

# Moscow-Peking Rift Deepens

By Murry Weiss

OCT. 24 — The long pent-up struggle between Moscow and Peking erupted at the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party when Khrushchev denounced the Albanian Communist Party, which is closely allied with Peking, as guilty of the Stalinist "cult of personality."

Simultaneously Khrushchev renewed the campaign within the Soviet CP against the 1957 "anti-party" group of Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and Voroshilov. This was the first time the latter was publicly added to the list. Speakers then attacked them as "criminal," "degenerate" and bearing "personal responsibility" for Stalin's mass murders and frame-ups.

In each case of this double barrage, the Khrushchevites repeatedly invoked the revelations about the Stalin cult made at the historic 20th Congress of the Soviet CP.

The open cleavage between Moscow and Peking and the new attack on the "anti-party" group were dramatic high points in a Congress where the Kremlin

leaders addressed themselves above all to the Soviet working masses and youth. The program they presented was studded with promises of greater democracy, higher living standards, greater equality and other reforms. Such concessions and promises are reflections of the irresistible demands of the Soviet masses.

The public dispute was of Moscow's, not Peking's, choosing. The fuse was lit by the Kremlin's calculated exclusion of the Albanian Workers (Communist) Party as a fraternal delegation. Then in his opening speech, Oct. 17, Khrushchev accused the Albanian CP of having "embarked on the road of a sharp worsening of relations with our party and the Soviet Union." Moreover, "the Albanian leaders do not hide the fact that the course taken by our party towards a decisive overcoming of the harmful consequences of the cult of Stalin's individuality does not please them."

At the conference of the 81 Communist Parties in Moscow a year ago, Albania openly supported Peking's position on "peaceful coexistence" and related matters. Enver Hoxha, head of the Albanian regime, reportedly

referred to Khrushchev as a "revisionist." Since then Moscow has increasingly withdrawn credit and military installations from Albania. Recently Peking announced it was offering that country \$123 million — a sum equal to all the credits from the Soviet bloc during Albania's previous Five Year Plan.

On the Congress' third day, Chou En-lai, Premier of the People's Republic of China, rose in public opposition to the Kremlin's attack on the Albanians, although he refrained from mentioning Khrushchev by name "Open condemnation of a fraternal party," Chou said, "can only grieve our friends and gladden our enemies."

The next day, Oct. 20, Anastas Mikoyan, first deputy premier of the USSR, with arguments obviously aimed at China, accused the Albanian CP of "sliding into a nationalist position." Top Soviet and party officials and foreign delegates now joined in a command roll call of speeches supporting Khrushchev and by condemning Albania and its "cult of leadership."

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## THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 25 - No. 39 Monday, October 30, 1961 Price 10c

### Monroe Civil Rights Fighter Released on \$15,000 Bail

Richard Crowder, 19, a defendant in the trumped-up kidnap case against Negroes and Freedom Riders in Monroe, N.C., was released on \$15,000 bail Monday, Oct. 23.

Arrangements for posting the

full sum in cash were made by the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants. Its chairman, Dr. A. E. Perry of Monroe, personally carried out the technicalities of having Crowder released and accompanied him from the Union County jail to his home. It was the biggest bail the clerk of the court has received in the 20 years he has occupied the post.

Richard Crowder was born and brought up in Monroe, graduating last year from Winchester High, the segregated school there. When the Freedom Riders went to Monroe this past August, local Negro youth formed the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee to work with them. Crowder was elected president of the MNVAC.

In addition to bailing out Crowder, the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants this past weekend delivered a station wagon and trailer load of food and clothing to the needy and hard-pressed colored community of Monroe.

Crowder is the second of four people arrested in the kidnap frame-up now out on bond. Mrs. Mae Mallory of Brooklyn, who recently was arrested in Cleveland on the same charge, was released

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### High Court Sends De Gregory to Jail

The state of New Hampshire was handed another witch-hunt victim Oct. 23 when the Supreme Court upheld, 5-4, the contempt conviction of Hugo De Gregory for refusing to cooperate with State Attorney General Wyman, a one-man "anti-subversive" investigating committee.

De Gregory now faces a year in prison.

About seven years ago De Gregory returned voluntarily from California to testify on behalf of his father-in-law who had been brought before Wyman. On his return he was quickly subpoenaed as a subject of investigation himself. To force him to name names, a special "immunity" law was pushed through the state legislature stripping him of his rights under the Fifth Amendment. The present high court decision affirmed the denial of his rights under the First Amendment. In an earlier decision against De Gregory it upheld the state "immunity" law which in effect nullifies the Fifth Amendment.



Hugo De Gregory

### Latin Americans Put Brake on U.S. Drive Against Cuba

By Harry Ring

The mounting anti-imperialist movement in Latin America is putting new stumbling blocks in the way of the Wall Street-organized gang-up on Cuba. Coincident with reports of revolutionary demonstrations in Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and the Dominican Republic, came word from Washington Oct. 24 that the major Latin American countries had forced postponement of a projected meeting of the Organization of American States which was to have laid the basis for "hemispheric action" against Cuba.

The demand for postponement came from the governments of Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, Uruguay and Ecuador and mocked the Oct. 11 words of Secretary of State Rusk who said the pending OAS meeting demonstrated that Latin America was becoming increasingly "disturbed" about the Castro regime.

Fresh Jolt

Washington suffered another jolt with the Oct. 22 press disclosure that one Col. Mariano Faget, a top-ranking Batista henchman, was employed by the U.S. Immigration Service to interrogate and screen Cuban refugees at the Opa-Locka detention center near Miami.

Embarrassed State Department spokesmen said that they hadn't known Faget was being used in that particular capacity and that he would be removed from the job. (They didn't deny that they knew he was employed by the Immigration Service and they also didn't specify that he would be removed from U.S. employ.)

The Oct. 22 *New York Times* tried to soften the news of Faget's

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### Garza Urges English-Spanish Ballots in New York

NEW YORK Oct. 26 — Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, today issued the following statement on the federal court ruling upholding the New York State English literacy test for voters:

"This requirement denies voting rights to 200,000 fully qualified citizens of this city and the court ruling upholds that disfranchisement. These people are U.S. citizens, many of whom have voted in U.S. elections in Puerto Rico. But when they come here their right to vote is taken away.

"There is not the slightest shred of logic in the court's position that the state has a right to restrict voting to those literate in English on the grounds that people who don't read English won't know what is going on in government.

The Spanish-speaking commun-

ity here is fully serviced by large daily newspapers, radio, TV, movies and by a great variety of news magazines and other media — all in the Spanish language.

"The fact is that these people know more than most New Yorkers about the problems of the city. They know about slums and low-wages because most of them suffer these ills. They have been disfranchised because the Democratic and Republican parties don't want to contend with them as a political force.

"The citing by the court of the fact that the ballots are printed in English as good reason for the voting ban simply shows the most callous disregard for the Bill of Rights and democratic processes. Ballots could easily contain both languages, at an insignificant cost.



Rock-hurling Dominican students pursue secret police down the street in Ciudad Trujillo after cops used guns and clubs to smash anti-Trujillo demonstrations.

### Demonstrations by Students Rock Dominican Dictatorship

OCT. 24 — Continuing mass demonstrations by students and workers are shaking the Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic. President Joaquin Balaguer, after seven days of demonstrations sparked by students at the University of Santo Domingo, announced Oct. 23 that "several members" of the Trujillo family were leaving the country. Two brothers of the late tyrant Rafael Trujillo Sr. were among those reported leaving, but the tyrant's son, Rafael Jr., who heads the armed forces, remained.

Balaguer also renewed his plea for a coalition with the moderate opposition group, the National Civic Union. This group had pre-

viously refused to consider the plea until twelve military men, associates or relatives of Trujillo Sr., had left the country.

Balaguer, himself a close associate of the bloody dictator who ruled the island nation for 30 years until he was assassinated last May, was obviously attempting to conciliate some sections of the opposition in an effort to keep the Dominican masses from breaking out in a social revolution.

Just before Balaguer made his offer, government agents closed the headquarters of the Dominican Popular Movement, described as pro-Castro.

University Protest

The current series of mass demonstrations began Oct. 16 at the University in protest against the appointment of a new rector, pro-Trujillo Jose Manuel Machada. For several days bands of students, joined by workers, ripped up parking meters — a source of graft — destroyed Trujillo pictures and statues and fought with police.

The demonstrations reached their height Oct. 20 when youths took over two blocks in Ciudad Trujillo and stood around shouting "Liberty!" They were attacked by police armed with automatic rifles, water hoses and tear gas.

They fought back with stones and thousands of people stood on nearby streets cheering them. At least two young men were killed and about 15 policemen injured in that clash. The next day, the government removed the newly appointed rector, but demonstrations against the government and police brutality continued sporadically across the country.

#### New York SWP Slate's Radio and TV Schedule

- Sat., Oct. 28, 2:30-3 p.m.  
Channel 2 Fred Halstead
- Sat., Oct. 28, 9-11 p.m.  
Channel 11 Richard Garza
- Sun., Oct. 29, 12:30-1 p.m.  
Channel 7 Richard Garza
- Wed., Nov. 1, 12:30-1 a.m.  
Radio, 570 AM  
Sylvia Weinstein
- Thur., Nov. 2, 9-10 p.m.  
Channel 2 Richard Garza
- Sun., Nov. 5, 2-3 p.m.  
Channel 4 Richard Garza

# ... Moscow-Peking Rift

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However, delegates from the Communist Parties of Vietnam, North Korea, Japan, Indonesia and India have thus far declined to echo Khrushchev's attack on Albania and thus by implication support Peking.

From Tirana, Albanian ruler Enver Hoxha, declared in a radio speech (Oct. 20): "The Albanian Workers Party, which cannot keep silent, will acquaint the entire international and Communist workers movement and the entire world opinion of the truth of the relations between the Albanian Workers Party and the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and will unmask the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian activity of Nikita S. Khrushchev and his group."

The fragmenting of the Stalinist monolith was further manifested by a speech of Khrushchev taking another swipe at Yugoslavia. This evoked from Marshal Tito the retort that the accusations "are on the line of old charges. I would merely wish to add that the achievements of the liberation struggle and the Socialist construction of Yugoslavia are the concern of the Yugoslav people themselves."

In an unprecedented step, *Pravda* published Chou's speech opposing Khrushchev on Albania. *Hsinhua*, the Chinese press agency quoted Chou as follows: "The U.S. imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionist clique are trying by every means to sow dissension and disrupt the unity of the progressive forces throughout the world."

### Abrupt Departure

Premier Chou's abrupt departure from the Congress on Oct. 23 was interpreted as a sign of the further worsening of the Chinese dispute with Moscow.

The press quoted Mikoyan as saying about the "anti-party" group, "If they were still in the period of the cult of personality, they would have been liquidated long ago by means they know only too well. We prefer to go against them by ideological means."

It is true that the "anti-party" group leaders were not shot by the top Kremlin group, but it certainly did not employ "ideological means." To this day the genuine issues in dispute have not been revealed. The ranks of the Soviet party and the world have never heard the viewpoint of the Molotov - Malenkov - Kaganovich group. Nor did the Kremlin liquidate the Hungarian revolution-

ary struggle for socialist democracy by "ideological means."

In the Congress speeches, Nikolai Podgorny of the Ukraine, called Kaganovich "a real sadist" and "a degenerate." Yekaterina A. Furtseva, the Soviet Minister of Culture, told the Congress that Kaganovich had been personally responsible for the execution of hundreds of railroad executives while he was railroad minister during the purges in the 1950's.

(Khrushchev's role in the Ukraine, however, has never been disclosed though he was Stalin's chief lieutenant there during the height of mass murder in the 1930's and 1940's.)

Kirill T. Mazarov, presently the Byelorussian party chief, told the Congress that Malenkov, as the CP's Central Committee representative to Byelorussia in 1937, had collaborated with GUP chief Nikolai I. Yezhov and had falsified charges of an "anti-Soviet" Byelorussian underground.

According to the Oct. 21 *New York Times* Madame Furtseva "related an alleged incident said to have taken place in the party's

ruling Presidium in 1956 as the posthumous rehabilitation of Marshal Mikhail N. Tukhachevsky was being discussed. The marshal was one of several Soviet military leaders executed in 1937 on falsified treason charges.

"According to Miss Furtseva, Mr. Khrushchev asked Mr. Molotov at the meeting: 'were you sincere when you voted for Tukhachevsky's liquidation or are you sincere now in supporting his rehabilitation?' According to the Culture Minister, Mr. Malenkov said to Mr. Khrushchev on that occasion, 'Are you trying to frighten us?'"

This same question might also be raised about Khrushchev's "sincerity" in supporting Stalin's mass murders in the 1930's and his present "sincerity" in attempting to shift the responsibility for Stalinism onto the leaders of the "anti-party" group. Such "sincerity" cannot bear examination without the fully documented facts about all the Soviet leaders. Once the whole record is exhumed, a genuine investigation will find guilty not individual criminals but an entire bureaucratic caste.

# ... U.S. Drive Against Cuba

(Continued from Page 1)

government employment with this assertion: "Although he was associated for nearly 20 years with different Batista governments in the capacity of a secret police official, Colonel Faget has not been personally identified with the tortures, murders and other excesses of the Batista dictatorship."

This simply isn't true. His activities during the first Batista regime earned him such popular hatred that he was the target of an unsuccessful assassination plot. Faget's last job with Batista was as director of the Bureau of Repression of Communist Activities whose record of foul crimes created a stench throughout the civilized world. He is presently wanted on charges of murder and other crimes by the Cuban government.

The use of types like Faget is completely consistent with the real nature of the anti-Cuban "crusade." Talk of restoring "democracy" to Cuba is so much Madison Avenue hogwash. A Faget is assigned to screen out those opponents of the Cuban revolution who may really take seriously the propaganda notion put forward by some of "Fidelismo without Fidel." Washington may be willing to

forego Batista, but it aims to restore the *Batistianos* to power.

It's this perspective that opens the "crusade" to every kind of reactionary vermin and permits use of every dirty trick in the book.

For example, on Oct. 13 Jules DuBois, chairman of the "freedom of the press" committee of the Inter-American Press Association, made public documents said to be provided by a defecting employe of the Cuban embassy in Argentina. The documents purported to be letters from Cuba's deputy foreign minister, Carlos Olivares, giving sinister instructions for destroying the "free press" in Latin America. The U.S. government put the stamp of authenticity on the documents.

The *New York Times* ("All the News That's Fit to Print") on Oct. 13 devoted 16 column inches to this "exposure."

On Oct. 18, the *Times* gave all of 2½ inches — buried at the bottom of a page — to a statement by the Argentine Foreign Ministry that examination by handwriting experts had shown the documents to be forgeries.

But the campaign against Cuba is not being confined to forgeries. A recent visitor to Central America reports that a former Batista officeholder boasted openly that since the crushing of the last invasion a whole new force has been trained in the Panama Canal Zone and other areas and that as soon as sufficient materiel becomes available from the U.S. an invasion force of 15,000 to 20,000 men will be hurled against Cuba.

Meanwhile, in Miami counter-revolutionary spokesmen asserted that an invasion wouldn't be needed, that internal opposition would topple the Castro government. But, they hastily added, this couldn't be done without U.S. "assistance."

# New Campaign Is Launched To Win Freedom for Sobell

By Myra Tanner Weiss

NEW YORK — A National Planning Conference of the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell met here Oct. 14-15. It launched a campaign designed to force the Justice Department and the new Administration to look at the case of Morton Sobell long enough to see that he was not given a fair trial, and that he has spent 12 years in jail despite his innocence.

In the past the Sobell Committee has concentrated a major part of its efforts on reaching the public through petition campaigns and letters. Many prominent Americans were persuaded to study the trial records of the Rosenberg-Sobell "conspiracy" case of 1953 and were thereby convinced that the convictions were either unfair or an outright frame-up. They joined in numerous appeals for a new trial of Morton Sobell, for amnesty, for clemency, or for any judicial or administrative step that would end the torture of innocent people. Despite the protest of these many thousands of people in this country and other parts of the world, Morton Sobell still languishes in prison.

Helen Sobell and many delegates to the National Planning Conference had great hope that a new, Democratic Administration would make justice possible at last. That hope was cruelly destroyed after Kennedy's victory when the Justice Department rejected on a mere technicality a new appeal for clemency.

But the frustration of those who have fought for justice for Morton Sobell for over a decade became the fuel for a new program of



Morton Sobell

militant struggle to bring the truth of this case to the American people. Helen Sobell set the example when she took her two children and picketed the White House. The Conference followed suit by joining Mrs. Sobell in another picket demonstration immediately following its planning work, Oct. 16.

The Committee for Justice for Morton Sobell is asking each of its thousands of supporters to pledge a day for justice—to be spent picketing in support of the demand for a review of the Rosenberg-Sobell case. New legal motions will soon be made in court. But the primary task is to force the case into the public eye.

The target date for the next enlarged demonstration in Washington is Nov. 26. Demonstrations on that date will be organized in other cities. It is hoped that these protests will grow until Morton Sobell is free.

# TRUTH—A WEBSTER DEFINITION

Dear Reader:

This letter is addressed particularly to those readers who get their *Militants* from the big-city newsstands which we service.

I have just sent a personal letter to all those readers who get their papers by subscription. Although the first letters went out just three days ago, this morning's mail brought in contributions from H.M. (his second), J.S., and A Friend in the Bronx, N.Y. We thank them sincerely.

As I told our subscribers, it is not possible for *The Militant* to maintain itself on its very low subscription rates, and we have always had to depend on our loyal readers to keep the paper coming out week after week.

It also goes without saying that readers of our paper get far different fare than that dished up in the daily capitalist papers. That

"news" is Washington-Wall Street oriented to try to make everyone "think" the way the government (or its rulers, the Wall Street barons) want them to. The news you get in *The Militant* is material that is either entirely suppressed by the kept press or so slanted as to be far less than the truth.

We have been accused of lifting the *Voice of America's* slogan "truth dollars." The actual fact is that the word "truth" in their slogan means imperialist propaganda. The word in our slogan means what Mr. Webster and Mr. Merriam still define it as — "conformity with fact or reality . . . honesty, uprightness and integrity."

Please send our kind of "truth dollars" to *The Militant Fund*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

Marvel Scholl,  
Fund Director

## Weekly Calendar

### LOS ANGELES

Two Sunday Classes. From Nov. 5 through Nov. 26. (1) Current Economic Thinking in the Light of Marxist Theory. Instructor, Theodore Edwards, each Sunday at 11 a.m. (2) Strategy in the Struggle for Negro Liberation in the U.S. By Negro Affairs Committee, Militant Labor Forum, each Sunday at 12:30 p.m. All sessions at Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. \$1.50 per series. Individual sessions, 50 cents. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

The World Conflict Between Capitalism and Socialism — The New Khrushchev Program and the Lenin Program. Speakers: Milton Alvin, Socialist Workers Party, and Bennett Tangen, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 11, 8:15 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Contrib. 75 cents (Students 25 cents.) A usp. SWP and YSA.

### NEW YORK

Gala Wind-Up Campaign Celebration. Meet the Socialist Workers candidates. Fun — Food — Frolic. Sat., Nov. 4, 8:30 p.m. at 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee.

Just Returned from Cuba. Hear James O'Connor, economist at Barnard College. Fri., Nov. 10, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

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| City                             | Quota              | Paid               | Percent   |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| St. Louis                        | \$ 95.00           | \$ 95.00           | 100       |
| Boston                           | 600.00             | 600.00             | 100       |
| Denver                           | 100.00             | 97.00              | 97        |
| Detroit                          | 665.00             | 565.00             | 94        |
| Connecticut                      | 160.00             | 145.00             | 91        |
| Twin Cities                      | 1,300.00           | 1,191.00           | 91        |
| San Diego                        | 300.00             | 245.00             | 82        |
| Newark                           | 160.00             | 122.00             | 76        |
| Chicago                          | 900.00             | 610.00             | 68        |
| San Francisco                    | 600.00             | 410.00             | 68        |
| Los Angeles                      | 5,300.00           | 3,214.00           | 61        |
| Seattle                          | 530.00             | 312.00             | 59        |
| Berkeley-Oakland                 | 530.00             | 305.00             | 58        |
| New York                         | 4,700.00           | 2,617.00           | 55        |
| Allentown                        | 130.00             | 67.00              | 52        |
| Philadelphia                     | 320.00             | 153.00             | 48        |
| Cleveland                        | 530.00             | 254.00             | 48        |
| Milwaukee                        | 320.00             | 95.00              | 30        |
| General                          |                    | 152.00             |           |
| <b>TOTALS</b><br>through Oct. 29 | <b>\$17,240.00</b> | <b>\$11,249.00</b> | <b>66</b> |

# THE MILITANT

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Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except for omission of five summer issues, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 25 - No. 39



Monday, October 30, 1961

## The Soviet Superbomb

The day after the Soviet Union exploded its superbomb, Earl Russell led a delegation to the Soviet Embassy in London to lodge a protest. In a not insignificant way, his action summed up the political result of the blast. During the past number of years Russell has become the best known figure in a substantial international movement to ban the bomb — a movement that by its very logic has progressive, anti-imperialist significance. This has been so because — until the Soviet resumption of tests — all those who wanted to fight the bomb found themselves fighting the U.S. warmakers and their allies. For millions around the globe it was becoming increasingly apparent that the basic responsibility for the war danger rested with the capitalist powers.

The principal result of the Soviet explosions has been to divert the eyes of anti-war fighters from the proper target — world imperialism.

Khrushchev and his supporters seek to justify the resumption of tests on the grounds that they were necessary to perfect a defense against the threat of Western attack and, secondly, to stay the hand of the warmakers by demonstrating to them the awesome military might of the Soviet Union.

The argument is false. Explosion of superbombs certainly strikes fear into the hearts of the ordinary people of the world, but they won't stop the warmakers. Didn't they already know about Soviet might? Wasn't there a Lunik and Sputnik? A Yuri Gagarin circling the globe? Yet these demonstrations of the giant Soviet technological advances did not deter the bellicosity of the Western cold warriors from reaching a new pitch.

Encircled by an aggressive capitalist world, the USSR has the right and duty to build its military defense. But in a struggle of this kind — a struggle between two conflicting social orders — military defense has effectiveness only to the extent that it is related to the only meaningful defense against capitalist war. That defense is the building of an international, anti-war, anti-capitalist mass movement.

Explosion of nightmarish superbombs impedes the building of such a movement and affords the imperialists a dangerously potent propaganda weapon.

A random example: a war-mongering gutter rag like the New York *Daily Mirror* suddenly emerges as an anti-bomb champion. The day after the superbomb explosion it carried a screaming headline — *World Cries: Stop It Now!*

The decision to resume the tests in blatant disregard of popular world opinion is an expression of the narrow nationalist outlook of Khrushchev and his associates. Granted, the latest explosion more than demonstrates that the USSR has the power to wipe out the capitalist sector of the world. Is this the perspective that the heads of a workers' state have to offer the workers of the West? The prospect of destruction instead of the prospect of socialism?

It is not simply a matter of justice to the workers still living under capitalism. In the hands of these workers there is the strength to stay the hands of the warmakers. Nobody will ever build a bomb more powerful than a progressive social force. Peace will be won not by bigger bombs, but by a victorious socialist movement. Anything that endangers the building of that movement allows the world to slide further down the road to war.

## The Missing Voice of Protest

In a letter to the Oct. 22 *New York Post*, the president of the Young Democrats at Hunter College objected to that paper's earlier assertion that New York City college students were not taking any positive action against the ban imposed against Communist Party speakers on city campuses. He listed a number of activities already initiated at Hunter to win reversal of the ban. At other of the city colleges similar protests are under way, both by students and faculty members.

This is a heartening fact. Previously, the city college heads had sought to ban Smith Act victims from speaking on campus but this was finally defeated. Now they have invoked a "temporary" ban on Communist Party speakers with an eye to making it permanent. The basis for the move was the Supreme Court's affirmation that Communists must be stripped of their rights on the fake grounds that they're "foreign agents."

In their protests, students and faculty members alike have expressed their understanding that this is a curb on their rights, as well as on those of the Communist Party.

The *Post* was wrong in stating that the students had failed to react on this issue. But there is another point that should be made. And that is the failure of organized labor to react to the ban. When the early union movement fought for free public education it wasn't just demanding tuition-free education, but education that included freedom of inquiry as well. The same stand should be taken now.

## The Monroe Story

# Why Robert Williams Was a Marked Man

By George Lavan

Robert F. Williams' suspension as president of the Union County branch of the NAACP expired before the end of the year and he was unanimously reelected. NAACP national and state officers had made some efforts to prevent this but far from finding someone who could defeat him they were unable to find anybody willing to run against him.

But for all practical purposes the branch was under ban as an outlaw unit — receiving no assistance or cooperation from state or national bodies. Thus when the lunch-counter sit-ins conducted by Williams and young people of Monroe resulted in his arrest, in an almost perfect test case of the trespass laws, the state organization refused to appeal the case because Williams was "too controversial."

During his suspension Williams had begun publication of a weekly newsletter titled *The Crusader*. It was an eight-page mimeographed, hard-hitting journal of news and opinion. The mechanical and editorial work was done entirely by Williams, his wife Mable (who soon displayed considerable journalistic talent as well as typing and mimeographing ability), and several supporters in Monroe. This little paper gave Williams the opportunity to express his views on local, national and international events. Its exposes of local racist activities and injustices to Negroes caused it to exercise considerable influence among the county's colored population. For the white-supremacists and city officials it was as infuriating as a hornet. Because of its uniqueness and the militant views of its editor *The Crusader* came to have quite a national and even international circulation.

### Educational Weapon

The newsletter allowed him to display the breadth of his vision and to draw from world and national events information and lessons important to the education of the colored working people of the South. For this was always the audience which Williams kept in mind. The aim of *The Crusader* could well be summed up in the phrase: To educate and agitate.

For a Negro in the South to speak out boldly and militantly for complete equality for his people, and to do it without even the protective semi-religious coloration of pacifism, was staggering enough for the white supremacists and powers-that-be in North Carolina. But Williams went even further — he took liberties which not even white men in the South dared. His newsletter openly criticized and castigated the whole social system, the Democratic and Republican parties, the sacrosanct "free enterprise" system and U.S. foreign policy. *The Crusader* was an enthusiastic supporter of the colonial independence struggle and was for unions and sympathetic towards socialism. Its editor was unrestrained in hailing the African freedom fight and the Cuban Revolution.

The Cuban Revolution excited and fascinated Williams from the beginning. He made two visits to Cuba before the U.S. forbid travel there and what he saw made him more enthusiastic than ever. For he witnessed with his own eyes the accomplishment of what he desired in the United States — not only the wiping out of all forms of legal discrimination and segregation but the complete integration of Afro-Cubans economically and socially as equals. One of the features which distinguished Williams even from other militant civil-rights leaders in the U.S. was his emphasis on the need to end the root cause of Jim Crow — the economic super-exploitation of the Negro people.

Williams met and became friends with Fidel Castro and other leaders of the Cuban Revolution. He

returned from his visits a convinced Fidelista. What the Afro-Cubans had won in Cuba, he felt Afro-Americans should fight for in the United States. His feelings might be likened to those of Lincoln Steffens who, after his visit to the young Soviet Republic in its days of proletarian democracy, had declared: "I have seen the future and it works."

*The Crusader* now began to carry a great deal of news about Cuba and what was being done there. Williams was one of the initiating sponsors of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He later made a highly successful coast-to-coast lecture tour for that organization.

### Contempt for Uncle Toms

Williams had supreme contempt for Negro leaders who went abroad for the State Department to deny or minimize the racist oppression in the U.S. Such mendacious "loyalty" he considered treason to the Negro struggle and to the truth as well as to what this country should be. From the experience of the Kissing Case he fully realized the importance of world public opinion as an ally of anti-Jim Crow forces in the U.S. Consequently he preached and practised unsparing truth-telling about U.S. racism to foreigners. He did this with the many foreign visitors who came to see him in Monroe, with correspondents of foreign newspapers and with audiences in Canada and Cuba.

When, for example, he received word in Cuba that the Ku Klux Klan had made threats against his wife and children in Monroe, he summoned reporters and stormed to the U.S. Embassy and demanded federal protection for his family. The fury with which local and state officials regarded him now came to be shared by federal authorities.

Word went from Washington to the wire services (AP and UPI) and from Raleigh to local papers to suppress statements made by Williams. Attorney General Robert Kennedy systematically ignored his telegrams protesting racist violence in Monroe. (This was an important factor in the August 27 violence. Monroe police believed they had a virtual license from state and federal authorities to do whatever they pleased against Williams and the Freedom Riders.)

A prime example of the acute embarrassment that Williams caused Washington was his ironic telegram during the United Nations debate over the U.S.-sponsored invasion of Cuba.

### Telegram to Roa

Williams addressed the telegram to Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa, who had personally gone to the UN to press the charge that the U.S. had equipped, financed and launched the invasion. Roa read the following message aloud to the amusement of the assembly and the acute discomfort of U.S. Ambassador Stevenson. "Please convey to Mr. Adlai Stevenson: Now that the United States has proclaimed military support for people willing to rebel against oppression, oppressed Negroes in South urgently request tanks, artillery, bombs, money and the use of American airfields and white mercenaries to crush the racist tyrants who have betrayed the American Revolution and Civil War. We also request prayers for this noble undertaking." (signed) Robert F. Williams, Monroe, N.C.

The social and political power elite of the South cannot tolerate the continued presence of an agitator like Williams. It prepared to remove him one way or another, even by killing him or countenancing his murder.

The summer of 1961 brought a renewal of the struggle at the lily-white municipal swimming pool. Union County, which boasts that it has no unions, got another

shock — its first picket lines. Mobs formed and Williams and others who brought the young pickets to the pool in autos openly carried weapons (which is perfectly legal in the state) to protect them if necessary. Continued picketing led the authorities to close the pool completely.

On June 23 an attempt — the first of four — was made on Williams' life. A prominent white businessman of the community locked bumpers with Williams small foreign car and pushed him at great speed down the highway for a quarter of a mile before he was able to break free. (This is a trick which was shown in the popular movie *Bad Day at Black Rock* in which, appropriately enough, a racist tries to kill the investigator of a white supremacist murder.) Police witnessed the whole episode but refused to act even after Williams gave them the name and license plate number of his assailant.

The trumped-up kidnap charges against Williams accomplished the Monroe authorities' much desired ends. That a hand-picked local jury would impose a life sentence was almost a certainty. Williams chose to flee and is safe in Cuba. Though they are cheated of their vengeance, Monroe's racists are congratulating themselves on achieving their end — removing him from the scene.

But their congratulations may prove premature. Even if Robert Williams is unable soon to return to Monroe, as he has declared he intends, Monroe's racist rulers are in for some nasty shocks. Any visitor to Monroe who is trusted by the colored community is struck by the ardor with which the young people embrace their absent leader's ideas. They do not feel defeated but are impatient to renew the struggle.

A generation ago Monroe produced but one Robert Williams; in the present generation there it has reproduced him by the dozens. The ancient Greek myth tells of fully armed warriors springing from dragon's teeth sown in the ground. Williams sowed dragon's teeth in Monroe and the repression of the racists has caused to spring forth a bumper crop of courageous and militant young fighters for racial equality.

(Last of a series.)

## ... Released on Bail

(Continued from Page 1)

on \$7,500 bail on Oct. 20. She is fighting attempts by North Carolina officials to have her extradited from Ohio.

The two remaining prisoners in the "kidnap" case are John Lowry, 19-year-old Freedom Rider from New York, and Harold Reape, 17, a member of the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee. Bail for each is \$10,000. Every effort is being made to raise this bail. Those owning property in North Carolina or residents of other states possessing cash or negotiable securities, who want to help these young fighters for civil rights, are urged to communicate at once with the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, Suite 1117, 141 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

Some friends and supporters of Robert F. Williams have resumed publication of his newsletter, *The Crusader*. It will appear irregularly until it is in a financial position to achieve weekly publication. One difficulty is that almost the entire list of subscribers was lost in a fire. *The Crusader* staff is most anxious to reach those who were subscribers. If you were one would you please so inform Mrs. E. A. Johnson, P.O. Box 478, Monroe, North Carolina. Subscriptions (\$5 per year) and contributions should be made out and sent to Mrs. E. A. Johnson at the above address.

## Eulogy for a Unionist

## They Failed to Hand on the Torch

The morning Hurricane Esther passed New York I drove out to Brooklyn to attend funeral services for my Uncle Louis. My uncle had spent his whole life as a dedicated unionist, a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Starting as a worker in the sweatshops, where he was one of the first to organize the union, he later became a business agent for Cloakmakers Local 23. Then he returned to the shop, remaining a member of his local's executive board until he retired ten years ago on a small union pension. He was 79 years old when he died a few weeks ago.

All those at the funeral were Jewish and, except for some members of the family, all were old. They were those old Jewish workers who had helped found the union and who — though in their 60s and 70s — are still its leaders. They had come in this storm, miles out in Brooklyn, to say goodbye.

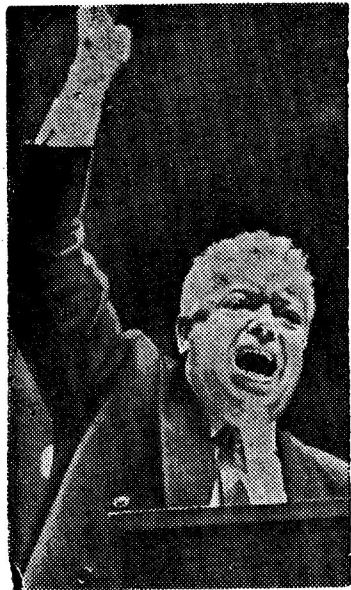
We were surprised to see the union's International president, David Dubinsky, there, despite the miserable weather. One speaker in his 70s described how in 1907, when the union was in the first stages of formation, my uncle got him to join the new organization in spite of great risk to his own job. Another told how, as immigrants, they had been ridiculed and how much courage it had taken for people like my Uncle Louis to fight for the radical ideas which they had brought from the revolutionary movement of Europe, and make them part of America. But it was Dubinsky who expressed their deepest feelings and revealed the source of their most profound sorrow.

## In Good Hands

He explained that he didn't know my uncle as a personal friend. But that through the years he had always known that Local 23 was in good hands because Louis Gordon was there, devoted to their principles, an unselfish individual.

He talked of the differences between the union in the early part of the century — in its days of struggle for recognition, shorter hours and higher pay — and today. Of the type of individual who came forth in those days, exemplified by Louis Gordon, compared to the mercenary character of people who step into positions of authority in the union today. He said that the battles which had produced those types were won — the union is rich — and the old types are vanishing. As he spoke, he wept. He was speaking from the heart. He was speaking the truth — as he felt it.

Those present, familiar with the inner workings of the union, knew the source of the pall that hung over Dubinsky and this passing generation of leaders. What made Dubinsky's tears bitter at what



David Dubinsky

should have been a moment of sweet sorrow, the honoring of a long lifetime well spent, was the plan to abolish "the institute." This institute, Dubinsky's brain child, had been established to train a new union leadership. Its students were drawn from ads placed in college newspapers and from sons and daughters of the old generation of garment workers. But it and its alumni had become the center of a campaign for a union of union organizers, with rights to bargain with the employer (the ILGWU) for higher salaries, and job security. Despite Dubinsky's pleas for self-sacrifice, long editorials in *Justice*, the union newspaper, and pronouncements against "factionalizing," the organizers union had won a National Labor Relations Board election.

## Different Viewpoint

Institute graduates for the most part are either careerists, or young idealists who do not identify with the old generation of union members. They see the union's problems with different eyes. In either case, they resent the fact that their own job security depends on their following the dictates of the old leadership.

Dubinsky said the big struggles are over. But as I listened to him at my uncle's funeral, I thought of what I had learned as a sewing-machine operator, for a number of years, in various shops in New York City. I learned that there are basically two kinds of shops. The good shops — making higher priced garments with relatively good pay for the workers. But these are almost all the older Jewish and Italian union members, immigrants of yesteryear, who are closest to the union leadership.

On the other hand there are the bulk of the shops — popular-priced dresses, sportswear, under-

wear, children's wear. Here the piecework rates are far below those of the choice shops. Some days a worker will not even make the minimum wage. Here are the Negro and Puerto Rican workers, recent immigrants from the South or the Caribbean. They pay their union dues — substantial sums of money — and in return they often work under sweatshop conditions.

And what of the unorganized shops, I thought. What about a struggle to organize them. What of the many helpers, sweepers, and messengers — almost always referred to in the garment district as "boys," though they be full grown men with families to support. Often they are virtually unorganized even though they work in union shops and pay dues. Why doesn't the union lead them in a struggle to raise their pitiful wages, and to break down the racial discrimination which keeps them on menial jobs?

What have Dubinsky and his co-leaders done to inspire these people to struggle? What has he taught them? As he spoke I could see that this base of his own union did not really exist for him. The Negro and Puerto Rican workers were stangers to him. They were not thought of as fellow workers, but rather as a faceless mass — even though it is their dues which make the union rich.

## Fought Hard

When my Uncle Louis, Dubinsky, and others started the fight for the garment workers at the beginning of this century, they did so as revolutionaries and socialists, out to change the world and eliminate the exploitation of man by man. They and their generation fought hard and built a union for themselves. They won some comforts and a secure place for the leaders, even respectability — quite a thing for outcast, radical immigrants. And their leaders said that was enough. They said that long ago, and when they did, the seeds of bitter tragedy were sown.

They sold the birthright of that great, glorious generation of radical immigrants for a mess of pottage. They gained respectability and lost the ability to pass the torch to the Negro and Puerto Rican militants who, even now, are seeking ways to struggle against the exploitation of man by man.

Each person must say goodbye to his own youth and watch his own generation pass away. An occasion for sweet sorrow at best. But the bitterest of all life's tragedies is to grow old in the knowledge that you've lost the next generation — that you've lost a place in the hearts of youth.

That was the meaning of David Dubinsky's pathetic eulogy at the funeral of my Uncle Louis, who held book number one in his local of the ILGWU.

Ethel Bloch

## Letters from Our Readers

## Greetings from Raptis

When I was still in prison, I hardly had the opportunity to hear about your campaign for our liberation.

I have had since a much more adequate picture of all you have done for Sal and myself.

I would like you to know how much I appreciate it and to express my very deep and sincere gratitude and fraternal greetings to you all.

Michel Raptis

[Michael Raptis (Pablo) and Sal Santen, European Trotskyist leaders, were jailed by Dutch authorities nearly a year and a half ago on framed-up forgery and counterfeiting charges because of their activity in behalf of Algerian independence fighters. At the trial last June, the counterfeiting charges collapsed and wide international protest caused the judges to give minimum sentences for providing identity cards to hounded Algerians. Editor.]

## The Latest Craze

Baltimore, Md. Last spring the big fad was liquid diet concentrates; before that it was hula-hoops. The current craze seems to be do-it-yourself fallout shelters. *Newsweek* conservatively estimated that 70,000,000 Americans would lose their lives in the event of nuclear war.

This startling statistic presented a grave challenge to Madison Avenue. How divert the "I want to live!" desires of these 70,000,000 potentially dead Americans away from demands of unilateral disarmament and into nice "safe" channels which do not threaten the war industry? Once again American "know-how" came through!

Bomb shelters in every backyard beats hell out of two chickens in every pot. Great stuff for the sagging building industry too. Much more free enterprise-ish than erecting low-cost housing units the way the "totalitarian" Cubans do.

Most of these fallout shelters are being erected in metropolitan areas like Baltimore; and most of the do-it-yourselfers are too busy in their patriotic pursuits to realize that even Jack Kennedy speaks of possible survival of atomic attack *only* in areas "which are not hit in a nuclear blast and fire."

Is anyone so naive as to honestly assume that in the event of all-out nuclear war urban areas will not be bombed? And if these areas are hit by the "blast and fire" of nuclear bombs — of what use are fallout shelters?

A. Robert Kaufman

## How to Fight Birchmen

New York, N.Y. I agree with the point made by A.C. Gregerson in his letter of Oct. 1 in which he commented on my letter of Sept. 4. Certainly, the U.S. is not the democracy it's cracked up to be. What I meant about the Birch Society slogan, "America Is a Republic, Not a Democracy," is that socialists should oppose this slogan, but not in the sense that it is opposed by the "moderate" conservatives of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Originally, America was an aristocratic republic but a more democratic quality was infused into it as the working people struggled for their rights generation after generation. The right of workers to vote without property qualifications, the right of Negroes to vote, the right of women and Indians to vote, etc., are democratic "impurities" in the Birchmen's vision of an ideal republic.

## Thought for the Week

"In the tenth grade, study is concentrated on the growth of democracy, and especially on the form of government which developed. Such a study should be brief and to the point in order to allow time for the unit on driver education." — From a teacher's guide published by the Pasadena, Calif. schools.

If socialists take up the debate from a class viewpoint, they can expose both the Birchmen and the anti-Birch champions of shallow "bourgeois" democracy as being henchmen of the cause of property, of wealth.

In fact the anti-Birch forces among the capitalists are condemning them precisely because they fear the Birch slogans may evoke a class-conscious reaction among the workers, particularly since there is considerable unemployment.

Socialists have an advantage in that they can logically explain the causes and cure for unemployment while the extreme right still confines itself to programs that do not simply and logically explain this phenomena. The workers aren't aroused by the reactionary mouthings of the extreme right because they don't touch upon the everyday problems of working people.

But this situation won't last forever. Pretty soon a more clever fascist leadership is going to emerge which will engage in social demagoguery, advocating nationalization of some industries, etc. And people, who at this time can be attracted to socialism, will be confused and attracted by the panaceas offered by the fascists.

I suggest we use our present "period of grace" to draw attention to and distribute the various simply written pamphlets offered by Pioneer Publishers and others which deal with the problems of unemployment and fascism.

George Payne

## Batten Down the Cisterns!

New York, N.Y. The following appeared in the Oct. 21 *Kiplinger Washington Letter*:

"Many readers are querying us on how to protect business records in case of attack by Russia . . . Where to store them, which stuff to keep. We asked Civil Defense, also companies doing it . . . got these suggestions:

"First, decide WHAT to preserve . . . ask dep't heads, and be ready to pare down their lists because they will want to store EVERYTHING.

"Then select a way of making copies . . . films or other ways.

"Choose TWO storage places, one that's 30 or 40 miles away, and another 150 miles or more away . . . to reduce the risk of fallout.

"Consider swapping records with another company if it's feasible, and train both staffs to reconstruct the records of both companies.

"Where to store: Vaults in distant banks, preferably small town. Abandoned mines, caves, even old cisterns. Most of all try to locate a place that might protect against blast, fire and radiation damage . . ."

So, it appears that we shall have records, although no people! When the roaches, or the rats, inherit the earth, they will be delighted to know that, for instance, the Acme Adding Machine Co. held \$30,000 of promissory notes; or that John P. Smith held 1,000 shares of A.T. & T.

Yours for an end to this insanity.

A Sympathiser

## Boring From Within?

New York, N.Y. I see where President Kennedy's assistant, McGeorge Bundy, says the reason he joined the Jim Crow Metropolitan Club is because he wants to help his friends in the club who he says want to change its policy.

Shouldn't HUAC look into this boring from within?

H. R.

## It Was Reported in the Press

"Progress" in Dixie — Mark Van Doren's play, *The Last Days of Lincoln*, had its premiere at Jim-Crow Florida State University which lowered its color bar to permit inclusion of a Negro in the role of a servant. Negroes, however, will not be permitted to attend performances. Instead, there will be a special performance at the all-Negro Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University. The play, appropriately enough, centers on Lincoln's desire to achieve a compromise with the South.

Jim-Crow Judge — Probate court judge George Jones of Vermont has denied the application of Rev. and Mrs. Frederick Miller to adopt a five-year-old Negro girl. The Millers were given custody of the girl, Cathy, by the Social Welfare Department in 1958. The judge said: "I will not

make birth records show a Negro girl with white parents." The Millers plan further court action to secure adoption rights.

You Can Say That Again — Discussing the various labels applied to the Kennedy administration, Secretary of Labor Goldberg said, "Now if you want to apply tags, it is, if any tag applies, pro-business."

Anti-HUAC News — The New York Council to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee has published the first issue of a newsletter, *Abolition*, which will appear at regular intervals. Copies may be obtained by writing to the council at 150 W. 34th St., New York, N.Y.

Compassionate Colorado — A 12-year-old girl was sentenced to

a reformatory for truancy when she failed to attend school because she had no shoes, a Colorado state legislative committee was told last month. It was also disclosed that a boy had been committed to the reformatory for stealing a pair of shoes after his friends had ridiculed the worn-out pair he was wearing.

To Make Them Trigger-Happier? — A short coat for cops has been patented which will make them quicker on the draw.

15,000 Reasons to Vote Socialist — Last spring there were 15,000 elementary school students in wealthy New York city who were in danger of being left back because they were seriously retarded in reading, according to public school superintendent John Theobald.