

Bankruptcy Haunts Chaotic Haiti

By JAMES F. CUNNINGHAM
PORT-AU-PRINCE, — Haiti is headed for economic and political bankruptcy unless elections and stable government are achieved soon.

That is the opinion of foreign observers who have witnessed a year-long economic decline, accelerated by over six months of almost continuous political crisis in this Negro nation of 3.5 million people.

Yet, the Caribbean island republic seems little nearer to the presidential ballot boxes today than when the first of a series of general strikes ousted the last elected Chief Executive, Gen. Paul E. Magloire, December 13, 1956.

Since that date, four provisional governments—including a short-lived military regime—have joined the passing parade. Twice this year, elections have been scheduled and registration officially begun. But each time some combination of candidates has maneuvered to bring down the government—apparently for fear that the election would not go its way under the existing regime.

Daniel Fignole, the 43-year-old labor leader who was installed as Provisional President with the blessing of Port-au-Prince mobs on May 26, immediately pledged elections "as soon as possible."

There is some speculation already, however, as to whether Mr. Fignole will stay in the white marble Palais Nationale long enough to see elections through. One political opponent gives him no more than 30 days.

Serious Challenges

Mr. Fignole is confronted on one hand by a severe depression and the solid opposition of businessmen; on the other, by hungry, poverty-ridden followers who want to cash in immediately on his lavish campaign promises—which include a 500 per cent increase of the minimum wage.

Other Fignole problems will be to hold together a loosely wrapped political alliance with two other presidential candidates and keep in line an often meddlesome army whose officers are largely partisans of those other candidates.

As if that were not enough, Mr. Fignole has stirred a public controversy by announcing himself still a candidate even before scheduling elections. Many hold that it is unconstitutional in this second oldest republic in the hemisphere for a president—even a provisional one—to seek re-election.

Meanwhile, the economic situation in Haiti—which is about the size of Maryland—is moving rapidly from very bad to worse.

Apprehensive merchants have been retrenching since the mob action which preceded Mr. Fignole's rise to power. They are canceling big orders, withdrawing shipments from customs on a piecemeal, daily-needed basis and taking other measures to hold inventories on their shelves to a minimum.

Economic Woes Double

Heavy transfers of funds from the Banque Nationale d'Haiti to the local branch of the Royal Bank of Canada are reported. Haitian government employees were late receiving their last checks and merchants who cashed them reported that they were not being accepted for deposit.

Two steamship companies—Alcoa and its Canadian subsidiary, Saguenay Terminals Ltd.—have discontinued their usual Haiti service for two months. Customs brokers reported that shipments are piling up in the warehouses because importers cannot pay for them. Some United States and Canadian firms have stopped credit and require Haitian importers to pay cash.

These developments come at a time when the Haitian economy was already scraping bottom—the combined result of a poor coffee crop last year, sagging world sugar prices and the effect of political uncertainties on tourism.

The capital area's nearly 1,000 hotels rooms have not been as much as 10 per cent filled for several weeks. Although Haiti's political

Mr. Cunningham is a former Washington newsman now living in Haiti and writing on Caribbean affairs.

difficulties have caused tourists nothing more than inconvenience to date, the news has made them jittery.

Unemployment—chronic in overpopulated Haiti—is mounting. Per capita income—never over \$100—is projected at only \$80 this year. A skilled mason or plumber makes as little as \$2 a day. The minimum wage is 70 cents.

Political crisis is not new to Haiti. During the first century of its history Presidents often became dictatorial and as often came to a premature bloody end. The turnover became so rapid in 1913 that the United States was prompted to send in the Marines to restore order.

Since the withdrawal of United States administrators in the 1930s, Haitian Presidents have served out most of their terms—even though the last three (Lescaut, Estime and Magloire) wound up in exile.

Through it all the Haitian people have established somewhat of a record in catching up with an unpopular chief executive, even when he had the guns on his side.

The present political difficulties began when they employed general strike to rid themselves of Gen. Magloire, who gave indications of wanting to perpetuate himself beyond the limits of his six-year term.

It is often said that every Haitian either considers himself President or wants the office. The post-Magloire vacuum made it look that way. At least a dozen men threw their hats in the ring. Political



PRESIDENT FIGNOLE and Gen. Cantave, a defeated rival for power.

parties—as they are known in the United States—do not exist in Haiti. But four candidates quickly gathered followings and surged out in front of the field.

All the candidates agree on one thing: The importance to Haiti of close ties with the United States. They vie with each other in claiming ability to promote friendly relations; so far the chaotic campaigning has heard not a single anti-American utterance.

The Chief Candidates

The grouping and regrouping of these four factions with one another has been kaleidoscopic and has been responsible for the frequent upsets of provisional regimes. The four leaders are:

Mr. Fignole, dapper hope of the sprawling Port-au-Prince slums and infant labor movement. The United States diplomats regard him as decidedly leftist. Although he sometimes employs a Marxist vocabulary and dialectics, however, neither they nor his opponents have branded him a Communist as yet. An untrifling orator, he has been known to deliver four 3-hour radio addresses in a single day. His popularity is centered largely in the capital.

Dr. Francois Duvalier, soft-spoken, mild-mannered physician who counts among his partisans some of the most fiery black-supremacists in Haiti. He campaigns as the political successor to President Dumais Estime, whose social reforms were aimed at raising the educational and living standards of the predominantly black rural population. His strength is in the army officer corps and the North-es-

pecially Gonaive, the birthplace of Haitian independence and the nation's third largest city.

Senator Louis Dejoie, agronomist and agricultural industrialist. He champions private enterprise and foreign investment. He campaigns on not having to steal public money because he already has enough. His backing includes most of the mulatto "elite" and the Haitian-Syrian community, who between them control the nation's commerce. He also has widespread—both urban and rural—support in his native South.

Clement Jumelle — brilliant, wealthy, American-educated attorney. He had a big bulge on radio and newspaper publicity until the Fignole mobs destroyed the pro-Jumelle studios and presses during the May 25th disorders. He has powerful friends among the army's high brass. His popularity suffers somewhat from his being under indictment for alleged irregularities as Magloire's Minister of Finance.

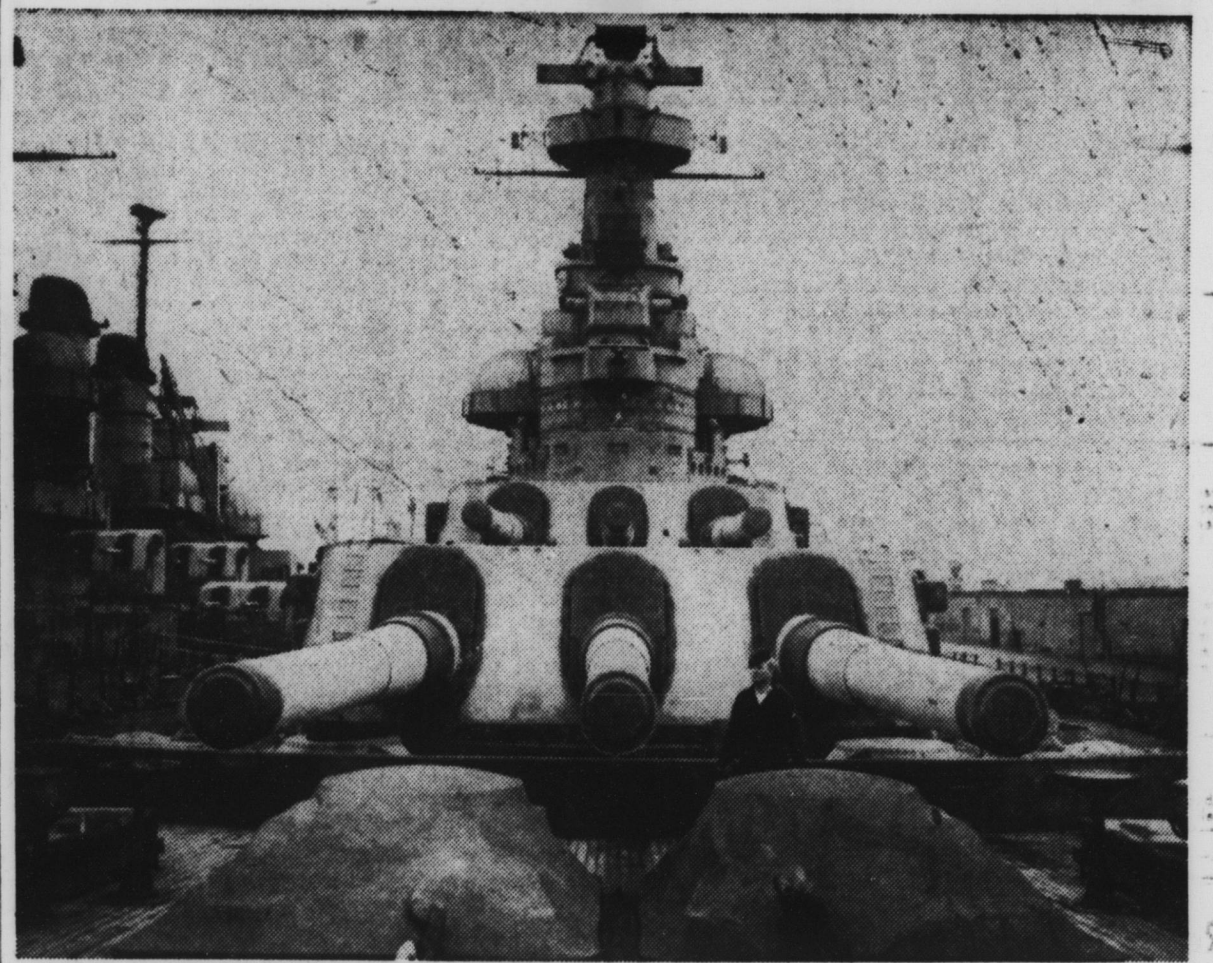
Back-Room Deal

It was a back-room, political deal between three of these men that ended the 36 hours of civil strife and mob rule which made headlines in the United States two weeks ago. Mr. Fignole abandoned a partnership with Senator Dejoie, and allied himself with Dr. Duvalier and Mr. Jumelle in return for their agreement to his becoming provisional president.

On May 26, Mr. Fignole was inaugurated as Provisional President and Col. Anthony Kerebau, identified as a Duvalier sympathizer, was sworn in as the new army chief. Brig. Gen. Leon Cantave, army chief of staff, and Police Chief Col. Pierre Armand were both retired. Gen. Cantave was thus spared the exile planned for him if his military rival, Col. Armand, had prevailed.

On May 27, Mr. Fignole announced a cabinet which included Jumelle and Duvalier men, but seated his own partisans with the key portfolios. Senator Dejoie declined invitations to participate and declared an attitude of "neutrality—neither for nor against" the Fignole government.

Mr. Fignole immediately pledged protection to private enterprise, encouragement of foreign investment and respect for all international commitments. He also promises more jobs, higher wages and a better standard of living. Comforting as those words might sound, thoughtful Haitians say they would rather hear the announcement of an election date and an end to the new government's ban on political activity.



LADY IN WAITING—Battleship North Carolina may come out of mothballs only to be cut up for scrap.

Navy Plunges Into Missiles Era, Leaving Battleships at the Dock

By ROGER GREENE

For nearly 100 years the mighty battleship ruled the seas. Today most of the behemoths slumber in mothballs. They may never stir again.

For the Navy, briskly ordering full speed ahead into the guided missile era, says the battleship with its big 16-inch guns has suddenly become as outmoded as the 16th century Spanish Galleon.

Old-school admirals, reluctant to concede the passing of a great and proud tradition, are muttering crustily that some of the young sprouts in the Pentagon are going too fast.

The battleship, they say, has been consigned to the theoretic scrap heap with the invention of nearly every major new weapon from the torpedo to the aerial bomb. Now the guided missile has triggered the same cry of doom.

At the Pentagon, Capt. John D. LaMade, deputy chief of Navy in-

formation, gave four reasons why guided-missile cruisers, frigates, destroyers and submarines are rapidly superseding the battleship in the world's No. 1 Navy:

● The battleship requires too much manpower—about 2,700 officers and men—by comparison with smaller ships capable of delivering knock-out blows with long-range guided missiles.

● The vast bulk of the battleship is no longer needed to provide firing platforms. Guided missiles need no such platform to sponge up recoil. Moreover, the development of nuclear power is eliminating the necessity of the battleship's huge space for fuel storage. Small atom-driven ships will do the job.

● The battleship is too cumbersome to maneuver with high-speed quick-turning craft of the modern naval task force.

● The battleship, costing over \$100 million, is too expensive in a day when even a submarine can pack a seven-ton Regulus guided missile capable of hurling a nuclear punch at a target 500 miles away.

Historic Transition

As former Secretary of the Navy Charles S. Thomas put it: "The Navy is going through the greatest transition in its entire history. All at one time it is changing to nuclear power, from guns to guided missiles, from gunpower to atomic weapons, and in the air from propeller to supersonic (jet) planes."

The swift and dramatic trend toward an all-missile fleet is illustrated by the fact that the Nation's first guided missile ship, the converted World War II cruiser Boston, was commissioned barely 18 months ago. By latest count, the fleet has at least 21 guided-missile ships, including 3 cruisers, 10 attack carriers, 2 submarines and 1 destroyer.

Today only two battleships, the Iowa and Wisconsin, both 45,000 tons, remain on active duty. Thirteen others have been tucked away in the mothball fleet. Their chances of seeing action in an all-out nuclear war are considered negligible.

The Navy says, however, they might serve in a limited role—such as convoy duty—in a conflict where nuclear weapons were kept under wraps.

Veteran admirals, glowing with nostalgia, cling to the belief that the old titans of the sea aren't ready yet for the wreckers. Rear Admiral Ernest McNeill Eller, chief of the Navy historical section, who commanded the Middle East Naval task force in 1950-1, said in an interview:

"Battleships with guns are obsolescent but not obsolete by any means. If we get into a small non-nuclear war, who is going to do the precise, accurate shore bombardment to blast out shore fortifications except the battleship?"

To Pentagon strategists, Admiral Eller's question rates a short answer: "There won't be any shore bombardments."

Beachheads Are Over

As envisaged by these experts, the day of troops wading ashore into the teeth of enemy fire in invasions like Normandy in World War II and Inchon in the Korean War is over. Under modern strategy, they say, the Marines with their new "vertical envelopment" technique will simply pick out an undefended spot inside enemy territory and land via helicopters in full division force.

Presumably that would force the enemy to pull back from his beachhead defenses to avoid being outflanked, thus opening the way for follow-up mass invasion forces to land unopposed.

Admiral Eller has no illusions about what would happen if a modern battleship tangled with a guided missile cruiser.

"The cruiser," he said, "would

simply stay out of range of the battleship's 16-inch guns and blast it out of the water with guided missiles."

Another note of skepticism came from 70-year-old Vice Admiral John F. Shafroth (retired) who commanded a squadron of eight battleships bombarding the Japanese mainland in 1945.

Nicknamed "Battleship" during his football days at Annapolis, the 280-pound Shafroth said:

"I think our battleships will still be used, though not in a fleet engagement where one battleship opposes another. That's past."

He said he believes the battleship's chief function will be to act as a radar-control center operating with fast carrier task forces. "Our big job is to protect the aircraft carrier so that it can send up its planes to deliver their Sunday punch."

"But the carrier's decks are too cluttered with planes to hold all the radar needed to detect the enemy and guide our own weapons. That's where the battleship, with its great size, comes in.

"If I were a task force commander, I'd want a battleship with plenty of long-range radar to serve as control. I'd want it equipped with guided missiles. I'd rather be on a guided-missile battleship than a guided-missile cruiser when it came to a fight. A battleship with its thicker hide will take a helluva lot more punishment than a cruiser."

Asked if the Navy plans to build any guided-missile battleships, a Pentagon spokesman said: "Absolutely not."

Exponents of the new guided-missile system argue that even the battleship's tough hide wouldn't save it from a nuclear blast.

Deputy Secretary of Defense Donald Quarles told Congress recently that a guided missile with a hydrogen bomb warhead, fired from a distance of 50 to 100 miles, could knock out an entire naval task force.

Admiral Arleigh A. Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, said that might be so, but first the enemy would have to find the target—and the fleet can shift its position 1,000 miles in 24 hours.

To the Junk Pile

Since the end of World War II, the Navy has junked more than a million tons of shipping. It now plans to sink, scrap or sell 107 ships in the 2,000-ship reserve fleet—including the battleships Mississippi, Tennessee and California—as being outmoded. In addition, the department has shelved plans to convert the new, partially built battleship Kentucky into a guided-missile craft. Thirteen other partially built warships, some designed 15 years ago, will never be finished.

To prepare the way for an all-missile fleet, the Navy's current program calls for the following guided-missile ships:

One nuclear-powered aircraft carrier—the first in the world—to cost \$314 million and be completed in 1961.

Twelve cruisers, including one new 14,000-ton nuclear-powered ship.

Fourteen destroyers.

Eighteen frigates (4,500 tons).

Eight submarines—including five with nuclear power plants.

About half of the 12 cruisers will be equipped with Talos surface-to-air guided missiles, capable of destroying enemy aircraft 50 miles away. The rest will carry Terrier missiles, also for anti-aircraft defense, with a range of 25 miles.

At present the fleet has 10 carriers, four cruisers and two submarines equipped to use Regulus I, the surface-to-surface guided missile with a range of 500 miles.

So rapid has been the development of missiles, however, that Regulus II will soon be replaced by Regulus III with a range somewhere between 800 and 1,000 miles.

In the offing, perhaps four years away, the Navy expects to have perfected an even more fantastic missile, Polaris, to be launched by a submarine under water to search out a target 1,500 miles distant.

Vice Admiral Thomas S. Combs, deputy Chief of Naval Operations, told Congress the Navy expects to have at least 47 guided-missile ships in the fleet by 1961.

With this potent striking force, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Garrison Norton said the Navy—hitherto limited to sea and coastal bombardments—will be able to hit "any point on the face of the globe" with guided missiles.

(The Associated Press)

THE JURY TRIAL ISSUE

A Lawyer Looks at the Southerners' Case

By SIMON TUCKER

The debate on the civil rights bill, rising to a crescendo in the House of Representatives last week, underscores the intense appeal which the hard-core Southern legislators have been making against the bill.

The Southern bloc has articulated, if emotionally, attacked the bill for providing that the Attorney General of the United States can go into Federal court, secure injunctions, and carry out contempt prosecutions to enforce civil rights protections under the bill.

The Southern attack has two facets: First, that this approach deprives people of one of the historic civil liberties—the right of trial by jury—in the contempt prosecution for violating an injunction, and, secondly, that the injunction mechanism is an improper way to enforce Federal laws.

The Southern spokesmen point out that a contempt action is just like a criminal prosecution with criminal penalties if a person is

Mr. Tucker is a lawyer in Federal service and a writer on public law subjects.

found guilty, and therefore a person should have the protection of jury trial just as in a criminal proceeding. Proponents of the legislation point out in reply that injunction proceedings are civil proceedings of the kind common in so-called "equity" courts, and there is no requirement of a jury trial in contempt prosecutions for violations of equity court injunctions.

Point to Labor Laws

The Southern bloc points in its counterattack to the time when the shoe was on the other foot, and labor was being stifled in its disputes with employers by the use of Federal injunctions. Back in the Clayton Act of 1914, labor secured a provision saying that whenever a person was charged with violating a Federal court injunction by an act which was also a crime under Federal or State law, he could demand a jury trial in his prosecution

for contempt. But this provision would have to decide whether the person went on to do the acts defined in the injunction.

Later, the Norris-La Guardia Act of 1932 added a more specific labor protection by providing that in any Federal contempt case growing out of a labor dispute, the accused person should have a trial by jury. This provision carried no exemption from the jury trial requirement when the Government is involved. The Southern argument leans on this in two ways:

● First, it argues that there is discrimination. In civil rights cases, a person charged with contempt for an injunction secured by the Attorney General cannot have a jury trial under the Clayton Act provision. A person accused of violating a labor injunction gets a jury trial under the Norris-La Guardia Act even if the Government is involved.

The trouble with this argument is that, when the Government secures an injunction against a labor union, this is not considered to be a labor dispute within the meaning of the Norris-La Guardia Act. Hence, jury trial can never apply in favor of labor when the Government is involved.

● Secondly, it points to things that labor said in support of jury trial, which condemn injunctions in general terms.

Thus, when the Norris-La Guardia Act was in bill form, Senator Norris, noting that the section on jury trial was to have "general application" and was "not confined to labor disputes," said:

"The ordinary criminal laws provide that any person charged with a crime shall have the right to a jury trial. The person tried for contempt of court is tried for a criminal act. It is true this act has not been deemed criminal by a statute, but by the order of a judge. The judgment, however, can deprive the defendant of his liberty, can confine him to jail, and the length of the term of confinement is within the discretion of the judge who made the order. The judge becomes the legislature and, as such legislature, he makes something a crime that is not a crime under the general law. He then sits in judgment and tries the person who is charged with violating the law which he has enacted. What difference is it to the defendant, so far as his punishment is concerned, whether the law has been made by the judge or the legislature? His suffering is just as great in one case as in the other. Why should he be deprived of a jury trial when the law is made by one man instead of by the regular legislative authority?"

This is a difficult argument to answer, and appears to be winning sympathy, among Congressmen outside of the Southern hard core, for allowing jury trial in the contempt prosecutions. It may be, however, that allowing jury trials in the contempt prosecutions would not too greatly affect the enforcement of civil rights protections.

Test Comes Earlier

The real trial of an alleged deprivation of civil rights occurs in the suit for an injunction. It is at this stage that the acts a person is doing or is about to do are judged as to their legality or illegality. Once given acts have been enjoined as unlawful, all that

BLACK FUTURE?

India's Reds Are in Trouble

By NARANJAN SINGH UPPAL
NEW DELHI.—How strong and popular are the Communists in India?

All indications are that they are not big force and that their future is quite bleak.

Mahatma Gandhi had always maintained that communism was not "suited to the innate genius of the Indian nation" and that it would not "flourish on the Indian soil. Nothing has since happened to disprove his sound judgment. To a few Indians, communism is a political and economic doctrine for the uplift of the poor. To millions more it represents class hatred, violence, murder, rapine, regimentation and mass slavery to the dictates of a handful at the top.

Said Prime Minister Nehru recently: "If the Communists had their own way, there would have been civil war and strife among the people, resulting in the destruction of the country."

Indian Home Minister Pant has declared that the Communists "prefer disruption to unity, darkness to light, and the wrong path to the right."

Small Following

Compared with other political parties in India, the Communists have very little following. This has been confirmed by the recent general elections results.

There are only 27 Communists in the 500-member House of People, lower house of the Indian Parliament. The Communist Party of India was completely routed in five states and three Union Territories, while it could secure only one seat each in three states and one Union Territory.

Of 2,908 State Assembly seats, for which elections were held, the Communists got only 162. They could not secure even one seat in Andhra state which was their biggest stronghold. In three states,

they could get one or two seats each. In another four states, their number fell by between 40 and 60 per cent. They, however, made considerable headway in two states—Kerala and West Bengal. In Kerala, on India's southwestern tip, the Communists secured 60 seats and have now formed a government with the help of five Independents.

In post-election introspection, several state Communist Parties have blamed "critical political, economic and organizational problems" for their failures at the polls. They have also spoken of the "weakness of the party among the agricultural laborers, women and youth and in its links with the urban population."

'Inherent Weaknesses'

Ajoy Ghosh, general secretary of the Communist Party in India, confessed this week that the party organization had been "far too inadequate" and suffered from "inherent weaknesses" which prevented it from working as a "mass political organization."

The CPI Central Committee, which has just concluded its seventh session in New Delhi, seems worried about the party membership. It now stands at 125,000 as against an estimated 140,000 two years ago in a total Indian population of 360 million. The decrease is the result of large-scale defections last year.

To retrieve the situation, the committee has now decided to reduce the rigors of recruitment by suspending the category of "candidate members." It has also made several changes in the party structure. The committee, thus, hopes to double the membership.

Indian Communists are still in a confused state of mind because of the new "trends" in the Soviet Union and recent events in Hungary and Poland. In an article in

the New Age, CPI's official journal, Ajoy Ghosh has again expressed his "profound distress" at the happenings in Hungary. He adds: "It is to be deeply regretted that such things should have occurred after 11 years of people's democratic rule which reveals the enormity of the mistakes, misdeeds and even crimes committed in Hungary."

In another article, he had admitted that the Indian Communists were "wrong in idealizing everything in the Soviet Union" in the past.

Nehru's Accusations

This is exactly the complaint persistently leveled against the Indian Communists by others. Mr. Nehru recently accused them of having "closed minds" and of "accepting everything that Moscow says and does as worthy of being followed and imitated." In this bargain, said Mr. Nehru, the Indian Communists had lost the capacity of "independent judgment" and had become "mentally bankrupt."

On domestic issues also, the Communists are betraying several inconsistencies. CPI's Central Committee has called upon the people to organize "nation-wide protest actions against the anti-people proposals" of the new union budget. But it is completely silent on the new wealth and expenditure taxes which will apply heavily to the rich only.

There is also difference between Indian Communists' talk and profession. They had always accused the union and state ministers of not living an austere life in view of the country's poverty. But now in Kerala, the Communist ministers themselves use luxurious state limousines, stay in palatial bungalows and have a galaxy of liveried peons around them. In some respects, the Communist ministers have excelled their predecessors in pomp and show.