



Photo by the Detroit News

RECORD-BREAKER. Part of tremendous throng that marched for Freedom Now in Detroit June 23.

Detroit Civil-Rights March Biggest in Nation's History

By Harriet Talan

DETROIT — June 23 was a beautiful day — the third day of summer and the first day of a new era in the struggle for Negro equality here.

It was "March to Freedom Day," and the Negro community of Detroit wrote history. It was the biggest civil-rights demonstration ever held in the United States.

The only time I have ever seen anything like downtown Detroit on June 23 was on January 2, 1961, in Havana, where I watched the mammoth celebration of the Cuban Revolution's second anniversary.

The Freedom March dwarfed the biggest labor demonstrations ever held here within my memory — which goes back to the 1940s — and some of them used to be pretty big.

This demonstration was not organized by any of the "old-guard" Negro groups, but by a new one — the Detroit Council for Human Rights. And the masses of the Negro people responded to it in a new way.

By the thousands, they literally flooded downtown Detroit. The *Detroit News* described it: "As if a huge dam had burst, thousands

of Negroes swept down Woodward in waves yesterday in their 'walk to freedom.'"

Woodward Avenue is nine lanes wide, but the column of marchers extended from curb to curb, sometimes spilling over onto the sidewalks and sweeping the on-lookers along.

Cobo Arena — terminal point of the march — was jammed, and so was the area all around it. Tens of thousands never got within hearing distance of the speakers. The expressways were so plugged up with traffic that additional thousands could not even get downtown.

The first "official" count by the police was 100,000. This figure was quickly increased to 125,000, and then to 150,000. Actually there were at least 200,000, and maybe a quarter-million, who turned out on June 23 to show their solidarity with Southern Negroes and to voice their demand for Freedom Now in the North too.

My guess is that there were a couple of thousand whites participating in the demonstration. Not enough — considering the issues! And not many, considering how many predominantly white liberal, labor and religious groups endorsed the march in the final week or two.

But at least there were some whites present, a majority probably radicals. That's to their credit, of course. They were welcome beyond their numbers. A woman marching with the Wayne State University teachers' local, which carried its own banner, and which was mainly white, told me it got more applause than its size

(Continued on Page 5)

World Appeal Made for Aid to Algeria

— See page 5 —

Moscow and Peking at Breaking Point

— See page 6 —

Socialists Reunited At World Parley of 4th International

NAPLES, Italy, June 27 — A ten-year-old split in the world Trotskyist movement was healed in the main yesterday at a Reunification Congress held by the Fourth International, world party of the socialist revolution founded by Leon Trotsky. Delegates and observers were present from 26 countries and from all continents.

The split in 1953 resulted from a factional struggle over different interpretations of the meaning of incipient liberalizing processes in the Soviet Union and over different views on organizational practices inside the Trotskyist movement. The delegates at the Reunification Congress were of the unanimous opinion that these differences had long been superseded and that both sides stand today on a common political platform.

The Reunification Congress followed two separate gatherings, one a conference held by delegates representing the majority of sections adhering to the International Committee (IC) of the Fourth International, the other the Seventh World Congress held by delegates from the sections adhering to the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the Fourth International.

At the Reunification Congress common documents were adopted. The IEC delegates ratified the Reunification Congress at once; the delegates of the IC said that they would recommend early ratification by their respective organizations.

The Seventh World Congress, (Continued on Page 5)

New Haven Negroes Contest for Mayor

A newly formed organization is running a Negro for mayor of New Haven, Conn., as an independent candidate. The Citizens for Political Equality announced the candidacy of its chairman, Raymond H. Paige on June 16.

Running as an independent, Paige will be challenging the Democratic incumbent, Mayor Richard C. Lee and the Republican aspirant, Henry H. Townsend Jr. Among the backers of Paige's campaign are John Fernandez, president of the New Haven branch of the Negro American Labor Council and co-chairman of Citizens for Political Equality, and John Barber, president of the local NAACP.

Fernandez stated the reason for Paige's candidacy was that "neither of this locality's two major parties, Democratic and Republican, have evidenced a significant concern for the problems of the minority segments of the community, especially the Negro and Puerto Rican citizens."

The June 16 *New Haven Register* commented that Paige was running "with the express purpose of drawing Negro votes away from the two major parties, especially the Democrats."

Running independent candidates is being discussed by militant Negroes in many cities. At a June 1 rally in Harlem, journalist William Worthy called for such action and consideration of forming a Negro party nationally.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 27 - No. 26

Monday, July 10, 1963

Price 10c

Giant March Can Force Congress To OK Rights Bill

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, July 2 — A formal call for a March on Washington has finally been issued by seven civil-rights groups. Both Rev. Martin Luther King and NAACP Executive-Secretary Roy Wilkins stressed, in the announcement made here today, that the action on Aug. 28 would involve no "civil disobedience" or sit-ins in Congress.

Rev. George Lawrence, northeastern representative of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, had previously declared the possibility of widespread civil disobedience and congressional sit-ins to protest a filibuster against civil-rights legislation.

Today, however, Roy Wilkins said Rev. Lawrence's statement had been unauthorized and that in any case, a new agreement had been arrived at. The plans, said Wilkins, call for a simple march up Pennsylvania Avenue and a two-hour meeting at the Lincoln Memorial.

Series of Meetings

Significantly, the announcement of the new plan was made after a series of meetings here in the last two weeks between white millionaire philanthropists and some of the older, more conservative civil-rights leaders. The purpose of these meetings, according to the July 1 *National Observer*, was "to strengthen the established Negro leadership" by putting a new large fund under control of the more conservative elements.

It is clear that these leaders, under the influence of their wealthy white donors and advisors, have decided to try to avoid upsetting the Kennedy administration, which frowns on a militant march.

Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of New York's District 65, AFL-CIO, and together with Rev. Lawrence a co-ordinator of the march, has predicted an attendance of "100,000 or more."

The political climate in Washington — where the phony Northern liberals and Dixiecrats are up to their old game of sham battle — will have to be changed drastically if Negroes are going to get meaningful civil-rights legislation. No business-as-usual demonstrations will change that climate. Too many of that type — with the demonstrators finding themselves shunted off for a cou-



COORDINATOR OF MARCH. Union official Cleveland Robinson will act as co-ordinator of Washington March in association with Rev. George Lawrence.

ple of hours of boring speeches at the Lincoln Memorial and then sent home — have been held before with little, if any, effect.

A massive outpouring — the mobilization of a million Negroes around Congress — would put a salutary fear into the filibusterers and sham liberals and convince them of the "moral" necessity of a real civil-rights law. That's the kind of action the Negro people want. And because they want it, it is feasible for Negro leaders to set out to organize it.

The recent March for Freedom in Detroit, mobilizing up to a quarter of a million people in a single city, points the way. The Detroit march was organized, not by the old-guard Negro leaders, but by new militants. The same thing is true of the most effective recent demonstrations, from Birmingham on.

Nationally, it is up to these newer, militant leaders all over the country to organize the March on Washington in the way the situation demands. The old, timorous leadership — with neither the heart nor the competence for such a struggle — should not be allowed to make this March on Washington a failure.

Our Schedule For the Summer

During July and August The Militant is published every other week. Our next issue will be dated July 22. Weekly publication will be resumed in September.

New Steel Pact Does Little To Expand Job Opportunities

By Fred Halstead

Spokesmen for the eleven major steel companies are pleased with what they call the cheapest steel labor contract they have obtained since 1944. Considering the problems facing the country and the steelworkers, the settlement signed June 29 is not only cheap for the companies, but is the worst contract improvement the United Steelworkers of America has ever signed with big steel. In addition, it is the second settlement in a row that does not provide a wage increase.

The main feature is an "extended vacation plan" which Steelworkers president David J. McDonald has pushed as his alternative to the shorter work week with no reduction in pay. The plan provides a special 13-week vacation for one-tenth of each company's regular work force each year for five years beginning in 1964.

Little Time Off

McDonald is claiming that this will help solve the unemployment problem in the steel industry because new workers will have to be hired to replace those on vacation. Actually, the amount of time off will amount to about two per cent of the working time in unionized basic steel.

Translated into terms of the shorter work week, the total job-spreading effect will be equal to a work week shortened by about 45 minutes. This is what McDonald has substituted for the "38-hour week at 40-hours pay" which the Steelworkers union adopted several years ago as a bargaining demand designed to create jobs. McDonald dropped that demand after President Kennedy declared his opposition to the shorter week with no reduction in pay.

McDonald claims the new settlement will create some 20,000 jobs, but company sources estimate the vacation plan will provide only about 10,000 job openings which would not have existed without it. Either way, the job-spreading feature of the contract is pitifully inadequate. There are some 485,000 workers now employed in basic steel. The union has estimated that well over 100,000 basic steel workers are unemployed. The new settlement won't provide nearly as many jobs as automation destroys each year, let alone put the unemployed back to work, or make a place for the youth.

Majority Get Nothing

The extended vacations will be given only to those with the highest seniority. After five years, if all goes as planned, half the regular work force in each company will have had a crack at the extended vacations. The other half will have got nothing. Neither will the tens of thousands of workers who have had jobs for relatively short periods of time, or have changed from one company to another and thus interrupted their seniority.

A worker at United States Steel — by far the largest employer —



McDonald

will need 17 years seniority to get the extended vacation. All other workers at U.S. Steel will get exactly nothing out of the plan. Seniority requirements for the vacation at other companies range from eleven to 21 years.

The younger, more militant workers have virtually no stake in the settlement. At the very time when youth, and particularly Negro youth, are finding it increasingly difficult to get into industry, the leadership of the Steelworkers union has abandoned them to their fate.

The settlement has increased the "job trust" features of the union, doing nothing to provide the unemployed with jobs and excluding the younger workers. Superficially it may strengthen the McDonald machine, which rests on the high seniority workers, but the seeds of bitterness have been sown by this settlement.

The other features of the agreement are minor improvements in hospital and insurance plans; minor changes in work rules; and some restrictions on letting work to outside contractors. Total cost of the package to the company will be between six and eight cents an hour each year. The contract may be re-opened in May of 1965.

God grant that not only the love of liberty but a thorough knowledge of the rights of man may pervade all the nations of the earth, so that a philosopher may set his foot anywhere on its surface and say: "This is my country."

—Benjamin Franklin, Letter to David Hartley, Dec. 4, 1789.

Negro Lawyers Left Cold By Parley With Kennedys

DETROIT — Sharp disappointment was the reaction of most Negro attorneys from Michigan who attended the recent White House conference of lawyers addressed by President Kennedy.

Speaking for the majority of Michigan's Negro participants, Attorney John Conyers, Jr. said in a statement June 24, "We were unhappily forced to the conclusion that the President is more deeply concerned with the reduction of tensions than with the elimination of their causes. Both he and the Attorney General appeared only partly aware that the civil-rights revolution can no longer be curbed by manipulation." Conyers' view was seconded by Attorneys George Crockett, Jr. and Alphonso Harper.

They noted that President Kennedy suggested formation of a lawyers' committee to work toward racial conciliation, but that the national co-chairmen named "were both white and without conspicuous concern in their careers, to date, for civil rights."

Two facets of the conference

Antioch Students Score Dealings With Snoopers

By Arthur Maglin

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio — Students picketed the Antioch College administration June 17 to protest its collaboration with a witch-hunt investigation of a former student by military intelligence.

The picket line of about a dozen had an effect far beyond its size, because demonstrations have been so rare in the past against the "liberal" Antioch administration.

Large crowds of apparently sympathetic students were attracted by the picket line, where heated arguments took place between demonstrators and members of the faculty and administration.

The action made front-page headlines in the June 17 Dayton Daily News. Before it was all over, the military intelligence agent, who had planned to interview students, reportedly canceled all appointments and left in indignation.

Investigation

The ex-student was being investigated for his political beliefs in connection with his draft status. The administration had opened part of its files on the former student to the investigator — the part which, it was claimed, constituted only "objective information" such as grades. In addition, the administration gave names of individuals, who had known the ex-student, without consulting them beforehand.

The protest was sponsored by the Antioch Young Socialist Alliance, although the majority of pickets were unaffiliated students who agreed with the YSA on the particular issue.

A leaflet distributed at the demonstration linked this case with other recent cases of witch-hunting of students: the indictment of young socialists in Indiana; the use of the McCarran Act against the Advance youth organization; the harassing of students planning to travel to Cuba; and police spying on student political meetings at the University of California in Los Angeles.

LOS ANGELES — The fight against the witch-hunt on campus has scored a victory in California, where state university branches have been subject to a ban on Communist speakers since 1951. After a resounding vote against the speaker ban in a recent student referendum, the regents of the university voted June 21 to rescind the ban.

drew sharp comment from the Negro participants: "We were totally unprepared to observe," as one put it, "that all of the numerous White House servants were colored, and all of the guards white; and the President of the Alabama Bar . . . on three occasions used the epithet 'nigger' without retort or remonstrance by either the President or the Attorney General."

Conyers said in conclusion that the conference was a forward step. "But we cannot conceal our distress at the administration's apparent misreading of the central meaning of the liberation struggle. There are no 'deals' to be cut on a matter so basic as equality under the law. Equality is total or it is nothing . . . We urge that the President promptly dispatch all competent trial lawyers of the Department of Justice to all parts of the South to defend the thousands of beleaguered Negro citizens now jailed or facing trial for doing what the Constitution of the U.S. says they have every right to do."



By a narrow margin, Carl Stellato squeaked through to re-election as president of UAW Ford Local 600 in a runoff against Harry Becker June 19-20. Out of 25,085 votes cast, Stellato got 12,860, Becker 12,225. The local has 27,000 members at the River Rouge plant near Detroit and 15,000 retirees.

Becker had led Stellato in the May primary election, when 23,500 voted for the presidency, but lacked less than 200 votes to be elected then. Stellato was able to make the runoff, and to win it, because he got the overwhelming vote of the more conservative retirees. Both times a majority of the workers in the plant voted against him. In a letter to retirees before the election, Stellato asserted he would keep a record of who turned out and who didn't.

In addition, Stellato resorted, as usual, to smears against his opponent. He implied that Becker was an agent or stooge of the Ford Motor Co., that he had unsavory "connections" with the California State Loyalty Commission, that his previous union and political background was suspect, etc. On the day before the runoff Becker filed a \$100,000 court suit against Stellato for character assassination.

There was little difference between Becker's program and Stellato's which is understandable since both are Reutherites. Becker almost unseated Stellato because he benefited from a general tendency to vote against incumbent bureaucrats.

In some other recent UAW elections, the incumbents weren't as lucky as Stellato. In Chrysler Amalgamated Local 212, president Tony Czerwinski was forced into a runoff and then defeated by Harold Wood by a margin of 50 votes, 3,357 to 3,307. In Local 735, representing 5,600 GM members, president Nick Napolitano was ousted in a runoff with Robert Walker by a 52-vote margin.

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has called a strike for July 1 for a shorter work month. Under the National Railway Act, however, the federal government can impose a 90-day postponement of the strike. The union has 9,000 members on two dozen railroads, and is seeking a 173-hour month or a 40-hour week. Members now work a 208-hour month with overtime paid after 240 hours. The shorter work month, the union estimates, would create 700 additional jobs. In recent years, according to the union's president, A. Philip Randolph, the railroads' force of porters and attendants has been cut in half.

A group of Harvard students picketed a favorite student clothing store recently in solidarity with union workers who are in a dispute at the Henry I. Siegel pants plant. The students wore burlap pants and carried signs declaring, "I'd rather wear burlap than Henry I. Siegel pants."

The New York City Board of Education's June 25 ruling against salary increases for school teachers has made a teachers' strike "inevitable" according to United Federation of Teachers President Charles Cogen. The UFT voted 13,707 to 1,201 to reject any contract that did not include pay boosts. Cogen said that there was \$41,000,000 in city funds that could be used for pay raises.

In a similar situation last year, a court injunction ended a one-day teachers' strike. Cogen said that neither a court injunction

nor the anti-strike Condon-Wadlin Act would deter the city's 40,000 teachers from walking out when school opens on September 9. The teachers want minimum salaries raised from \$5,300 to \$5,400 a year, at the first step, and from \$9,170 to \$10,200 at the highest, or 14th salary step.

District 4 of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen has announced a drive to organize the increasing number of non-union shops appearing in the area. The district covers Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, Iowa, Colorado and Wyoming.

Al C. Skinner, 55, has been elected president of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union following the retirement of John Clark. Skinner is one of six past and present officers of the 70-year-old union who have been hounded by a Taft-Hartley prosecution. They are scheduled to be retried this summer on the charge of falsely signing a "non-Communist affidavit," even though that section of the law has been removed since they were first indicted.

Berman Gibson, leader of the striking Hazard, Kentucky, miners, has been jailed along with five others on charges of trying to blow up a railroad bridge. The men were arrested in Perry County on Monday, June 17. Two others were picked up on similar charges a week earlier.

The southeastern Kentucky miners have been driven to desperation in a bitter struggle against mine operators who have cut wages from better than \$20 a day to as little as \$5 a day. The operators skimp on expenditures for mine safety, fail to cover their men with disability insurance, and, in some cases, even fail to make social-security payments. The strike, which has received no support from the United Mine Workers, has been met with considerable violence. A number of pickets have been shot.

An indication that the charges against Gibson and the others are a frame-up is the nature of the evidence brought forward by the FBI. It consists of nitroglycerin supposedly found on the Louisville & Nashville Railroad span leading to an eastern Kentucky coal field. Most coal miners use dynamite in their work, so that dynamite, not nitroglycerine, is readily available to the strikers in the area. The men were held on bonds ranging from \$15,000 to \$25,000.



Berman Gibson

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

"This Union Cause," new UAW film on history of American labor. Artist John Gelsavage, whose paintings are used in the film, will speak and answer questions. Fri., July 12, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

Theodore Edwards of the Socialist Workers Party presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly commentary. Fri., July 12, 6:45 p.m. KPFK-FM, 90.7 on your dial.

Highlights of Detroit Freedom March

"It Makes Me Proud to Be Black This Day"

As you looked around in the march, as far as the eye could see, or even if you just study the pictures, the thought occurs: This massive demonstration is not a majority of the Detroit population, and not quite a majority of the Negro population — but could the enemies of Negro equality turn out a demonstration of this size, or anything like it, in Detroit or any other part of the U.S.? The answer is a flat NO — and that's one of the many inspiring lessons of the march. The white-supremacists and bigots are powerful, and can do a lot of damage, but they are a minority, at least as far as active forces go. This is another reason why the prospects of Freedom Now are so good.

In May, Rev. Cleage, one of the leaders of the Detroit Council for Human Rights, noted how city and labor officials stayed away from the NAACP protest rally to which they had been invited. He predicted that if 100,000 Negroes came out to a demonstration, tying up traffic, "these leaders would be at the head of the march if they had to get into a helicopter to get there." His prediction was confirmed. Mayor Cavanagh was on vacation in Hawaii and not scheduled to return until after the march. A few days before June 23, he endorsed the march from the mid-Pacific and told his subordinates to place his official car at Rev. King's disposal. But at the last minute he changed his mind and boarded a jet, instead of a helicopter, to fly to Detroit so he could be up front with King.

Marchers liked the spectators on the sidewalks, but preferred to have them become part of the parade. Many marchers reached out good naturedly and tried to pull Negro spectators into the line. "Come on, get out here," one shouted. "You ain't in Mississippi. You don't have to be afraid. Let's walk!" When the parade started, whole sections of people standing on the sidewalks let out an enthusiastic cheer and surged into the street to join the marchers.

A middle-aged Negro laborer said: "Black men thought of this march. Black men organized it. Black men carried it out. It makes me proud to be black this day."

Right behind a group of marching children singing *We Shall Overcome*, walked a contingent of young men carrying a sign that read, "Negroes With Guns Shall Overcome."

Detroit cops were given special training in politeness before the march. Even so, they were instructed not to speak to marchers, nor to bystanders about the marchers, but to deal only with the parade marshals. "It is no secret that we can never retract

a spoken word," stated the written orders given to the police detail.

One white man was arrested when he tried single-handedly to stop the march. He rushed into the street, demanding to speak to Rev. King. Later he explained that he wanted to tell King to "slow down desegregation in the white suburbs."

The mounted police were supposed to lead the parade — one of the gestures of the Cavanagh-Edwards city administration to try to water down the meaning of the demonstration. But the jam at the head of the march was so big that the horses couldn't get through. They had to bypass the march and go directly to Cobo Arena to stand traffic duty — which was really a more fitting job for them.

When Rev. King showed up at the front line, the crowd surged forward and the front line, including all the "notables," was pushed ahead. Nobody was hurt, except that a cop was knocked down. The notables linked arms to keep from getting separated. According to the *Detroit News* (June 24) "they



Photo by Barry Kaplan
Rev. Albert B. Cleage

were pushed, shoved and pulled down Woodward." Two cops stayed with them "all the way down Woodward, and they were completely winded when they arrived at Cobo Hall."

There was an account in the same issue dealing with UAW President Walter Reuther. After some of his Negro stooges failed to take over the march, and when he saw what a success it would be, he pushed himself into the picture, getting himself listed as a speaker and marching up front with King. He was one of those "pushed, shoved and pulled down Woodward." In fact, "Reuther said his feet sometimes were not even touching the pavement." The *News* adds, "at times members of the entourage were shoved aside, finally regaining their place by running down an alley paralleling Woodward to catch up."

Explaining why he was there, a Negro contended: "It's for better jobs right now — like next week."

A college student: "I keep hearing old radicals talking about the power of mass action. Today I know what they mean."

A 64-year-old marcher representing a union local, said he was surprised there were "so very, very few, if any" white union members marching. "I can't un-

derstand this," he mused. Another marcher intoned, "I do understand." He did not elaborate.

Another white marcher: "What this country needs is for whites to start demonstrating like the Negroes are doing."

Detroit NAACP President Edward Turner said the march indicates the masses "are suddenly in a mood to demand deliverance from the evils of segregation and race prejudice." This is his way of explaining why only 350 people turned out to a similar rally called by the NAACP in May. The NAACP leadership was one of the groups that had to be dragged, kicking and resisting, to a half-hearted endorsement of the march at the last minute. It must have been the NAACP leaders who were suddenly in a new mood.

Commented Cleage: "The Council for Human Rights is a mass movement; it represents the feeling and thought of the Negroes here. The NAACP leadership is not trusted. It couldn't be, bound hand and foot as it is to labor groups and the Democratic Party."

Said DCHR director James Del Rio: "There will be no stopping. The movement has begun. It is a mass movement. We couldn't stop it if we wanted to. All we will be doing is directing it."

One of the fine things about this march which ought to be imitated by all mass movements, is that it invited all organizations advocating Negro equality to participate — not just some — not just "respectable" and "approved" groups. Among the more than 100 participating organizations listed on the official program card was the Socialist Workers Party.

The managing editor of the *Detroit Free Press* contends that Rev. King's presence in Detroit made the major difference between a "minor and a massive effort" in the march. The same issue of the *Free Press* (June 25) quotes NAACP Secretary Arthur Johnson's much more accurate appraisal on this point: "These people were not following a leader. They were individuals, expressing themselves. It was a great tribute to Dr. King, but something very much like it would have happened without him."

Rev. King put his foot in his mouth when he praised Detroit's "wonderful police force." Detroit Negroes would never call the local cops wonderful — just the opposite.

In his speech Rev. King took his usual crack at the Black Muslims: "Black supremacy is as bad as white supremacy." This idea happens to be wrong all the time — white supremacists are in power and "black supremacists" (even if the Muslims could be included in this doubtful category) are not in power. This certainly makes a big difference in their degree of "badness." But King's remark was especially uncalled for on this occasion. While the Muslims did not officially endorse the march, although they had been invited to do so, many of their members participated in swelling the turnout.

Said one Negro about King: "King is a great man and a man of peace. If everyone stood behind him in this situation, there would be no problem with violence."

Another Negro disagreed: "He was all right for the middle fifties.



Photo by Barry Kaplan

"THAT'S TELLING 'EM!" Participants in Detroit civil-rights march register hearty approval as Rev. Albert Cleage declares need for militant and uncompromising freedom fight.

I suppose it was smart to start the movement on a non-violent basis. But now there are a lot of young Negroes who are tired of excuses, tired of rosy political promises, tired of fire hoses, police dogs and electrically charged pokers. They are about to give up on the 'bloodless revolution.' I don't believe they intend to back off now. Rev. King could lose his leadership position unless he can quickly influence those who now hold the 'chains.'"

Walter Reuther's big contribution at the post-march rally was: "I think this remarkable demonstration is most encouraging. It indicates you can provide appropriate leadership in the struggle against discrimination and you can still have a peaceful demonstration."

That was the theme with the big-business papers too. They all harped on how peaceful and orderly the demonstration was, as if that was the most important thing. Wouldn't all the demonstrations, North and South, be peaceful if the cops and the anti-Negro elements didn't attack them? All this phony talk has the effect of somehow blaming the demonstrators when violence occurs. The fact is that violence is invariably caused and provoked by the enemies of Negro equality.

At one point during the rally the spirit of the crowd was so thoroughly dampened by the dull speeches of Reuther, former Governor Swainson and Detroit Mayor Cavanagh, that ushers were finding it impossible to get contributions from the audience. Rev. Cleage was hurriedly called to the mike to help save the day. He was so successful in restoring the enthusiasm of the crowd that a conservative member of the committee panicked and tried to cut off the public address system to keep things from going too far. Unlike other speakers, Cleage was not afraid to take some verbal swipes at Reuther and Cavanagh while they sat on the platform.

After the rally Cleage commented: "I don't think the program in general reflected the temper of the people. Introducing all the old political figures and leaders like Swainson, Reuther and Cavanagh was a mistake. Nobody wanted to hear them. They shouldn't even have been on the platform."

Others were displeased by this too. One participant was quoted

in the *Michigan Chronicle* (June 29) as saying: "I think they outsmarted us on our Freedom Walk. They took it away from us! They took it over! They ran it! They as much as said, 'If you can't lick them, join them.' Do you think we gained anything with that march?"

Republican Governor Romney may have committed political suicide on June 23, when, as a Mormon, he refused to appear in public on Sunday. He therefore declined an invitation to speak at Cobo Arena. Instead he proclaimed Sunday "March to Freedom Day" and sent two official representatives. But the crowd booed them and local Republicans are walking around with gloom on their faces thinking what this will do to Romney's presidential aspirations.

The great majority of the demonstrators never did get to hear King or the other speakers. Around 25,000 could be seated at Cobo Arena and another equal number found places outside where they could hear the loudspeakers. But most of the marchers couldn't even get close enough to hear. There was a reverse march back up Woodward by the thousands who couldn't get buses. Some of their comments were as good or better than those of the official speakers. "I would have listened, but I don't care," said one. "I know what King Cavanagh and Reuther would say anyhow. What counts is I had a chance to do some talking myself today — with my feet. Me, and a lot more."

The march was impressive and inspiring in a way that's hard to get into words. It must have made some people think: Suppose the labor movement got a turnout for a demonstration like this — together with and in addition to the Negro people — is there any power on earth that could stop them? Labor's power is potentially greater than that of the Negroes. When it joins the march that has been initiated by the Negroes, nothing in the world can stop them from building a new, better and more decent life for all who are now exploited and oppressed. June 23 was a promise, and a harbinger of the day that's surely coming when the white workers will catch up with their Negro brothers and together they will build a new society based on the abundance they both want and the equality they both need.

Documents of the Negro Struggle

Texts of discussions on question with Leon Trotsky and of analytical resolutions adopted by conventions of Socialist Workers Party.

65 cents

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 118 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. 27 - No. 26

345

Monday, July 10, 1963

Don't Let Them Get Away With It

The Washington politicians — in the White House and in Congress — are planning to give the Negro people the same old run-around. These professional con men think they have now weathered the storm of Negro demonstrations and that by improved application of the old treatment they can come out of the crisis and this session of Congress with a weak and toothless civil-rights act.

They will, too, unless the Negro people keep up their demonstrations throughout the country and then go down to Washington en masse to force through a law, full of sharp enforcement teeth, establishing all their civil rights then and there.

Most civil-rights leaders were too lavish in their praise of Kennedy's June 11 TV speech merely because he used the words "moral crisis," "Negro," and "revolution." This largely explains why Kennedy dared introduce a civil-rights package which was so inadequate. It contains no deadline for school desegregation, its fair employment provisions are toothless afterthoughts, obviously intended to be discarded, and it does not cover all civil rights.

But Kennedy isn't even serious about getting this inadequate package passed intact. Had he meant business, he would have immediately gone to work, calling in each potential filibusterer and doubtful Northern Senator and Congressman, threatening them with loss of federal patronage and pork barrel appropriations unless they did right. Instead, Kennedy took a powder to Europe.

Attorney General Kennedy began his testimony with an offer to compromise — his statement that "Mrs. Jones' boarding-house" need not be compelled to stop discriminating. Administration strategy is to accept a rotten compromise after Northern Democrats have talked up a "good record" for next year's election campaign.

Will the Negro people and their true allies accept this swindle? Or will they descend on Washington in their might and demand complete and effective civil-rights legislation now?

Equal Time and the '64 Elections

The House of Representatives has passed a bill suspending the right to equal radio and television time for candidates for president and vice-president in the 1964 elections. The bill is now before the Senate where it is expected to pass. Once again minority parties are to be denied their constitutional right to be heard over the mass media as the near-monopoly of political channels held by the Republicans and Democrats is converted into an absolute monopoly.

To suspend the right of minority parties to be heard during an election is to deny the public the right to hear dissenting points of view, and to turn the air waves from public property into the private domain of a handful of network and station owners. Under such conditions our "free" elections will become more of a travesty than ever.

The two major reasons advanced for the suspension of the equal-time provision were that it would permit stations to give more free time to the Republicans and Democrats, and that it would make possible the "Great Debates" by allowing television broadcasters to limit participation to the two candidates from the major parties.

The first reason has already been proven false. FCC statistics show that a similar suspension in 1960 resulted in no more free time for the major parties than in 1956. It merely excluded minority parties. As for the second reason, the "Great Debates" themselves demonstrated the emptiness of "debates" between two parties which are in fundamental political agreement.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Baltimore	\$ 120	\$ 150	125
Cleveland	500	584	117
The General	395	455	115
Connecticut	200	233	111
Chicago	1,400	1,525	109
San Diego	400	425	106
Newark	225	245	104
Allentown	150	150	100
Boston	750	750	100
Denver	130	130	100
Detroit	900	902	100
Los Angeles	6,300	6,300	100
Milwaukee	350	350	100
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,000	1,000	100
New York	5,800	5,800	100
Oakland-Berkeley	750	750	100
Philadelphia	300	300	100
St. Louis	100	100	100
San Francisco	750	750	100
Seattle	600	600	100
Totals to June 15	\$21,120	\$21,499	102

THE CIVIL RIGHTS BATTLEFRONT

Demonstrations Continue North and South

JULY 2 — Demonstrations by Negroes seeking equality continue in both North and South. Concessions have been won in some areas, but in others the movement is meeting stiff opposition and delaying tactics from racist officials.

The Philadelphia movement for more jobs for Negroes pioneered a significant experiment in demonstration techniques on June 24. A four-hour general work-stoppage by the city's Negroes was called "to mourn for Medgar Evers." The stoppage was called by Cecil Moore, local NAACP head, and was supported by CORE and an alliance of ministers. The city's top AFL-CIO officials opposed it, but some local unions gave support.

City officials at first threatened reprisals against city employees joining the stoppage but later changed their tune. While it is difficult to estimate just how many actually stayed off their jobs that morning, observers in Philadelphia generally agreed that a significant number did. Some 4,000 people picketed city hall during the stoppage.

In Mississippi, voter-registration and direct-action campaigns continued in the face of increasing violence and police harassment. In Itta Bena, Miss., on June 18 a smoke bomb was thrown at a voter-registration meeting. Negroes walked out of the meeting to go to the police to protest the lack of protection, but 58 were arrested then and there on charges of "breach of the peace."

Twenty-nine of the group — the others were children between ten and 17 years of age — were convicted and sentenced to six months in jail and \$500 fine each, with bonds set at \$500 for women and \$750 for men. Robert Moses, director of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee's voter-registration project in Mississippi, appealed for financial aid to bail the people out.

In Clarksdale, Miss., over 20 people were arrested last month for picketing against segregation at the library, city hall and the Bell Telephone Co.

In Albany, Ga., only seven out of a staff of 26 SNCC workers remained out of jail as of June 26. Police have been arresting the staff members on such charges as "investigation of vagrancy."

Greensboro, N. C., birthplace of the sit-in movement which swept the South, has become an "open city" with virtually all public

Muslims Framed: The Final Verdict

The final tally on the frame-up trial of the 14 Black Muslims in Los Angeles is as follows: 39 convictions, 15 acquittals and five charges dismissed because of the all-white jury's failure to reach agreement. Since there were multiple charges against most defendants, the result is: eleven guilty of some charges, two not guilty of all charges, one acquitted because of the jury's disagreement. The last issue of The Militant erred in totaling the convictions and acquittals. Sentencing is set for July 16.

facilities desegregated, according to the Congress of Racial Equality. Desegregation followed two waves of massive demonstrations in May and June.

CANTON, Miss., June 27 — Ben Lewis, a white gas-station attendant, was arrested yesterday on charges of shooting at five young Negroes here two days ago following a CORE voter-registration meeting. The five were hit by shotgun pellets — as police stood by and watched — and were taken to a hospital for treatment. They were released the next morning. The charges against Lewis are "unlawfully pointing and unlawfully discharging a firearm."

DANVILLE, Va. — Police raided the church headquarters of civil-rights leaders here, seeking several persons indicted by a grand jury June 21 on charges of "inciting to riot." Those against whom indictments were brought include James Forman, executive secretary of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, Attorney Len Holt, and Rev. Curtis Harris and Dr. Milton Reed of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Almost 100 persons were arrested in Danville demonstrations in May and June, and some 40 persons were injured by police clubs and fire hoses. CORE has also been active in the Danville drive.

GADSDEN, Ala., July 1 — The Gadsden Transit Company has promised to begin total desegre-

gation of its buses. City officials have promised to bring about the withdrawal of state troopers and Negro leaders have suspended demonstrations in the hope of further progress.

Some 500 demonstrators were arrested here recently. Some of them were shocked by electric prod poles — both outside and inside the jail. A field secretary for SNCC reported that police beat at least two Negro teen-agers here June 26 after 15 demonstrators were arrested that afternoon. Club-swinging state troopers initiated the violence and the use of prod poles on June 19. Questioned about the brutality, Albert Lingo, commander of the state troopers, told reporters: "I can't help it if these people ran into each other." CORE Field Secretaries Marvin Robinson and Mary Hamilton have been arrested here. The demonstrators are being released on bonds ranging from \$100 to \$500, according to Etowah County officials.

SAVANNAH, Georgia, June 25 — An executive committee member of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee is being held without bond here after his third consecutive arrest on trespassing charges. In Atlanta, the student anti-segregation group asked Attorney General Robert Kennedy to investigate the arrest of 19-year-old Benjamin Van Clark and called the incident "a basic violation of civil rights."

Van Clark was arrested yesterday as he participated in a demonstration against segregation here. He was refused bond under a city ordinance which forbids bail to anyone arrested three times on the same charge.

State and city police had fired tear gas at 2,600 Negroes here June 19 as they knelt on the street in front of the city jail, protesting the arrest of 400 demonstrators earlier that day. That followed two weeks of protests under the leadership of Van Clark and Hosea Williams of the Chatham County Crusade for Voters. The demonstrators have been asking for desegregation of all hotels, motels, restaurants, cabs and other public facilities.

With or Without Strings?

A group of rich, white contributors to the civil-rights movement were called to a secret meeting at New York's Carlyle Hotel June 19, according to a report in the July 1 *National Observer*. At the meeting, says the *Observer*, the following occurred:

"In blunt terms, three of America's most influential Negroes — Whitney Young of the Urban League, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, and James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality — explained that the Negro leadership faced a painful, if somewhat ironic, dilemma. The Negro revolt, which they as leaders had encouraged, was in serious danger of getting out of hand. Revolutions, they said, have a distressing habit of devouring their leaders, and this one is no exception. Their aim was not to stop the movement to which they had been so long committed; their aim was to discipline it, to direct the energies of 18 million impatient Negroes to peaceful ends, and thus to prevent the movement from collapsing of its own weight and violence. And for this task they needed money and manpower. The Negro leaders made their point. By the end of the meeting, \$550,000 had been raised, and, according to insiders, the total sum is now close to \$850,000."

Militant Fund Drive

We Made It With a Bit to Spare

By Marvel Scholl

National Fund Drive Director

On June 15 The Militant \$21,000 Fund Campaign came to a successful conclusion. Actually we went over the top by two per cent. We wish to take this opportunity to thank all our loyal readers and friends for their generous support.

Since the Spring Fund Campaign in 1962 when we raised a like amount to increase the size of the paper to eight pages, The Militant has never failed in its pledge to bring the truth to its readers — the truth which is submerged or distorted in the brainwashing daily press, radio and TV. We made another promise in that fund drive — to publish educational, background material on political and social upheavals the world over.

Our readers got authentic documentary material right out of Cuba — whole speeches by Fidel Castro and President Dorticos; and first-hand reports from Canadians who are still free to travel to Cuba to see for themselves.

We have written background stories on the peasants move-

ments in Mexico and Peru, Paraguay and Uruguay. We have reported and analyzed the Algerian revolution; the current rift between Moscow and Peking; the war in Vietnam and Laos; the revolutions and counter-revolutions in Africa.

The Negro people's valiant fight for Freedom Now has and will continue to get priority in our columns. This fight is no longer a legal battle for desegregation of schools, trains, buses, and lunch counters. The slogan Freedom Now means just what it says — full social, political and economic freedom for a 19-million minority of our population. Their supporters must be all of us, regardless of race, nationality or religion. The Militant has proved that it is a partisan in that fight.

You, the individual reader, too, can prove your partisanship with all the beleaguered peoples in our own country and the rest of the world, by continuing to support The Militant both with your subscriptions and your Truth Dollars.

An Urgent Call to Aid Algeria

ALGIERS, June 20 — On closing its sessions here yesterday, the European Conference for Nongovernmental Aid to Algeria issued the following appeal:

"After seven years of a cruel war, Algeria was left with 250,000 orphans, 800,000 displaced persons, thousands of destroyed villages, an illiteracy rate of 80 per cent, entire regions without medical help, a thousand plants abandoned by key personnel, an economy disorganized by the massive departure of Europeans.

"Algeria needs medical instructors, industrial and agricultural specialists, skilled workers, people willing to generously share their know-how with the Algerian people.

"Algeria needs equipment and supplies in all fields: tractors, medical units and furnishings, mobile clinics, hospital equipment, school supplies, books for libraries.

"Algeria needs food for its children, clothing, medicine.

"Algeria needs understanding of its difficulties, its efforts, its hopes. It needs the truth, so often falsified, to be spoken out vigorously and clearly.

"At this moment when the Algerian workers are expressing their determination to work out their own destiny, declaring that they are taking the road to socialism, the 150 participants who came from ten countries to the European Conference for Nongovernmental Aid to Algeria, held June 15-19, 1963, make an urgent appeal to international opinion to rally in support of the New Algeria.

"We especially appeal to workers' organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth movements, civic bodies, farmers' associations, and intellectual groups to undertake rapid and effective action.

"The heroic struggle of the Algerian people for independence has won the admiration of the entire world.

"Long live friendship and solidarity with the New Algeria!"

...Conference of Fourth Int'l

(Continued from Page 1)

which was attended by IC delegates as observers, spent a full day discussing a report by Michel Pablo on the Algerian Revolution. There was unanimous agreement that Algeria may now begin to play the role in Africa and the Arab world which Cuba has played in Latin America. The Congress resolved to do its utmost to help mobilize aid for the Algerian Revolution.

In sharp contrast to the bureaucratic and stifling atmosphere that pervades most trade-union, Social-Democratic and Communist party assemblies, the Congress was notable for its strict adherence to democratic rules. Differences between two main tendencies which were present were amply and clearly debated. Following the vote, representation was assured the minority in the incoming leadership on the basis of the support it won among the delegates.

Points of Difference

The points of dispute between the majority, headed by Pierre Frank, E. Germain and Livio Maitan, and the minority headed by Michel Pablo revolved around different estimates of how nuclear war will be prevented; the interrelationship between various sectors of the world revolution; the significance of the Chinese-Soviet dispute and what the attitude of Trotskyists should be toward it; and the record of the outgoing leadership.

The debate took place around the majority documents: "The Dynamics of World Revolution Today," a study of the dialectics of the major trends in the current revolutionary process; "The Sino-Soviet Conflict and the Situation in the USSR and the Other Workers States," which analyzes the crisis in the Stalinist movement and defines the stand of the world Trotskyist movement in re-

lation to it; and "The International Situation and Our Tasks," a description of immediate world trends along with proposed concrete tasks for the Trotskyist movement.

A counter document presented by Michel Pablo, "Theses on the New International Situation and the Tasks of the Fourth International," summarizes in concise form points developed extensively in a number of other documents submitted for internal discussion since October 1961.

SWP Statement

In addition to the three majority documents, the Reunification Congress adopted a statement by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement," proposing the basic political positions and conditions for the reunification of all the forces of world Trotskyism. The Socialist Workers Party of the United States, while not affiliated because of reactionary legislation, maintains close fraternal interest in the life of the Fourth International.

During the proceedings, the delegates observed a minute of silence in memory of the late Natalia Sedova, the companion of Leon Trotsky, martyred founder of the Fourth International. Similar tribute was paid to Trotskyist leaders Sherry Mangan and Fernando Bravo who died since the previous congress.

The gathering called for an energetic campaign in defense of Hugo Blanco, leader of the Peruvian peasants who was recently arrested, and Ismael Frias, another Peruvian Trotskyist leader, who has been held in prison.

It declared its solidarity with the Indian Trotskyists and left-wing Communists imprisoned by the Nehru regime for their opposition to the super patriotism whipped up over the Indian-Chinese border dispute.

The unification brought together the main forces of the world Trotskyist movement. Hold-outs include an ultra-left current in Latin America, formerly adhering to the IEC, and the British and French sections of the IC. Although invited to send observers, they declined. The Congress, however, reaffirmed its appeal for the unification of all Trotskyist forces.

REPORT FROM ALGIERS

Europeans' Aid Parley Huge Success

By Ross Dowson

ALGIERS, June 19 — The five-day European Conference for Nongovernmental Aid to Algeria closed this afternoon in this capital of the newly forged Popular and Democratic Republic of Algeria. It was a tremendous success on all counts.

Algeria's President Ben Bella addressed the final session. The evening before he had held a supper-reception for the delegates in the Palais du Peuple, formerly the palace of French governor-generals. The previous afternoon, accompanied by major cabinet ministers, the president delivered an official address of welcome capped by an hour or more of answering questions asked by the delegates assembled in the auditorium of the Palais du Gouvernement. The entire Algerian press followed the daily progress of the conference and gave it extensive coverage.

Some 150 delegates came together from ten different countries to participate in the sessions convened at Ben Aknoun on the outskirts of the city. The delegations contained in their ranks leading personalities of various political tendencies, including many of international prominence.

Among the British delegates were two Labour Party MPs, the editors of *New Left Review*, *Union Voice*, *Peace News*, and persons associated with other journals of the left. In his short address to the opening session on their behalf, MP John Baird read a message of solidarity from the eminent mathematician and philosopher Bertrand Russell.

Prominent among the French delegates were journalist Claude Bourdet, historian Daniel Guerin, and leading partisans of Algeria's struggle for independence during the seven and a half years of murderous struggle waged by French imperialism to maintain its grip on the country.



Ahmed Ben Bella

There were leading unionists from Germany, Belgium, France and Italy, and representatives of the Spanish and Portuguese underground.

Among the observers were leaders of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions, three representatives of the trade unions of the USSR, the ambassador from Hungary, the first secretary of the Czechoslovakian embassy, and a representative of the Cuban government.

Opening Addresses

The opening address by the head of the presidium, Lelio Basso, a deputy and the former general secretary of the Italian Socialist party, was followed by a series of short addresses. Ernest Mandel, editor of the Belgian weekly, *La Gauche*, won vigorous applause.

Among the presidium were Brit-

ish Labour Member of Parliament S. Awbery, R. Anderson (Denmark), Dutch socialist youth leader Huib Riethof, J. C. Gillet (UNEF, ASFA) France, and Helen Raptis.

With the adoption of an agenda the delegates participated in a series of commissions where, on the basis of reports delivered by representatives of appropriate government ministries, they studied the widespread and most urgent needs of the Algerian people.

Technicians Needed

The crucial need for technicians of every kind was graphically indicated by the observation of a government representative to the commission on agriculture that of the 80 veterinarians under French rule only six have remained in the country. An on-the-spot picture was provided the delegates by tours arranged to various projects in the Algiers district. Delegates also had an opportunity to visit farms and plants deserted by their former owners, in many cases after extensive sabotage of equipment, that have recently been brought under workers' management.

A few of the requirements were filled on the spot. Various delegates pledged immediate and specific action on behalf of their organizations. Others gave assurances of an all-out campaign through organizations already working to aid Algeria or organizations in the process of being built.

Offices are now being set up by the government through the *Bureau National d'Animation du Secteur Socialiste*, Palais du Gouvernement, Algiers, Algeria. This office will co-ordinate the work now being done by already existing bodies in Europe and bodies which must be set up elsewhere across the world. Further information about helping the New Algeria can be obtained by writing to this address.

...Detroit March Was a Record-Breaker

(Continued from Page 1)

warranted. It was as though the mostly Negro sidewalk crowds were saying: "We appreciate your support, even if your numbers are few."

In the June 17 *Militant*, we wrote that if the march succeeded in mobilizing 100,000:

"It would signal a turning point in the Negro struggle just as significant as the student sit-ins did in the South three years ago. It would further weaken the hold of the conservative and gradualist Negro leadership, who have now lost the initiative. It would inspire the Negro masses with greater confidence in their own independent strength and encourage them to rely on it, rather than on phony allies, and it would help to produce a new and more radical leadership. . . . The big thing about this march, therefore, will be the size of the turnout. That is what the Negroes' friends and foes will be watching. The size of the march will be more important than the plans of the leaders, the program of Rev. King, and even the specific slogans carried by various groups."

It seems to us that this analysis has been confirmed by events. The turnout was so big that it overshadowed everything else. The masses of the Negro ghetto stepped onto the stage and intervened — so decisively that nobody could misunderstand or ignore what they were saying. The *Detroit Free Press* quoted a DCHR official as saying: "You know, Detroit will never be the same after this day." And the *Free Press* managing editor, Frank Angelo, commented, with some glumness: "He had a point."

Angelo understands that the march was a "giant economic and

political force" that will have a "long-lasting impact on the community," especially the Negro leadership. The group that organized it "moves into a strong position, which means that Detroit will hear more from the Detroit Council for Human Rights."

He quotes one of its leaders' criticisms of the "old-guard" Negro leaders: "Our Negro leadership had become too close to the white community and was losing contact with the Negro man-in-the street." The DCHR leaders, among whom he lists Rev. C. L. Franklin, Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr., and James Del Rio, are obviously going to maintain better contact with the Negro masses than the "old guard." They represent the more militant wing of the present Negro movement. They, and Cleage especially, have been denounced by the white papers and old-guard Negroes as "too nationalist." The Negro masses don't seem to regard that as any kind of drawback. The applause for Cleage at the post-march rally rivalled that given Rev. King.

Angelo sees some hope, however: "The DCHR leaders 'are not unchallenged.' He recalls that 'long-time leaders in the Negro community made an effort early in the planning stages for the 'Walk to Freedom' to take control of this march but they were repulsed. However, they have not been idle. Practically all of them marched Sunday and they still head organizations that represent thousands of Detroit Negroes. As a result of the march, it can be expected, however, that they will become firmer in their demands for progress which they have been negotiating for years."

So already the DCHR has had

an important impact. By its very existence, it has, like the Muslims, forced the old-guard leaders to the left, or to the appearance of being more militant. That is all to the good.

But the DCHR is facing a test, too. It has a tremendous reservoir of confidence among the masses. It has a broad base as well as high prestige. But it can't stand still. It will have to go beyond the old guard in action as well as words. It will have to learn to resist the kind of pressures that caused the last minute additions of white liberals like Walter Reuther, Mayor Cavanagh and ex-Governor Swainson to the program of the post-march rally despite prior agreement in the committee not to.

Rev. Cleage, leader of the most militant wing of the DCHR, leaves the future of the Council open. "This depends on how accurately it assesses what the masses of the Negroes want," he replied to my question on the subject. "It is too early to say they have arrived. They could easily fall into the same mistakes as the old leadership. I don't know for sure that they will continue to guide mass protests. I hope they will continue to reflect the Negro masses. If they try to 'use' people, they will wind up just like all the other organizations."

For the present, the DCHR has earned the right to the support and aid of all the militant, radical and revolutionary Negroes and their white allies. Where it goes from here will determine whether or not it will be able to keep this support and build the type of movement that will result in June 23 becoming the first in a series of beautiful days, all over the North as well as in Detroit.

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE

The Chinese Letter That Brought Rift to Breaking Point

By William F. Warde

A series of sharp clashes culminating in the expulsion of five Chinese Communists from the Soviet Union has brought Sino-Soviet relations close to the breaking point and reduced to a minimum any chances of settling their differences at the conference scheduled to begin July 5 in Moscow.

The latest breach between Moscow and Peking was precipitated by publication of a long letter addressed by the Chinese to the Soviet Central Committee on June 14. It listed 25 questions they wanted discussed at the meeting and set forth Peking's positions in a manner that leaves little room for compromise. This criticism of Khrushchev's policies was not designed to clear the way for conciliation but for a confrontation of opposing views on all the main issues in dispute.

The Soviet Central Committee responded by accusing the Chinese of giving an "arbitrary interpretation" of Communist doctrine, making "unwarranted attacks on the Communist party of the Soviet Union and other fraternal parties," and violating an agreement to cease "open polemics."

Peking, which has published all the major policy statements on both sides, challenged Moscow to do likewise so that the "Soviet people can think for themselves and judge who is right and who is wrong." However, the Central Committee refused to publicize the Chinese letter on the pretext that it would "lead to a further aggravation of the polemics." The Chinese Communists derided the Russian leaders for suppressing the other side of the debate.

They were further incensed by the fact that Moscow papers published the full text of President Kennedy's recent speech at American University while refusing to print the Chinese letter.

When Chinese embassy personnel in Moscow gave a Russian translation of their document to Soviet citizens, the Kremlin retaliated by demanding the recall of five Chinese, including three embassy officials, for circulating hostile propaganda. The expelled men were welcomed with bouquets in Peking.

The Chinese Central Committee announced it would go ahead with

the opening of the talks, despite this provocation. It warned that measures taken by the Soviet leaders "constitute a serious step in worsening Chinese-Soviet relations and in manufacturing a split in the international Communist movement."

Since last winter the Soviet spokesmen had suspended open argument with the Chinese either to lessen the tension before their talks or out of a feeling that they had more to lose than gain by continuing the controversy. Khrushchev sought to exploit Castro's five-week visit to the Soviet Union to demonstrate Soviet solidarity with Cuba, to counteract continued criticism of his actions in the Caribbean crisis last fall, and secure Havana's neutrality in the dispute with Peking.

The Chinese Communists have been far more vocal and vigorous in pressing their line. In a May 15th letter from Peking, Anna Louise Strong reports that the

differences on these points, she says, since the Chinese likewise favor disarmament and co-existence between different social systems. The real differences revolve around the problems of strategy in the present world situation.

This is emphasized in the Chinese letter which defines their general line as "one of resolute revolutionary struggle by the people of all countries, and of carrying the proletarian world revolution forward to the end." This, they said, would most effectively combat imperialism and defend world peace.

Without mentioning Khrushchev and his colleagues by name, the letter assails "certain persons in the Communist movement" for taking a "passive or scornful or negative attitude toward the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation." The Peking newspaper, *Jenmin Jih Pao*, spelled out what this means now in Southeast Asia by calling upon the Soviet Union to support the liberation movement in Laos against U.S. "aggression and intervention" and suggesting that Moscow had not adequately distinguished "right from wrong" in that country.

"Erroneous Views"

The letter condemned as "erroneous views" all the Soviet positions which diverge from those of the Chinese. These include the associated beliefs that "the contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie can be resolved without proletarian revolution in each country" and that the "contradiction between oppressed nations and imperialism can be resolved without revolution by the oppressed nations."

The message attacked the Kremlin's doctrine that the "contradiction between the two world systems of socialism and capitalism will automatically disappear in the course of 'economic competition' and that a 'world without wars' would then appear."

It condemned any Communist country that "demands that other fraternal countries submit to its needs" and "even goes to the length of putting economic pressure on other fraternal countries." The response that this complaint would receive in certain East European countries was indicated by the defiance by the Romanian Communists who printed a lengthy summary of the Chinese criticism. This refusal to follow Moscow's lead is prompted by resistance to Soviet proposals to restrict Romania's industrialization through the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON).

Albania Issue

The Chinese letter also demanded that Moscow mend its relations with Albania and said that anyone who followed the policies of the "Yugoslav revisionists" or helped capitalist countries to attack "fraternal socialist countries" was "betraying the interests of the entire international proletariat and the people of the world." This clearly referred to the support given by Moscow and the majority of the Indian CP to Nehru in the India-China border conflict.

The Chinese also made it plain that they intend to maintain their opposition to Khrushchev's de-Stalinization measures. They asked for discussion of the "criticism of Stalinism" and other matters raised at the 20th and 22nd Congress of the Soviet CP.

The Chinese letter is especially noteworthy for upholding Stalin's conceptions of building socialism in a single country and for the necessity of continuing and intensifying the class struggle through the dictatorship of the proletariat "for the entire historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism." These doctrines, counterposed to any relaxation of police-state methods, provided ideological justification for the un-



DID KHRUSHCHEV RENEGE? In 1955 North Vietnamese President Ho Chi Minh was received in Moscow by then Soviet President Klementy Voroshilov. Ho Chi Minh was there to win Soviet backing on demand for free elections in South Vietnam and reunification of country. There is no record of any serious effort by Khrushchev to help realize this and the North Vietnamese have lined up with China in current dispute.

mitigated despotism of the Stalin era.

The letter warned the Soviet leaders that "to entrust the fate of the people and of mankind to collaboration with United States imperialism is to lead the people astray." This warning was met by President Kennedy's conciliatory speech on Soviet-U.S. relations at American University June 16 which was calculated to stiffen Khrushchev's stand against the pressures from Peking and its supporters.

On June 21 *Jenmin Jih Pao* declared that the "peace gestures" of the Kennedy administration were a "most cunning and vicious move" to sow discord between China and the Soviet Union and "undermine the socialist camp." It said that the Yugoslav Communists are "beside themselves with joy" at Kennedy's speech.

Tito Speech

Washington's diplomatic effort came after a major foreign policy speech by President Tito to the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist League in May along parallel lines. Tito advised against any "compromise or unprincipled agreements" at the expense of others, or at the expense of the fundamental principles upon which the contemporary struggle for socialism rests.

Neither side is disposed to yield any ground to the other as the dispute moves toward a climax. The Chinese leaders are getting ready, not for a rapprochement, but for a prolonged fight against Khrushchev's course.

A joint Chinese-North Korean communiqué, signed in Peking June 23, condemned the Russian stand on "peaceful co-existence" and denounced Khrushchev for trying to win agreement with U.S. imperialism "by begging." It brushed aside the Kremlin's appeal to end public criticism of each other, demanded equality in the talks, and insisted that the participants should not "force the will of one party or country on another."

The next day *Pravda* rebuked the Chinese for renewing open polemics. This was the first time the Kremlin has publicly criticized the top Chinese leaders. The Moscow papers repeated that the Central Committee resolution had instructed the Soviet delegation to the July talks to follow "unswervingly" the Khrushchev policies.

Both sides are busy soliciting

support for their line from the other Communist parties and even in those parties' ranks over the heads of their leaders. The Soviet blackout of the Chinese communication is connected with a thinly-veiled suggestion that the Khrushchev leadership ought to be removed. It accuses Moscow of "crudely interfering in the internal affairs of other fraternal Parties and fraternal countries and forcing other fraternal Parties to change their leadership in order to impose their own wrong line on these parties. What is all this if not great-power chauvinism, sectarianism and splittism. What is all this if not subversion?"

At another point the letter says: "If the leading group in any party adopt a non-revolutionary line and convert it into a reformist party, then Marxist-Leninists inside and outside the Party will replace them and lead the people in making revolution... If Communists slide down the path of opportunism, they will degenerate into bourgeois nationalists and become appendages of the imperialists and the reactionary bourgeoisie."

Thus the document not only contains a political platform for organizing opposition to Khrushchev's line but also an implicit directive for Peking's sympathizers to do so. The faction fights, expulsions and resignations which have already taken place in the Belgian, Brazilian and Australian Communist parties will be extended elsewhere if the July meeting turns out to be as fruitless and embittered as these preparatory clashes portend.

Moscow

vs.

Peking**The Meaning****By William F. Warde****Of the Great Debate**

The first comprehensive appraisal of the Sino-Soviet dispute from a Marxist standpoint

50 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Tito

Chinese do not expect the July conference to settle anything, but rather to be one of many conferences to come. She points out that the two parties do not even agree on the agenda. The Chinese proposed in a letter of March 9 that the first of the five main subjects for discussion should be "the strategy and tactics of revolution in the contemporary world." The Soviet reply of March 30 omitted this not unimportant topic and substituted one on "co-existence and disarmament." There are no

1962 Was an Eventful Year ... And So Was Our Coverage We Featured These Exclusives in 1962

- Eye-Witness Reports on the Southern Rights Fight
 - An unusual series of analytical articles by George Breitman on the "new mood" in the Negro struggle
 - On-the-scene reports by Carol Weston from Paraguay and Uruguay
 - Reports by our editor, Joseph Hansen, from Latin America, including an exclusive interview with Brazilian peasant leader Francisco Juliao
 - Reports by Joseph Hansen from Algeria, plus analytical articles on the development of the Algerian revolution
 - Translation of poems by Yevtushenko
 - Major documentary coverage on Cuba including:
Text of Second Declaration of Havana
Official text of Cuba's five-point proposal for settlement of U.S.-created crisis
Text of Cuban President Dorticos' speech at UN on eve of blockade
Fidel Castro's Speech, "The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought"
Fidel Castro's Speech on Bureaucracy and Sectarianism
Fidel Castro's Speech on his meeting with UN General Secretary U Thant
- All of this is yours in permanent form by sending \$7 for the 1962 bound volume of America's leading socialist weekly.

Send check or money order to:

THE MILITANT

116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Letters From Our Readers

Kennedy and "Violence"

New York, N.Y.

In his June 19 speech on civil rights President Kennedy condemned "melodramatic" demonstrations, saying that "they are not the way in which this country should rid itself of racial discrimination." Hypocritically, he tells Afro-American citizens that "violence is never justified."

How about Vietnam? If "violence is never justified," Mr. Kennedy should prove it by taking the American troops out of South Vietnam. Until he does, let him tell Barnett and the rest of the racists that "violence is never justified." I would like to ask the president if violence was justified when he sponsored the invasion of Cuba. Kennedy should have said "violence is never justified unless I am behind it."

Speaking of Cuba, remember R. Hart Phillips? She is the *New York Times* correspondent who used to write all those vicious articles about the Cuban Revolution. In the June 23 issue of the *Times* she has a story on the

struggle for freedom in Savannah, Georgia. Here is one section of her story:

"The attitude of the businessmen has hardened against demands for desegregation largely on the basis that they will not yield to mob pressure."

The racists claim that in upholding Jim Crow they are resisting the Negro "mob." In presenting this phony argument as good coin, Mrs. Phillips is whitewashing the racists. It gives a good clue to the biased nature of her reporting from Cuba. And if a paper like the *Times* permits such reporting, is it any wonder the American people don't know the truth about Cuba?

J.S.

A Negro in Court

Detroit, Mich.

A friend of mine was in court last week and the case before him involved a Negro teen-ager who had been picked up for fighting.

The young man's arm was in a sling, having been broken the night before at the police station.

The judge told him, "Since you have already been partially punished, I'm going to let you go on a year's probation."

N.L.

Hard Facts on Latin America

Cleveland, Ohio

Sweeping changes are due to take place throughout Latin America in the near future.

The average per capita income of Latin America's 200 million people is a third of that of Western Europe and a seventh of that of the United States. At the present rate of economic growth it will take Latin America 252 years to reach a level one third that of the present U.S. average income, according to the *Latin American Journal*.

There are not only appalling deficiencies in housing, education, health services and water supplies. Agricultural production, upon which the region depends, is at a lower level today than it was 25 years ago.

Half of all the agricultural land in Latin America is owned by only 1.5 per cent of the people.

The growth rate of production per head has practically halted in Latin America since 1955. Yet the population is growing at the fastest rate in the world.

The world prices of commodities, upon which the Latin American economy depends so heavily, have dropped considerably in the last four years while the cost of imports have steadily increased. Unemployment rates are getting higher and higher and there is severe inflation.

Two thirds of the population of Latin America are not consumers in the sense of buying imports or manufactured goods; they live on what they grow or make or scrounge.

By and large, there is a profound discontent throughout Latin America. Many people have revolutionary ideas and when revolutionary leaders come to the front this is soon to erupt in revolutions that will shake the universe.

For the first time in history, Latin Americans do not have to look abroad for something to solve their problems. It is in their midst. The Cuban Revolution is setting the example for the vast majority of them.

Thought for the Week

"In the process of freeing himself, the American Negro may shake his own society out of the complacent torpor — indeed, the sleeping sickness — that is the pervasive national malady. If he can reawaken the dormant radical tradition in American life, the Negro would give a greater lift to national prestige than any conceivable feat in outer space. There are signs that a miracle of this magnitude might occur in the near future." — Karl E. Meyer in the June 7 *London New Statesman*.

The Cuban Revolution means to millions of Latin Americans that in one of their sister countries a stalwart man by the name of Fidel Castro has given land to the poor, fixed the rich, and put the gringos in their place.

G.C.

Religious Freedom

San Diego, Calif.

Enclosed is \$2. Please send me eleven copies of your June 11 issue with the article on the role of Catholicism in Vietnam, and six copies of Fidel Castro's speech, *The Revolution Must Be a School of Unfettered Thought*.

I have given \$5 to the *Militant* fund drive and recently about ten introductory subscriptions. Your paper has become outstanding in its coverage of human rights and the right of worship regardless of dogma that is awakening the status-quo Americans to the intrigue that is taking place to force Catholicism on those who do not believe in it in Vietnam, Korea and Ceylon. I want to thank you for publishing the truth behind the cold war in these countries. The article on Vietnam by Steve Graham was extremely informative.

T.Z.

Later Than We Think

Fort Bragg, Calif.

All the pictures we see of Mr. Khrushchev in the public press and elsewhere shows a man with

a big smile. He has a good reason to be in a smiling mood. He is reported to have said of Americans, "We will bury you." No doubt he is pleased as well as amused to see the excellent job we are doing of burying ourselves — thus relieving him of the job. We are doing the job much better than he could.

Over half the national income is being used to turn the country into an armed camp in preparation for a suicidal, atomic war that no one wants. Billions of dollars are recklessly squandered on terrible weapons of destruction that are obsolete by the time they are perfected. Does this make sense? The foreign policy of our government is apparently dominated by a military clique in the Pentagon who "never had it so good." They are living happily and contentedly in the twilight zone between war and peace, and have no desire that the status quo be changed regardless of consequences.

Why should they want peace? So far they have been able to silence all opposition to their war plans by labeling as "Communists" all who do not want their country pushed into a senseless war that no one could win.

The really "forgotten man" in this rat-race is the American taxpayer. The ever-increasing burden of taxes needed to support this gigantic war machine, and our equally ridiculous "foreign-aid"

program, is rapidly reducing millions of people to the status of vassals of the state. If, by any chance, they have any money left at the end of the year, soaring county property taxes "complete the slaughter."

This dangerous situation will continue to get worse until the people demand of their elected representatives that some effort be made to stop this wholesale waste of taxpayers' money. It is later and more dangerous than we think.

Jack Odom

Is Mrs. Luce Suspect?

New York, N. Y.

What do you think about Claire Booth Luce on the Soviet woman in space? In the *Life* magazine of June 28 she gets mad at the government men who say the reason the Russians put a woman in orbit was as a female guinea pig or a propaganda stunt.

She says: "The right answer is that Soviet Russia put a woman into space because Communism preaches and, since the Revolution of 1917 has tried to practice, the inherent equality of men and women."

Is there no limit to the wrath of a woman scorned? Or is Mrs. Luce one of those Reds *Life* sometimes says have infiltrated high places?

Mrs. B.G.

It Was Reported in the Press

Social Theory Dep't — A California Senate "fact-finding" committee on farm labor buttresses its claim that migrant workers aren't doing too badly with this bit of deep thinking from a Prof. Varden Fuller of the University of California: "When the workers are found to be poor or destitute, farm wages and employment conditions are often blamed. Actually, the cause and effect relationship, at least initially at the time of entry into farm work, may be more the other way. The people have not become poor from working in agriculture; they have become agricultural workers because they were already poor."

U.S. Aid Program Assessed — Discussing the U.S. foreign aid program, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas declared June 18 that "our armament program abroad has resulted largely in increasing strength of totalitarian regimes run by feudal kings and feudal families. Those who espouse democratic causes are either in jail or in exile."

Delay on Dogs — The Akron, Ohio, police department called off a slated public showing of its newly acquired dog squad when the NAACP threatened a mass demonstration. An NAACP spokesman said, "We want to see the dogs called off entirely. Whenever the dogs appear on the streets of Akron we plan to demonstrate." The June 18 *Akron Beacon-Journal* said the dog show was cancelled because city officials feared a "public disturbance" might result. Meanwhile, in neighboring Youngstown the Police Department is having difficulty in securing municipal approval for funds for a dog corps. The proposal was

strongly protested by the local NAACP and the AFL-CIO Council.

For Grilled Cheese Sandwiches? — Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman told a House Armed Services subcommittee that he has stockpiled 8,400 pounds of cheddar cheese and a supply of crackers in the Department of Agriculture basements that are designated as fallout shelters.

What About Overtime? — Two California assemblymen have introduced a bill requiring a telephone solicitor to state his name and the product or service he is selling them, to offer to pay the listener ten cents for each three minutes of his time, and to remit payment in seven days.

Misunderstanding? — Are you concerned about Negroes being a target of mass intimidation? Or about Jim Crow being an affront to their integrity? Or that mob rule is sometimes visited upon them? Or the fact that their enemies show contempt for democracy? If so, your worrying has a somewhat different focus from that of the *New York Herald Tribune* which, in a June 21 editorial, took a dim view of a civil-rights march on Washington. It

speaks of such a march as "an affront to the integrity of Congress" and asserts that it wouldn't succeed because Congressmen would refuse to "abdicate to mob rule." It tells Negroes to "show respect, not contempt, for the processes of democracy" and lauds Kennedy's statement against "unruly tactics or pressure."

A Question — Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic, recently said: "The aim of the whole industrial system is to reduce all operations down to the level where they can be performed by a 12-year-old child, and demand very little of his attention at that. This was so in the 19th Century: Horatio Alger didn't need a mind. And in 1948 a psychologist . . . showed that the average male moron makes \$3.50 more per week than a normal male worker . . . So what is the advantage of not being a moron?"

Substantial Inventory — The U.S. stockpile of atomic weapons is so extensive that even if 90 per cent of it were destroyed there would be enough remaining to blow up the world eleven times over, according to Henry J. Taylor, Washington correspondent of the *Dallas Times Herald*.

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"Three killer cops, each of whom took the life of a Negro — one in Alabama, one in Florida and one in New York — were whitewashed by court and government officials and are free to continue their murderous gunplay.

"In Birmingham, Ala., David (Little Buddy) Garrett, 27-year-old Negro coal miner, was shot and killed on June 14 by police patrol wagon driver R.G. Luttrell . . .

"In Miami, Fla., Emmet Jefferson, a 30-year-old Negro, was shot and killed on Christmas Day last year in the yard of his home by policeman Paul V. Minnick . . .

"In Rosedale, N.Y., Fred North, 34-year-old Negro butler, was shot and killed on June 25 by Bruce Werelinger, a probationary cop on the police force for five months, who was off duty and in civilian clothes . . .

"These killings are part of the grim pattern of 'legalized' police murder attacks on the Negro people that is taking the place of the cruder lynchings that have drawn widespread attention and protests." — July 6, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"A series of assaults upon the Negro people throughout the country has reached a bloody climax in Detroit. This latest ferocious lynch attack murdered 24 Negroes, beat and injured hundreds, struck terror into the hearts of Detroit's community of almost 200,000 Negroes. This was not a 'race riot' but an unprovoked attack by 'white supremacy' mobs.

"The hoodlums who constituted the lynch mobs in Detroit operated with comparative immunity. That is proven not only by the many eye-witness accounts testifying that the police either tolerated or directly aided the mobsters, but also by the official figures showing that 85% of those arrested were Negroes. Emboldened by their success, the hoodlums are undoubtedly ready for further lynch attacks against the Negro people . . .

"These attacks are an inevitable outgrowth of the Jim Crow system fostered by reactionary capitalist interests, protected by the Democratic and Republican parties, and buttressed by the government's policies of discrimination against Negroes in war industry and segregation in the armed forces." — July 3, 1943.

INTRODUCTORY OFFER!



**A Four-Month Subscription
To The Militant for only \$1**

Name

Street Zone

City State

Send to The Militant, 116 University Place,
New York 3, N. Y.

Indiana Indictment Quashed; But Another to Be Submitted

By Charles Gardner

The indictment of three Young Socialist Alliance leaders at Indiana University under the state "anti-Communist" law was quashed June 28 by Circuit Judge Nat U. Hill. He declared the indictment was unclear and did not specify what the defendants allegedly had done. Bloomington's witch-hunting prosecutor, Thomas A. Hoadley, however, redrew the indictment the next day for resubmission to the grand jury July 10.

In the meantime, support for the Indiana YSAers continued to mount nationally and internationally.

Solidarity

In Puerto Rico, the national student union, University Federation for Independence (FUPI), made the case known to the Puerto Rican public in a statement declaring:

"The Executive Committee of the FUPI has resolved to express its full solidarity with the Bloomington students in their struggle against the unconstitutional 'anti-subversive' law which threatens to deprive them of their liberty."

"The FUPI energetically condemns the McCarthyism present today in Indiana in the same way that it condemns it in Puerto Rico. In recognizing the high degree of democracy which prevails in the state university of Indiana, which — contrary to the University of Puerto Rico — defends the right of its students to form groups and make use of its facilities, the FUPI protests the efforts of Mr. Hoadley to drive out liberal politics from the university in order to turn it into a 'study cage.'"

"Finally, the Executive Com-

Denver Rubber Co. Hit With Walk-Out

By Mike McCracken

DENVER — At midnight June 16, workers at the Denver plant of the Gates Rubber Co. went on strike.

The strike was called by a vote of 2,385 to 130, in opposition to company demands for a two-year contract which would not go into effect while contracts at any of Gates' other eight plants are being negotiated.

The strikers also seek to block management efforts to introduce a wage scale based on piece work and to stop a plan whereby several men could be replaced by one man during slack seasons. Company Vice-President Harry Brown, replying to newsmen's questions, declared: "The company has been more than generous with its workers."

Family Preserve

The Gates Co., sixth largest manufacturer of rubber goods in the U.S., has been owned by one family since it was started 53 years ago, and is run as a family preserve. President Charles C. Gates, Jr., commented on the present strike: "Wages, work rules, factory conditions, contracts — all of these are really management's business."

Gates, carrying on in the paternalistic tradition of his forerunners, is determined that the strike — which involves 3,200 of the 5,500 workers in his Denver plant — will be settled on his terms.

The strikers do not agree. One worker, asked when he thought the strike would end, replied: "When the company comes across!"



Prosecutor Hoadley

mittee of FUPI has agreed to appeal to the student organizations of Latin America, who so often have supported the FUPI in its fight for Puerto Rican independence, to express their support to our North American colleagues, victims of McCarthyite persecution."

The statement was signed by Ramón Arbona, FUPI president, and Norman Pietri, general secretary.

The Student Association Senate at Carleton College, Minnesota, sent a letter June 9 to the student government at Indiana University urging it "to support the three IU students in the fight against their indictment for subversion."

"It is imperative," the letter stated, "that college students defend the freedom of anyone to unpopular dissent throughout society. It becomes a matter of direct personal concern when the civil liberties of students at one's own school are attacked." The letter was signed by Felicia Oldfather, president of the Carleton student government.

A Freedom Fighter's Story

Victim of Philadelphia Cops Faces Jail

By Pearl Spangler

PHILADELPHIA — On May 27 two youths were brutally beaten by police here while peacefully picketing a school-construction site. The picket line — whose militancy drew national attention and marked the beginning of a mass Negro protest movement in Philadelphia — had been called by the local NAACP against discrimination in hiring by contractors and unions.

It was later revealed that the young men were members of a militant local "Afro-American liberation movement" called RAM. One of them, Max Stanford, 21, is an admirer of Robert Williams, the exiled Monroe, N.C., Negro leader who advocates self-defense. Last week Stanford gave *The Militant* the following interview.

Q. Why did you participate in the NAACP picket line?

A. Because it was centered around the true issue of our plight — plain economic exploitation. As a member of RAM I don't argue Islam versus Christianity, or Integration versus Separation, because we believe that neither can be achieved by the Afro-American the way this society is structured. We felt this demonstration did not cloud the issues and would raise the consciousness of our people.

Q. What relationship do you feel this Philadelphia demonstra-

tion had with the Southern movement?

A. I think it showed the South that the black man in the North was and is just as willing to sacrifice his time, jobs and blood for the cause of liberation. I think the Philadelphia struggle has become the vanguard of the black liberation movement because it showed the weakness in fighting for lunch-counter, beach, and public-facility desegregation. What's the point of sitting beside a white person to eat a hot dog when you don't have the money to pay for it? I hope Philadelphia shows the Southern movement that the black man must direct his actions into changing the things that actually keep him in bondage, which is the economic position he is forced to live in.

I think the people in Philadelphia responded because the demonstrations were held in the heart of the black ghetto, and also because the people living in the area are the hardest hit by the economic situation — half of them are unemployed. This is why the community responded. I think a greater response could have been obtained if the so-called leaders of the demonstrations would have allowed the people to protect themselves against the Gestapo tactics of the police. Another reason for the response was the frustrations that the people have

New Blow at U.S. Role in Vietnam

Clergymen Protest Aid to Tyrant Diem

By Steve Graham

Under a photo of the martyred Buddhist priest, Quang Duc, burning to death on a Saigon street, 12 distinguished U.S. clergymen proclaimed in a full-page ad in the June 27 *New York Times*: "WE, TOO, PROTEST."

Headed by the Rev. Donald S. Harrington of New York's Community Church, the newly-formed Ministers' Vietnam Committee includes seven Protestant ministers, three rabbis, a New York Buddhist minister and the Episcopal bishop of California, James A. Pike. Other notables on the committee are Rev. Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Rev. Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr and Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes.

The American clergymen protested: "1) Our country's military aid to those who denied him [Quang Duc] religious freedom; 2) The immoral spraying of parts of South Vietnam with crop-destroying chemicals and the herding of many of its people into concentration camps called 'strategic hamlets'; 3) The loss of American lives and billions of dollars to bolster a regime universally regarded as unjust, undemocratic, and unstable; 4) The fiction that this is 'fighting for freedom.'"

A State Department press officer, attempting to answer the clergymen, declined to discuss "the sensitive internal problem" of religious persecution in Vietnam. But he denied that Diem was a tyrant or that the U.S. backs concentration camps and chemical warfare there. Washington correspondents said that privately officials were concerned that prominent religious leaders should "fail to understand" Kennedy's Vietnam policy.

Alarmed over growing U.S. distrust of that policy, the Pentagon had already issued a directive to U.S. servicemen in Vietnam not to criticize conditions there when talking to reporters.

The directive says: "The bitter truth is that critical comments by

New York Students: 'End Vietnam War!'

NEW YORK, June 29 — An estimated 50 members of the Student Peace Union marched in front of the United Nations Mission to the United Nations here this Saturday, calling for an end to the war in Vietnam. The marchers carried signs with pictures of slain Viet Cong guerrillas and copies of an advertisement from the New York Times showing a Buddhist monk burning himself alive to protest the persecution of his religion by the Diem government. The pickets chanted "Withdraw U.S. Troops!" and "Self Determination for the Vietnam People!"

After an hour or so of picketing, the demonstrators marched to Times Square as police stopped traffic to let them pass. Pamphlets by Bertrand Russell on the War in Vietnam were sold along the line of march. Copies may be obtained for 15 cents from the Student Peace Union, c/o Kirsch, 1108 Grant Avenue, Bronx 56, New York.

indiscreet or uninhibited advisers [the doubletalk name for U.S. troops] are producing 'bad' stories which adversely affect public understanding of American policy in Vietnam. Continuation of this trend would unjustifiably weaken public support of that policy."

The directive tells how reporters' questions should be answered: "Emphasize the positive aspects of your activities and avoid gratuitous criticisms. Emphasize the feeling of achievement, the hopes for the future and the instances of outstanding individual or unit performance and optimism in general."

The Kennedy administration has consistently lied to the American people to offset public criticism of the war it embarked on in Vietnam. Its biggest, most cynical lie is that some 14,000 U.S. troops

now there are not fighting but merely "advising" Diem's army.

A recent issue of the GI newspaper, *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, spilled the beans on that. It ran a front-page photo giving documentary evidence of the combat role U.S. troops are playing. The photo shows a Special Forces helicopter crewman holding a frightened peasant lad at rifle point. The photo caption reads: "Pouncing on a Viet Red."

Army officials berated the GI newspaper, complaining that such pictures were "detrimental to the accomplishment of our mission."

Buddhists in Vietnam have asked the government to stop drafting student priests into the army except as chaplains. Otherwise, say the Buddhist priests, they will go to jail rather than break their vows not to kill. At present only Catholics and a few Protestants serve as army chaplains.

Buddhist leaders had postponed further demonstrations to permit the government to show good faith in the agreement to Buddhist demands. But this promises to be temporary. Diem is going ahead with plans to try ten students arrested in the June 16 mass protest. Buddhist leaders have been urging that all those arrested then be freed. They are also angered by reports that a student leader was tortured to death by police in the city of Hue, political bailiwick of Diem's brother, Ngo Dinh Can, and the spiritual seat of Diem's brother, Ngo Dinh Thuc, the Roman Catholic archbishop.

Fight Grows Over Cuba Travel Ban

JULY 2 — With the arrival in Havana of 59 American students, the State Department edict against travel to Cuba is in the headlines. The students, who arrived yesterday via Prague, have touched off a debate among administration officials whether they should be prosecuted on their return to this country under a law carrying \$5,000 fines and five years in prison.

Paralleling the Cuba trip is an attack by the House Un-American Activities Committee and a federal grand jury in Los Angeles.

Helen Travis, chairman of the Greater Los Angeles Fair Play for Cuba Committee, was indicted by a federal grand jury last week for making two trips to Cuba in defiance of the travel ban.

Mrs. Travis is one of about 15 Californians subpoenaed to appear at HUAC hearings July 1-2. The hearings were picketed by the Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms.

Mrs. Travis, before her HUAC interrogation, commented on the indictment, "I shall fight this prosecution because I think that preserving the right to travel and to observe and to report my observations are an essential part of the democratic process."

On June 25 the Cuban Institute of Friendship with Peoples invited "15 or 20" Americans to visit Cuba as its guests. Among those known to have been invited are novelist Truman Nelson, Louis Lomax, author of *The Negro Revolt*, and James Hicks, editor of the *N. Y. Amsterdam News*, a leading Negro paper.

Nelson said his inclination was to go but his lawyer had advised him that would constitute a felony. He then wrote Senator Leverett Saltonstall of Massachusetts, saying that while he deplored the Berlin Wall he was also baffled by the U.S. "barrier to my freedom of movement and observation."