Seven more were arrested, mostly teen-agers. Other demonstrators reportedly tried to free them from the cops.

A big crowd gathered in front of the station house. Police set up wooden barricades to keep the crowd away. When four of those arrested were brought out of the station house to be driven to the criminal court building the angry crowd surged forward and the cops massed to push them back.

Mrs. Alice Kornegay, head of the East Harlem Triangle Association, and one of those arrested, charged a cop had kicked her on the leg. A 13-year-old boy said he was struck on the side.

Calls on Gov't to Probe 5 Mississippi Murders

NATCHEZ, Miss. — The director of the Mississippi project for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) testified May 6 that five Negroes had been killed in southeast Mississippi in recent months, and called for investigation by the U.S. Department of Justice.

Robert Moses, 28, told a meeting of the State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission that no one had been arrested or indicted for the mysterious slayings.

Moses reported the shotgun killing of 44-year-old Louis Allen in Liberty, Miss., last Jan. 31. Allen was a witness to the 1961 murder of 52-year-old Negro Herbert Lee, who was gunned down outside a Liberty cotton gin by a member of the Mississippi state legislature. Allen later admitted to SNCC workers he had been forced to lie at a coroner's jury investigation into the slaying which set free E. H. Hurst, the legislator.

In 1962 Allen signed an affidavit that Hurst had killed Lee "without provocation." He was warned that local whites were out to "get him." In August 1962 he was arrested and beaten by a Liberty deputy sheriff, who hit him with a flashlight, breaking his jaw. "If you give me protection, I'll let the hide fall with the hair," Allen said in 1963. This, and other calls for protection from the U.S. Department of Justice, went unanswered.

Both Lee and Allen had been active in a SNCC vote drive.

Moses said four Negroes had been killed in neighboring Wilkinson County since the August 1963 March on Washington.

Archie C. Curtis, 60, a Natchez



Robert Moses

undertaker, testified he and another Negro had been stripped and beaten by hooded men on a desolate road outside the city on Feb. 15, 1964. Curtis said he was lured to the spot by an unidentified caller who told him a woman was dying of a heart attack. He told the committee the beating stemmed from his participation in a vote drive.

Soaked in Oil

A Negro was forced to strip and was soaked in motor oil before being beaten in Amite County, near Liberty, on Feb. 1, 1964, Moses said. Another Negro was shot and killed in Tallahatchie County by policemen on Feb. 13, 1964.

Other witnesses told of cross-burnings, threatening phone calls, and economic reprisals for taking part in civil-rights and vote activity. Moses called for a "thorough investigation by the Justice Department." Moses and other SNCC staff have issued pleas to that agency numerous times since beginning their vote campaign in 1961.

Slate N.Y. Symposium On 'Hate Gang' Scare

NEW YORK — Recognizing the seriousness of the recent attempt by the cops and the established press in this city to smear the Negro community, the Militant Labor Forum is holding a symposium on Friday, May 29, at which five speakers will give their views on "What's Behind the 'Hate-Gang' Scare?"

Participants will be Clifton DeBerry, presidential candidate for the Socialist Workers Party; Junius Griffin, author of the series of articles in the *New York Times* which alleged the existence of a Harlem "hate gang"; Quentin Hand, assistant director of the Harlem Action Group; William Reed, representative of New York CORE; and James Shabazz, aide to Minister Malcolm X.

Griffin's articles implied that the "hate gang" is involved with the black nationalists and has the avowed purpose of physically attacking whites. Shabazz categorically denied newspaper reports based on police statements that he had been a "legal advisor" to any "hate gang."

Deputy Chief Inspector Taylor, from the 32nd Precinct in Harlem, was invited to present the Police Department view, but he declined.

The symposium will take place at the Militant Labor Forum Hall, 116 University Pl.

This was refused and hundreds of veniremen were summoned to serve as jurors for the long series of trials.

Prosecutors, racists, and reactionaries were heartened by the outcome of the first trial. The jury brought in verdicts of guilty for all ten defendants. The next three trials, however, brought consternation to the people of power. The three juries were unable to reach verdicts, and mistrials had to be declared. New trials — at a cost to the city of at least \$500 per day per trial — have been ordered. More important, the fact that three juries were deadlocked on these cases casts serious doubt on the guilt of any of the defendants.

Sit-In Leader

"Justice" took a very twisted form in the trial involving Tracy Sims, the 18-year-old leader of the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination. This young Negro woman was the leader of the Sheraton-Palace Hotel sit-in which forced an agreement on equal hiring from the San Francisco hotel industry.

She and the 13 others in her trial faced the same charge — disturbing the peace. All 14 had been arrested in the Sheraton-Palace lobby. The jury heard the evidence against all 14, retired, and returned with 13 not-guilty verdicts for the white defendants and a verdict of guilty for Tracy Sims. [See story by Dr. Tom Brewer, one of her co-defendants, in last week's *Militant*.]

This victimization was so obviously unjust that even the *San Francisco Examiner*, the Hearst paper, felt it necessary to condemn

the verdict editorially. Admitting "an uncomfortable feeling justice was not done," the editors declared: "If the 13 were innocent, Miss Sims was innocent."

Nevertheless, Judge Mana gave Tracy Sims the maximum penalty, 90 days in jail and a \$200 fine, mitigating it only to the extent of suspending 45 days of the jail sentence.

She has ten days in which to take this verdict to the Appeals Court. If her appeal is denied there, she will have to start serving her sentence even though she appeals the case to still higher courts. Tracy Sims also faces further charges carrying even more severe penalties — because of her arrest in the second Cadillac demonstration.

The box score on the four weeks of trials up to May 14 is as follows: Of the 509 arrested, the cases of only 86 have been concluded: 23 convicted; 45 acquitted; 14 pleaded no defense; charges dismissed against four; 59 face a second trial since their first trials ended in hung juries.

Eight juries are at present hearing the cases of 103 defendants. And 320 demonstrators are yet to be tried. Fifteen hundred people have been summoned for jury duty.

Jury Commissioner William Lowery declared. "There has never been anything like this in the history of California — not just San Francisco."

This may well be true, but then there never before has been such a determined effort to secure equal rights for minorities in California.