

# Young Socialists Win Acquittal in Indiana; "Anti-Red" Law Declared Unconstitutional

## THE MILITANT

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## 3,000 Cheer Malcolm X At Opening Rally in Harlem

By David Herman

NEW YORK — An audience of over 3,000 responded enthusiastically at the first of a series of Sunday night meetings organized by Malcolm X's new black nationalist movement. The meeting was held at the Rockland Palace in Harlem on March 22. Only Negroes were admitted save for white newspaper reporters.

Malcolm X attacked both the Democratic and Republican parties and called for a black nationalist convention in May or June at which, "We'll form whatever is necessary — whether it's a black nationalist party or a black nationalist army."

He urged all Negro organizations to fight together against the things they all opposed — including New York's recently passed "no-knock" and "stop-and-frisk"

**SPUR TO RIGHTS FIGHT? For an analysis of the recent moves by Malcolm X see page 3.**

laws and school segregation. He pointed out that the above laws were designed to impose police-state conditions in the ghetto.

He explained that he wasn't an integrationist but that he opposed segregation because it meant white control of the black community. Segregation meant bad, white-dominated schools for black children, he said. Consequently he would fight alongside integrationists against the segregated school system.

Once the segregated school system has been destroyed, he said, the nationalists should tell the integrationists to go ahead and try to integrate, and similarly the integrationists should tell the nationalists to go ahead and build their school system.

Minister Malcolm pointed out that Negroes need to defend themselves where the government fails to carry out its avowed responsibilities.

### Not Seditious

"I'm not talking anarchy or sedition" he said. "If they don't like what I'm saying, let the government do what it's supposed to . . . If the government won't find out who bombed the church in Birmingham . . . then we'd better do something."

Comparing Negroes to the biblical Samson, who chose to destroy his enemies even at the cost of his own life, he said: "If ten million of us die then there'll be ten million of us left to enjoy freedom . . . and I'm ready to take my stand with those who'll die . . . And I know you're ready, otherwise I wouldn't be saying this." The audience cheered.

The black nationalist leader suggested bringing the Negroes' case to the United Nations. "We have brothers in the UN. We've got Af-

rican brothers in the UN. We've got Asian brothers in the UN. We've got Latin American brothers in the UN . . . And then we've got 800 more million of them over in China."

Asked about the civil-rights bill, he said, "There's nothing in that civil-rights bill that's going to help the Negroes in the North." He added that if the bill won't help Northern Negroes how can you expect it to help those in the South?

During the question period someone in the audience suggested that each person go home and organize his or her building to join the rent strike. Malcolm X supported the suggestion and urged the audience to bring the addresses of the buildings they had organized to the next Sunday night meeting where they could be turned over to Jesse Gray. He called the Harlem rent strike a form of nationalism.

The audience and the speaker responded to each other warmly. Both obviously enjoyed the rally.

The next rally will be held Sunday night, March 29, at the Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway. Malcolm X is speaking in Boston March 25. On April 8 at 8 p.m. he will address the New York Militant Labor Forum at Palm Gardens Ballroom, 310 W. 52nd St.

## WITHDRAWAL OF GIs URGED

## Vietnam Intervention Assailed in Senate

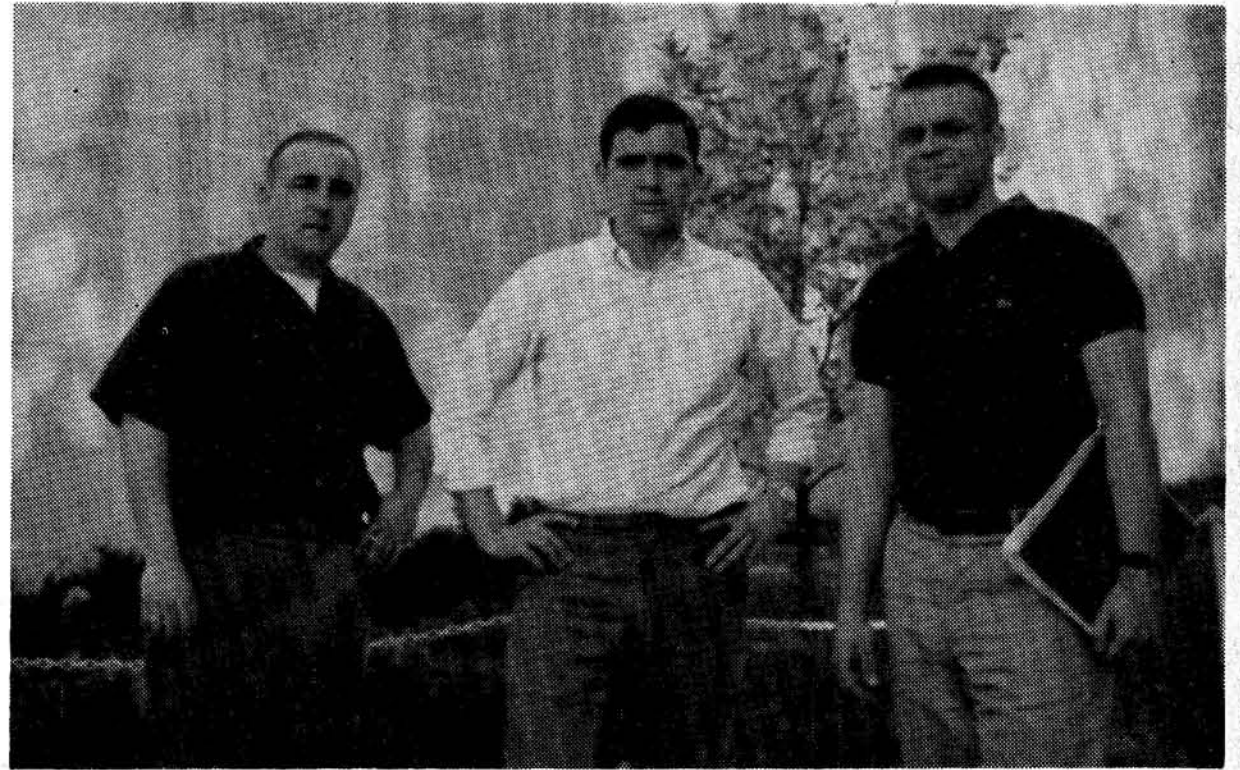
By Art Preis

Two leading U.S. senators, both Democrats and, until recently, both supporters of U.S. intervention in the South Vietnam civil war, are waging an open campaign in the Senate for withdrawal of all U.S. armed forces from South Vietnam.

Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon and Ernest Gruening of Alaska are reported in the March 21 *New York Times* to be "agitating for withdrawal of United States forces from the conflict."

This "agitation," which the *Times* indicates has considerable support, reflects the palpable fear now widespread in all official circles in Washington that the insurgent peasants and workers of South Vietnam cannot be contained by the latest military dictator, Maj. Gen. Nguyen Khanh, despite his ten-to-one superiority in armed forces, his advanced U.S. military equipment and the backing of 15,500 U.S. military personnel.

They are afraid that the Democratic administration will be severely damaged and that U.S. prestige and influence abroad may be shattered if this country is associated with a defeat inflicted by the revolutionary peasant guer-



THE WINNERS. From left to right, Ralph Levitt, Tom Morgan and James Bingham, the Indiana University students who won dismissal of their indictment under state "sedition" law.

By George Saunders

A victory of great significance for civil liberties and academic freedom was won March 20 in Bloomington, Indiana, when Monroe Circuit Court Judge Nat U. Hill quashed the indictments in the Indiana "subversion" case. The judge was persuaded to this action by attorney Leonard Boudin, general counsel for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee.

Boudin argued that the indictments against Ralph Levitt, James Bingham and Tom Morgan — officers of the Young Socialist Alliance chapter at Indiana University — should be thrown out on the grounds that the 1951 Indiana Communism Act, under which they were brought, is unconstitutional. The judge agreed.

Judge Hill's ruling not only invalidated Indiana's thought-control statute, it had a broader legal significance. Unless overturned, it affects all state sedition laws, because it sets the precedent that the federal government has jurisdiction in such matters even if the

law deals only with sedition against a state government. This is a blow to the witch hunt, for such state laws are still used — especially in the South against civil-rights advocates. The current case in Louisiana involving the Southern Conference Educational Fund is an example.

Unfortunately, this major victory does not entirely eliminate the threat to the defendants. The witch-hunting prosecutor, Thomas A. Hoadley, still can appeal Judge Hill's decision to a higher court — if he requests and gets the permission of the Indiana Attorney General.

In fact, the March 22 *Indianapolis Times* encouraged Hoadley to appeal, although it acknowledged that to make "pawns" of the defendants "in the struggle over the larger issue has an element of unfairness." It added with malice that being pawns "is a role these three young men seem to fill with relish."

The defense made clear its ability and intent to strike hard

against Hoadley's indictments and proposed evidence even before the March 20 hearing. On March 16 Daniel T. Taylor III of Louisville, Ky., trial lawyer for the defendants, issued subpoenas to eight persons, including Hoadley and Harold Wilkes, Hoadley's key witness. Taylor demanded they produce in court tapes, tape recorder, additional devices and pamphlets stolen from a rented apartment in Wilkes' home — all of which Hoadley had indicated he wanted to use as evidence and which the defense charged was illegally acquired.

### Speaks at Law School

Attorney Boudin spoke at the Indiana University Law School the day before the hearing on the constitutional issue and the strategy of the defense in the case.

The March 20 hearing was crowded with sympathetic listeners from all over the country. Students traveled from New York, Carleton College (Northfield, Minn.), University of Minnesota, University of Wisconsin and schools in the Chicago area. In addition, the parents of the defendants were present, and a heavy contingent of law students from the IU Law School.

Students and faculty from the university cut classes or interrupted routine schedules to hear the arguments presented by prosecution and defense attorneys.

Dr. Clark Foreman, Director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which provided Mr. Boudin to defend the civil liberties of the students, accompanied the

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rillas. The latter are now battering at the very capital of South Vietnam, Saigon, and dominate the Mekong River Delta, the rich riceland and most populous area of the country.

Senators like Morse and Gruening are especially fearful that the Johnson administration may escalate the fighting in South Vietnam into another Korean War — the most unpopular war in American history — by an assault on North Vietnam.

### Bitter Debate

The *Times*, reporting the bitter debate developing in the Senate and Democratic circles, states that the "supporters as well as critics" of the administration's policy "are deeply apprehensive and edgy over the policy's failure to yield a solution after nine years of United States involvement in South Vietnam and nearly \$3 billion of economic and military aid."

It adds that "the supporters confess to a sense of frustration and a lack of optimism over prospects of satisfactory results. Yet they do not want to risk another Korea by committing United States advisory forces to a more active combat role or by extending the war

into North Vietnam. Disengagement is equally unacceptable to them . . ."

Although this account is dated March 20, Senator Gruening made a speech March 10 in which he called on President Johnson to withdraw American forces from South Vietnam and from what he called "this bloody and wanton stalemate." He also characterized the situation as a "putrid mess."

Pointing to the deaths of 200 U.S. military "advisors," the Alaska Democrat argued:

"The time has come to cease the useless and senseless losses of American lives in an area not essential to the security of the United States. This is a fight which is not our fight, into which we should not have gotten in the first place . . ."

He also stressed the billions of dollars that have been "wasted to shore up self-serving corrupt dynasts or their self-imposed successors and a people that has conclusively demonstrated that it has no will to save itself." Someday, he declared, this sacrifice of U.S. lives in Southeast Asia "will be denounced as a crime."

Senator Gruening said it would

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Leonard Boudin

## NEW YORK SOCIALIST SPOKESMAN URGES:

## Oust Bigoted Police and School Heads

By Richard Garza

Two figures in the political structure of New York City have become symbols of discrimination against minority peoples. They are Board of Education Chairman James Donovan and Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy.

The recent school boycotts were bitterly opposed by Donovan. During the first boycott he slandered the leaders of the movement by depicting them and the hundreds of thousands who supported the boycott as people bent on violence. Donovan's attitude caused even members of his own board to state that he should resign. The recently announced abandonment by the Board of Education of plans to pair some schools — a weak step towards integration — further indicates Donovan's real attitude toward integration.

Police Commissioner Murphy's prejudiced attitude had not been too well known to the public at large, but it was clearly understood by the people of the ghettos. It had been made clear to them by the recent police killings of Victor Rodriguez and Maximo Salero on New York's West Side; the killing by an off-duty cop of Francisco Rodriguez, 1962 Boy of the Year in East Harlem; the recent brutality of cops towards tenants engaged in rent strikes, and the arrest of Jesse Gray, Harlem rent-strike leader.

Murphy's denunciation of three militant Negro leaders to 6,000 cops at the recent Holy Name Society communion breakfast makes it obvious that he is instructing his police as to which civil-rights

organizations he approves of and which he does not.

The reaction of the militant wing of the civil-rights and freedom-now movements has been to call for the removal from public office of both Donovan and Murphy — demands which have fallen on deaf ears at city hall. Until the people of the ghetto are mobilized behind these demands, Mayor Wagner and the Democratic Party gang that run this city are going to ignore them.

## Democrats' Man

After all Donovan was the Democratic Party candidate for U.S. Senator in 1962. His dismissal would constitute an admission by New York Democrats that they had run a covert supporter of *de facto* Jim Crow for U.S. Senator.

The removal of Police Commissioner Murphy would further confirm what Jesse Gray has charged and most people know — that the New York police are corrupt and are on the side of the landlords against the tenants, even more so when those tenants are members of minority groups. Up to now Mayor Wagner has remained silent on the demands of the civil-rights leaders. However, everyone expects a rising tempo in the struggle to achieve equality. Under such circumstances we can expect that the police will react even more violently against demonstrators and against the people who live in the ghettos. The recent enactment in Albany of the "stop-and-frisk" and "no-knock" bills gives the police two new weapons against the most defenseless people of this city.

## Block Committees

Before more killings and beatings are perpetrated by the police, civil-rights leaders should call a mass conference to map steps of self-defense for their communities. One form of defense could be to organize block committees within the precincts that would immediately raise bail and provide legal defense for anyone victimized by the police.

In the long run, however, "control of the politics and the politicians of our community," as Malcolm X put it, is what will provide this city's minority people



**RICHARD GARZA, spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party in New York. He was the party's candidate for governor in the last election and previously candidate for mayor of New York City.**

with more effective protection.

Candidates of a "black nationalist party" could force "the man downtown" to heed the demand for the removal of prejudiced public officials. Such a party would furnish people in the ghettos the means and the power base with which to defend themselves and to begin making a reality of the present hollow boast that "New York is a city where ten million people live, work and play in brotherhood."

NEW YORK — Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy's home in Queens was picketed March 21 by Bronx CORE. The pickets were protesting Murphy's cover-up of police brutality.

Previously Murphy had smeared Herbert Callender, chairman of the Bronx chapter of CORE, along with Jesse Gray and Malcolm X, as the type of "irresponsible" Negro leader by whom New York cops would not be "intimidated."

## ... Senators Assail Vietnam Intervention

(Continued from Page 1)

be "a source of regret" to him if the revolutionists won. "But why should we persist in seeking to prevent what is ultimately inevitable, in impossible terrain, for a people who care not, in the most distant spot on the globe? It makes no sense."

Senator Morse, the *Times* reports, has made several speeches along the same line and in equally strong language, in one of which he said:

"We should never have gone in. We should never have stayed in. We should get out."

Senator Thomas J. Dodd, Democrat of Connecticut, one of the most rabid exponents of increased U.S. armed intervention in South Vietnam, attacked Senators Morse and Gruening on March 11. He raised the cry that the civil war was all the fault of outsiders. "We must help turn the war against North Vietnam, the home base of the aggressor," he asserted.

The claim that the South Vietnamese peasants could be quelled if they were only cut off from their "home base" and "privileged sanctuary" is false and ridiculous. There is no secret about who has supplied most of the modern arms to the embattled peasants.

Their arms are supplied by the United States.

Hanson W. Baldwin, the highly-reputed military analyst of the

*New York Times*, wrote on Feb. 16, in the *News of the Week* section, that "by far the greater part of their [the guerrillas'] armory is 'indigenous'; it has been captured from South Vietnamese [government] troops or manufactured, in crude but effective form, in South Vietnam itself."

According to the late, unlamented Diem regime's *Times* of Vietnam, Sept. 15, 1963, the guerrillas captured close to 100,000 weapons in 1961-62 and about 25,000 in 1963. This fact is cited in the Feb. 22 *New Republic* magazine. Of course, dictator Diem got these weapons originally from the U.S.

## A Complaint

An editorial in the March 10 *New York Post*, which supports U.S. intervention against the Vietnamese people, complained of Premier Khanh's request, on the occasion of Defense Secretary McNamara's most recent emergency junket to South Vietnam, for arms to replace the 8,000 modern weapons he admits were lost to the guerrillas last year. "There is little point," says the *Post*, "in giving the Vietnamese people more weapons if their hearts are not in the struggle. They will surrender or sell our material to the Communists..."

If the overwhelming majority of the Vietnamese people support



Police clubs were used in building-trades pickets in Toledo for the first time since the 1930s in a scuffle at a construction site March 16. The owners of Anderson's Maumee River Grain Elevator began work on a \$1.1 million construction project at the elevator and refused to hire union construction workers. The building-trades unions set up a picket line and police showed up to escort a bus carrying 14 of the non-union workers through the line. The cops arrested 21 pickets but the bus was stopped when it was rammed by a station wagon. No one was seriously injured.

Building-trades unions immediately called 5,000 workers in the area off their jobs to protest the police action. That night the company announced it would cease construction pending a discussion with the unions. The 5,000 workers returned to work the next day.

\* \* \*

The Executive Council of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, met in Chicago recently and voted to back teachers who support boycotts and other mass protests for school integration.

The council passed a resolution declaring that the union "stands ready to defend the right of teachers who, in good conscience, refuse to cross picket lines which uphold the principle of integration, or who participated in related civil-rights movements."

\* \* \*

Morris Iushewitz, the "labor representative" on Governor Rockefeller's committee to "study" the effects of a higher minimum wage in New York state, has resigned. Iushewitz is secretary of the New York City Central Labor Council. His resignation finally unifies the New York labor movement in opposition to the governor's transparent attempts to defeat a proposed \$1.50-an-hour state minimum wage by tying it up in another "study" committee. The appointment of the com-

mittee at the opening of this legislative session last January was roundly denounced at the time by A. Philip Randolph, head of the Negro American Labor Council and chairman of the Citizen's Committee for a \$1.50 Minimum Hourly Wage in New York State. Randolph pointed out that the situation had already been studied from every conceivable point of view and that there was no excuse for stalling further.

In explaining his resignation Iushewitz said the governor had "made it obvious there would be no action for at least a year."

There is a possibility, however, of the passage of the Curran bill which will allow New York City to pass a minimum-wage law of its own. A city \$1.50 minimum-wage bill was passed in 1962 but knocked out by the courts on the ground that the state had jurisdiction. The committee headed by Randolph is urging passage of the Curran bill.

Iushewitz's letter of resignation said that prompt action on a higher minimum wage is necessary because in New York City alone at least 180,000 workers now earn less than \$1.25 an hour and 450,000 earn less than \$1.50. The present federal minimum wage is \$1.15. It goes to \$1.25 in October.

\* \* \*

Sugar workers at the Okeelanta Sugar Co. property in Fellsmere, Florida, complain that since the company was bought out by some Cuban exiles "our relations with the management have been deteriorating." The workers are members of Local 413 of the United Packinghouse Workers, AFL-CIO. Recently they were forced to hold an "extraordinary grievance meeting" to get the company's field supervisors to stop carrying pistols on the job. The union's District 7 Director, T. H. Vincent, said it was "quite a sight when people came in from all over the fields and formed a giant ring" in the yard where union and company officials were meeting.

"That sugar was boiling while we were meeting," said Vincent, "and the manager knew he didn't want to see that syrup cool off and harden while we stood there arguing."

"The people felt those guns were there to intimidate them and they objected violently to working under that kind of pressure," said Vincent.

## Seek to Oust Race-Hating Judge

NEW ORLEANS, La. — A suit has been filed in the federal circuit court of appeals here to remove Federal District Judge Harold Cox from hearing any cases involving racial matters. The suit was filed March 13 by civil-rights attorney William Kunstler after following Judge Cox's remarks during a March 7 hearing on a suit to speed registration of Negroes in Madison County, Mississippi.

Cox had said:

"I am not interested in whether the registrar is going to give a registration test to a bunch of niggers on a registration drive." He also said the Madison County Negroes who tried to register had appeared "like a dark cloud," and acted "like a bunch of chimpanzees."

Judge Cox was appointed to the federal bench by President Kennedy.

## Weekly Calendar

## CHICAGO

TOM MORGAN, one of the Bloomington students cleared of "sedition" charges, speaks on THE BLOOMINGTON SEDITION CASE — STORY OF A CIVIL LIBERTIES VICTORY. Fri., April 3, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 South Canal St. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

## DETROIT

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

## MALCOLM X'S NEW MOVEMENT.

Hear George Breitman, former editor *The Militant*, discuss Malcolm X's break with Elijah Muhammad and what kind of a movement is he trying to build? Fri., April 3, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

## LOS ANGELES

THE FEMINE MYSTIQUE. A panel discussion by Jean Pestana, attorney; Earnestine Landseadel of CORE; Theodore Edwards, socialist radio commentator; Della Rossa, correspondent *The Militant*; Sheavy Goldman, office manager, housewife and mother. Moderator, Evelyn Reed, anthropologist, Marxist writer and lecturer. Fri., April 3, 8:30 p.m. 1702 East 4th St. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Fri., April 3, 6:45 p.m. KPFF-FM (90.7 on your dial.)

## MINNEAPOLIS

The Attack on the Teamsters and the Persecution of Hoffa. Speaker, Frank Lovell, member United Auto Workers and Michigan state chairman Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 3, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Hall 240. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

## NEW YORK

LAWRENCE STEWART, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey, speaks on The Northern Negro and the Civil Rights Struggle. Fri., April 3, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

WED. APRIL 8, 8 P.M. MALCOLM X. PALM GARDENS, 310 W. 52ND ST.

AN APPRAISAL OF CURRENT MOVES BY MALCOLM X

New Force Can Bring Major Rights Gains

By George Breitman

MARCH 17 — Malcolm X's break with the Muslims headed by Elijah Muhammad may have consequences as momentous for the Negro struggle as John L. Lewis' break with the AFL leaders in 1935 had for the labor movement. It may result in the creation of a mass movement as different from the existing Negro organizations as the CIO in its first, militant stages was from the AFL.

This is not only because Malcolm is one of the most able leaders and talented propagandists in this country, white or black, with prestige extending far beyond the Muslims, especially among young people. It is also because the Negro movement is at a crossroad, and looking for new solutions and methods; because the time is ripe for a new movement, just as it was in 1935 when Lewis raised the banner of the CIO and industrial unionism.

Attracted Attention

The Black Muslims (their real name is the Nation of Islam) have attracted a great deal of attention during the last four or five years. This was the same period that saw Malcolm's rise to prominence as their chief public propagandist, the man who did more to bring them into the national spotlight than anyone except their undisputed leader, Muhammad.

Despite this attention, there is still little genuine understanding of them as a movement. Most of the writing done about them has been by people who are so hostile or so remote from the Negro ghetto that they can't present a true picture, even if they want to; and most of them don't want to. Distortion and exaggeration have been the rule because the aim of most writing about the Muslims is to frighten or shock the reader. It would take a book, a big book, to refute all the lies written about the most lied-about organization in America; here we want to try to correct one misconception about them that is related to Malcolm's break.

That the Muslims have had a big impact on the Negro struggle is known to everyone. Of course there are differences over the nature of their impact. The Communist Party, for example, which seems to hate the Muslims as much as it does the "Trotskyists," accuses them of hurting and holding back the struggle; a typically slanderous attack appeared in *The Worker* on March 8, the day of Malcolm's break. This is also the line of the liberals, white and black.

The Socialist Workers Party, on the other hand, pointed out in its 1963 convention resolution that the Muslims have stirred millions of Negroes by their forthright denunciation of racial oppression, their exposure of gradualism and tokenism, and their declaration of the capacity and right of Negroes to govern themselves. The SWP resolution also noted that "the

mere existence of the Muslims has had healthy effects, pushing rival Negro tendencies to the left and thereby imparting an impetus to even purely integrationist battles." (*Freedom Now: New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation*, Pioneer Publishers, 25¢.)

But the point we want to consider here is not the effect of the Muslims on the general Negro movement, but the effect of the general movement on the Muslims. Because it works both ways; there is an interaction.

Most of the literature on the Muslims creates the impression that they are hopelessly rigid and inflexible, unable and unwilling to respond or adjust to new conditions; and even impervious to them; and that their secondary leaders are a bunch of sheep, incapable of thinking for themselves, able only to blindly follow and parrot Muhammad.

Louis E. Lomax, author of the most recent of the three books on the Muslims (*When the Word Is Given* . . ., Signet, 60¢), knows better than this. But he too adds to the misconception when he makes it appear that it was not until July, 1963, that any Muslims displayed a desire for changes in policy to suit the situation created by the upsurge of the civil-rights struggle.

Earlier Shift

Actually a turn in official Muslim pronouncements and propaganda had occurred quite some time before then. A shift could be seen by any reader of *Muhammad Speaks* at the start of 1963, or before. Previously, the paper had been extremely sharp in its treatment of integrationist leaders like Rev. King and Roy Wilkins. This changed quite noticeably, and the paper even had some kind words to say about them on certain occasions.

The need and desirability of black unity became a theme of the Muslims long before July, 1963. At their annual convention in February, 1963, Muhammad signaled a further turn in this direction when he endorsed the idea of independent black (not just Muslim) political action. The Socialist Workers Party convention resolution last summer concluded from these developments that "far from being a hardened sect, the Muslims have shown capacity during the last year to change in a direction that better serves the interests of all Negroes."

We must beware of all the stereotypes if we want to understand anything about the Muslims. They are not a collection of puppets, but a living organization, subject to the laws that apply to mass organizations, and no more immune than other organizations in the Negro community to pressure, especially mass pressure. The moods and aspirations of the ghetto are felt by them too, in some ways more strongly than groups whose main base is not in the ghetto. In addition, a large part of their membership is relatively new, and

less weighted down with traditional and cautious methods of operating that developed during the period when the Muslims were small and isolated.

People who have contact with the Muslims report that all through 1963 various Negro organizations kept approaching the local ministers and asking them to participate, as a group and under their own banner, in protest actions, marches, demonstrations, etc. In some cases, the ministers rejected the invitations themselves. In others, they said they would take it up with Muhammad (it is a tightly centralized group, in which Muhammad makes many local decisions). In the end, the answer always was, "No, we cannot participate."

The significant thing was that some of the ministers evidently thought there was a possibility that they might be allowed to participate; and, it is reasonable to assume, some of them wanted to.

So there were changes from the top, instituted by Muhammad. But further changes were also wanted or hoped for by some local ministers, perhaps reflecting the rank-and-file or the more numerous non-Muslim sympathizers of the movement. Muhammad's changes did not go very far; they were changes more in style of presentation than in substance; they were tentative, and often not followed up. An example was his call for independent black political action, and then silence and abstinence when the formation of the Freedom Now Party was announced.

Their Dilemma

The Muslim dilemma was this: how to avoid being bypassed and isolated because increasing numbers of militant Negroes were engaging in mass action against discrimination, not only in the South but also in the Northern centers where the Muslims are strongest. Muslim policy is to abstain from such actions, to belittle them as ineffective or even harmful, and to try to justify abstinence with the argument that they are in contradiction with the Muslim goal of separation, including a separate nation.

But is this a real contradiction? Is picket action at a construction site, to win some jobs and apprenticeships for Negroes, really in contradiction to separation? Can't you join such a picketline, or even initiate it, while continuing to believe that separation is the solution for the Negro? If you join a rent strike, to force the slumlord to make some repairs and lower your rent, does that necessarily contradict your belief that "integration" in this racist society will never produce genuine equality for the Negro people?

Muhammad continued to insist that mass action against discrimination is incompatible with the goal of separation. But it isn't necessarily so, according to logic. And some Muslims under the impact of the current Negro upsurge, were becoming unhappy or dubious about a policy of abstinence that would keep them cut off from large numbers of their militant non-Muslim brothers.

Those who are familiar with the history of the radical movement will recall that a similar problem arose for socialists. Their goal is the abolition of the present capitalist system and its replacement with a new system free of exploitation and oppression. But while working for this goal, how about partial, limited struggles to improve the workers' conditions under capitalism ("reforms") — should socialists participate in these struggles or is participation in conflict with the goal of replacing capitalism?

Most socialists, including the Socialist Workers Party, believe that fighting for reforms is not in contradiction with, but a part of, the



PROTEST POLICE HARASSMENT. Muslims in New York picket police court to protest arbitrary arrest of members selling press.

preparation for social revolution; that in the course of struggle for partial changes workers learn the value of struggle and solidarity, and absorb lessons about the nature of capitalism that educate them to the necessity of abolishing it altogether. Therefore they participate in labor, civil-rights, anti-war and anti-fascist battles wherever they can and make contact with the most advanced forces in these battles, while continuing to propagandize and organize for a total socialist change.

The Socialist Labor Party, on the other hand, believes that fighting for reforms retards the struggle for socialism and is incompatible with it; consequently, its members abstain from partial struggles and restrict themselves to propaganda, from the sidelines, about the necessity and desirability of socialism.

One way of understanding the Muslims, then, is to view them as a propaganda group. Some of their propaganda has been effective and fruitful. But their self-imposed abstinence from immediate struggle clearly limits their role at a time when more and more Negroes are looking for action to change the conditions of their lives — not in the future, but now. And not only Negroes in general, but Muslims too.

Evidence of this appears in Lomax's book. It went to press last fall shortly after Muhammad had suspended Malcolm from speaking publicly because of a remark about the Kennedy assassination that Muhammad disapproved of. Lomax interviewed Malcolm, who

said his remark about Kennedy during a question-and-answer period at a meeting was misconstrued, but that it was "wrong" to say anything on the subject after Muhammad had warned him not to.

Malcolm went on to say there was no truth to rumors of disagreement between him and Muhammad because the latter is "the leader, the only spokesman of the Black Muslims." Then he added something which startled Lomax because it was, to his knowledge, the only time Malcolm ever had deviated from Muhammad. Lomax quotes the remark twice, each time a little differently, but the point is the same. We quote from page 179 of his book:

MALCOLM X: . . . But I will tell you this: The Messenger (Muhammad) has seen God. He was with Allah and was given divine patience with the devil. He is willing to wait for Allah to deal with this devil. Well, sir, the rest of us Black Muslims have not seen God, we don't have this gift of divine patience with the devil. The younger Black Muslims want to see some action.

LOMAX: What kind of action?

MALCOLM X: Some things are better done than said. "The younger Black Muslims want to see some action." This, basically, rather than any personal rivalries or ambitions, is what is behind Malcolm's break and the announcement of a new organization.

(More next week)

Braden, at Detroit Forum, Hits Gov't Agencies' Aid to Racists

By Jack Davis

DETROIT — Carl Braden, field representative of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), gave a stirring account of the Southern integration struggle here March 20.

Speaking before the Friday Night Socialist Forum, the Southern civil-rights fighter exposed the fascist-like brutality of state and local police in their attacks on the Albany, Ga., Movement and the aid rendered the white-supremacist forces by the FBI.

Braden gave the details of the recent attacks on SCEF's headquarters in New Orleans, noting that this marked a change from attacks on leaders to a frontal attack on an organization itself. The object of Braden's current tour of the North is to raise funds for SCEF's defense.

A major force in aiding and abetting Southern reaction, he said, were the Democratic appointees to federal judgeships in the six-state area from Georgia to Texas. They throw every possible legal obstacle in the way of the fighters for Negro rights. President Kennedy, paying political

debts to the Southern wing of his party, appointed as judges men who were open representatives of the white-supremacist views of Senator Eastland. The latter, as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, has a veto power over such federal appointments.

Braden, who lives in Kentucky, also spoke about the struggle of the miners in the eastern part of the state, where 250,000 people (out of the state's total population of three million) have been subsisting on federal food handouts for five years in a situation of chronic unemployment. He cited the frame-up of Berman Gibson, the miners' leader, as an instance where the FBI joined state and local law-enforcement officials in use of police-state methods.

Unemployment among whites in the South, Braden said, is in many ways as severe as that among Negroes. He also estimated that at least six million white people (or at least one third of the South's white population) are sympathetic to the Negro people's struggle and would like to see an end to the system of segregation. This is one of the reasons, he said, for the attack on SCEF.

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

MALCOLM X

speaks on

Black Revolution

WEDNESDAY 8 p.m. APRIL 8

Palm Gardens Ballroom 310 W. 52 St.

Question Period Contrib. \$1

Ausp. MILITANT LABOR FORUM

# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

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Vol. 28 - No. 13

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Monday, March 30, 1964

## The Fighting in Jacksonville

Behind the newspaper headlines about "Rioting Negroes in Jacksonville, Florida" facts are already discernible which show that the main perpetrators of the violence are the mayor and the police department.

When Negro groups in Jacksonville began a campaign of protest against segregation in hotels and restaurants, the racist mayor went on television to announce his "get tough" campaign. He swore in 500 firemen as special cops to deal with Negro demonstrators.

Clubbings of Negroes and mass arrests began. So far some 350 Negro demonstrators are known to have been arrested.

Police smashed in the doors of the headquarters of the NAACP and arrested 35 people found there.

When Negro youth began calling for a school boycott to protest the mayor's anti-Negro TV speech, police went to the main Negro high school on the pretext of searching for a bomb. Students became so enraged at their methods and their arrest of one person that they rescued him from the police car and released him. Then police reinforcements were rushed up. They came firing riot guns into the air.

The students and people in the neighborhood fought back with stones, bottles, etc., forcing the police finally to withdraw.

Jacksonville's racist mayor is running for governor. He thought he would give the state a spectacular demonstration of how a "strong" public official puts Negroes back in "their place." But the mayor and the white-supremacists got more than they bargained for. The Negro people today will not take such treatment lying down. They fight back.

## The New York School Boycott

New York's second school boycott on March 16 was more successful than the original reports indicated. The day after the demonstration, boycott leader Rev. Milton A. Galamison charged the Board of Education with skimping on the absenteeism figures. Before he even had a chance to make public the proof he had available, the Board had to concede that not only the figures of the second boycott, but also of the first, had been "incomplete."

It admitted that its figures had not included absenteeism among the 40,000 afternoon-shift kindergarten children or among the third shift of the 115,000 in the regular grades on multiple sessions.

As these facts were established, Rev. Galamison could then say, "The only group we missed was the Puerto Rican association. If we had received its support, we would have had as many out Monday as we did last month." The Negro and liberal support which may have been lost by the withdrawal of the NAACP, CORE, and Urban League national leaderships was more than made up by the grass-roots support in the Negro neighborhoods.

The position taken by the Puerto Ricans and other militants who supported the first boycott but not the second, was not due to any cooling off to the aims of the freedom-now struggle. Confronted with one set of Negro leaders saying "boycott" and another saying "don't boycott," most allies and sympathizers of the Negro struggle waited to see which set of leaders the Negro masses would follow.

That doubt should have been resolved by the participation of more than 168,000 children in the second boycott. If and when Galamison and the other militant Negro leaders call a third boycott, they will in all probability have the support of New York's Puerto Ricans and others desiring to participate in the fight for equality and justice.

## Local Directory

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

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

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

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

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

**OAKLAND-BERKELEY.** Socialist Workers Party and Militant Labor Forum: 592 Lake Park Ave., Oakland. Phone 444-8012. Marxist literature available: write to Labor Book Shop at above address.

**PHILADELPHIA.** Militant Labor Forum P.O. Box 8412.

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

**SEATTLE.** 3815 5th N.E. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

## EFFECTIVE BLOOMINGTON DEFENSE

# National Pressure Key Factor in Victory

How was the victory in Bloomington won? There can be no doubt that it was due in large part to the efforts of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students. The notoriety which the "Hoosier witch hunt" acquired — thanks largely to CABS efforts — became finally too great an embarrassment for the "responsible citizens" of Bloomington. Like those in Dallas, they became deeply concerned about the image of their "All-American" city.

This concern was clearly expressed in a two-installment front page editorial in Bloomington's only daily paper, the *Herald-Telephone (H-T)*, March 6 and 7. The editorial, among other things, indicated Bloomington was getting adverse publicity because of Hoadley's "most notorious" case "against the three members of the YSA."

### Stream of Letters

Again, on March 17 the *H-T* printed in its editorial column two statements from California deploring the prosecution. The March 19 issue of the town weekly, the *Star-Courier*, noted the steady stream of letters pouring in from all parts of the U.S., and even from Great Britain, criticizing and urging dismissal of the indictments.

Hoadley himself felt the pressure. He stated in court that "the

state lost the battle of public opinion" because the defendants "distorted" the case by calling it a witch hunt and linking it with racism. (The students were indicted for attending a campus meeting where Leroy McRae, a Negro national officer of the YSA, spoke on civil rights.)

It was the work of the CABS which made the case not merely a local matter but a matter of national and international concern.

A great many prominent individuals, including hundreds of faculty members from some 50 colleges, became sponsors of the committee. In all, over 600 sponsors joined CABS.

Among them were Nobel Prize winners Bertrand Russell and Linus Pauling, authors James Baldwin, Norman Mailer, Clancy Sigal, and Ray Ginger, journalist Murray Kempton, socialist spokesman Norman Thomas, John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, Rev. Donald Harrington of New York, and Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr., of the Michigan Freedom Now Party.

Also, Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Professors Daniel Bell, Ernest Nagel and Lionel Trilling of Columbia University; Professor Hans J. Morgenthau of the Uni-



Daniel T. Taylor III

versity of Chicago and Warner A. Wick, Dean of Students there; and Antioch College President James P. Dixon.

Also Harvard Professors Gordon W. Allport, Oscar Handlin, Mark deWolfe Howe, and H. Stuart Hughes (Prof. Hughes is acting treasurer for the Boston area CABS); University of Wisconsin Professors Alexander Meiklejohn and David Shannon; Professors Thomas Emerson and Fowler Harper of Yale Law School; Professor Norman Redlich of New York University Law School; and University of Toronto Professors H. Northrup Frye and C. B. Macpherson.

Major credit for this victory also goes to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which true to its name, stepped in when needed and provided top-level legal counsel for the defendants which they could not otherwise have acquired.

### Magnificent Jobs

Both ECLC General Counsel Leonard Boudin and Attorney Daniel T. Taylor III, who likewise contributed his services, did magnificent jobs in preparing powerful and precise legal briefs and arguments to refute the witch hunt's legal pretenses.

The defendants themselves played a key role by untiringly touring campuses around the country to tell of their case, and in fighting for their rights, fighting for the freedom of all.

Many organizations declared support for the defendants, including the National Student Association. The American Civil Liberties Union filed a "friend of the court" brief. Articles on the case appeared in many journals with national circulation.

CABS has announced that its fight is not yet over. The danger of an appeal by Hoadley remains. The committee is urging its supporters to flood the Indianapolis and Bloomington press with letters protesting any attempt to revive the witch hunt.

CABS also announced that a large outstanding debt remains as a result of the expenses of the case. It asked all supporters to help in raising a final \$3,000. Contributions should be sent to CABS, P.O. Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y., 10003.

## ... Young Socialists Win

(Continued from Page 1)

noted constitutional attorney to Bloomington for the hearing.

The proceedings were orderly. Attorney Boudin presented an hour-long argument demonstrating the unconstitutionality of the 1951 statute and the indictments. A recess was called, after which Hoadley began a rambling defense of the law and the indictments. Hoadley's discussion of Trotskyists, Marxism-Leninism, and a statement he attributed to Mao Tse-tung ("Trotskyism is far more to the liberal left than are the capitalist dogs in the Kremlin — according to Mao Tse-tung") left the courtroom staring in disbelief.

Defense attorney Taylor objected to the extraneous issues which Hoadley constantly dragged in. Judge Hill upheld Taylor and warned Hoadley against such "straying."

### "Furious Attack"

After another recess, Judge Hill made a special request of Boudin for a rebuttal to Hoadley's argument. Boudin's ten-minute rebuttal was described by the *Bloomington Herald-Telephone* as a "furious attack" which left the prosecutor's argument "reeling." And well it might have. For both Hoadley's legal brief and his oral presentation were completely inadequate, studded with erroneous citations, misinterpretations of law and misrepresentation of prece-

dent. Boudin made this amply clear in his rebuttal.

After an hour and a half lunch recess, Judge Hill read his decision on the defense motion. The sweeping victory was greeted by the courtroom audience with shouts of approval, handshakes and bear-hugs for the defendants and their attorneys.

At a press conference afterwards Boudin expressed the views of the defendants when he called the ruling "a satisfactory ending to an unsatisfactory story which should never have begun in the first place."

Dr. Clark Foreman made the following statement for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee:

"Judge Nat Hill's decision in the YSA case said that the Indiana Anti-Communist Law is unconstitutional. It is a great victory for civil liberties and we are proud to have had a hand in it."

A victory celebration was held at the home of IU professor Philip Appleman, a sponsor of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students. Besides the defendants and their attorneys, some 50 CABS supporters, both student and faculty, attended.

## L.A. Rally for Morgan Is Held Despite Ban

Before ending his tour to attend his "subversion" trial in Indiana, Tom Morgan was involved in a free-speech fight at Los Angeles City College. Both students and faculty there have been at loggerheads with the Los Angeles Board of Education over the right to hear "controversial" speakers. The Board refused permission for either Morgan or Communist Party spokesman Dorothy Healey to speak on campus, though it did approve a John Birch speaker.

The Los Angeles chapter of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, with the support of the Student Civil Liberties Union, then announced a street rally for Morgan next to the campus. Protesting the speaker ban, over 500 students turned out to hear him and other civil-liberties advocates, including ACLU attorney A. L. Wirin.



Clark Foreman

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# REVIEWS AND REPORTS

## THE PRESIDENTIAL PAPERS.

By Norman Mailer. New York: Putnam, 1963, 310 pp., \$5.

Norman Mailer, one of the best American writers, has here collected various articles, interviews, a speech, poems and other writings of the last three or four years. He tries, with partial success, to weave them together in a single theme by introductory and connecting notes and the claim that they constitute "presidential papers," dealing with questions that a president ought to consider. The president he had in mind was Kennedy, who died shortly after this book came out, not Johnson. Because Mailer had certain hopes and illusions about Kennedy.

In 1960, Mailer covered the Democratic Party convention that nominated Kennedy, and he himself endorsed Kennedy shortly before the election, the first one he had voted in since 1948. On election night, he confesses, he felt guilty about being "another genteel traitor in the land." But he kept hoping to the end that Kennedy might still be influenced in the right direction.

### Honest Man

But because Mailer is an honest man, his assessment of Kennedy was unsparring — and devastating, especially after the invasion of Cuba in 1961. And because he is a radical, his criticism of American society, including those areas most remote from politics, remains savage, always unconventional and often acute.

Mailer writes here not from the standpoint of Marxism or socialism, but of what he calls "existentialism" (and he himself says you'll have to read the book to understand what he means by that). His main target is "totalitarianism," which he sees triumphant not only in Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia, but also in America:

### "Vast Central Swamp"

"And America was altered from a nation of venture, exploitation, bigotry, initiative, strife, social justice and social injustice, into a vast central swamp of tasteless toneless authority whose dependable heroes were drawn from FBI men, doctors, television entertainers, corporation executives, and athletes who could co-operate with public-relations men. The creative mind gave way to the authoritative mind, the expert took over from the small businessman, the labor executive replaced the trade-union organizer, and that arbiter of morals, the novelist, was replaced by the psychoanalyst. Mental health had come to America. And cancer with it. The country had a collective odor which was reminiscent of a potato left to molder in a plastic box."

Mailer sometimes swings wild and stumbles over his own feet,



Norman Mailer

but more often than not he connects and delivers powerful punches against the conformity that has been imposed on this capitalist society. America needs such critics, even when they may be wrong on this or that point. It is to be hoped that Mailer will keep punching, and that he will at the same time review the experience of his hopes about Kennedy and learn some lessons from it.

—G. B.

## THE BASIC WRITINGS OF TROTSKY

edited and introduced by Irving Howe. Random House, 1963, 427 pp., \$5.95.

Leon Trotsky was such a great thinker and writer, and the subjects he dealt with are so crucial to our time, that any anthology of his writings is bound to be valuable. This applies to the present volume, even though it falls short of being what its publishers claim, "the first comprehensive selection from the life work of Trotsky." As the editor, Irving Howe, more correctly notes, "Whole sides of Trotsky's life and thought do not appear at all in this book." Howe's explanation for such omission in his selection is that he intended this book mainly for readers without "intimate knowledge of radical ideology or history." We can't quarrel with that intention, so long as readers understand that the result is the loss of a considerable part of the essence of Trotsky.

### Currently Printed

Howe says "a good part of the material has been rescued from obscure journals and yellowed pamphlets, and some of it appears in English for the first time." But another good part, in fact, the great majority, is from works that are currently in print and available from Pioneer Publishers, where, moreover, they can be read untruncated. Those that are newly translated here whet the appetite for a publisher with the resources and intelligence to collect and issue the many volumes of Trotsky's writings on political, literary and cultural matters that have never been translated into English.

The introduction is another thing. Howe admires and praises Trotsky for his literary stature and his dedication to his ideas. But he is a social democrat, and therefore an opponent of the revolutionary Marxism that Trotsky defended to his dying day. Howe hints at a possibility (really Howe's hope) that Trotsky would have become more "objective" and abandoned his Marxist premises if he had lived into the postwar period, when Marxism is "insufficient," according to Howe, to account for the phenomenon of totalitarianism, the stability and higher living standards of capitalism, the evolution of the Soviet Union since Stalin, etc.

### Understood Sceptics

Trotsky understood and fully accounted for middle-class radical sceptics of the Howe type, and even in this collection there are some passages that seem like descriptions of and answers to the present editor. There is no basis whatever for the inference that Trotsky, if he had not been killed, would have turned into some kind of Howe. The tools of thought that he rescued and sharpened are still the best available for organizing a socialist reconstruction of the world, for handling the theoretical problems that Howe thinks they cannot solve, and — descending to a much lower level — even for explaining how the sophisticated critics of Marxism tick, and why.

G. B.

## TENNESSEE ELECTION CONTEST

# Rights Forces Enter Own Slate

MARCH 22 — The Negro people of Fayette County, Tenn. — one of 135 counties in the South where Negroes are a majority of the population — may set an important precedent for the Deep South this summer. On the basis of registered voters, they now have a realistic chance of electing candidates for county sheriff and tax assessor and they are going to try to do it.

Since 1959, Fayette County has been the scene of a continuing attempt of Negroes to register and vote. Over the years, Negroes who have registered, or even attempted to register, have been subjected to severe economic reprisals and physical violence. But despite the terror, registration — spearheaded by the militant Negro organization called the Original Fayette County Civic and Welfare League — has continued to mount.

Now the League plans to support an independent slate of candidates in the non-partisan county elections next August 6. The candidates are Leon T. Redfearn for sheriff and Rev. Dowdy for tax assessor. Redfearn is a white farmer who has the support and confidence of the Negroes of the county and Rev. Dowdy, a Negro, is a sharecropper and pastor of three rural churches.

### Ran for Sheriff

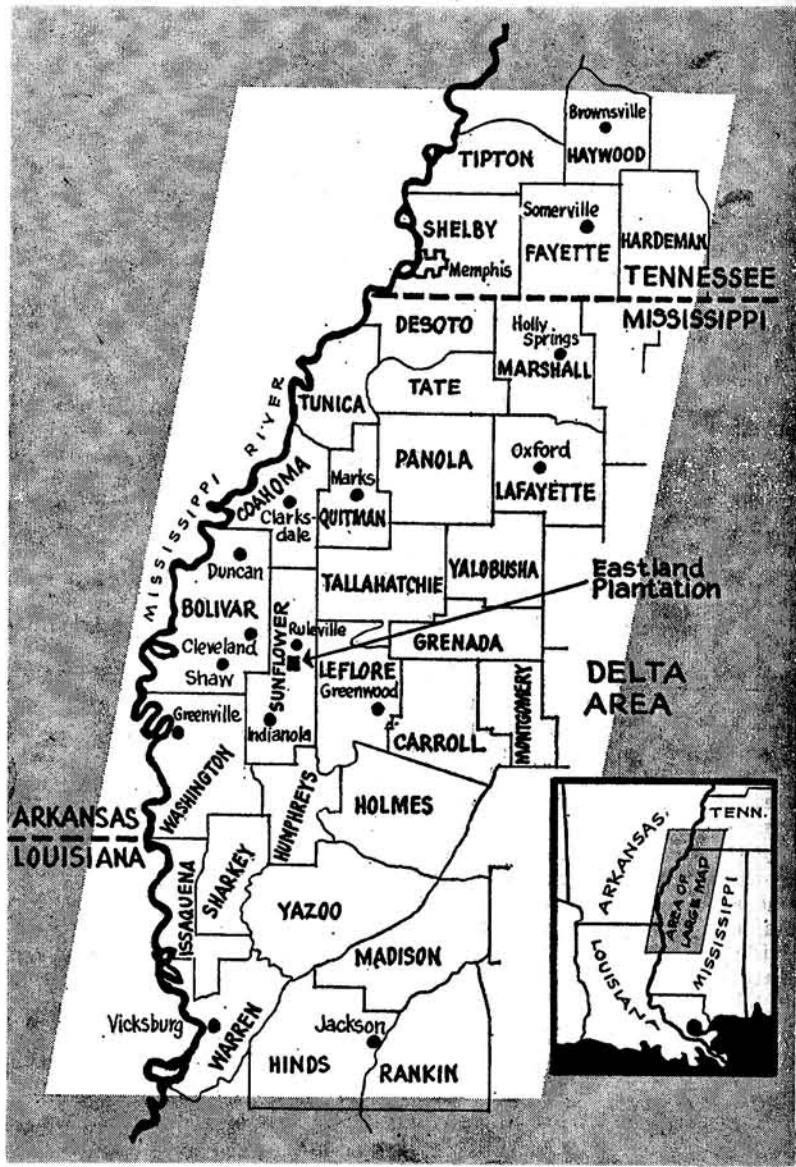
Redfearn ran for sheriff in 1962 with Negro backing, but his supporters had few poll watchers and were stymied by fraudulent procedures. Planks in the slate's platform include: an end to police brutality, impartial enforcement without regard to color, action on all complaints including those of a Negro against a white man, hiring of deputies on a non-discriminatory basis, and fair evaluation of all property regardless of race.

There are about 21,000 Negroes and 8,000 whites in the county. Some 7,500 Negroes and 3,100 whites are eligible to vote if they register. According to a high official in the Justice Department who visited Fayette last fall, there are about 4,900 Negroes registered. That is, there are already more Negroes registered than the possible total of white voters. Therefore, if the election is fair and free, the candidates supported by the Negro community could win.

### "Tent City"

Fayette County made headlines in 1960 because of its "Tent City." The eviction of sharecroppers, which necessitated the erection of tents to house them, was a reprisal by the landowners against Negroes who registered to vote. Fayette County is cotton country, like the nearby Mississippi Delta region and eastern Arkansas. Most of the Negroes work as sharecroppers and farm laborers. Those who registered to vote were easily known to landowners and, more often than not, they lost their jobs as soon as their activities became known. Such Negroes also found it impossible to buy gasoline, borrow at the bank, or to purchase simple necessities in the county's stores. Because of this reverse boycott, a suit was brought and won in federal court under the Civil Rights act of 1957. The result was an injunction ordering that such intimidation cease. However, the injunction has not been enforced, nor is there any reason to believe that it will be. The intimidation and hardships continue.

Last summer, three students from Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y., participated in the Fayette County registration drive. They were Mr. and Mrs. Charles Haynie and Walter Tillow. What they learned, the terrorism they experienced and the respect they developed for the Negro community there, led the plans for a Fayette County Project to aid the election campaign this summer. A great deal of outside support will be



Map by Southern Patriot

**MISSISSIPPI DELTA REGION.** Negroes are a majority in this area but elections are monopolized by white minority. Just north of Mississippi line is Fayette County, Tenn., where more Negroes have registered than whites and hope to elect interracial ticket.

necessary if the Negroes are to gain representation.

The project, in co-operation with the League, will send 30 election workers into the area. They will live in the 15 election districts for some two months prior to the election, canvass the county and agitate for a massive Negro turnout at the polls. The project will also train poll watchers.

A lawyer on retainer will be needed to deal with the anticipated attempts by racists to impose obstacles, "legal" and otherwise, to a fair election in the county. In addition voters will have to be transported to the polls on election day. Since the county covers a large area and there is no public transportation, the project will supply teams of workers with cars. In addition, interested persons will

be asked to bring their cars to Fayette for use on election day.

The project has established support centers in six cities: Ithaca, Nashville, Atlanta, New Orleans, and New York City. Some \$8,000 is needed to finance the project. A victory in this county would have great importance for those who are disfranchised in other black belt counties. The Fayette County Project's New York address is Apt. 13, 140 Suffolk St., N.Y. 2, N.Y.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's Freedom Singers will give a benefit performance in New York City to help. It will be at McMillan Theatre on the Columbia University campus April 1 at 8:30 p.m. The proceeds will be divided between the Fayette County Project and SNCC.

## Pressure of Maryland Students Wins Passage of Public Accommodation Law

BALTIMORE — Pressured by mass demonstrations in Princess Anne, Cambridge and Annapolis and threatened with future demonstrations in the spring and summer, the Maryland legislature passed a statewide public accommodations law. The 1963 Public Accommodations Act had applied to only eleven of Maryland's 23 counties, the other 12 having exempted themselves from the Act. The new legislation, however, covers the entire state.

But victory, is not yet conclusive. Die-hard segregationists are planning a petition campaign to subject the legislation to referendum. If they are successful, the Act would not go into effect until approved by the voters of Maryland in November.

This possibility, however, has not dampened the enthusiasm with which this measure has been received by Maryland's civil-rights

leaders. They viewed the enactment of the bill as a major victory and positive proof that demonstrations bring results.

Gloria Richardson, civil-rights leader from Cambridge, termed the passage of the bill "fantastic." She said that attention would now be turned to other areas such as jobs, housing and job-retraining programs.

John Wilson, leader of the Maryland State students who demonstrated in Princess Anne, commented that this victory was made possible by the militant demonstrations carried out by students who bravely defied water hoses and police dogs.

Stanley Branche of the Freedom Now Committee in Chester, Pa., told a civil-rights rally that now jobs are the important thing because Negroes can't patronize places of public accommodation with empty pockets.

## DETROIT RADIO INTERVIEW

## Report of a Recent Visitor to Cuba

The following is a transcript of a March 6 interview over radio station WQRS-FM in Detroit with Vernel Olson, a Canadian writer and lecturer who is chairman of the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee and who recently returned from a visit to Cuba.

**Question: Mr. Olson, I understand that you spent five weeks in Cuba during the past December and January, and that this was your third visit to Revolutionary Cuba.**

**Answer:** Yes, that is right. I was present for the fifth Anniversary celebrations in the Plaza of the Revolution in Havana. I also attended the 26th of July celebrations in 1961 following the invasion of Playa Girón. My first visit was in 1960 after the rupture in economic relations between Cuba and the United States, but prior to the break in diplomatic relations.

**Q.: You are in a position then, I believe, to comment on the development of the Revolution over the past five years. What are some of your general impressions of Cuba as a result of your recent visit?**

**A.:** We were pleasantly surprised to find the same casual atmosphere at the José Martí Airport, Havana. This casualness was very evident in 1961 and contrasted to Mexico on our return to Canada. In Mexico we were treated as if we had come from a leper colony. I am sure that it would have been much easier to smuggle opium into Mexico than literature. There was a political commissar at each baggage table who perused all literature found in our baggage. A book we had taken with us from Canada to read along the way, *Christianity and Revolution: The Lesson of Cuba*, by Leslie Dewart, was confiscated by the political commissar. Our baggage was not checked either entering or leaving Cuba.

Havana today is quite different from Havana of July 1961, just three months after Playa Girón. At that time it seemed that over half of the people were in militia uniform and armed at all times. The crisis atmosphere of 1961 has passed and the accent is on work rather than on defense. While in Cuba I met only one person who doubted the permanence of the Revolution. This person voiced most of his doubts about the Revolution in front of our guide and his fellow workers.

**Q.: Mr. Olson, could you tell us something about the food situation in Cuba?**

**A.:** Food rations in Havana were cut following the hurricane last fall and most of the large restaurants in the city were closed. Before we left in January, rations had been restored to previous levels and the restaurants were beginning to re-open. While there I talked to Professor Hokinson who teaches anthropology at the University of Havana. We discussed the rationing and his impressions after two years on the island. Professor Hokinson, who is a widely travelled man, told me that the rations are more generous than those in Sweden during the war and those in Britain as late as 1950.

**Q.: As a tourist, what were some of the differences you noticed between Mexico City and Havana?**

**A.:** The ordinary tourist will find Havana much different from Mexico City in many ways. As a tourist you will be able to wander anywhere in Havana without being accosted for a shoeshine. There are no shoeshine boys, or men, on the streets of Havana. In Mexico City there are many mature men shining shoes on the street for a living. As a tourist, you might be annoyed at the absence of cheap souvenirs for sale — which is characteristic of Mexico. You will find no hucksters or street vendors

at your service at all times of the day or night as in Mexico City.

This fact, more than any other, highlights the dramatic change in the Cuban economy since the Revolution. There is no longer an army of unemployed labor which is forced into handicraft production for the tourist industry. All the youth are in schools up to and including university. All able bodied men and women are constructively employed at all levels of industry and agriculture. The miserable wages of the handicraft worker have disappeared forever from the new Cuba.

The typical traces of underdevelopment in Cuba have disappeared. There are no kids in the streets begging, running errands or shining windshields. There are no mature men and women eking out a miserable living in soul-destroying catering to wealthy tourists from North America.

### Olson to Speak In New York

NEW YORK — Writer and lecturer Vernel Olson will speak here on his recent trip to Cuba.

He will be the guest speaker at a May Day Banquet sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. It will be held on Saturday evening, May 2, at 116 University Place.

But there are compensations for the tourist in Cuba today. If you are perceptive and wish to fathom a little deeper than what meets the eye, there is much that is rewarding, yes stimulating, about the Cuban experiment. We spent five weeks doing just that and the results were most rewarding.

**Q.: Before you go any further, Mr. Olson, a specific question comes to my mind about which I would like to have your impressions. The popular opinion in this country is that all or most of the intellectuals and professionals left Cuba after the early part of the Revolution. Can you substantiate or disprove this from your recent visit?**

**A.:** As a matter of fact, this question was uppermost in my mind and I spent much time and energy trying to find the answer. It is true that many did leave in the early days. For example, about 1,700 doctors left out of a total of 7,000. But it is also true that today, five years after the Revolution, the medical profession is the most loyal of the professional groups, perhaps with the exception of the cultural community. We had several very interesting interviews with prominent doctors.

We spent two hours with Dr. David Alonso, director of National Health Services for the island. Dr. Alonso, a person completely devoted to the Revolution, gave willingly of his time to answer a host of questions about health services in Cuba. This is a subject worth an evening in itself so I cannot possibly deal with it tonight. Suffice it to say that Cuba is well on the road to establishing a completely socialized health service for the people of Cuba. You might be interested to know that the graduating classes from medical school in Cuba have taken an oath not to practice medicine on a fee-for-a-service basis. This gives you some idea of the impact of the Revolution on the consciousness of the people.

If you don't mind, I would like to say more about my interview with Dr. Alonso.

**Q.: By all means, do, I find this point very interesting.**

**A.:** I would like to say something about the consciousness of the doctors of Cuba. Dr. Alonso was a pediatrician before the Rev-

olution and, as he put it, "with a petit bourgeois consciousness." At the time, his human sensitivities and the nature of his profession caused him some concern about the health of the ordinary people. He sensed a barrier between the health needs of the people and the services of the medical profession, but he said that he did not think too deeply about the nature of the problem. In any event, he considered private property to be essential to medicine as well as to production.

Today, Dr. Alonso thinks quite differently. He is an ardent supporter of socialized medicine which he says has helped not only the patient but also the profession and the doctor. This opinion was shared by Dr. Porro, the sub-director of the National Hospital in Havana, and by many other doctors I spoke to.

**Q.: You mentioned earlier that the cultural community was the most loyal of all the professional groups. Could you expand on this point?**

**A.:** Yes. It is not generally known that virtually the entire cultural community of Cuba has remained since the Revolution and that many who left Cuba before the Revolution because of the lack of opportunities in the cultural field have since returned. I spoke with many who have returned, some very recently. All of these people explained at great length their new-found freedom and opportunities. I spoke with writers, stage directors, people in the movie industry and others.

At the present time there is a public discussion going on over the role of movies in the new society. Cuba's national film institute, known in Cuba as ICAIC, has been following a policy of importing films from all over the world, many of which have been shown in Canada and the United States. ICAIC believes that the culture of all mankind should be available to the Cuban people.

But there is disagreement with this policy among some Cubans. About a week after we arrived, the editor of the newspaper *Hoy* criticized four foreign movies as "reactionary." For two weeks a free-wheeling polemic took place. We were fortunate indeed to have been there during this period because we were able to sense the mood of freedom which exists in the country. From a survey we made, I would say that at least 90 per cent of Cubans support ICAIC and a policy of full freedom of the arts. There is little sympathy in Cuba for the idea of Socialist Realism as carried out in the Soviet Union. The polemic on art is just one of many public discussions going on in Cuba today.

**Q.: The daily press has interpreted the public discussion and self-criticism in Cuba as a symptom of dissension in the society. Would you agree with this interpretation, Mr. Olson?**

**A.:** This is one interpretation but not, in my opinion, the correct one. This interpretation is made by those who are hostile to the Revolution or, at best, by someone who has no understanding of the Revolutionary process in Cuba. The Cubans are in the midst of building a new society. I was not fully aware of the significance of this fact until my last visit there. Cuban society is very open, I found, and there exists a high level of intellectual honesty both on the part of the leaders and also on the part of ordinary Cubans. The leadership has set a high standard of intellectual honesty which has permeated the consciousness of the people. It is thanks to this policy of openness and honesty that Cuba still exists despite massive efforts to overthrow the Revolution.

When I say that Cuba is building a new society, please don't



**GROWING UP RATIONAL.** All Cuban children now have opportunity for free education in a society that has stamped out racial discrimination.

think that I am being trite or playing with words. A look at the national budget for 1964 tells us a lot about the society. For instance, over a quarter of the budget for this year will be devoted to cultural activities, research and social services, while the allocation for national defense and internal security is less than ten per cent. The largest share of the budget, 29 per cent, goes for development of the national economy. Cuba is now concentrating on increased production through efficiency, as well as through increased production capacity. No Cuban is afraid of losing his job as a result of greater production because all industry is in the hands of the society, as a whole. The major means of distribution are also state owned. In agriculture, 70 per cent of all lands are organized in *Granjas*, or state farms. This has brought a tremendous increase in the standard of living of the *campesino*. The national budget for 1964 will be \$2.4 billion of which \$1.8 billion or 75 per cent comes from the profits of state enterprises. \$328 million comes from income tax and \$146 million comes from other taxes.

All economic and social activity is now planned. The entire resources of the country are in the hands of the Revolutionary Government. The first and most pressing problems are those related to over-coming the conditions of technological underdevelopment and all the attendant social evils.

**Q.: In recent months the Cuban government announced that the country was going to concentrate on sugar production and in recent weeks signed a long-term trade agreement with the Soviet Union involving sugar. Does this mean that Cuba is again becoming dependent on sugar and that she has traded bondage to the United States for bondage to the Soviet Union?**

**A.:** It is true that the Revolution has turned from its post-Revolution policy of neglecting sugar production, a product which in the past half century has symbolized the conditions over which the Revolution was fought and won. The leadership freely admits that Cuba made a mistake and is now rectifying the mistake through a massive effort to raise the production of cane to 10 million tons by the year 1970.

The long-term agreement signed between Cuba and the Soviet Union sets a price of six cents per pound. In 1965 Cuba will deliver 2.1 million tons, increasing each year until 1968 when 5 million tons will be delivered, continuing until 1970. All this at a fixed price of six cents a pound. In the six years prior to the Revolution the United States bought 16.235 million tons. In the next six years the Soviet Union will buy 24.1 million tons, or almost 7.9 million tons more. Besides, the average price will be six cents, an attractive price when compared to average sugar prices over the past 50 years.

But the situation is much more favorable for Cuba than even these figures would suggest. The sugar lands as well as industry are in Cuban hands, the Cuban Government's hands. The profits from the massive increase in sugar production will be used to finance a long-range industrialization program, an industrialization program which will be in the long-range interests of the Cuban economy. The lopsided development of the past is in the process of being rectified.

**Q.: What are some of the social changes which will accompany this change in economic relations, Mr. Olson?**

**A.:** Great social changes are already taking place in Cuba. These changes are reflected in the cultural and artistic life of the country, giving rise to the establishment of national art schools and, in the field of music, to the creation of orchestras, bands and choruses. Cuba is establishing institutions designed to stimulate and satisfy the cultural demands of the great majority of the people. These will contribute to rich cultural traditions.

Cuba has already made great strides in the field of education, and socially is in advance of our own continent. All education fees have been abolished from elementary school up to and including university. This includes all types of cultural schools.

**Q.: Is Marxism-Leninism taught in the school system in Cuba?**

**A.:** Marxism is taught only at the university level. Armando Hart, Cuba's minister of education, says that students below the level of university are not able to assimilate or critically analyze Marxism. For this reason the subject is not taught until the first year of university. In universities Marxism is taught as a subject similar to history, geography, etc. The ministry of education believes that the best policy in earlier years is to teach the students to develop their critical faculties. The minister of education expressed these views when asked by a visitor why Cuba did not teach Marxism-Leninism below the level of university.

### What's Behind The Events in Cuba?

For a basic explanation of the social forces behind the headlines, be sure to read this illuminating pamphlet.

### The Theory Of the Cuban Revolution

By Joseph Hansen

25c

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# 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 under 400 words. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

## Need Your Help

Enfield, N.C.  
We are Negro people in Halifax County — the focal point of North Carolina's black-belt area, where two-thirds of the population is Negro, and where Deep South conditions in the Mississippi sense are deeply entrenched.  
We appeal to you for aid. Throughout Halifax County, there is rampant prejudice, dis-

crimination, and poverty. We are treated as though we are less than human. Most of our people are denied good jobs solely on the basis of our skin color — and many of us can get no jobs at all. Public facilities — such as schools, hospitals, and playgrounds — are inferior and are rigidly segregated. Virtually no public accommodations — hotels, motels, and restaurants — are open to us. The homes that we live in — through no fault of our own — are often woefully inadequate. The streets in our neighborhoods are usually unpaved and the civic services are very poor. No Negro law enforcement officers are hired anywhere in the County.

When, in protest to these intolerable conditions, many hundreds of us demonstrated non-violently last summer and fall, we were immediately subjected to massive clubbings, firehosings, and large-scale arrests. Hasty town ordinances have been passed to eliminate our freedom of speech and assembly. Economic reprisals have been systematically carried out against local civil rights leaders. Crosses have been burned and death threats have been common.

We are going to change this — in a calm and determined fashion. We are going to bring Halifax County well into the twentieth century. Our campaign for freedom will continue on a week-after-week and month-after-month basis until all of Halifax County is a completely free and democratic place for ourselves and our children and, indeed, for all people.

There are many tools that we shall use to make Halifax County a decent place for everyone. One of the most important methods will be voting — and we are launching a thorough, grassroots voter registration campaign which will encompass every city block and country road. We shall be instituting economic boycotts and akin direct action pressures to achieve basic reforms — when 'friendly persuasion' fails. We are setting up community education and welfare centers throughout the area — to conduct classes in literacy and public affairs — and to distribute food and clothing to the countless needy families in the region.

And we are going to win — for ourselves and for North Carolina and for our Nation.

We need — as soon as possible — various types of help: financial contributions to help defray the costs of our Movement and to purchase food for the needy; clothing for the needy; and books — of all kinds — for the literacy and public affairs classes.

We ask you to send your investment in a really free and democratic North Carolina to:

**Mr. A. Reed Johnson & Mrs. Lillie Cousins Smith**  
Halifax Movement  
408 South Dixie Street  
Enfield, North Carolina

## Stimulated

New York, N.Y.  
Thank you for continuation of copies of *The Militant* for the two weeks after the expiration of my introductory subscription. I have found this paper very stimulating and exciting, and hope to be a subscriber for a long time to come.  
L.K.

## Appeal for Aid

New York, N.Y.  
Friends of Puerto Rican independence: This election year is crucial for Puerto Rican Independence. The Puerto Rico Pro-Inde-

pendence Movement (M.P.I.) is extending and intensifying its electoral boycott campaign in Puerto Rico because elections are absurd and humiliating under colonial conditions. For this money is needed. We *independentistas* are in the great need of the help of our friends and sympathizers.

Any contribution will be appreciated. Send it to Movimiento Pro Independencia de Puerto Rico, P.O. Box 274, New York, N. Y. 10024.

**J. A. Gonzalez-Gonzalez**  
Permanent Delegate  
Mission to UN of Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement

## "Tip and Trigger"?

New York, N.Y.  
The newly granted "right" of the police to "enter without knocking" seems to some people to overlap with the right of a householder to shoot anyone breaking into his apartment.

Various misguided young friends of mine, who imagine themselves to have suffered abuse at the hands of the police, have eagerly begun to form "tip and trigger" clubs to direct the police to selected apartments and there impress them, quite forcefully, with the principle of the inviolability of a man's hearth.

Thus it might be a protection for the police as well as for the public if some way were found of removing or invalidating the recent "no knock" law before it is brought to such a tragic test.

Steve Seltzer

## Repeal McCarran Act

Glens Falls, N.Y.  
As you probably know, the Citizens Committee for Constitutional

Liberties, 22 E. 17th St., New York, N. Y. of which Dr. Willard Uphaus is chairman, ran an ad in the *New York Times* of February 6, 1964, calling for the repeal of the McCarran Internal Security Act because our constitutional rights to think, speak, act, associate and publish are in danger as long as there is one McCarran Act victim. Readers were asked to urge the President, the Attorney General and members of Congress to repeal this repressive law.

I wrote to President Johnson, the Attorney General and Senators Keating and Javits. No reply as yet from the President. The Department of Justice acknowledged my letter (to the Attorney General) saying that my interest in writing to express my views is appreciated. Senator Javits also appreciated having my comments, saying he would have them before him as legislation and policy develops in Washington. Nothing so far from Senator Keating.

I did not write my congressional representative, Mr. Carleton J. King of Saratoga Springs, N. Y., in regard to the repeal because I knew he would not appreciate my views on the subject, since they are diametrically opposed to his own, namely, that the McCarran Act should be not only retained but enforced more vigorously; not only that but he undoubtedly would like to see half a dozen or so similar laws enacted and which of course would have his full support.

Mr. King has received a high rating of 88 per cent for his voting record during the first session of the 88th Congress by Americans for Constitutional Action, which said that Mr. King is dedi-

cated to individual freedom and liberty, the private enterprise system and preserving the inherent American heritage for our children.

Could the McCarran Act be construed as a direct violation according to the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution? I wonder how these "upholders" of the constitution justify the existence of the McCarran Act?

K.M.G.

## Cassius Clay

Brooklyn, N. Y.  
The image of the "Free West" is once more in jeopardy. This time in the field of sports. Uncle Sam, as everyone knows, is one of the best sportsmen in the world — honest, truthful, courteous, helpful and loyal. Now, Cassius Clay threatens our national image by telling the whole world that he doesn't wish to associate with whites and furthermore he is not a Christian but a Muslim.

The head of the World Boxing Association is taking steps to correct all of this by taking Clay's title away from him.

I would suggest that to avoid any further trouble of this kind that they also direct the referees that instead of their usual instructions such as breaking clean and no below-the-belt punches they insist on a loyalty oath like this,

"Do you promise to love, honor and obey all white people from this day forward?" Any boxer that doesn't accept this oath should be thrown out of the ring immediately and a "good boy" put in his place.

Yours for American sportsmanship.

Sylvia Weinstein

## 10 YEARS AGO

### IN THE MILITANT

"On March 13, Senator Fulbright charged that McCarthy's subcommittee 'gets any confidential information it wants' from FBI files, and gets it 'whether the information has been authenticated or not.'

"He named Attorney General Brownell as responsible for giving McCarthy access to the FBI's vast collection of 'every kind of gossip, hearsay, and undocumented evidence of all kinds.'

"In view of the use of such material by McCarthy, the Arkansas Senator declared that he would no longer give personal evaluations of persons under investigation by the FBI 'if they are going to be turned over to McCarthy.'

"Now Brownell says it is a civic duty to co-operate,' Fulbright said, 'but I don't see how I am performing any civic duty by telling them whether I think this or that man is loyal . . . In this atmosphere that McCarthy has created, you can go back and crucify a man for something he did 20 years ago. I am not going to be a party to that.'

"Fulbright deserves commendation for deciding to . . . stop passing on gossip to the FBI . . .

"Now how about the other 95 members of the Senate and 435 members of the House of Representatives?" — March 29, 1954.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"Jim Crow in the Army follows the most vicious pattern of the white Southern ruling class, even to the perpetration of a new 'Scottsboro' case. Two young Negro soldiers in New Caledonia last June were sentenced to life imprisonment by an all-white officers court-martial on the charge of 'raping' a confessed prostitute who admitted accepting money from the soldiers.

"The facts concerning the frame-up are contained in a brief filed with Secretary of War Stimson by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The brief charges the military authorities with 'bias and persecution' and 'brutal coercion' in forcing confessions from the imprisoned youths, Frank Fisher Jr., 21, and Edward R. Lorry, 22.

"According to the NAACP brief, the evidence presented at the court-martial was of the most contradictory type, with favorable testimony being excluded. The alleged victim, Louise Mounien, a professional prostitute, herself objected to the arrest of Fisher and Lorry.

"Two medical reports of the woman within 24 hours of the 'rape' revealed that there were no marks of violence or other indication that she had been forcibly attacked. This evidence was withheld from the court-martial." — April 1, 1944.

# It Was Reported in the Press

**Another 'Free World' Recruit** — Dr. Wernher Von Braun, who was one of Hitler's guided-missile experts and now a key figure in the U.S. rocket program, has appointed Dr. William A. Mrazek as chief engineer for America's Saturn moon rocket project. Mrazek was one of Hitler's technical experts who helped develop the V-2 rocket used for the bombing of England.

**Socialized Medicine, Anyone?** — The Tobacco Institute, representing the country's 15 major cigarette producers, is fighting a proposed Federal Trade Commission requirement that cigarette packages and advertisements carry a warning that cigarettes are a health hazard. The Tobacco Institute was given a strong assist when the American Medical Association, which is presumably concerned with the nation's health, joined it in opposing the proposed warning notice on the claimed ground that "health hazards of excessive smoking have been well-publicized for more than ten years, and are common knowledge."

**Progress Report** — New York City has 177,544 Puerto Rican pupils in its public schools but not a single Puerto Rican on the Board of Education. The city administration apparently feels now that some gesture is necessary. So a new school being built in Brooklyn will be named after a Puerto Rican, Carlos Tapia, who was active in community-welfare work.

**Two-Way Squeeze** — Farm prices declined three per cent last year, according to Glenn J. Tal-

bott, vice president of the National Farmers Union. He said this was due primarily to a continuing drop in cattle prices brought about by the squeeze of monopolist practices by the large retail food chains. He might have added that while the chains were forcing down the price to farmers they were also boosting the price to consumers.

**Against Company Policy** — Philip B. Woodrofe, an official of the Bethlehem Steel Corp., told newsmen March 17 that he had been forced to resign because of his membership in the Bethlehem Community Civic League, a new organization which he said is dedicated to the improvement of race relations.

**One View of Jobless** — Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz says there are 1.1 million young people between the age of 14 and 24, who are out of work. Of course, he says, 750,000 are looking for

work "and unable to find it." The other 350,000, he asserts, simply aren't looking. Maybe they're saving shoe leather.

**Note to New York Cliff Dwellers** — The *New York Times* household page reports that "One of the biggest boons to the pleasure of cooking is a roomy and well-equipped kitchen."

**Bias Not Selling?** — One of Princeton's 16 exclusive "eating clubs" is folding for lack of members. The clubs, which are the university's equivalent of fraternities, have been widely charged with anti-Jewish bias.

**Bi-Partisan Ticket Shaping Up** — On meeting a man who described himself as a "Truman Republican," and having someone else argue there's no such thing, Truman replied, "Sure there is." He explained: "They are sort of like Nixon Democrats."

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## Thought for the Week

"The rent strikers don't think I'm irresponsible. I can't please everyone." — Harlem rent strike leader Jesse Gray when asked in a TV interview about New York Police Commissioner Murphy's attack on him as an "irresponsible leader."

## Seek 2,000 Rights Workers For Mississippi Vote Drive

JACKSON, Miss. — At least 2,000 fulltime, civil-rights workers will conduct voter-registration and political-education programs in Mississippi this summer. This "Mississippi Summer Project" is being organized by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), a coalition of national and local civil-rights groups working in Mississippi.

One phase of the project will be a "Freedom Registration" campaign in which 400,000 Negroes who have been denied their voting rights will be registered on "Freedom Registration" books. These will serve as the basis for challenging the official books of the state and the validity of the "official" federal elections this fall.

Robert Moses, who has headed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) vote drive here since 1961, and Dave Dennis of the Congress of Racial Equality will direct the summer drive.

The "Freedom Summer" plans

## 39 Rights Pickets Sentenced in Ark. For 'Trespassing'

PINE BLUFF, Arkansas, March 19 — Pine Bluff Municipal Judge Wilton Steed this morning convicted 39 members of the Pine Bluff Movement on charges of "trespassing." They were each sentenced to 30 days in jail and a \$500 fine and are out on \$1,500 bail pending appeal.

The charges arose from an incident Feb. 17 when comedian Dick Gregory and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Field Secretary William Hansen were arrested for refusing to leave the "white only" lunch counter of "Ray's Truck Stop" on Highway 79 here. The 39 were arrested two days later while picketing the truck stop, protesting segregation. The trespass law is currently being tested in another case before the U.S. Supreme Court which will decide whether it is constitutional for a state to use the trespass law to support a private individual's efforts to maintain segregated facilities.

## Students Protest Lack Of Human Rights in Iran

NEW YORK, March 19 — Some 40 students demonstrated in front of the United Nations today to commemorate the short-lived nationalization of the Iranian oil industry by Premier Mohammad Mossadegh 13 years ago and to protest the current suppression of human rights in Iran.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Iranian Student Association in the United States. Similar demonstrations took place throughout Europe, sponsored by the Confederation of Iranian Students, the world organization of some 25,000 students outside of Iran.

A spokesman for the demonstrators here pointed out that the students were picketing at the UN because all forms of protest had been suppressed in Iran. They called on the UN Commission on Human Rights to establish a fact-finding mission to study the violation of human rights in Iran.

Signs carried by the demonstrators included: "Stop Aid to Iran's Corrupt Government," "Restore Constitutional Rights in Iran," and "We Protest the Harassment of Iranian Students."

include recruiting 1,000 white and Negro college students to man "Freedom Schools" community centers, and to work on a voter-registration drive. The COFO will also run two Negroes for Congress in the Mississippi's Second and Fifth Congressional districts.

COFO Chairman, Dr. Aaron Henry of Clarksdale, state NAACP head, said Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer of Ruleville would oppose the incumbent, Rep. Jamie Whitten, in the Second District. Rev. John Cameron of Hattiesburg will oppose the incumbent, Rep. William Colmer, in the Fifth District. The two Negro candidates will also run in a "Freedom Primary" at the time of the state's Democratic Party primary, COFO workers said.

### Plan to Challenge

If both the Negro candidates lose in the "official" elections, they plan to challenge the seating of the winning candidates. "We intend to challenge whether the country will permit people to be elected from districts where Negroes are not allowed to vote," said Moses.

The summer project is designed to mobilize and train Mississippi's Negro population for social and political action. The summer campaign will include:

- Freedom Schools that will give youth and adults political education as well as high-school level courses more stimulating and critical than those offered in Mississippi's segregated schools.

- Community centers that will provide recreation, health instruction, job retraining, organized sports and libraries.

- Freedom Registration that will register Negroes on mock polling lists to "prove Negroes in Mississippi will register if allowed to do so."

- Freedom Elections to be held during the Democratic primary on June 2.

- Challenging the seating of Mississippi congressmen in the U.S. House of Representatives on the grounds that many Negroes are denied the right to vote in the state.

- Voter-registration drives that will attempt to enroll an additional 25,000 Negroes on the state's books.

- Emergency relief and welfare aid for Negroes facing job losses or evictions because of their participation in the vote drive.

Dr. Henry said students were being recruited for the project at seven centers located on Northern college campuses and in large cities.



Robert Moses

## Ohio Rights Demonstrators Win Lifting of Anti-Picket Injunction



PRELUDE TO POLICE ATTACK. This was scene in Yellow Springs, Ohio, March 14 just before cops attacked civil-rights sitdowners with tear gas, hoses and clubs. The demonstrators — students from Antioch College, Central State College, and Wilberforce University — were protesting continued flouting by local barber of Ohio law barring refusal of service to Negroes. Standing in foreground at right and leading demonstrators in song are SNCC's Freedom Singers.

By Arthur Maglin

YELLOW SPRINGS, O., March 19 — Jim Crow in southwestern Ohio has suffered a severe blow. The police violence here on March 14 not only failed to smash the mass demonstrations against segregation but evoked a wave of local and national revulsion against the employment of such brutal measures.

The demonstrations took place when an injunction was issued, barring more than three pickets at a time at Gegner's barbershop, the establishment which had become the symbol of defiant segregation in this area. Helmeted police used tear gas and a fire hose against the demonstrators who were mostly students.

Over 100 demonstrators were arrested and charged with contempt of court for defying the injunction. While they were in jail some 2,000 militant demonstrators marched around the building to show their solidarity and to protest the police brutality.

The prisoners kept up their spirits by singing Freedom songs, to the great annoyance of their jailers who threatened to throw tear gas into the cells if the singing didn't stop. But the singing continued and the gas never came.

### Crowded Conditions

Jail conditions were extremely overcrowded. One typical cell contained 28 demonstrators and 19 regular prisoners. The capacity of the cell block was only 16 — everyone over that number had to sleep on the concrete floor or sit up at a table; there was not room enough for all on the floor.

Principal defense attorney is Victor Rabinowitz of New York. He was asked to come into the case by his daughter, Joni, an Antioch student. She herself is a former worker with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and is one of those now appealing conviction in a federal frame-up in Albany, Ga.

The Freedom Singers of SNCC happened to be in town at the time the injunction barring demonstrations was issued. They supported the idea of more demonstrations and participated in them. They also donated half the funds

raised during their stay in the area to the legal defense of those arrested.

The fight against the injunction was carried to ultimate victory despite all the arrests. The injunction was dropped. Unfortunately, that had no legal effect on the contempt-of-court citations against those arrested and jailed.

The injunction was dropped because three of the parties who had originally asked the court to issue it, turned around and asked for its withdrawal. The three were: Lewis Gegner, the barber-shop owner; the Yellow Springs Village Council which, like state and county authorities, had previously followed a "go-easy" policy toward Gegner's defiance of Ohio's public-accommodations act; and BOYS, (Business Organizations of Yellow Springs).

The businessmen changed their views when a mass boycott of all

business in Yellow Springs was organized by Negro and white townspeople, including Antioch College professors. The merchants themselves reported the boycott to be very effective.

The Village Council switched its position in the face of massive indignation on the part of Yellow Springs residents. Some 250 townspeople came to the council meeting March 16, demanding it withdraw its support for the injunction and retract its statement condoning the police violence of March 14.

One interesting fact has come out about the police brutality on that day. There was considerable speculation as to why the police first sprayed the demonstrators with the fire hose and then, without warning, tossed tear gas into their midst. It seems that gas is water-soluble, turning into a burning acid when dissolved.

## Southern Calif. Phone Union Wins Partial Victory in Strike

By Al Johnson

LOS ANGELES — The five month strike against the General Telephone Company ended when workers belonging to locals of the AFL-CIO Communications Workers of America voted 3,383 to 735 to accept a proposed contract.

The strike was a partial success despite all attempts by the company to wreck the union. These included injunctions, the hiring of scabs and putting managerial and supervisory personnel to work on jobs left by the strikers.

The new contract includes a 3.5 per cent pay increase now with a five cent hourly minimum boost and further wage negotiations in 1965 and 1966. The determination of the strikers also secured some important fringe benefits, including medical insurance to be paid for now by the company. Furthermore all deductions from pensions because of income from Social Security are to be eliminated within ten years and will be cut from 50 per cent to 40 per cent on June 1.

While the strikers succeeded in making some important advances, the strike was only partially successful. Its original aim had been to bring wages and working conditions at General Telephone into line with those of the other telephone company, Pacific Telephone. But this was not accomplished.

### Record Profits

General Telephone, which is enjoying record profits based on higher rates, hypocritically maintained that it could not be responsible to its stockholders and sign a contract such as other phone companies have signed.

Acceptance by the CWA of a below-par contract is an undeniable setback. Nevertheless the strike served as a warning to the labor-hating company that the union cannot be busted. Company attempts to intimidate the strikers were a total failure. Thus, in essence, the workers proved to themselves that a victory is indeed possible even against arrogant companies such as General Telephone.