

NYT Latam

Havana: Stokely Carmichael's Game

By JAMES RESTON

HAVANA, Aug. 1—Stokely Carmichael is playing a miserable game down here. He is not only condemning his own country abroad, but he is misleading Fidel Castro and the other revolutionary Communists from Latin America about the condition and power of the Negroes in America.

The facts are fairly plain. His Black Power policy has not gained popular support among the Negro community in the United States. He has lost his base as head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He has come here from Communist Europe without a legal passport to take part in a viciously anti-U.S. meeting of the most revolutionary fragments of the Latin-American Communist parties, and he is strutting around Havana as a symbol of the American Negroes, most of whom have rejected his leadership.

A Bit of Confusion

He is clearly operating now not only outside the legal framework of the United States Government but outside the structure of the Negro protest movement in the United States as well. Even the official Communist newspapers in Havana are confused about him. One of them referred to him not as an advocate of racial separation

and Black Power, but as a leader of the integrationist movement in the United States. One of his aides remarked: "They obviously haven't got Stokely's message."

Carmichael is too intelligent and cynical not to know what he is doing. He has given up on trying to persuade the Negroes at home to follow his Black Power thesis and, either consciously or unconsciously, is making an alliance with the radical revolutionary Communists in Latin America. He is using them, and they in turn are using him, probably to the detriment of both the American Negroes and the militant Latin-American Communists.

Yankees Excluded

Carmichael does not even pretend that he is trying to make an objective case for his argument. At least he is apparently not willing to submit it to questioning. He called a press conference here in Havana today, and excluded everybody from the United States. He had two lists for the press conference—not only of those invited, but those excluded—and even the representative of the U.S. Communist party press was not allowed to attend.

Nevertheless, Castro seems very pleased with Stokely's adventure. He has not only introduced Carmichael publicly to

half a million Cubans and the entire Havana diplomatic corps as "one of the most distinguished pro-civil rights leaders in the United States," but has taken him off on a two-day tour of eastern Cuba alone.

Even Castro's most sympathetic supporters in the diplomatic corps think this dramatic liaison between Stokely and Fidel is very odd. It obviously does not help the Negro struggle in the United States to have Castro identifying it as one "front" in the Communist war against "U.S. imperialism." And it does not help Castro to follow the Carmichael thesis that "in the event of serious trouble between the United States and Cuba, the American Negroes will oppose their own Government."

Yet this is the impression that is being given here by Carmichael's visit to Havana, and Castro's emphasis on the significance of Stokely's presence here. The Cuban Government has gathered here for a meeting of the Organization of Latin-American Solidarity, an astonishing collection of Communist revolutionaries who are more militant than most of the established Communist parties of the hemisphere. The theme of the conference is that the way to frustrate and defeat American imperialism is to have a number of armed re-

volts against the established governments, including especially the United States Government, and the Negro revolt in the United States is included in these revolts, with the support of Carmichael.

He is quite blunt about it. He told this reporter the other day in Santiago de Cuba: "If the United States gets into serious trouble with Cuba, the white boys are going to fight it out alone. And the rest of us will be fighting against any U.S. Cuban battle at home."

The Irreconcilables

Castro may not believe Stokely, but he is obviously using him, and this is highly ironical. For whatever else Cuba is, it is not a racist state. There is probably less antiracial and anti-religious feeling here than in any other nation in the hemisphere. Carmichael, with his policy of racial separation and Black Power, could not be further from Castro's policy of total racial integration. But Stokely is here, representing little more than himself, and Castro is playing him up as if he had the support of the entire Negro community in the United States. It is a squalid business, which hurts everybody concerned: Carmichael especially, Castro, the revolutionary movement in the hemisphere and particularly, and sadly, the American Negro.