

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 27 - No. 27

Monday, July 22, 1963

Price 10c

Kremlin Charges China Is Abetting 'Trotskyism'

By William F. Warde

JULY 16 — In its July 14 reply to the Chinese Communist party, the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist party declared that the Fourth International — the world Trotskyist movement — seeks to exploit the deepening dispute between Moscow and Peking for its ends by siding with the Chinese.

The 19,000-word statement, filling four pages of *Pravda*, brings forward more prominently than ever before the role of "Trotskyism" in the Great Debate. The series of charges leveled against the Chinese leaders for "undermining the unity of the world Socialist camp and the international Communist movement" took up a considerable section of part five of the document.

It cited a long list of allegedly "anti-party groups of renegades" organized and supported by the Chinese Communists. Among them were pro-Peking dissidents expelled from the Communist parties of Belgium, Italy, Australia and Brazil. In the United States the statement refers to the "subversive activities" of *Hammer and Steel*, edited in Boston by Homer Chase, who was expelled from the U.S. Communist party two years ago for "being a renegade with Trotskyite views." (The truth is that this pro-Peking publication holds ultra-Stalinist views and is bitterly anti-Trotskyist.)

The one genuine Trotskyist organization mentioned is described as "the grouping of E. Semarakodi, which is a tool of the Trotskyist 'Fourth International.'" This presumably refers to Edmond Samarakody, member of parliament and well-known leader of the Lanka Sama Samaja, the foremost working-class party of Ceylon. This Trotskyist party has for many years displayed a friendly attitude toward China. In the India-China border dispute it distinguished itself from the Kremlin and the Dange leadership of the Indian Communist party by supporting China against the capitalist government of Nehru.

The Russian declaration quotes a passage from an "Open Letter" addressed some time ago by the International Secretariat of the

Fourth International to the Chinese Communist leadership. The excerpt appears as follows:

"The Fourth International, which from the very first day of its creation has been waging . . . a struggle with ideas against which you are coming out today, is standing on your side . . . The International Secretariat of the Fourth International welcomes this discussion that you have started in the entire Communist movement. It urges you to develop it."

This citation is trimmed to convey the impression that the Trotskyists are completely aligned with the Chinese and agree with all aspects of their views on all the burning questions in dispute.

It is true that the Chinese indictment of Khrushchev's policies as reformist and revisionist has been approved by the world Trotskyist movement, as it coincides in large measure with similar criticisms made by the Fourth International since the Soviet Premier came to power. The Trotskyists have pointed out, however, that Peking has yet to recognize that the present course of the Soviet leadership, which they condemn, continues — with adjustments for changed conditions — the line followed for decades under Stalin.

The Trotskyists have been critical of Peking's positions on a

(Continued on Page 4)

Mass March Frees Negro — Example for D. C. Trek

By Fred Halstead

A unique incident in the current struggle for Negro equality demonstrates the power of mass action—the kind of action it is going to take to shake up the white power structure in the U.S. and get some meaningful civil-rights legislation out of congress. The incident occurred in Cambridge, Maryland, on the night of July 11. Some 300 persons had demonstrated for civil rights on the courthouse steps and had been pelted with eggs by white racists. They maintained order and were returning to the Negro section of town when one of their number, 17-year-old William Jackson, was arrested by state police for "carrying a paring knife."

As word of this spread through the Second Ward—a Negro neighborhood where the citizens are



Photo by Robert Greger

JONES BEACH, USA. Civil-rights fighter Harold Trent, his daughter Claudia held tightly in his arms, is seen here after being struck to ground by police club during civil-rights action at New York's Jones Beach. Earlier, other demonstrators had staged sit-down on highway but police dragged them off. The demonstration had been called by Long Island CORE to protest discriminatory hiring of temporary summer workers by State Park Commission. Trent was leading small group across highway when cops rushed them. He got clubbed and Claudia was hurt when the nightstick that hit her father struck her on the rebound.

THE DANVILLE STORY. For a report on the current civil-rights battle in Danville, Va., see page 8.

armed for defense against racist attack—a huge crowd of Negroes formed and began marching on the armory where young Jackson was being held. They marched, "shouting 'Freedom, Freedom' with the volume of a thousand drums," according to one reporter. And before they reached the armory, the police released the prisoner, who was then hoisted to the shoulders of his comrades and carried away in jubilation.

Forcing the police to release a Negro from a Southern jail is a historic event, and forcing Congress to pass meaningful civil-rights laws will be just as historic, and an even bigger job. But imagine the pressure on the congressmen if a million advocates of Freedom Now marched on Washington next August 28 shouting "Freedom, Freedom."

A number of Northern liberals, echoing President John F. Kennedy, have advised Negro leaders to call off the scheduled Aug. 28 March, on the grounds that the congressmen won't like it. The latest of these is Rep. Emanuel Celler, the liberal Democrat from Brooklyn. He says he will vote for the civil-rights bills in any case, but that other congressmen may vote against them out of resentment at "pressure, bludgeoning and coercion." According to this argument, congressmen must be allowed to do their deliberating in peace. But they have been doing that for years, and no meaningful civil-rights bills ever got passed. The real situation is that the Dixiecrats, who control the committees, are already using every dirty trick in the book to

(Continued on Page 5)

Detroit Cop Kills Woman

Negroes Mass at Police Hq. in Protest

By Daniel Rosenshine

DETROIT, July 13 — Less than two weeks after the massive Freedom March, the largest civil-rights demonstration in history, Detroit's Negro community was shocked by the brutal slaying of 24-year-old Cynthia Scott by Theodore Spicher, a white policeman. Wayne County Prosecutor, Samuel Olsen, ruled the shooting "justifiable homicide" and said Negro eye-witnesses who contradicted the cop's story were "too biased."

Today, two "non-respectable" Negro organization, Uhuru (which means "freedom" in Swahili) and the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL) mobilized over a thousand angry ghetto dwellers in front of police headquarters to protest the killing. Streets on two sides of the block-square building were closed to traffic as the chanting demonstrators expressed their accumulated resentment against the cops.

As the crowd circled the police station it chanted, "Olsen Must Go," "We Want Spicher," and — every time it passed a cop — "Watch Your Back" or "He Shot Her in the Back." An older man circled the line with a target drawn on the back of his coat.

Loudspeakers were set up in front of the police bastion and a mass rally held, at which some of the leading Negro militants in the city spoke. Among them were Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Luke Tripp, chairman of Uhuru, Minister Wilfred X of the Detroit Mosque

of the Muslims, and Richard B. Henry, president of GOAL.

In calling for the arrest and conviction of Spicher, Rev. Cleage pointed out that the policeman's own testimony is enough to brand him a murderer.

According to Spicher, he and his partner stopped Miss Scott, an alleged prostitute, and her boyfriend at 3 a.m. Friday, July 5. Spicher said he was placing her in the police car when she slashed him on the hand with a pocket knife and started to run across the street. Spicher said he then shot her twice from across the street, hitting her in the back and once in the stomach when she turned and faced him.

She Walked Away

This is the story that appeared in Detroit's two large newspapers. The white press, however, did not publish a statement by Miss Scott's companion, Charles Marshall, which was printed in *The Michigan Chronicle*, a Negro weekly. Marshall asserted that Miss Scott had refused to enter the car because she had not been informed of the reason for her detention, had turned her back and walked across the street. At that point, Spicher had drawn his gun and shot her down. Marshall said he saw no knife. Other Negro eye-witnesses told the same story.

Police brutality has long been a sore spot with Detroit's Negro community. The present mayor, Cavanagh, rode into office in 1961 on a wave of Negro protest votes against the racist "police-crack-

downs" of the previous administration. Cavanagh placed George Edwards, a well-known liberal, in the police commissioner's office, hoping thus to head off Negro anger against police brutality. Edwards' role has been to speak to Negro organizations about bettering relations between the Negro community and the police department, while at the same time exonerating his own officers for outrages against Negro citizens.

The Scott case is only the most recent of a series. Last Easter morning, Spicher, the same cop who shot Cynthia Scott, pulled James Gendraws, a 40-year-old Negro, off his own front porch and although, according to five witnesses, he offered no resistance, beat him so severely that stitches were required to close his head. The fact that Spicher was allowed to patrol the Negro ghetto after this act of racist sadism and that today he has not even been suspended, let alone prosecuted, for the killing of Cynthia Scott, symbolizes to Negroes the arrogance and contempt with which they are treated by Detroit's police force.

It was the Uhuru group, above all, which mobilized people for the demonstration and set its tone. A militant organization started by Negro university students, Uhuru's reaction to the Scott murder was to tour the Negro neighborhoods with sound cars and to distribute almost 20,000 leaflets calling for weekly protests until the police

(Continued on Page 2)

N.Y. Pickets to Ask: 'Free Hugo Blanco'

A demonstration has been called for Saturday, July 27, to demand the release of Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco. Blanco, who organized and led peasant unions in south Peru in the struggle for land reform, was arrested May 30 and is being held incommunicado, although he is said to be ill.

The demonstration will be held before the Peruvian Consulate at 10 Rockefeller Plaza (between 48 and 49 Sts.) at 2:30 PM, July 27. The action, called by the Young Socialist Alliance, is being supported by the Movimiento Pro-Independencia, the Puerto Rican independence movement. Demonstrators will also demand Blanco be transferred to a hospital and be allowed to see family, friends and defense counsel.

Threat of March Frees 14 in Md.

JULY 16 — The threat of a mass march by Negroes in Cambridge, Md., last night won the release of 14 Negroes jailed for allegedly violating the martial law in effect there. As the aroused Negro community gathered at a local church, Reginald Robinson of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee announced at 8 p.m. that if the prisoners, including rights leader Gloria Richardson, were not released by 8:30 there would be an all-out march on the jail. At 8:25 a National Guard officer arrived at the church and announced release of the 14 prisoners.

In Wake of Detroit Freedom March

Negro Unionists Map More Militant Stand

By Harriet Talan

DETROIT, July 12 — This city's gigantic Freedom March of June 23 has had a healthy impact on the old-style, more conservative Negro leaders here. Afraid of becoming completely discredited with the Negro masses, they are now competing energetically with each other to prove their militancy.

One significant outcome of this competition is a statement issued by the Trade Union Leadership Council (local affiliate of the Negro American Labor Council) in the July issue of its paper, *Vanguard*. In an open letter, TULC urges George Meany, Walter Reuther and Michigan AFL-CIO President August Scholle to discontinue their present "inaction" and "retreat" in the area of Negro unemployment.

The letter warns of the dangers ahead for working people if the lessons and accomplishments of the civil-rights struggle are not learned by the labor movement. "...We have learned (and have proved) that only action will bring action. Talk alone, good intentions, sterile resolutions and blustering timidity bring only stagnation. Only those who have reason to sanctify the status quo will fail to note this lesson in application to the labor and civil-rights movement."

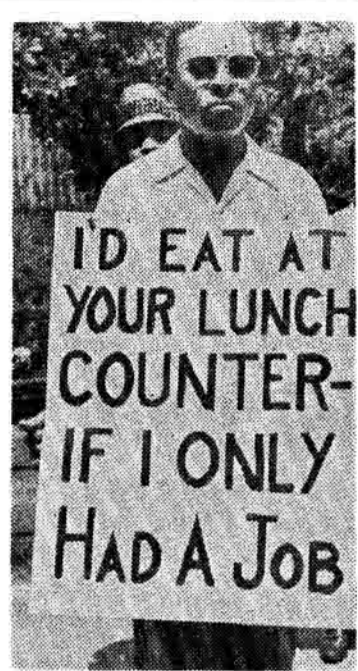
Determined to Win

Pointing to the fact that the unemployment rate among Negroes is double that among whites, the letter notes, "it is also true that 80 of every 100 Americans unemployed today are white. . . it is altogether clear that there can be no happy solution for Negro or white unemployment unless it be for both."

"Negro workers," the letter goes on, "are determined to win equality of opportunity for employment in all places and at all levels. And we will win because we will settle for nothing less. But what then? Will this result in open conflict between whites and Negroes for jobs . . . which are not sufficient in number for all?" The letter answers that such a conflict could result — to the benefit of the employers and the expense of the labor movement.

A number of steps are proposed to avoid the frightening prospect of a divided and weakened labor movement. First is the organization of the unemployed. The labor leaders should organize the white unemployed. "Our civil-rights movement will similarly organize the Negro unemployed. This is not a racist departure for us. It is simply an acknowledgement of your capability and our own."

The labor leaders are asked to demand at once a reduction in the work week and a ban on overtime so long as any worker is without a job. They are asked to forget about the current profit-sharing plan for those who are working and "apply the full



New York — Railroad freight handlers demonstrated at city hall here recently, demanding severance pay from the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad for 850 workers, 500 of them Negroes, laid off without notice. The workers had handled the New York freight operation of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad which was taken over a few months ago by the C & O. The C & O continued to haul freight on the B & O line, but contracted out the loading and handling.

The demonstrators carried signs which read: "Negro Workers Demand Jobs," "Rocky Owns the Railroad that Fired 850 of Us," and "Wagner — Get the ICC to Give Us Severance Pay!" The pickets were members of Lodges 783 and 1752, Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and Freight Handlers.

weight of the movement you lead to the constant, 24-hour-a-day demand for a reduction of the present work week to a point which will allow all those able and willing to work to find decent employment."

Once the unemployed are organized and armed programatically and morally, labor "must act with the spirit, with many of the same techniques of the civil-rights movement. Ceaseless protest demonstrations throughout the country. Picketing. Sit-ins in the halls of Congress, if need be . . . Negro and white together, side by side!"

"What you have actually done to date will not do: a quick glance

at the rate of unemployment is proof enough of that. If you reject our proposals out of hand, and continue your present course of inaction and retreat you must also be prepared to accept responsibility for a Negro-white job competition situation which, to be realistic, could develop and prove a major disaster for all of American labor," the letter warns.

This statement is indeed a welcome change of tone on the part of the TULC leaders, whose top layers have long been Reuther supporters. As if to apologize for the blast at the labor bureaucrats, an editorial in the same issue of *Vanguard* praises Reuther to the skies for his "uncompromising" role in the cause of freedom.

Nevertheless, the TULC open letter well indicates the dangers inherent in the current unemployment situation. It also points the way to some steps that should be taken to end this situation.

The need is to translate these words into action. Organization around the demand for a 30-hour week with no reduction in pay is long overdue. The support given by conservative Negro leaders to the Kennedy administration and the Reuther bureaucracy, both of whom oppose a fight for 30-for-40, has been and will continue to be a brake on the Jobs Now struggle.

Brake or Break

The choice is brake or break. What is urgent now is a break with these politicians and their policies. What is imperative is a break with the Reuther bureaucracy whose employer-approved schemes — profit-sharing and the "flexible" work week — in no way meet the needs of the unemployed, today or in the future.

TULC has called upon the labor leaders to act on unemployment, to offset the dangers of a divided working class. But TULC should not wait for these bureaucrats to act. It should itself take the lead and go ahead, setting 30-for-40 as a primary demand around which to organize the unemployed and employed Negro workers.

Complementing campaigns against existing job discrimination, 30-for-40 should become a top demand not only of TULC, but of every Negro organization participating in the Jobs Now — Freedom Now struggle.

Only through a fight to win more jobs — and that means a militant attack on the whole economic and political power structure — can the labor and civil-rights movement fulfill their responsibilities to both white and black workers.

... Detroit Negroes Protest

(Continued from Page 1)
administration made substantial concessions.

Uhuru Chairman Luke Tripp told the rally, "The white racist police have proven that they're incapable of respecting any black person. If these cops don't know how to handle guns, they should be disarmed. Why do we have to suffer for their ignorance and stupidity? Since the white cops can't stop killing Negroes, get them out of our neighborhoods! Let's have black cops in the black neighborhoods."

John Williams, another Uhuru speaker, called for public hearings in police-brutality cases, a Negro police commissioner and an all-Negro review board. In connection with previous exhortations to the crowd to register to vote, he raised the idea of an independent Negro political party.

The appearance of Wilfred X at the rally emphasized the break that has been made by Detroit's Negro militants with the "respectable" old-guard leaderships. This was the first time a Muslim

spokesman took part in recent civil-rights rallies.

Wilfred X called for the unity of all Negro organizations in the struggle against police brutality. He urged demonstrators to attend a mass rally to be held at Rev. Cleage's church.

Today's demonstration was as potentially significant as the June 23 Freedom March, which represented the entire mass of the Negro community. Today's demonstration was called on only three-days' notice by two lesser-known and relatively small organizations which strained their resources to the utmost in mobilizing the city's Negro people.

It is now possible that, because of the mass pressure, the guilty cop may be punished. But the arrest and conviction of one brutal cop will not be enough. The thousand people who demonstrated in front of the hated police headquarters were protesting more than one act of police brutality. The target was, as Rev. Cleage said, "the entire system which permits such things to happen."



The Brotherhood of Firemen and Enginemen, meeting in St. Louis July 11, in what may be its last convention, removed its 87-year-old constitutional ban against persons of non-white or Mexican ancestry. The union faces extinction because of the job slaughter now being prepared by the railroads and is seeking a merger with the other railroad operating craft unions.

In the debate the main argument for removing the race ban was that the clause subjected the union to expulsion from the AFL-CIO and it couldn't afford that while conducting its last-ditch fight. The union hopes to protect the job rights of presently-employed firemen for the rest of their lives, but no new jobs are expected to open up and as members retire, their jobs are expected to be eliminated. Therefore, the removal of the race ban is not expected to result in any Negroes or Mexicans becoming firemen.

It brings to mind the old song: "Take my seat lady, I'm getting off here anyway."

The American Guild of Variety Artists, the union of vaudeville, night club and specialty performers, has scheduled an integrated variety show before a non-segregated audience in Birmingham, Ala. The Aug. 5 show is one of many planned by the Guild in the South as part of a campaign to end segregation in places of public entertainment. The show itself will be entertainment only, with no direct reference to civil rights.

The show's producers have tentatively arranged for the Birmingham City Auditorium. If the plans go through, it will be the first time the city-owned auditorium ever held an integrated audience, watching an integrated show. Among the big names already scheduled are Johnny Mathis, the Shirelies and Ray Charles and his orchestra.

The Communications Workers of America has agreed on a new three-year contract with the Michigan Bell Telephone Company. It covers some 15,000 workers and is expected to be the pattern for several hundred thousand employees of the Bell System in the U.S. The CWA is headed by Joseph H. Bierne, one of President John F. Kennedy's most eager labor lieutenants, and the pact is well within Kennedy's low-wage-increase policy.

The agreement provides weekly raises of between \$2 and \$5 a week for 14 months with wage re-openers in 1964 and 1965. It also provides improved fringe benefits, mostly for high-seniority employees.

In New Orleans, J. Harvey Kerns, executive director of the Crescent City's Urban League said July 9 that the Southern Bell Telephone Company had been advertising in New Orleans for months for telephone operators but had turned down all Negro applicants. He said there are only 47 Negroes among the local company's 3,400 employees.

"Business will continue to expand for at least another year," according to the majority view of economists attending the National Industrial Conference Board meeting in New York last month, "but unemployment will persist and probably worsen." If this is expansion, what will the next recession look like?

The Northern California American Civil Liberties Union has asked the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals to declare invalid that

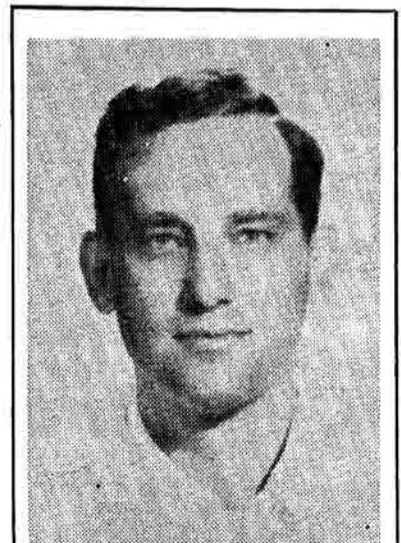
part of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin labor law which prohibits Communists from holding union office.

The ACLU brief against the law's Section 504 has been filed in the case of Archie Brown, an avowed member of the Communist Party and a member of the 35-man executive board of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

The ACLU declared: "On its face 504 is clearly a bill of attainder. It inflicts punishment because it deprives the person it reaches of the right to hold an office or employment within his union. This . . . amounts to the selective restriction of the exercise of a valuable First Amendment right, the right to associate in groups and assert a public influence through those groups . . . And this punishment is inflicted without a judicial trial on an identified group . . . If this kind of guilt without judicial trial can be applied to one unpopular and hated group, then any unpopular minority group may be likewise stigmatized to its detriment."

Workers at the Hilton Hotel in El Paso, Texas are on strike for union recognition. Pickets in front of the hotel say many of them receive no wages at all, but must live on tips. A porter, who shines shoes and does odd jobs seven days a week, gets only \$27 per month in wages from the Hilton. Some workers get only 50 cents an hour and some only 13 cents an hour. Local 628 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees is leading the strike. The local says the Texas Hotel Association is more "hostile" to unions than such associations in other states. The international union has contracts with 28 of the 34 Hilton hotels in the U.S., but none in Texas, Louisiana or Georgia.

Teenage joblessness climbed to over 17 per cent for youths under age 20 in the month of May. This brought the national unemployment rate up to 5.9 per cent according to the U.S. Dept. of Labor. An estimated 2.5 million additional teenagers in the labor force are expected to appear in the June figures, which will probably raise the teenage jobless rate again.



TO SPEAK IN DETROIT. Prof. Samuel Shapiro, a consistent opponent of the anti-Cuba campaign, will speak at a meeting celebrating the tenth anniversary of Fidel Castro's July 26 attack on Moncada Barracks. The meeting will be held Thursday, July 25, 8 p.m. at the socialist forum, Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. An historian and author, Dr. Shapiro will compare two historic figures: "John Brown and Fidel Castro."

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

On tenth anniversary of the July 26 attack on Fort Moncada, Prof. Samuel Shapiro compares two historic figures: "Fidel Castro and John Brown." Thursday, July 25, 8 p.m. at Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward.

LOS ANGELES

Theodore Edwards of the Socialist Workers Party presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly commentary, Fri., July 26, 6:45 p.m. KPFC-FM, 90.7 on your dial.

NEW YORK

Solidarity Party. Celebrate tenth anniversary of Fidel Castro's July 26 assault on Moncada Barracks. Sat., July 27, 9 p.m. 301 East 38th St., Apt. 4J. Contrib. 50 cents. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

CUBA: Report by a Canadian Journalist

"The Rewards Are for the Children"

[This spring Jack Scott, widely-read daily columnist of the *Sun* in Vancouver, Canada, made a second visit to Cuba and wrote eight articles describing what he saw there. After a lengthy Latin American tour the year before, he had written some of the finest articles on South America and Cuba yet to appear in the North American press. His recent series shows that his perspicacity, candor, wit and sympathy for the Cuban Revolution have in no way diminished. We are reprinting the major part of his recent series. Space limitation does not allow us to print it in full.]

By Jack Scott

HAVANA — The beautiful, continuing story of the Cuban Revolution — beautiful because of its dedication to the proposition that every man, woman and child deserves an even break — is moving now into a new and sobering chapter.

The visitor here may detect the first faint outlines of maturity in a society that has existed for less than four and a half years. It's the end of the tumultuous honeymoon and the beginning of the serious marriage — for better or worse.

The fervor of the dedicated supporters of Fidel Castro is hardening into the realization that this particular society is here to stay. Now the struggle is no longer for mere survival, a romantic, swash-buckling adventure with pearl-handled pistols on the hip, but for order and stability through the mean and mundane contributions of hard work and personal sacrifice.

Opposition Attitude

The significant opponents of Castro, those who have taken and still maintain a sullen attitude of wait-and-see, are inevitably melding with the larger society in the face of undeniable evidence that this precarious thing actually works. They're finding that life is richer for the participation in it, that what can't be beaten is better joined, however reluctantly.

The most vocal and intelligent critic of the revolution I encountered in a visit just a year ago met

me this time at the José Martí airport in Havana with a copy of *Das Kapital* under his arm and the explanation, "I'm not buying — yet — but it makes more sense when you understand the blue-prints."

The window dressing, the flags, the bunting, the slogans, posters and gigantic images of the bearded Maximum Leader, are steadily disappearing.

A French correspondent, making a return pilgrimage, startled the readers of *Hoy*, the most dogmatically Communist of Havana's newspapers, by describing the mood of Cuba as "serene" — startled them because the word's aptness hadn't occurred to them in their day-to-day living with their own immediate history.

The cry of "*Patria o Muerte*" — my country or death — seems curiously dated this year. The rev-



"Che" Guevara

olutionary leaders, themselves, are more given to voicing a greater, if less inspiring, urgency: "More production."

There's even the beginning of a hunger for a facade of respectability.

Last year when I went to the late show at the Capri Hotel's ornate supper club I was the only man in the place wearing a tie.

This year I was the only man in the room without one.

At a reception for visiting correspondents held by the director of information in what had been an American sugar baron's Cuban palace I was startled to find a formal receiving line and some of my old revolutionary acquaintance from last time only slightly self-conscious in dark blue suits. The frozen daiquiris were served by soft-footed waiters in white jackets. There wasn't a beard in sight. The liveliest conversation concerned the verses of Nicolas Guillen, the revolution's poet laureate, who is beginning to strike some disrespectful Cubans as more laureate than poet.

Even the humanly comic aspect of life here, the sort of Caribbean version of the Beverly Hillbillies in which a class society has been so rudely turned turtle, has lost some of its ludicrousness.

Mansions for Children

The illiterate Negro child brought in from some wretched back-country *bohio* a year or more ago and installed in the sweet luxury of a pastel mansion in the flower-filled suburb of Miramar, a district that's now like one gigantic boarding school, was a bewildered, Chaplinesque figure a short 12 months ago. Now, as if he'd never known what it was to sleep on a dirt floor, he belongs with a kind of proprietorship as unquestioning as the former tenant who "went 90 miles."

Perhaps more than any Cuban on this sun-drenched island it is the *becado*, the young scholarship student, who works the hardest and is the surest guarantee for the future. Gravely, without complaint, he puts in an exhausting six-day school week, from seven in the morning until five at night.

A group I talked to told me that they'd had a wonderful vacation from it all — working on the shade-grown coffee crops in the mountains of Oriente.

Others were among those flying squads who took to the hills for eight months to "alphabetize" the backwoods illiterates, a crash program that's being methodically followed up now by courses designed to carry the "students," many of them of middle age or older, ahead to the third grade.

Illiteracy Down

The people in charge of education here like to claim that they've reduced illiteracy to less than 4 per cent of Cuba's population of something more than six and a half millions. Statistics, of course, are probably the least reliable commodity in Cuba today. They're usually submitted with the phrase *mas o menos*, which means "more or less." But any informal poll-taking seems to substantiate the claim that the revolution has brought reading and writing to vast numbers.

At a state farm in Pinar del Rio, specializing in the raising of ducks under the tutelage of an expert from China, I met an old man of 70 who told me with great pride that he was a graduate of this program. His *brigadista*, or teacher, had been 12 years of age. I could hardly believe this and, pointing to the sign "Caterpillar" on a nearby tractor, asked him if he could read it.

"No, no, *compañero*," he grinned. "I only have the letters of the alphabet now. Next year I learn to put them together."

If it's symbolism you're looking for, the teacher of this old man is your boy. Time after time, as you question Cubans in every walk of life, you'll hear this simple catechism of revolution: "The rewards are for the children."

These signs of maturity, which present a new and inescapable complex of challenges to a Cuba



HARVESTING FOR THE NEW SOCIETY. The Cuban revolutionaries who started Cuba on the road to socialism are now faced with the enormous task of keeping the new society going. A major problem has been a shortage of labor to bring in the sugar crop. These are two of the thousands of city dwellers who have been travelling out to the fields each Sunday to help harvest the cane.

that's hitherto rolled on the sheer momentum of enthusiasm, have impressed me most in my second trip to Cuba.

It was almost exactly a year since my first visit — a year in normal time, a quarter of the life span of the revolution in more meaningful terms — that I came to Havana as an *invitado* of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to witness the May Day celebrations.

I have remained on nearly a month with a car (a Lincoln) and interpreter (a crew-cut lad named Rigoberto Valdez who has been remarkably patient in view of my determination to find out what's wrong with the revolution). I've covered many hundreds of miles throughout the island. I went where I chose to go. I talked with whom I pleased, including many of the men at the top.

Leafing now through several notebooks I find that one quote seems to me to summarize the hopes and fears of this particular moment in the beautiful Cuban story.

Elder Statesman

It came from Alfredo Yabur, the 42-year-old Minister of Justice, an elder statesman as the revolutionary leaders go and with the kind of candor that always surprises North American newspapermen.

"We believe that most Cubans are prepared to die willingly for their country," Yabur told me. "Now we are in the process of discovering how many will willingly work for it."

In the vestibule outside the minister's book-lined office in Old Havana there's a department store dummy dressed in the clothes and holding the lethal-looking machete of the sugar-cane cutter. The figure is labelled Reynaldo Castro (no relation to Fidel; Castro is as common as Smith back home). This man is a towering legend in his time, a prodigious cutter of cane, a sort of Paul Bunyan of the rolling green sugar fields and now an official and popular inspirational image-maker.

It was Reynaldo who caused the most spontaneous demonstration at a workers' rally I attended to watch Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara, Minister of Industries and undisputed No. 2 man to Fidel.

It was Reynaldo, stocky and ham-handed, standing beside the slight, boyish figure of Raul Castro and gazing out on a quarter

million of his countrymen gathered for the May Day festivities in the Plaza de la Revolución, ringed by massive anti-aircraft artillery, who got the noisiest cheers, a reminder in itself that in a short year the authentic heroic figure in Cuban life carries a prosaic weapon of production rather than a romantic gun.

There's evidence, particularly in the cities and especially in Havana, that the willingness to sweat prosaically for the revolution has not yet equalled the willingness to bleed gloriously for it.

Some Mistakes

One contributing factor in this year's disappointing sugar cut, along the second successive spring-time drought, has been a shortage of skilled cutters.

At the May Day gathering Raul Castro frankly admitted goofs in planning, including the ploughing up of many sugar fields to grow more diversified crops. But he lashed out, too, at "absenteeism" and "indolence" by volunteer cutters.

This causes a weird reaction among many politically uncommitted visitors who, noting the large numbers of men in Havana who seem to be doing nothing much in particular, wonder why the revolution's leaders resist the invitation to any form of compulsion.

A Latin American Speaks to North Americans

by

CARLOS FUENTES

Last spring the gifted Mexican novelist, Carlos Fuentes was scheduled to come to the United States for a TV debate with Assistant Secretary of State Richard Goodwin. On the eve of the debate the State Department refused to grant Fuentes a visa. This is the text of the speech he had prepared for the debate.

15 cents

order from

Pioneer Publishers

116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

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.

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

Vol. 27 - No. 27

345

Monday, July 22, 1963

Job Slaughter on the Railroad

Several years ago the railroad corporations declared a change in work rules which would eliminate tens of thousands of operating jobs in addition to those already being eliminated under the old rules. The issue has been put before two presidential boards both of which gave sanction to the job slaughter.

The five operating railroad brotherhoods tied up the issue in court as long as possible but were finally forced to threaten strike when the companies announced the new rules would be put into effect July 10. Now President Kennedy has prevailed on the companies to refrain from the job slaughter until the end of this month, allowing time for the introduction of legislation in Congress. The legislation is expected to provide for some sort of compulsory government arbitration. Since the government boards have already ruled in favor of the companies, it is ridiculous to expect any "impartiality" from congressionally imposed arbitration.

In effect, Kennedy has told the railroad brotherhoods that unless they settle on terms recommended by his appointees — terms granting the main corporation demands — they can only expect more anti-labor legislation. He has told them that if they dare exercise their right to strike, Congress may take the right away from them.

This predicament, in which the operating railroad brotherhoods now find themselves, is symbolic of the situation facing the entire labor movement in the U.S. In the style of the rest of the conservative labor bureaucrats, the leaders of the brotherhoods have compromised the independence of the unions from the state and have relied on alleged "friends" in the administration to solve their problems. They have carried out their whole struggle in this matter within a legal framework specifically designed to prevent them from using the strike weapon.

In the face of increasing structural unemployment, the union leaders are impotent. They give lip service to the shorter work week — 30 hours' work at 40 hours' pay. But they do not propose to fight for this obvious remedy by mobilizing the independent economic and political power of the unions, by taking to the streets as the Negroes are doing. The only answer the labor bureaucrats have is continued reliance on their "friends" in the administration.

This reliance disarms the unions in their confrontation with capital on the issues of automation and structural unemployment.

... Kremlin Charges China

(Continued from Page 1)

number of key questions, some of which are also dealt with in the Soviet answer. These include the Chinese opposition to the de-Stalinization processes in the Soviet bloc and their upholding of the Stalin cult; their underestimation of the destructiveness of the H-bomb and the consequences of nuclear war; their false characterization of Yugoslavia as capitalist; and the absence of workers' democracy within China.

Despite these and other defects, the Trotskyists judge that the Chinese side is in the main the more progressive. They believe that the Chinese hold more correct positions than their Russian adversaries on many major questions of world politics. The Chinese, for instance, maintain that permanent peace can come to the world only through the overthrow of imperialism by means of the class struggle rather than through diplomatic deals between Moscow and Washington. The Chinese also say that the needs of the colonial liberation movements should not be subordinated to the "neutralist" bourgeois governments in the colonial areas. In addition, the Chinese rightly denounce the doctrine enunciated by Khrushchev, and defended in his latest document, that the workers can achieve supremacy in the strongholds of capitalism by purely parliamentary means.

At one time or another in the past two years all four of the principal participants in the dispute have accused each other of being "Trotskyists." The Chinese and Albanians have directed the charge against Khrushchev because of his demolition of the

Stalin cult and de-Stalinization measures. They likened the Soviet removal of the missiles under Kennedy's threat during the Cuban crisis to a policy which they misrepresented as Trotsky's at the Brest-Litovsk peace negotiations between the Soviet Republic and Germany in 1918.

On the other hand, the Russians and Yugoslavs declare there is an affinity with "Trotskyism" in the references to "uninterrupted revolution" which have appeared in certain Chinese documents. They brand as "ultra-left Trotskyist opportunism" the Chinese refusal to submit to imperialist blackmail and their insistence on speaking in favor of the class struggle.

Rival Centers

Obviously, all four of these contending political centers cannot be "Trotskyist." In fact, not one of them is. They use the label primarily and indiscriminately as an epithet designed to discredit the most telling arguments against their own positions. In its article Moscow is playing upon long-standing prejudices against Trotskyism imbedded during the Stalin era to help seal the minds of rank-and-file Communists against the criticisms of the Chinese and pave the way for their complete ostracism.

The genuine Trotskyists have presented independent views on the controversial issues which are distinct from those of Moscow and Belgrade or Peking and Tirana. As consistently revolutionary Marxists, they are offering specific answers to the crucial problems of the struggle for socialism in our epoch raised in the Great Debate.

Students Review Study of Communism

Assess Early Days of Movement

The following is a reprint of a book review which appeared in the March 18-30 Young Socialist Reply, campus publication of the Young Socialist Alliance at the University of California in Los Angeles. We reprint it because of its intrinsic merit and to show adult readers the quality of writing in the growing battery of Young Socialist publications now appearing on the campuses of this country. The book reviewed is James P. Cannon's *The First Ten Years of American Communism: Report of a Participant* (Published by Lyle Stuart, New York, 1962, 343 pp. \$6). The reviewers are Linda Strite and Manuel Blanco.

In this epoch of the witch-hunt in America, it is indeed quite a phenomenon to encounter a book which deals objectively with the embryonic years of the American Communist Party. More surprising still is to find such a book written by a participant, one who knows from firsthand experience. By any standards, James P. Cannon's *The First Ten Years of American Communism* is a remarkable document.

The book literally brings to life for the reader an era of our history of which very little truth and much distortion has previously been the order of the day. It is more than a dry recollection of dates, facts and figures; one almost becomes a part of the struggle. In James P. Cannon's book, the issues are clearly defined, the roles of the various participants discussed and evaluated.

The most outstanding feature of the book is that the author imparts to the readers an understanding of the whole period, an understanding with objectivity. The participants are viewed as human beings — with their strengths and weaknesses — in a manner which is almost more characteristic of a novel than of an historical document. In speaking of the capitulation of many of the leaders of the American Communist movement to Stalin's anti-democratic bureaucracy, which negated almost everything which these people had ever stood for, he said:

"This materialistic analysis of



BIRTHDAY SPEECH. James P. Cannon at a 1960 New York banquet celebrating his and his wife Rose's seventieth birthdays.

the ugly transformation of the pioneer leaders of American communism deprives them of their halo, which did not fit them in the first place, and also frees them from judgment by demonology. It simply shows them in their true light as human, capable of error and default under pressure. They stood up better and longer than others of their generation, but in the end they too succumbed to the pressures of their time."

Historical Perspective

James P. Cannon discusses these people in light of the historical perspective of world-shaking events. By far the most significant of these events was the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. This revolution affected far more than the property relations of the Soviet Union and these effects were felt around the world. In America the Industrial Workers of the World and the Socialist Party were wracked by internal discussions and debates on this question, and when the leadership of both organizations failed to

support the Russian Revolution, the majority of their membership left to form the American CP in 1919.

Cannon tells of the initial struggles of the Communist Party, how they spent the first two years of existence underground, of the persecutions which it suffered, the Palmer Red raids, etc., and how, as a result of these struggles, a cadre of leadership was formed.

Prosperity

The unprecedented prosperity of the 1920s tended temporarily to pacify the working class of the U.S., and the infant Communist movement found very few segments of society that would give their ideas a hearing.

In spite of these odds, they worked in the labor movement wherever they could and disseminated their ideas as widely as possible, but the forces of reaction were too much for them.

After the death of Lenin, a privileged bureaucracy arose in the Soviet Union, with Stalin at its head. The principles of socialist democracy and the militant struggle for the rights of the working class on a world scale were abandoned. Thus rose the Stalin dictatorship. This was fought and the battle culminated in the expulsion of Trotsky and the Left Opposition in 1928.

The same battle was fought in the American Communist Party. The left wing, led by James P. Cannon, was expelled late in 1928 and formed a movement, based upon the principles of Lenin and Trotsky, which later became the Socialist Workers Party.

Cannon's memory of this period is phenomenal. Theodore Draper, who corresponded extensively with Cannon in the writing of his own two-volume history of the early years of American Communism, was amazed at the uncanny accuracy of Cannon's recollections when checked against documents of the period. In his preface to Cannon's book, Draper offers the best and perhaps the only explanation for it:

"For a long time, I wondered why Jim Cannon's memory of events in the Nineteen-Twenties was so superior to that of all the others. Was it simply some inherent trait of mind? Rereading some of these letters, I came to the conclusion that it was something more. Unlike other communist leaders of his generation, Jim Cannon wanted to remember. This portion of his life still lives for him because he has not killed it within himself..."

Clyde Kennard, Crusader For Freedom, Dies at 36

By Alex Harte

Clyde Kennard, the young Negro freedom fighter who was framed-up and jailed for the "crime" of applying for admission to the University of Southern Mississippi, died July 4 in a Chicago hospital. Kennard was released last February from Mississippi's Parchman Penitentiary after a nationwide petition campaign to free him had been launched by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

The Mississippi authorities who had framed him up preferred to release him rather than face the publicity of his dying of cancer while in jail. The Meredith case had by then brought the issue of the color bar on Southern campuses to the world's attention.

Kennard first applied for admission to USM in 1958 — four years before the Meredith case. A veteran, he had been forced by his stepfather's death to return to his family's farm near Hattiesburg, Miss., after three years at the University of Chicago. He attempted to complete his education at the USM campus, which was near his home.

University officials rejected his applications both in 1958 and 1959 without explanation. He was patronizingly offered scholarships to any Northern school he chose. But

he insisted on his right to go to college near where he lived. So the racists resorted to frame-up.

Kennard was charged in 1960 with masterminding the theft of five bags of chicken feed. Although testimony showed that he could not have had the necessary knowledge of the warehouse that was robbed, the all-white jury convicted him. He received a seven-year sentence, while the person actually charged with the crime — who had turned state's evidence against Kennard — was sentenced to only five years' probation.

Another Martyr

Kennard had served two years and three months in jail before the petition campaign won his release. Suffering an advanced stage of terminal cancer, he would otherwise have died without decent care or medical attention, as many do in the jails of this country.

The tragedy of early death is compounded in his case. The 36-year old fighter has been cruelly deprived of further participation in the movement for Negro equality just at a time when it is making a great sweep forward. Clyde Kennard ranks with Emmett Till, Mack Parker and Medgar Evers as a martyr in the cause of Negro emancipation.

The First 10 Years Of American Communism

Report of a Participant

By James P. Cannon

The author is a founder of American Trotskyism and the only living top leader of the early years of the U.S. Communist Party who has not repudiated communism.

The book contains:

Sketches of Foster, Ruthenberg, Browder, Lovestone and others, as well as of leading figures in the Communist International.

Essays on the Industrial Workers of the World, Eugene V. Debs and the socialist movement of his time, and the effect of the Russian Revolution on the U.S. Negro struggle.

344 pp. — \$6.00

Order through:

Pioneer Publishers

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

AS BUDDHIST PROTESTS RESUME

Another Suicide Rocks U.S.-Backed Diem Regime

By Steve Graham

One of South Vietnam's leading writers, Nguyen Tuong Tam, killed himself July 8 to protest persecution by the Ngo Dinh Diem dictatorship. In a suicide note, he referred to the example of the monk, Thich Quang Duc, who immolated himself last month to dramatize Buddhist protests against Diem's religious persecutions.

"Like the high priest Thich Quang Duc," Tam's statement proclaimed, "I also kill myself as a warning to those people who are trampling on all freedoms."

Nguyen Tuong Tam was a hero of the Vietnam national resistance against the French. He led a group of writers in the underground who effectively polemicized against the French rule. His numerous novels are studied in all Vietnamese universities and to students he was a national hero.

His suicide has impelled students into even greater opposition to Diem. Despite the risk of blacklisting, jail or even worse, thousands of students staged a funeral procession for Tam July 13 under the watchful eyes and cameras of Diem's secret police.

Symbol of Resistance

The martyrdom of Quang Duc has become a symbol of resistance to the tyrant Diem. Buddhist demonstrations resumed after a fruitless two-week suspension to allow Diem to live up to his signed agreement to meet Buddhist demands. Figuring prominently in the new protests are posters with photos of Quang Duc in the act of self-immolation.

A Vietnamese Buddhist leader now touring India, seeking aid for his cause, has disclosed that two more monks will follow Quang Duc's example if Diem does not meet Buddhist demands. "If they have occasion to burn themselves," he said, "there will be a mass uprising." The *Times of Vietnam*, a government-controlled paper, in macabre fashion is daring the Buddhists to burn themselves or concede that their protests are over.

Far from acceding to Buddhist demands, the Diem regime used the two-week truce for preparations to crush the protest movement. Buddhists claim that over 200 monks have been "thrown into Diem's dungeons." They display photos of atrocities committed against Buddhists.

Buddhists also charge that the regime has circulated a secret order to all officials and military commanders to prepare for a crackdown on Buddhist "dissidents." The Diem government

has begun to support a phony pro-Diem Buddhist splinter and is calling all other Buddhists "dissidents" or "communist dupes."

President Diem, sensitive to the world revulsion against his policy of religious oppression, is apparently taking steps to suppress news about the resumed protests. After a memorial service for Quang Duc on July 7, Buddhists were prevented by police from conducting a street procession. When foreign correspondents approached the scene, they were attacked by plainclothes secret police.

Four of the newsmen protested to Kennedy, asking assurance that such attacks would not be repeated. They charged that the Diem government "has begun a campaign of open physical intimidation to prevent the covering of the news which we feel Americans have a right to know."

The attack on the newsmen prompted the Overseas Press Club in Washington, D. C., July 9 to send protests to Secretary of State Rusk and to President Diem. The American Newspaper Guild's national convention passed a resolution July 10 asking Kennedy to obtain assurances from Diem that newsmen could go about their duties free of any further physical intimidation.

Diem's suppression of Buddhists is having increasing international repercussions. UN Secretary General U Thant, who is a Buddhist, said after a conference



Dictator Diem

with the new pope, Paul VI, that he could not reveal whether they had discussed the questions. But he did say that "the developments taking place in the Republic of South Vietnam are very disturbing."

The Algiers newspaper, *Révolution Africaine*, in a recent article on the "Buddhist Revolt in South Vietnam," reports sharp reaction against Diem in most of the Buddhist countries of Asia. Ceylon and Cambodia have protested to the Saigon regime. In Colombo, Ceylon, Buddhists demonstrated before the American embassy.

Influential elements in U. S. ruling circles have been urging a

change in Vietnam and advocating reform policies that they hope would win more popular support for the war against the peasant guerrillas. Especially since the Buddhist movement dramatized Diem's brutality and aloofness, there has been sentiment among U.S. officials for replacing Diem with some less hated puppet.

However, there has apparently been disagreement over how to get rid of Diem without entirely losing the U.S. grip on the country. Liberals thought that the recent announcement that Henry Cabot Lodge would replace Francis Nolting — a personal friend of Diem — as U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam was a sign of change in the policy of "sink or swim with Diem."

But as it turns out, Lodge will not replace Nolting immediately. Instead Nolting has cut short his home leave after a meeting with Kennedy, and returned to Saigon. Reportedly he took with him a personal message of confidence from Kennedy to the South Vietnamese dictator.

A recent move by Diem helped to resolve the question in his favor. On July 5 he put 19 members of his armed forces on trial for the abortive paratrooper coup which occurred in November, 1960.

A sensational feature of the trial was the claim by government prosecutors that the U.S. had supported the unsuccessful coup. U.S. embassy officials em-

phatically denied the charge but the court accepted it. This was clearly aimed at discouraging the U.S. from seeking among elements in the army or anti-Communist political circles for alternatives to Diem. And it was apparently effective.

A large number of civilians were also brought to trial July 9 on charges of having supported the 1960 coup. One of them was to have been the writer Nguyen Tuong Tam.



Sec'y of State Rusk

...Report on National Civil Rights Battlefront

(Continued from Page 1)

block and stall the bills, and are preparing a filibuster to "pressure, bludgeon and coerce" the bills out of existence.

The administration and the phony liberals in congress, meanwhile, are preparing to water the bills down to the point where they will be acceptable to the Dixiecrats. A massive March on Washington to put the fear of the people into the politicians on Capitol Hill can end that kind of business-as-usual.

CAMBRIDGE, Md., July 12—Reginald Robinson, a field secretary of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee reported today that martial law had been declared this afternoon for the second time in a month in this strife-torn Eastern Shore city, after several shootings last night. Robinson is working with the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee which is headed by Gloria Richardson.

Robinson described the events leading to the declaration of a 9 p.m. curfew and prohibition of demonstrations outside the Negro section of the city.

Robinson said that last night, after 300 people marched downtown, whites pelted them with rotten eggs. Some of the marchers heckled the attackers. Then William Jackson was arrested. A crowd of Negroes demanded Jackson's release, and prepared to march downtown again. Jackson was released.

Later in the evening, a carload of whites drove down Pine Street, the main thoroughfare of the Negro section, shooting as they went. Some Negroes returned their fire. The evening ended with three whites hospitalized, one man shot in the face, another in the arm, the third near his eye.

Robinson said, "We deplore the violence that has taken place. However, if our demands were met, we would have no reason to demonstrate. Tension and violence would cease. Equality at all public places is still not law here, and two juveniles arrested six weeks

ago are still in reform school. If these demands are met, we can be in a position to channel the justifiable anger of the Negro community and restore law and order."

The day before the shootings, there had been a sit-in at the "Dizzyland" restaurant in which four demonstrators, Carol Rogoff, James Lewis, Johnny Weeks and Dwight Eisenhower Campbell, were held by police. All but James Lewis were subsequently released. Police officer Harry Hansen pressed charges of "assault and battery" against Lewis, claiming Lewis had attacked him.

Later that evening, Negroes gathered at the Bethel AME Church for a mass meeting. Carloads of whites drove through the Negro section, throwing rocks and bottles at pedestrians. Negroes began to move into the white section but were turned back by CNAC leaders. At this time, Officer Hansen appeared. Infuriated Negroes in the crowd began to throw bricks and bottles at him. Police standing by drew their pistols, but the crowd dispersed when Hansen left.

SAVANNAH, July 11—Georgia Governor Carl Sanders declared today he would take "whatever steps necessary" to end anti-segregation demonstrations here. The statement came on the heels of last night's violent two-hour run-in between 2,000 Negroes and Savannah police, who clubbed, and tear-gassed the demonstrators.

The battle, which resulted in the arrest of 68 Negroes, occurred after Bruce Gordon, 22, a SNCC field secretary, and an undetermined number of Negroes were hauled off in police wagons after they were accused of blocking traffic in front of the city jail. Other protestors then lay down in front of police wagons while the arrested demonstrators tried to force open the vehicle doors from the inside.

Negro youths chanted, "We want to go to jail too" as the patrol wagons pulled away. Policemen ordered to break up the crowd "by any means necessary" lobbed tear-

gas pellets at the youths and shot over their heads.

The Negroes dispersed into smaller bands, some of which were later tear-gassed again, while others broke car windows as they fled. Rick Tuttle, a white SNCC worker here, said several Negroes suffered today from gas inhalation and head wounds from police beatings.

Protests here are being conducted by the Chatham County Crusade for Voters. Crusade leader, Hosea Williams, is currently being held in jail on \$12,500 bail while members of the Youth Crusade, an affiliate of SNCC, continue demonstrations. Benjamin Van Clarke, chairman of the youth group, has been convicted of "trespassing." Because it was his third arrest on the same charge, he was sentenced to a fine of \$1,500 or two years in jail.

GADSDEN, Ala., July 14—Anti-segregation demonstrations are expected to resume in this Northern Alabama industrial city this week. Negro protest demonstrations were halted two weeks ago when promises of negotiations seemed to develop.

Members of SNCC, CORE and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference are working with local citizens to form the Gadsden Movement. Objectives are: complete integration of all public and private facilities; upgrading and hiring of Negroes in private employment and industry; and the formation of a bi-racial committee.

CHICAGO, July 13 — Gravely concerned about the increasing gap between the median income of Negro and white wage-earners, and the continuing high unemployment rate among Negro workers, delegates attending the 54th annual NAACP convention here, July 1-6, voted to "give priority to efforts to end the economic privation of Negroes."

The convention reiterated its support of "collective bargaining by unions which do not discriminate" but noted that "too many

unions still discriminate."

The resolution further declared: "Unions which continue to exclude Negroes, deny them access to union-controlled hiring halls, segregate them into Jim Crow locals, negotiate separate seniority lines in union contracts or refuse to admit Negroes into apprenticeship training programs should be denied certification as the exclusive bargaining agents."

The convention called upon NAACP branches to "assist Negro workers in organizing protest demonstrations before union offices and work sites and to file appropriate complaints with municipal and state fair employment practices commissions and appropriate federal agencies whenever unions refuse to negotiate with NAACP representatives or Negro workers, or where such negotiations prove fruitless."

"We must continue and accelerate our present policy of bringing unfair labor practices charges against both employers and trade unions before the National Labor Relations Board and of initiating legal action against both employers and trade unions wherever such legal action is deemed necessary in view of the failure to stop employment discrimination by other methods," the resolution said.

Dana Platt

LOS ANGELES — Dana Platt, who broke with the Communist Party after Khrushchev's revelations about Stalin in 1956 and later joined the Socialist Workers Party, died of a heart attack on July 3.

Speaking at a memorial service at the request of his widow, Dorothy, Oscar Coover of the SWP said, "Most of those who broke — like Dana — from the CP, stopped there. But he took the other step to once more assume an active role with the organization he considered the embodiment of the ideas and aspirations of the working class."

Recently dropping out of activity because of his health, Dana Platt wrote: "I feel that every new moment of history confirms more and more the correctness of the Trotskyist position."

Dana Platt was 54 and had two small children. He earned his living as a bookkeeper but his main interest was in writing.

Moscow
vs.
Peking

By William F. Warde
The Meaning
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.

BEN BELLA AT ALGERIAN AID PARLEY

Vows Socialist Example for All of Africa

By Ross Dowson

The five-day European Conference of Non-governmental Aid to Algeria, held last month in Algiers, was important in more ways than one. Of primary significance, of course, was its bringing together leading figures from various tendencies of the European left who obtained an accurate picture of the needs of the Algerian people in its heroic efforts to rebuild the country. Thus the basis was laid for an international campaign to aid the Algerian revolution.

In addition, the conference and events related to it afforded greater insight into the broader problems confronting the developing Algerian revolution, the aspirations of the people themselves, the conflicting forces in Algerian society, the role of President Ben Bella, his views and the views of those around him on domestic and international affairs. Perhaps Ben Bella's complete, and even demonstrative, identification with the conference — no doubt carefully noted by diplomatic circles, particularly the French — was the most significant happening.

In his speech to the closing sessions of the conference, Ben Bella outlined the staggering problems facing the Algerian people after seven-and-a-half years of struggle against French imperialism. "We have 500,000 widows in this country . . . A real flight to France took place, a real drainage; 800,000 perhaps more — since not more than 130,000 French are left in the country — went away, leaving us with a formidable staffing problem," he said.

"Algeria is faced with another fact — 2,000,000 unemployed. In the city of Algiers alone — 250,000 unemployed. Algeria had 2,000,000 Algerians, who had been in what were called 'regroupment camps,' and 500,000 refugees who came back from Tunisia and Morocco with absolutely nothing, scarcely clothed, lacking especially anything with which to work in their fields."

He said 1,500,000 Algerians had died so that Algeria could live. Moreover, there was "the hemorrhage of capital because of the Evian accords, and especially the transfer, the free transfer which followed these accords. Billions, tens of billions, hundreds of billions [500 old francs equal \$1] escape and continue to escape."

With pride he described how, in the face of the opinion of even "our own agricultural specialists [who] told us 'you are going to break your back,'" the people

worked fields which had been idle for five and six years. "We didn't break our backs, since you yourselves have seen these magnificently farmed fields, because we had confidence in the people. We had this quality — nothing more — we had confidence in the people and these farms are in better shape than they have ever been in the history of this country."

But the problems are colossal. The Algerians need capital, equipment, trained personnel, a market for their largely export crops, etc.

The Agriculture Commission of the conference, and it was similar in other commissions in which the delegates participated, was told by a government spokesman of the difficulty in getting aid. France, for example, had not even acknowledged a request for 500 tractors. No aid had come from Italy. From Yugoslavia, however, which had a warm spot for Algeria, had come some 500 technicians, and 400 to 500 Algerians had gone to Yugoslavia for three to four-months training courses. Cuba, itself suffering from a shortage of technicians, had sent doctors.

At the conference's close, three observers from Soviet trade unions promised to organize a group of students to come to Algeria to join the student-youth work brigades, a small contribution but perhaps signifying a change of policy toward the Algerian revolution by the Kremlin.

Here are Ben Bella's closing words to the delegates: "You formed an image of Algeria while we were fighting. I make a vow before you — the image of revolutionary Algeria, the image of fighting Algeria, the image of this Algeria which must become not only a stirring experiment in socialist construction . . . but the ferment of liberation in this region which is Africa . . . we will remain faithful to this image which you have formed."

"I would like to express here our emotion at seeing all of you preoccupied again with our problems of construction as you were at the time of the struggle for liberation . . . I bow to you and offer you . . . all our esteem, and — if I may say so — all our affection."

This theme had also run through his press conference the previous day. Asked whether Algeria should address itself to the people of the world along the lines of Cuba's Second Declaration of Havana, Ben Bella replied:

"We ask for aid in technicians

from our friends but we do not ask it from governments. Here's a fact — we have been independent for a little more than eight months and the aid of these governments — I will say that it takes some little waiting. I think that we will do this in the Algerian way . . . we will address our friends . . . For us it is evident that in this country there will be a socialist revolution, there will be revolutionary socialism. I use the expression 'revolutionary socialism' deliberately. Everything depends on the problems which are posed; they begin to pose themselves. Everything depends upon the obstacles that rise before us. Our declaration asking for aid from the representatives of other countries — I think that is the Declaration of Havana for us . . . Perhaps it's not in the style of the Declaration of Havana, but it's one."

Ben Bella's complete, exuberant identity with this conference — with its large French delegation, all opponents of the de Gaulle government to which the Algerian economy is so closely tied, was not without opposition.

The conference opened many hours later than scheduled and without the expected welcoming address from President Ben Bella, but with an address by Abderrahmane Bensaid, a representative of the Political Bureau. This became a source of speculation.

In his opening remarks to the press conference three days later, Ben Bella, with leading ministers seated beside him, said about his absence: "But let it be clear that there was no — absolutely no — political factor involved in this. We intend to exercise our national sovereignty; and when we invite friends we intend to carry the complete responsibility in receiving friends, genuine friends, such as you . . ."

The day the conference opened in Algiers, Ben Bella was at nearby Rouiba, laying the cornerstone of the second new project undertaken by the government — a tannery, constructed under the guidance of a Bulgarian engineer, which is to be equipped by Yugoslavia. There he scored "enemies who have become more numerous since the passage of the decrees against the Borgeauds [one of the wealthiest of the French colons] and those who are Algerians in name only. During our trip to Addis Ababa they stepped up the sweet talk and the maneuvers through which they try to sow doubt in the country, with the complicity of reaction allied to imperialism. These people say: 'These politics are bad, we don't know where we are going.' The same thing has happened, we believe, in every country which has made a revolution."

"We knew the opposition is coming out into broad daylight as it did in Cuba and Yugoslavia. We know that when we move in against the rich to put an end to their ability to further enrich themselves, they will look to France. They want to return to the past, but we will go right to the end. Nothing will prevent us from taking from the rich to give to the poor, nor from being at the side of the liberation movements."

"There are some people who criticize the party [FLN]. I will remind them that before being head of the government, I am secretary-general of the party. The party will elaborate the policies of the government. It will have a very important role to play. For that, we must make a suitable party, a capable party, a party of militants, not a party of Dar el Askri [a well-known military barracks]. Four months from now we will be able to construct a revolutionary socialist party."

It was in this context that the conference met and in his final comment to the delegates Ben Bella spelled out the next impor-



"OPERATION LITTLE SHOE-SHINE BOY." The shoe-shine boy, a symbol of poverty and oppression, was a common sight on the streets of Algerian cities until last February when the Algerian government set up a program of job training for hundreds of these youngsters. Said Premier Ben Bella at gathering touching off the program: "We want to wipe out once and for all this colonialist caricature . . ."

tant action of his government. After referring to the 3,750,000 acres of the richest land, which is now in the hands of the Management Committees, he announced: "At present an agrarian law is in preparation for the end of the summer — I say this here — this law involves everything concerning the agrarian question in this country. This agrarian reform must become an agrarian

revolution to satisfy the needs of the situation, to satisfy the 80 per cent of the fellahin [peasants] who have nothing, to satisfy the chief aspirations of our peasants who were the main instrument of the liberation of the country . . . We will take the surplus land possessed by the colons and by Algerians, to exercise this basic option, this agrarian revolution . . ."

Italian Socialist in Algiers: "We Will Send Technicians"

The honor of summing up the work of the five days of the European Conference of Non-governmental Aid to Algeria went to Lelio Basso, a leading member and a former general secretary of the Italian Socialist Party (Nenni), a deputy and editor of the magazine, *Problemi di Socialismo*.

He expressed his great pleasure at being in Algeria and the impression that others like himself, visiting for the first time, felt on arriving. "I think I felt at home," he said, "because Algeria had been in our hearts for seven years, because all of us for seven years followed with such sympathy, such participation, the heroic and glorious struggle of the Algerian people, and because to a certain degree we were all Algerians a little. Algeria was a part of us and we felt upon coming here that we were in a country which was in a certain sense also ours . . ."

" . . . Seeing the Algerian reality," he continued, "I realized that an immense task must be accomplished, a difficult and very complex task. But I also had the satisfaction of seeing that there is an enthusiastic youth here, that there are also material possibilities in energy, raw materials, that there exists in short the possibility here of tackling all these problems, and that there is above all, the thing that counts the most, the determination, the will power to resolve the problems of Algeria in the direction of progress, in the direction of democracy, in the direction of socialism."

On behalf of the various Aid Algeria committees already in

existence, Basso, turning to President Ben Bella who was seated on the platform, said: "We will send technicians here, but above all we will try to help in training Algerian technicians so that Algeria can really take its destiny in its own hands . . ."

"Your struggle is ours, and to the degree that you achieve — and we hope that you will achieve with the shortest possible delay — the aims which you have announced and to which we subscribe with all our hearts, to the degree that you achieve a socialist Algeria, to the degree that you drive colonialism from Africa, to the degree that you achieve the democratic unity of Africa, you will have aided us also in winning our struggle for democracy, in winning our struggle for socialism in Europe and in the other countries."

"Thus it is not unilateral aid — it is inter-aid, it is solidarity, and it is in the name of this fraternal solidarity of all peoples that I believe we must close our work, that we must declare our conference at an end and that we leave with the feeling that there is a big task to be accomplished, that the Algerian people is equal to the task, that we will seek to do everything possible to help achieve it as soon as possible. We thank you, Mr. President, for the aid which you have given us, we thank you for the aid which the Algerian people has given us, we thank you because you helped us regain confidence in humanity, you helped us regain confidence in the future of humanity, you helped us regain confidence in the destiny of humanity."

Friends of Algeria Still in French Jails

France is abuzz with talk about Algerian President Ben Bella's stirring protest against the continued imprisonment by de Gaulle of eight Frenchmen for their activities in support of the Algerian liberation struggle against French imperialism.

"There has not been a delegation to Paris that has not posed the question of freeing the prisoners, including those now brought to our attention," said Ben Bella to an assembly of the delegates to the European Conference of Non-governmental Aid to Algeria and others in the hall of the Palais du Gouvernement in Algiers. The fate of the eight had been raised by the eminent historian Daniel Guérin, a member of the French delegation.

"I have appealed three times to the Ambassador of France," declared Ben Bella, "and he has been astonished that the head of the government would make such an appeal on this question. I now resort to blackmail. I say publicly: I will not free a single harki [Algerians who collaborated with the French oppressors] nor a single Frenchman incarcerated in Algeria until the eight militants imprisoned in France are liberated."

"I am ready," he continued as the applause subsided, "to liberate the 1,200 harkis and let them go to France, if these eight militants are liberated. Outside of all this, there is nothing more we can say — except to declare that we will cease all co-operation if the prisoners are not liberated; but we can't do that, and our imprisoned friends themselves would not want us to pose the question in these terms."

The Algerian president prefaced his remarks with a statement that it was grave error not to have posed the issue of the liberation of all the imprisoned French militants during the Evian negotiations with French officials. He recalled that he had personally posed this problem when he was still confined at Aulney and that his intervention at that time had been characterized by some people as a torpedoing of the negotiations then in progress.

Letters From Our Readers

Let Farmers Decide

Rutland, Vt.

I have just read that the Canadian government will continue to sell wheat to China, but has this year granted more favorable terms for payment. The People's Republic of China has so far proved scrupulous about meeting their payments. Canada needs a market for her wheat and needs a favorable balance of trade.

I believe the United States should sell its surplus wheat to the highest bidder in international trade. The withholding of commodities from the international market for political reasons will always be a boomerang.

The farmers in the United States have just voted to free

their production of wheat from further national control. Their vote and continued conduct show that the United States farmers disbelieve in any type of production regulation. But, at the same time, the United States government has never given the farmers the right to vote on the question whether the national wheat surplus should be sold in international markets for what it will bring, regardless of the politics of the purchasers.

I believe that if the farmers could vote on this question they would agree with me. Further, I believe that such a sale would make the United States more popular in the eyes of the people of the rest of the world than any other type of economic aid to the less fortunate countries.

I.H.R.

Canadian Fan

Toronto, Canada

I always look forward to reading my *Militant*, especially since the rise of the Negro struggle.

R.H.

On Enforcing Rights Laws

Richland, N. Y.

What good will any Civil Rights legislation do as long as those whose duty it is to enforce these laws have vowed not to enforce them? Rumor has it that some of them are wearing buttons with the word NEVER on them. Until these people are removed permanently there will not be much gained.

Communists are jailed on charges of advocating the use of force and violence, of which they are not guilty. These Southern officials are guilty of trying to destroy the rule of the federal government. And the government is afraid to act against them. So far to my knowledge this view has not been made public. The effort to pass more laws is simply a stalling tactic to get the Negroes to stop demonstrations.

P.H.

Anti-Brainwasher

Gibsons, B.C., Canada

Enclosed is \$10. Please send four-month introductory subscriptions to the three names listed. Please accept the rest as a donation to help fight the brainwashers.

K.O.

A Communist Party Vision

Detroit, Mich.

I received a letter this week asking for a financial contribution to *The Worker*, the weekly paper expressing the views of the Communist Party. The letter included some of the paper's views, including this gem:

"With the enfranchisement of the Negro masses in the South, the Democratic Party will acquire an influx of millions of militant workingmen and women, steered in the great struggles of the Civil Rights Revolution."

Can't you just imagine Negroes, engaged in a life and death struggle against Democratic cops, political hacks and racist mobs,

flocking by the "millions" into the very party that oppresses them?

Robert Himmel

Bowery Deaths

New York, N. Y.

It seems to me there is a glaring omission in *The Militant*. That is about the death of 50 men and one woman from drinking "snake" on the Bowery. The papers said they were "derelicts" and that somebody sold them poisoned alcohol.

But they weren't "bums," they were human beings. They were too old to get jobs, with nobody left to look after them, or young people who couldn't get jobs they could live with and just gave up trying and hit the bottle. Then they didn't have enough money to buy real booze.

P.J.

Likes Civil Rights Coverage

Toronto, Canada

Enclosed is money order to begin my subscription. *The Militant* is, in my opinion, undoubtedly the best socialist newspaper in North America. I especially like the extensive coverage you are giving to the Negro situation.

Enclosed is \$1 extra. If possible please send me back issues of *The Militant* which have articles about

Fidel Castro and the Cuban Revolution. Also, please send a sample copy of the paper to the name enclosed.

M.S.

UHURU Pickets

Detroit, Mich.

For the past two Saturdays CORE members protesting hiring discrimination at Kroger supermarkets were joined by pickets organized by UHURU ("Freedom" in the African language, Swahili), a new and militant youth organization.

The UHURU pickets, which included both whites and Negroes, carried signs reading: "Cross at your risk," "We are blackwatching Kroger's," and "This is not a non-violent demonstration."

On both occasions, CORE tried to prevent UHURU from marching. Failing this, they withdrew their own pickets. Last Saturday some of those on the CORE line refused to leave when CORE officials told them to and continued to walk with UHURU.

B.L.J.

We Disagree on Conclusion

Plentywood, Montana

I wanted to see if the \$21,000 was raised for the *Militant* fund. [It was, with two per cent to spare.—Ed.] and if some of it

came from here. I have been giving to the socialist movement for 50 years and to *The Militant* since it began. With the new things going on, we will get even more out of money paid in.

We cannot let collections go down where you publishers and writers have to beg for money to put out our paper. You editors should remind the readers of what I have said. You could no doubt write something better than what I have written.

Wayne LaGrange

Letters-We-Love Dep't

Louisville, Ky.

My subscription expires in a few weeks. I enclose \$3 for a new subscription. Congratulations on your very fine newspaper.

J.L.

The July 26 Anniversary

New York, N. Y.

It seems incredible that it was only ten years ago that Fidel Castro and his band of young revolutionaries made the July 26 attack on Moncada Barracks. Do you think anyone anticipated that this was an initial step in a process culminating in the first socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere?

H.O.

It Was Reported in the Press

The Defenders—"Defense planners shy away from full-scale efforts to desegregate the National Guard, despite contrary claims. Officials are loath to shut off funds from the ten Southern states still barring Negroes from the guard. They contend national defense needs must come first." — The July 5 *Wall Street Journal*.

Vanishing Breed?—"They [white liberals] have all the proper attitudes but no real convictions. When the chips are down and you expect them to deliver, somehow they are no longer there." — Author James Baldwin.

"Justice" Not So Blind—Seventy-four per cent of the lawyers queried in a Missouri Bar Association poll agreed that "wealth, social position and race affected justice." The findings were published July 2, the day after a panel of three New York judges cleared Gareth Martinis, 23, of criminal responsibility in an accident which took five lives. Two policemen testified he was drunk when his car crashed into another one. Two other cops said he wasn't. A news photographer, who charges Martinis slugged him after the accident, was not asked to testify. The judges cleared Martinis after five minutes of deliberation. He is the son of Judge Joseph Martinis, Criminal Court colleague of the three judges who voted not guilty.

Tough Situation Dep't—Rev. Lee A. Belford, a Georgia-born New York minister, says a Negro march on Washington would be unwise. "Imagine several hundred thousand people merging on a city

unable to take care of such a number, inadequate sanitary facilities, inadequate transportation, inadequate emergency medical service or food facilities for such a number," he said. The situation depicted by the Reverend sounds like a description of the every-day life of the Negroes jammed into Washington's ghetto.

Non-Freudian Slip—Rank Film Distributors announced that the title of the movie, *Freud*, has been changed in England to *The Secret Passion* to "introduce sex into the title."

Went Into Business For Himself—An East Paterson, N. J., policeman was charged with extorting money from motorists on the Garden State Parkway. According to police, Officer John Donahue took a two-week sick leave and spent it patrolling the highway in civilian clothes in a civilian car. They charged he would stop a motorist for a "violation," show his credentials, explain he was on special duty, and offer immediate justice for \$10. The going court rate, he allegedly would explain, would be about \$40.

Slappy—Sportswear is becoming more "sportive," reports the *Wall Street Journal*. In trade

jargon, it's explained, the word means a combination of snappy and sloppy. For those who want to keep up stylewise, the *Journal* offers this bargain basement example: "The sportive look is illustrated by a skirt and jacket of tweed and mohair, trimmed in corduroy . . . The outfit, complete with chamois vest, corduroy boots and a mannish fedora will retail for about \$265."

If Only We Had a Backyard—Mapping our vacation plans we read with interest a *Wall Street Journal* report that "Some summer fun is more expensive this year, but there are bargains too." The more expensive items included: Long Island cottage rental fees are up ten to 20 per cent over last year; an east coast chain of highway eateries has hiked prices ten per cent; resort rates have increased five to ten per cent; country club fees are higher. We kept reading until we got to the bargain section, to wit: "Backyard chefs get a break. Beef steak prices are down sharply from last summer."

Ain't It the Truth—"Nobody has a really good yacht any more." — Mrs. Lytleton Fox, a leader of the summer society set at Southampton, L. I., as quoted in the *New York Times*.

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"Six plumbers and one millionaire" would make a better cabinet than 'six millionaires and one plumber.' This idea was advanced by James A. Bronlow, President of the AFL Metal Trades Council, in a speech at the Cleveland convention of the Office Employees International Union. 'Such a cabinet,' he said, 'would better understand the needs of the people.'

"The main theme of Brownlow's speech was that the Taft-Hartley law will be repealed 'not by begging Congress to do so' but by electing people to Congress who will repeal the law. He also warned that 'You cannot depend on the government to do your collective bargaining. Only one thing can do that — good strong militant Unions.'

"Now all these ideas are very good (although we think that a cabinet of six plumbers wouldn't have any use for a millionaire) but the question arises, when and how do we get going on some of these militant proposals we hear from the labor officials nowadays?"

"When Brownlow says that only 'good strong militant unions' can bargain successfully with the employers, we must agree. However, we must add: A good strong militant labor party based on the unions and independent of the employers on the political as well as the economic field is needed to win labor's political demands." — July 20, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"Despite the hubbub it created in the capitalist and liberal press last week, the Communist Party's declaration of support for Boss Frank Hague in New Jersey represented nothing essentially new.

"The fact is that the Stalinists have been supporting Hague for something like two years now — since Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941 to be exact . . .

"What is 'new' about the situation is that . . . the Stalinists have now thrown all cautious formulations to the wind and make no bones about their support of the corrupt politicians who said only a few years ago that all reds should be deported to Alaska . . .

"The Stalinist statement was precipitated by the increased demands within labor's ranks for the creation of an independent labor party in a number of important industrial states. The Stalinists have exerted all their energies to discourage and sabotage all labor party movements." — July 17, 1943.

Thought for the Week

"Some call girls do not necessarily get paid by the person they are dating. They are paid by a third party to please a second party whom they are trying to soften up for either a business deal, a political favor or information for espionage purposes . . . The iron curtain countries are pretty good at this sort of thing and most of the girls in the Communist world are paid by the state. In the free world call girls are part of the free enterprise system and this is one of the things the cold war is all about. In the free world you have your choice of call girls, while in a totalitarian country you have to take what the state gives you." — Syndicated columnist Art Buchwald.

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.

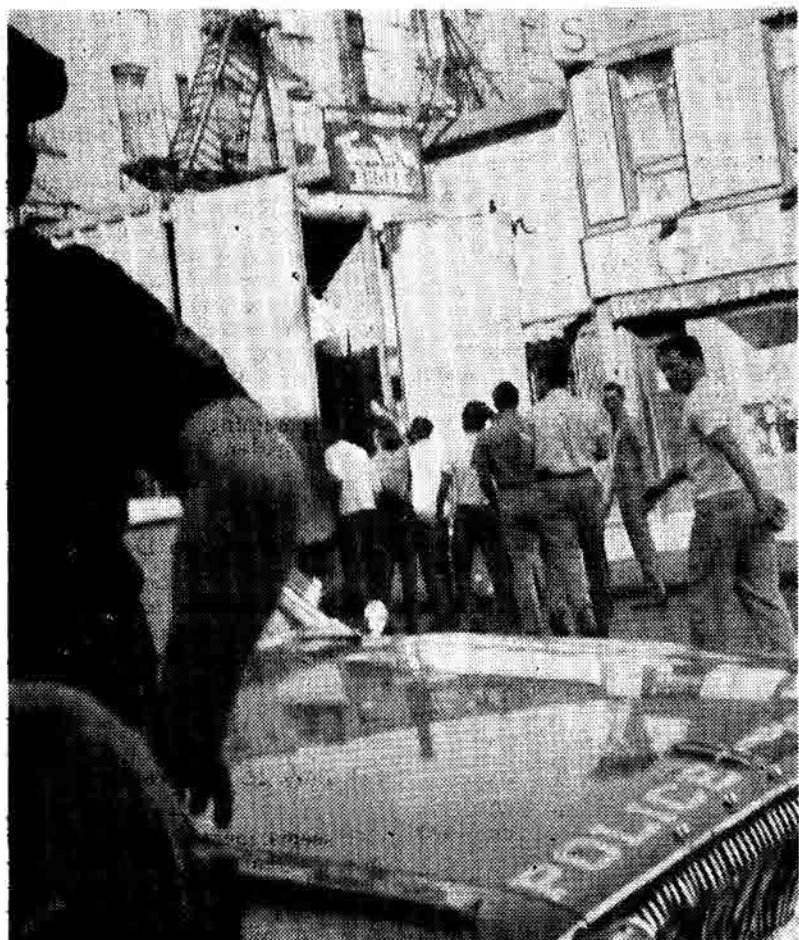


Photo by Robert Gregor

HERDING SCABS IN BROOKLYN. For six months the 660 members of United Rubber Workers Local 457 employed at Kentile plant in Brooklyn were out on strike for a new contract. Company hired professional strikebreaker who recruited scabs and brought them to the plant in trailer trucks. New York City police department, under Mayor Robert Wagner who owes his office to labor's support, provided city cops to herd the scabs. Above, one of cops assigned to protect scabs at pick-up spot in Brooklyn watches as they enter truck for trip to struck plant. Strike was finally settled last week with question of jobs for some returning strikers up for court decision.

Mayor, Uncle Toms, Get Rough Time

New Militancy at NAACP Convention

By Ronald Averly

CHICAGO — On July 4 Democratic Mayor Richard Daley and Dr. Joseph H. Jackson, president of the National Baptist Convention, USA, were opposed so vigorously when they attempted to address the mass rally of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Grant Park that both retired from the platform without delivering their talks.

This mass rally and the Freedom March, which preceded it, were the outstanding events of the NAACP national convention held in this city July 1-6.

Between 30,000 and 50,000 people participated in the march and rally — with sidewalk onlookers estimated at an additional 100,000.

Anti-Daley Slogans

Though the NAACP leadership had announced that "anti-Daley" signs and slogans would not be permitted and that signs not in accord with the basic aim of the NAACP would be discouraged, the militant sections of the marchers carried signs which read: "Mayor Daley Must Go," "Mississippi Is Hell But Chicago Ain't Heaven," "What the Hell Is Daley Doing Here?" and "Arm the Negroes for Self-Defense." They chanted, "Mayor Daley's too slow, Jim Crow must go." Many onlookers responded with cheers and applause.

At Grant Park—the end of the march—speakers invited by the NAACP began to address the audience assembled in front of the park bandstand. Although Mayor Daley had not been listed as a speaker, he appeared on the platform, apparently at the request of the NAACP leaders.

As he approached the microphone, some 100 to 200 Negro and white youth, apparently organ-

ized on the spot on an "ad hoc" basis, came down the aisles protesting with signs, chants and boos. They drew unmistakable support from among the audience. Some people jumped up to join the demonstrators, others stood and booed, while still others remained seated, smiling their approval.

Mayor Daley earlier in the week had declared that Chicago "has no ghettos." Now Chicago's citizens were pronouncing critical judgment on his evaluation.

Police formed ranks to block the demonstrators at the front row, but no violence occurred. After repeating the first words of his speech three or four times, Daley suddenly turned from the mike, shook hands with several NAACP leaders and hurriedly left. With this victory, the demonstrators streamed back up the aisles and dispersed.

After Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) had spoken about the need for continued non-violence in the struggle for racial equality and sounded the alarm against "both right-wing and left-wing extremists," Rev. Joseph H. Jackson was announced as the next speaker.

Unanimous Protest

This announcement provoked a virtually unanimous explosion of protest. The audience rose almost to the last child to express its dissatisfaction with Dr. Jackson, who had publicly supported President Kennedy's call for a "60-day moratorium on all demonstrations" following the murder of Medgar Evers in Mississippi.

Some of the previous demonstrators, still lingering in the rear, once again started down the aisles. But this time they could not get near the front row because the audience itself had pressed forward to demand Jackson's removal. After 15 minutes of intense

U.S. Writers Accept Cuban Invitation

In response to the invitation of the Cuban Institute of Friendship with Peoples, at least six prominent U.S. newsmen and writers are due to attend the July 26 celebrations in Cuba. They are Louis Lomax, author of *The Negro Revolt*; John O. Killens, author of the novels *Youngblood* and *And Then We Heard the Thunder*; Truman Nelson, novelist of the Abolitionist movement; Evelyn Cunningham, city editor of *The New York Courier*; Charles Howard, UN correspondent for the *Baltimore Afro-American*; and C. Sumner Stone, Washington editor of the *Afro-American*.

Students Defying Ban

Also invited were Donald Grant, UN correspondent for the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*; Conrad Lynn, New York civil-rights attorney and writer; L. E. Austin, publisher of the *Carolina Times* of Durham, N.C.; Dr. Carl J. Murphy, chairman of the board of directors of the *Afro-American*; Richard M. Elman, director of drama and literature for radio station WBAI-FM in New York; and Leon Lewis, commentator for the New York radio station WWRL.

Meanwhile, 59 American students who defied that ban are continuing their one-month tour of Cuba, which Cuban papers are giving front page coverage. Among the high spots of their tour thus far have been a reception at Havana University, a rally in their honor at Liberty City, meetings with Fidel and Raul Castro and education minister Armando Hart, and tours of Pinar del Rio and Oriente provinces.

shouting and booing, NAACP Board Chairman, Bishop Stephen G. Spottswood, announced that Dr. Jackson would not attempt to speak.

It was the second embarrassment that week for Jackson. His church had been picketed the previous Sunday.

Support the Democrats?

Politically, the reaction against Mayor Daley raises the whole question of support of the Democratic Party machines which dominate big-city politics, but which would be powerless without the mass support of Negroes. Although Daley tried to dismiss the protest as the work of a "contingent of Republicans," it was quite obvious that what had happened was not the expression of any so-called "states' rights" sentiment.

If the Negroes here are not yet looking for a new political solution, many are already aware that the old bosses and cliques have not fulfilled their promises to work for Negro equality.

Two national officers of the NAACP sent personal messages to Mayor Daley, expressing their regrets over the incident. But after lengthy debate, the convention failed to vote an apology.

At the week's end, the national convention adopted a resolution promising a "broad, militant program to fight for Negro rights in unions, government, education, housing and employment."

"In every society where property exists there will ever be a struggle between rich and poor. Mixed in one assembly, equal laws can never be expected; they will either be made by the members to plunder the few who are rich, or by the influence to fleece the many who are poor." — John Adams, American revolutionist, second President of U.S.

Negroes Launch Boycott Of Dan River Products

JULY 11 — Thirty-two demonstrators were arrested today in Danville, Virginia, in a renewal of mass arrests in the area's six-week-old drive for Negro rights. Later in the day, Rev. Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, arrived in town and told a mass meeting of 1,200 that Danville Negroes will have to "fill the jails for freedom."

DANVILLE, Va. — Representatives of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee and the Congress of Racial Equality have organized renewed demonstrations in this Southside Virginia city designed to announce an international boycott of products of Dan River Mills.

Mathew Jones, 22, of SNCC led a group of 30 silent pickets in front of the entrances to Danville's chief industry, the Dan River textile mills on July 8. One sign read: "We call for a worldwide boycott of Dan River Mills — SNCC."

Economic Retaliation

"We are asking freedom-loving people all over the world to stop buying Dan River Mills products," said Rev. L. G. Campbell, secretary of the Danville Christian Progressive Association. (DCPA). "The mills employ about 10,000 people and the industry is the economic bastion of the power structure of this segregated community of 47,000," Campbell continued.

On July 8, eleven young people picketed a meeting at city hall where Mayor Julian Stinson and three white leaders met with eleven Negroes selected by the mayor for the alleged purpose of easing racial tensions here. None of the Negroes at the meeting have participated in the Danville protest movement. Last week, DCPA leaders declared they would not be bound by any agreements made by this group.

The DCPA began the protest May 31 with peaceful pickets carrying signs in the downtown Danville area each day. On June 5 students marched into the mayor's office and demanded to be heard, and five people were arrested including Rev. Campbell and Rev. A. I. Dunlap, a vice president of the DCPA.

High-Pressure Hoses

On June 8 SNCC Field Secretary Avon Rollins arrived, and on June 10 SNCC Field Secretary Bob Zellner arrived at the invitation of the DCPA. At noon on June 10 high-pressure fire hoses were turned on peaceful demonstrators. Several people were beaten by police and several were jailed.

A march to the city jail to protest the afternoon's jailings was staged that night. A group, including Rev. H. G. McGhee, entered the alley beside the jail. While Rev. McGhee knelt to pray he was arrested. Police barricaded the alley, trapping the protesters, and turned high-pressure fire hoses on the people. While the demonstrators were staggered from the force of the water and washed under cars and down the street, the police beat them with riot sticks, blackjacks and sawed-off baseball bats.

Police Chief McCain was among those beating the demonstrators. He grabbed Bob Zellner's camera and smashed it on the ground. Some 48 people were hospitalized for injuries that night. Heads were beaten, faces broken open, noses broken, breasts lacerated, limbs broken, eyes nearly punctured and clothes torn off by the force of the water. Prior to the



Martin Luther King

march the demonstrators had turned in all pencils, nail files, and anything that could possibly inflict a wound, and had committed themselves to non-violence.

Peaceful demonstrations continued for two days. Robert Gore, national representative of CORE, arrived. On June 13, a demonstration on the steps of the municipal building was dispersed with tear gas and on this occasion, state police joined in the beatings.

The next day a city ordinance and an injunction were issued to stop all demonstrations. Thirteen leaders were indicted by the grand jury on charges of "inciting the colored population to acts of violence and war against the white population." This is a felony punishable by five to ten years in prison under Virginia law. Demonstrations were held June 14 in spite of the ordinance.

Judge Wears Pistol

Two demonstrators, Exell Barksdale, 18, and Ernest Smith, 46, were tried and convicted on June 17, and given three and four-month sentences on the city prison farm. Bond and appeal were denied. Judge Aiken, who presided, wore a pistol. On June 22 the police kicked open a door in the main sanctuary of the High Street Baptist Church and arrested three members of SNCC, Bob Zellner, Avon Rollins, and Daniel Foss, under the indictment. Bond was set at \$5,500.

The ordinance and injunction were put before Federal Judge Thomas J. Michie for a ruling on removal from the Danville Corporation court to the federal district court. On July 11, however, Judge Michie remanded the cases to the city court.

The DCPA is affiliated to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The Dan River Mills manufacture cotton fabrics.

NEW YORK — The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee called for a mass picket line at the main headquarters of the Dan Rivers Corp. here to be held Wednesday, July 17. SNCC said the demonstration was being supported by union, church, civil rights and youth groups.

Strike Won at Firestone's Liberia Rubber Plantation

About 6,000 workers on the Firestone Rubber Corp. plantation in the Negro republic of Liberia went on strike July 2 when the company struck fringe benefits from the union contract. On July 15 the giant rubber monopoly agreed to restore the fringe benefits to the contract and work was resumed.