



The Aug. 28 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom — It was the biggest civil-rights demonstration the Capital ever saw.

# THE MILITANT

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## Continued US Aid in Vietnam Refutes 'Freedom Fight' Lie

By Steve Graham

In the face of growing world protests against the brutality of the Ngo Dinh Diem regime in South Vietnam, the Kennedy administration is frantically maneuvering to dissociate itself from the worst excesses of that regime. But these efforts reek of hypocrisy. Washington backed Diem for years without qualms. It even planned and set up his system of concentration camps, supplied him with U.S. manned and machine-gunning helicopters, napalm bombs, poisonous chemicals, — even police dogs, those famous American contributions to "democracy."

It was only when the courageous and dramatic protest of the South Vietnamese Buddhists aroused the world and the savage reprisal raids on Buddhist temples shocked it into anger, that Kennedy broke silence, denounced Diem and began to seek means of refurbishing or replacing the regime there.

For example, Washington makes a great point of blaming Diem's brother Nhu and Mme. Nhu for the Aug. 21 raids and imposition of martial law. This is to give Diem an out. Kick out your brother and placate the Buddhists, says Kennedy, and we can go on playing ball.

But so far Diem feels strong enough to buck Washington. He refuses to make his brother a scapegoat and fears that any concessions to the Buddhists would endanger his totalitarian rule. Moreover, he knows Washington will not crush him by the only certain means it has — that is, pulling out U.S. troops and financial aid. Such a step would mean losing the area to the peasant guerrillas.

Washington is following another maneuver, fishing for Vietnamese army officers who would overthrow Diem and play better ball with the U.S. By officially absolving the Vietnamese army of complicity in the Aug. 21 raids — whether it was so or not — Washington is serving notice that it will whitewash as "democratic" and

"religiously tolerant" any military group that replaces Diem.

The Diem family, fighting back against this tactic, published charges on Sept. 2 that the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency had planned a coup against the Diem government on Aug. 28 but postponed it when the dictator got wind of it and prepared to fight. It claimed that the CIA had spent \$10 to \$20 million in bribes and other expenditures organizing the coup.

Washington officials denied the (Continued on Page 4)

## In Wake of Capital March: No Let-Up in Rights Battle

By George Lavan

Where does the Negro people's fight for equality stand now that the March on Washington has passed into history?

The Aug. 28 march, the largest demonstration Washington has ever seen, commanded the attention of the whole country — indeed, of the whole world. Between 200,000 and 250,000 people — about 90 per cent of them Negro — made a sacrifice of time and money to journey to the nation's capital on a work day to register by their physical presence the demand for freedom and jobs. This was eloquent and dramatic testimony of their feelings and their potential power.

But despite this tremendous outpouring, nothing concrete appears to have changed in the oppressed position of the Negro people in this country. Consider the news events since.

The day after the march 25 more Negro demonstrators were arrested by the brutal, racist cops of Danville, Va.

On Aug. 30 a rioting mob of hundreds in Folcroft, Pa., pelted and cursed a Negro couple which had bought a home in that previously lily-white neighborhood.

More Danville Negroes were jailed Aug. 30. In Williamston, N.C., teachers accused the police of "gross brutality" against 400 Negro school children who were protesting the earlier arrest of eleven demonstrators. In Americus, Ga., where three Negroes face death sentences for demonstrating in violation of a pre-Civil War statute, 32 more freedom fighters were arrested.

On Aug. 31, police in St. Augustine, Fla., used dogs and electric cattle prods on Negroes seeking service at drug-store lunch counters.

On Sept. 1 state troopers and sheriff's deputies, mounted on horseback and using cattle prods and tear gas, routed and pursued 1,000 Negro paraders in Plaquemine, La.

In Chicago Negroes resumed demonstrations against the trailer

schoolrooms being installed in the black ghetto to avert the transfer of Negro children to adjacent, white, school districts where there are empty classrooms. Meanwhile, neighborhood Negro leaders announced plans for citywide protest actions against widespread school segregation in the city.

On Sept. 2 Gov. Wallace of Alabama used state troopers to prevent carrying out of token integration ordered by the courts.

On Sept. 4 in Birmingham, Ala., the home of Negro civil-rights attorney Arthur L. Shores was bombed for the second time in two weeks. Police attacked Negroes drawn to the scene by the blast, opened fire on them, wounding several and killing one — shot through the back of the neck. Three Birmingham schools which had registered several Negro students the previous day bowed to Gov. Wallace's order and closed.

The list could be elaborated, but there is enough to show that the situation in this part of the "free world" hasn't tangibly changed from what it was before the March on Washington.

But if state and city officials, their cops, school boards, etc., are behaving pretty much as they did before — possibly even more brutally, it should not be overlooked that the Negroes are demonstrating as militantly as before — possibly in larger numbers.

But if the great March hasn't altered the pattern of discrimination

(Continued on Page 3)

### The Los Angeles Muslim Trial

## 6 Jurors Reveal How Verdict Was Biased

By Constance Weissman

A sensational revelation has just been made which should cause an immediate voiding of the verdicts in the trial of the Black Muslims convicted last June in Los Angeles. So serious are these new facts that they call for an investigation of the trial presided over by Judge David Coleman and of the Los Angeles police department.

Six women members and alternates of the all-white jury which sat on the case told Judge Coleman that they "do not think justice was done." According to the Aug. 22 *California Eagle*, the six spoke of "pressure," "confusion," "wrong decisions" and "intolerance." They said that on two occasions, policemen questioned the honesty of Negroes in the presence of the jury, once while the jury was actually deliberating its verdict.

The trial ended on June 14, after 18 days of deliberation by the jury. On July 6, the six jurors obtained a private meeting with Judge Coleman, who had then not yet pronounced sentences. They presented him with a letter pleading for lenient sentences.

They said that because of "the conflicting testimony, provocative circumstances and the indiscretion of mostly all parties to the trial" it had been "difficult if not impossible" for them to always "maintain the highest degree of comprehension."



Malcolm X

On July 16, ten days later, without mentioning the letter or the visit to him of the jurors, Judge Coleman handed down harsh sentences. Instead of declaring a mistrial, he imposed one-to-ten year sentences on four of the defendants; five years probation with the stipulation that the first year be spent in jail on four; 90 days in jail and five years probation on two; and one defendant, who was shot by the cops and is paralyzed from the waist down, was put on probation for four years. Beyond reach of the police frame-up and harsh sentence was Ronald L. Stokes, the 29-year-old temple secretary, who was killed by the cops during their savage shooting spree.

Disclosure of the repentant jurors' action was made by John Hart, a news analyst on KNXT-TV in Los Angeles. He said that three of the jurors had agreed to come on his program, but then backed out because they were afraid of "retaliation." Hart quoted one, Mrs. Josephine Byrne, as saying, "I do not think justice was done." She reportedly stated that because of the pressure of

(Continued on Page 6)

### In This Issue

**John Lewis' Speech**  
Censored at MOW P. 2

**Report on Cuba**  
An Interview P. 3

**Freedom Now Party**  
Reply to N.Y. Times P. 4

**Sino-Soviet Dispute**  
A Statement P. 5

**W.E.B. DuBois**  
A Tribute P. 6



## Why Speech Of John Lewis Was Censored

The best speech at the March on Washington was never delivered. That was the speech prepared by John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which appears in full in the adjoining columns.

Catholic Archbishop O'Boyle of Washington, D.C., who had been invited to give the invocation, read an advance copy of the speech and threatened to walk off the platform if it was delivered.

To their everlasting shame the top civil-rights officials, with Walter Reuther reportedly playing a prominent role, censored parts of the SNCC leader's speech and dictated a rewriting of other parts.

If the March leaders had had the courage, which it will take to win full equality for the Negro people in this country, they would not have yielded to Archbishop O'Boyle's arrogant demand.

### Claimed Objection

The *New York Times* account of the censoring of Lewis' speech, undoubtedly reflecting the version O'Boyle and the guilty civil-rights leaders wish circulated, makes out that the principal objection was to an analogy to Sherman's march through the South. This is an obvious subterfuge. The objection was to Lewis' blunt criticisms of Kennedy and the Democratic Party. That is why the statement that the Republicans and Democrats had "betrayed" was stricken out, as was the declaration of non-support of Kennedy's civil-rights bills.

SNCC, the organization Lewis heads and for which he was speaking, is in the foremost firing line of the civil-rights battle. SNCC's members, mostly from the 102 Negro colleges in the South, are among the bravest and most self-sacrificing people in the country. They have to their credit probably more arrests and jail sentences for the cause than all other civil-rights organizations combined. These people have risked their lives innumerable times. Their bodies are covered with scars of the battle. They have won the right to have their spokesman say what they want him to say, without any interference.



Reuther

## Weekly Calendar

### NEW YORK

Just Back from CUBA—Hear Charles P. Howard, Sr., correspondent for Afro-American and Muhammad Speaks report on Freedom, Justice and Equality—Cuban Style. Fri., Sept. 13, 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c.) Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## Speech that SNCC Leader Had Planned for D.C. March

[The following is the text of the speech SNCC Chairman John Lewis was prevented from delivering at the March on Washington.]

We march today for jobs and freedom, but we have nothing to be proud of. For hundreds and thousands of our brothers are not here. They have no money for their transportation, for they are receiving starvation wages — or no wages, at all.

In good conscience, we cannot support the administration's civil rights bill, for it is too little, and too late. There's not one thing in the bill that will protect our people from police brutality.

This bill will not protect young children and old women from police dogs and fire hoses, for engaging in peaceful demonstrations. This bill will not protect the citizens in Danville, Virginia, who must live in constant fear in a police state. This bill will not protect the hundreds of people who have been arrested on trumped-up charges. What about the three young men in Americus, Georgia, who face the death penalty for engaging in peaceful protest?

The voting section of this bill will not help thousands of black citizens who want to vote. It will not help the citizens of Mississippi, of Alabama, and Georgia, who are qualified to vote, but lack a sixth grade education. "One man, one vote," is the African cry. It is ours, too. (It must be ours.)

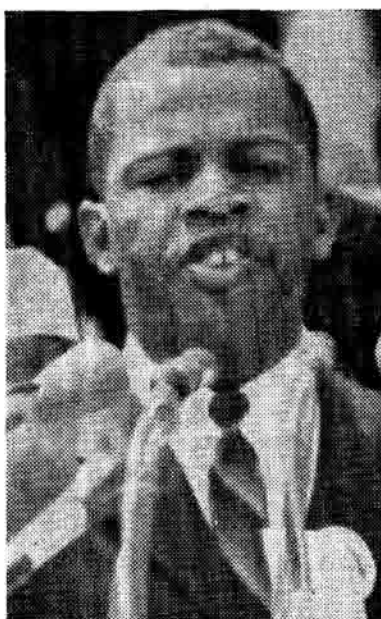
People have been forced to leave their homes because they dared to exercise their right to register to vote. What is in the bill that will protect the homeless and starving people of this nation? What is there in this bill to insure the equality of a maid who earns \$5 a week in the home of a family whose income is \$100,000 a year? For the first time in 100 years this nation is being awakened to the fact that segregation is evil and that it must be destroyed in all forms. Your presence today proves that you have been aroused to the point of action.

We are now involved in a serious revolution. This nation is still a place of cheap political leaders who build their careers on immoral compromises and ally themselves with open forms of political, economic and social exploitation. What political leader here can stand up and say "My party is the party of principles"? The party of Kennedy is also the party of Eastland. The party of Javits is also the party of Goldwater. Where is our party?

In some parts of the South we work in the fields from sun-up to sun-down for \$12 a week. In Albany, Georgia, nine of our leaders have been indicted not by Dixiecrats but by the Federal Government for peaceful protest. But what did the Federal Government do when Albany's Deputy Sheriff beat Attorney C. B. King and left him half-dead? What did the Federal Government do when local police officials kicked and assaulted the pregnant wife of Slater King, and she lost her baby?

It seems to me that the Albany indictment is part of a conspiracy on the part of the Federal Government and local politicians in the interest of expediency.

Moreover, we have learned — and you should know — since we are here for Jobs and Freedom — that within the past ten days a spokesman for the Administration appeared in a secret session before the committee that's writing the civil-rights bill and opposed and has almost killed a provision that would have guaranteed in voting suits, for the first time, a fair federal district judge. And, I might add, this Administration's bill, or any other civil-rights bill — as the 1960 civil-rights act — will be totally worthless when



John Lewis

administered by racist judges, many of whom have been consistently appointed by President Kennedy.

I want to know, which side is the Federal Government on?

The revolution is at hand, and we must free ourselves of the chains of political and economic slavery. The non-violent revolution is saying, "We will not wait for the courts to act, for we have been waiting for hundreds of years. We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department, nor Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power, outside of any national structure that could and would assure us a victory." To those who have said, "Be patient and wait," we must say that, "Patience is a dirty and nasty word." We cannot be patient, we do not want to be free gradually, we want our freedom, and we want it now. We cannot depend on any political party, for both the Democrats and the Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence.

We all recognize the fact that if any radical social, political and economic changes are to take place in our society, the people, the masses, must bring them about. In the struggle we must seek more than more civil rights; we must work for the community of love, peace and true brotherhood. Our minds, souls, and hearts cannot rest until freedom and justice exist for all the people.

The revolution is a serious one. Mr. Kennedy is trying to take the revolution out of the street and put it in the courts. Listen Mr. Kennedy, Listen Mr. Congressmen, Listen fellow citizens, the black masses are on the march for jobs and freedom, and we must say to the politicians that there won't be a "cooling-off" period.

All of us must get in the revolution. Get in and stay in the streets of every city, every village and every hamlet of this nation, until true Freedom comes, until the revolution is complete. In the Delta of Mississippi, in southwest Georgia, in Alabama, Harlem, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and all over this nation. The black masses are on the march!

We won't stop now. All of the forces of Eastland, Barnett, Wallace, and Thurmond won't stop this revolution. The time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington. We will march through the South, through the Heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did. We shall pursue our own "scorched earth" policy and burn Jim Crow to the ground — non-violently. We shall fragment the South into a thousand pieces and put them back together in the image of democracy. We will make the action of the past few months look petty. And I say to you, WAKE UP AMERICA!



The Railroad Labor bill passed by Congress to head off a national strike on Aug. 28 is the most flagrant move to hamstring organized labor since passage of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law. For the first time in U.S. history, it has legalized compulsory arbitration and in effect outlaws the right to strike.

The main features of the law, which was rushed through congress just hours before railroad workers were scheduled to strike, are as follows: 1) An arbitration board is set up consisting of two members from the unions and two from the railroad carriers' association. Together they will select three "neutral" members, making a total of seven. If they cannot agree on the "neutrals," President Kennedy will appoint them. 3) The board will have 90 days to reach agreement on main issues in dispute. These are the carriers' allegation of featherbedding which they intend to eliminate by laying off some 37,000 firemen and additional thousands of train crewmen. 3) The decision on these two disputes will not go into effect for an additional 60 days during which "secondary" issues like wages, conditions, etc., will be negotiated. 4) Should the compulsory arbitration board rule in favor of the carriers, the company would have another 30 strike-free days in which to begin laying off workers before the law expires. 5) During the six-month period the law is in effect, it is illegal to strike. Another provision of the law is that the arbitration board's decisions on the two main issues in dispute are binding and it will be illegal to strike against said decisions for two years from the date of the law's passage. Rank-and-file rail workers will not have the right of voting to accept or reject the arbitration board's finding.

It should be noted that ever since the railroad carriers started their job-slashing campaign almost five years ago one of the principal activities of the railroad union leaders has been to conduct expensive lobbying in Washington in the hope of winning "friends" for their point of view. On Aug. 28 they got their answer. The vote for the unprecedented anti-union Railroad Labor Bill in the U.S. Senate was 90 to 2 and in the House 286 to 66.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, ILGWU president David Dubinsky, Democratic Mayor Robert Wagner and Republican Governor Nelson Rockefeller marched at the head of this year's Labor Day parade in New York City and then watched the rest from the reviewing stand. Despite the featured appearance of this motley crew of "labor-statesmen" and "friends of labor," only 103,000 paraded compared to twice that number in the last parade held in 1961.

Declining rank-and-file participation caused the Wayne County AFL-CIO Council to call off this year's Detroit Labor Day parade for the first time since World War I.

UAW International representatives agreed to a settlement with officials of the Ford Stamping Plant in Chicago Heights, Ill., following an eight-day strike. The strike had been called following the company's refusal to settle more than 200 health-and-safety grievances. The company reportedly agreed to put a full-time union safety officer in the plant, but it is still not clear how many grievances are settled. Not part of the settlement is the fate of 16 union men fired by the company in

an earlier "wildcat" strike. Among these was Local 588 President Bernard Fox who took the unusual (for modern-day union "leaders") step of supporting the rank and file during their "unauthorized" walkout. UAW officials, headed by Walter Reuther, feared a "revolt" in the ranks against the International union and apparently went along with the firing of the local president. This is the only explanation for their action of placing James A. Hanby, an International representative, in position of administrator of the local following the firing of Bernard Fox last May.

The Canadian Power Plant Worker, official newspaper of the Canadian Union of Operating Engineers, reports that four local unions of the International Brotherhood of Pulp, Sulphite and Paper Mill workers have decided to form a new union called the Pulp and Paper Workers of Canada. Some reasons given for this split of more than 1,000 workers are "the bureaucratic mismanagement and autocratic airs of the international despots" and "lack of democratic representation." The report added that the International leaders had acted "as though both the organization and the treasury were personal possessions."

Baseball star Mickey Mantle of the N.Y. Yankees is on the wrong side in a labor dispute in Joplin, Mo. He is president of a company holding a franchise on the Holiday Inn Motel which is being picketed by Local 135 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees, which is fighting for union recognition. Plans are under way to give out union leaflets at all Yankee games in which Mantle plays.

The basic problem of the Negro people is unemployment according to Teamster president James Hoffa. Speaking at a meeting in Minneapolis on Aug. 22, he said the March On Washington would not solve this problem. Stressing the need for labor participation in national politics Hoffa condemned Congress for not having this representation, and urged support for DRIVE (Democrat Republican Independent Voter Education). This is the Teamsters plan to support "friends" of labor in the twin boss parties.

Outside the meeting a Socialist Workers Party leaflet was being distributed. It urged all-out Teamster support to the March on Washington and independent political action by the labor and civil-rights movement. Referring in his speech to the SWP leaflet distributors, Hoffa said that the future choice for the workers would be "them or us."



Hoffa



## A MILITANT INTERVIEW

## Two Students Who Defied Cuba Travel Ban Tell Story

By George Saunders

NEW YORK — Three days after their return to the U.S., a young couple who had been part of the student group which visited Cuba this summer, gave *The Militant* an interview. Clint and Dee Jencks, 19 and 18 respectively, of San Francisco, were, in fact, eager to get a truthful story printed. An Aug. 28 UPI dispatch from Madrid had done a yellow-journalism, hatchet-job on Clint — even fabricating anti-Cuban "quotes" from him — and he was anxious to set the record straight.

Accompanying the UPI story from Madrid was a telephoto showing Clint getting a shave and haircut. The story itself invented such statements from him as, "The people of Cuba never lived worse than they do now." The impression the story was designed to convey was that Clint had idolized Fidel Castro but, after seeing Cuba, was shedding his "illusions" with his beard.

**How had the UPI managed to fake such a story when Clint was such an enthusiastic supporter of the Cuban Revolution?**

"I was in a barber shop in our Madrid hotel getting a shave and haircut when a UPI photographer saw me. He raced in, saying, 'May I take pictures?' and went click, click, click."

"He kept trying to ask me political questions, although I told him our group's policy was not to make any political statements before our return, when we would hold a press conference. I told him I would give him a personal impression of the Cuban theater, since my interests had once been in that direction. (The UPI dispatches garbled that into my being a 'theater major in Louisiana' — I was born there, but I'm a psychology major at San Francisco State College.)

"As for the beard, I wore one long before going to Cuba. And I shaved because I'll need a job to help get through school this semester. Besides, I'll be wanting to tell conservative people about Cuba and I'll get a better hearing if I'm clean shaven."

**How did you two get interested in the trip?**

"We attended a talk by Levi Laub, a spokesman for the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, at San Francisco State. When he explained it was feasible to make the trip without losing your passport and since we wanted to see for ourselves what Cuba was like, we decided to go. Part of our reason was to learn how psychology is doing in Cuba. We met a Cuban student of psychology



Clinton Jencks, Jr.

and so, in fact, were able to do this."

**Did you fear any reprisals for making the trip?**

"Any fears we had were overridden by our sense of responsibility, as citizens under a presumed democracy, to inform ourselves. A citizen can't sit back and consider himself intelligent if he just accepts the rumors and press reports he gets on candidates and issues. The issue here is foreign policy relating to Cuba. Having seen the contradictions of the press on Cuba, we felt the only way to inform ourselves effectively was to go there and learn something about it."

**What did you see in Cuba?**

"Well, there were so many things — we were there nearly two months — all the details melt into a general impression. At first we used the Havana Riviera Hotel as a central point from which we radiated out to visit housing projects, the university, workers' beaches and points around the city. We met with President Dorticos, Che Guevara and other government leaders.

"At one point, Fidel heard we were in the neighborhood and dropped by to see us — he played ping-pong with some of us and exchanged a few words. We made longer and longer trips out of Havana until finally we made the long one to Santiago on the eastern end. Along the way we dropped off at farms, factories and people's homes. In Santiago there were organized — I should say disorganized — receptions for us. Then there was the July 26 rally and more traveling and visiting all sorts of places back in Havana.

"But the overall impression was of an overwhelmingly magnanimous revolution. I've been to the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, but the love and passion for the revolution that I saw in Cuba was so much more fiery and heartfelt. The people really seem to work with love, not drudgery."

**What did you learn of your particular interest, psychology?**

"A young Cuban, who had read in the Cuban papers that two of the American students were studying psychology, sought us out. His name was Armando; he worked in a factory making IBM cards and studied psychology in night school. He had fought in the Sierra Maestra. He took us all around Havana, introduced us to people, had us attend psychology classes.

"He had been one of the literacy brigadistas, a tremendously sincere, generous and impressive person. He gave us one of the last

souvenirs — a conch shell horn — that he had of the guerrilla fighting."

"Through him we learned that psychology in Cuba is starting from scratch; there aren't enough trained personnel. In the field of teaching psychology, there are only six persons with a master's degree and only one has a doctorate.

"Two things that impressed us especially about the revolution were the rehabilitation centers for prostitutes and the reform camps for counter-revolutionaries.

"There had been many prostitutes in Havana. That's where the tourists came. It was one of the only ways a girl who was poor could live then. After the revolution, when prostitution was banned, they set up rehabilitation centers that the girls could attend if they chose.

"There they could learn to read and write, to keep house and get training in a profession of their choice. Their children are cared for in nurseries right next door, so they are not cut off from their mothers, but the mothers are free to attend school."

**What was your impression of the status of women in general?**

[Dee] "I got the impression that women as well as men had a purpose for living. More than bridge games and gossip. They're in the militia, they're community leaders,



Dee Jencks

writers; one is the head of a school city. But it's still not good. There are cases, according to Che Guevara, of people complaining about having women over them."

**What about reform camps for counter-revolutionaries?**

"A friend of ours dropped in at a reform camp and talked to the men when there were no officials

around. They are men convicted of open acts, usually sabotage, against the revolution. They are well cared for, work eight hours, are learning vocations, raise part of their own food. They can live with their families on weekends, under oath to return.

"Their families are supported by the government, which does not believe the family should be punished for the man's errors. In fact, their children receive top priority in the granting of scholarships."

**What comments would you make on the trip now that it's over?**

"We were personally very happy with the trip. Even if we hadn't enjoyed it, it would have been necessary. The citizen has a responsibility to learn and learning isn't always a pleasant thing.

"We feel we have struck a definite blow for the right to travel and for constitutional rights in general. It's a precedent others can follow. It shows the State Department that it's not so easy to restrict travel. We've set a concrete example. It's the demonstration of the readiness to fight, the fight itself, that counts more than the theoretical argument for civil liberties. Practical direct action is what gets results, as the Negroes have shown in their present struggle. And that's what we think we've shown."

## ... Rights Battle Continues Without Let-Up

(Continued from Page 1)

tion throughout the country or the relationship of forces on the various battlefields, what about its effect in Washington itself?

Tremendous as the Aug. 28 demonstration was, almost all capital observers agree that it has probably not changed any votes in the coming Congressional line-up on civil-rights. More than that, it does not appear to have pressured President Kennedy into strengthening the legislative package he endorsed and which all Negro leaders have from the first declared to be inadequate.

Protected by the built-in stabilizers of their rigged two-party system from the anger of the Negro people, the Democratic and Republican leaders made a point of practically ignoring the marching throngs.

The Kennedy administration was conspicuous by its absence from the Lincoln Memorial area. No cabinet officers or White House staff members attended. Only a handful of secondary rank executive branch officers showed up.

Though the March leaders claimed that 150 Congressmen

put in a brief appearance, Washington newspaper quickly pointed out that their reporters were able to count only half that number.

In presenting the March's demands the civil-rights leaders apparently were far from outspoken. Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield told reporters after the March leaders had left his office that they had served no "demands" on him.

The March's title proclaimed that it was for jobs as well as freedom. Yet when the leaders visited Kennedy afterwards, he listed his legislative goals, conspicuously omitting the creation of a Fair Employment Practices Commission. There is no report that the March leaders took Kennedy up on this.

**Showed Potential**

As far as the politicians in Washington — from Kennedy on down — are concerned, the March showed the potential political power of the Negro people — but only the potential. That power has not been made actual, nor can it while the Negroes are trapped in the two-party system.

They may get angry and demonstrate, but Kennedy et al figure that they have nowhere else to go — so why worry? Only by breaking with the Democratic-Republican flim-flam, could the Negroes convert their potential political power into actual power. This is what makes the recent call to Negroes for the formation of a Freedom Now Party so significant. But that movement, the politicians figure, as yet is small — a cloud on the horizon no bigger than a man's hand.

Consequently, the Washington politicians, despite the March, have decided to follow their customary pattern: Kennedy is secretly making deals — not to strengthen the civil-rights bills now pending but to allow them to be weakened further; the Congressional committees are giving the bills the slow treatment; and the Southern Democrats are planning their filibuster.

Despite the lack of concrete results of the March, despite its missed opportunities which a more militant leadership would have

seized, and despite the shameful censoring of SNCC Chairman John Lewis' speech, the March made two important achievements.

It brought to the Negro people, as nothing before had, a realization of their own strength. The sight of those hundreds of thousands journeying to Washington in common purpose had an electrifying effect upon all who participated and upon the millions who saw it on television. Here was a revelation to all fighters against Jim Crow of their own potential power.

The March also fixed specifically in the minds of all Americans what the separate struggles and demonstrations in various cities and towns had made generally known — that the question of full equality for the Negro people is the paramount issue before America and the Negro people are demanding its solution NOW!

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## N.Y. Meet to Hear Students on Cuba

NEW YORK — The Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, which sponsored the visit of 58 students to Cuba this summer, will hold a public meeting Sunday, Sept. 15, at 2:15 P.M. in Town Hall, 113 West 43 Street. The meeting, on the theme "Cuba 1963: An Eyewitness Report," will feature a panel discussion by the students on their impressions of Cuba. Moderator will be independent journalist I. F. Stone. Present as guest speakers will be Carleton Beals, authority on Latin America, Maxwell Geismar, literary historian and Truman Nelson, novelist of the abolitionist movement. Tickets are available for \$1 or \$2.50 by calling OX 5-2863 in New York.

## A Critical View Of the March

Louis Lomax, Negro journalist and author of *The Negro Revolt*, attended the March on Washington. Afterwards he told Scripps-Howard correspondent, Inez Robb, the following:

"I was disappointed in the march and the speeches. The whole thing lacked the fire and militancy that is needed to accomplish the freedom that I want for my son."

"I can come to Washington for a stroll under the trees or a picnic any time. I want to see Negroes march right up to the Hill and Congress. I was disturbed to know that John Lewis' speech had been censored by general agreement of the leaders."

"However, I must say that in terms of numbers, the march was very impressive."



# THE MILITANT

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Vol. 27 - No. 31

345

Monday, September 9, 1963

## Wilkins Talks Tough

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, recently used some very bold and, in fact, sarcastic language towards government leaders. This might surprise those who are familiar with the moderate, indeed soft-spoken and timorous, language customarily employed by Wilkins (and old-guard civil-rights leaders like him) in addressing government figures — Kennedy, for instance.

The paradox is explained by the fact that Wilkins was giving the rough side of his tongue to government officials in China, in response to their messages — including one from Mao Tse-tung — supporting the American Negro struggle.

Wilkins' courage in addressing government officials varies in direct proportion to their distance from him and to the side they occupy in the cold war. What earned Wilkins' wrath in the Chinese messages were use of the term "U.S. imperialism" and a denunciation of Kennedy's record on civil rights.

Wilkins felt obliged to defend Kennedy, to declare that Kennedy "welcomed" the March on Washington, and to assert that the March was called in support of Kennedy's civil-rights proposals.

In contrast to this exaggerated appreciation of Kennedy's efforts in behalf of the Negro struggle, Wilkins showed no appreciation at all for the open declaration of support for that struggle from representatives of the most populous nation on earth.

Everyone knows that Soviet criticism of American racism has provided leverage for Negroes in their struggle here. Chinese criticism should prove no less helpful. The first rule of the freedom struggle should be to welcome aid from whatever quarter. The fight is not so easy that any support can be spurned.

The attitude of Wilkins and his ilk betrays a subservience to the white power structure of this country and is a disservice to the struggle they claim to lead.

## A Contrast

We have never yet heard of a capitalist being fined or sent to prison for firing or laying off workers even though it meant misery and deprivation for his victims. Official moralists even justify a boss' "right" to fire workers to keep up profits.

But let workers refuse to work for any reason and every capitalist stooge in the country will scream for their scalps.

That's what happened in St. Lawrence County, New York, where five unemployed workers walked off a work-relief job last Jan. 3. Because that benighted county makes relief recipients work for their pittance, these men had been put to the task of cutting brush along the sides of county roads.

When a blizzard hit the area, producing deep snowdrifts, the men asked to be taken off the brush-cutting job. The flint-hearted county officials refused and the men walked off. For this they were charged with the "crime" of interfering with the administration of relief, dropped from the relief roles, and — unable to raise bail — were jailed for several months before their trial. A backwoods jury found them guilty last month and they now face possible sentences of a year in prison and a \$500 fine.

This episode illustrates several facets of our "democratic" and "affluent" society. It shows how relief recipients are degraded and harassed in many sections of the country. It further shows how the full "majesty" of capitalist government and law is used to punish the jobless and poor.

In a just society those who fired workers out of greed to increase or maintain profits would be jailed, not their victims.

## Local Directory

**BOSTON.** Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

**CHICAGO.** Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

**CLEVELAND.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 23, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

**DENVER.** Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California.

**DETROIT.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.

**LOS ANGELES.** Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

**MILWAUKEE.** 150 E. Juneau Ave.

**MINNEAPOLIS.** Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

**NEWARK.** Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

**NEW YORK CITY.** Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

**OAKLAND-BERKELEY.** Labor Book Shop and Socialist Workers Party, 563 16th St., Oakland 12, Calif. TE 6-2077. If no answer call 261-5642.

**PHILADELPHIA.** Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 8412, Philadelphia 1, Pa.

**SAN FRANCISCO.** Militant Labor Forum meets second and fourth Fridays at Pioneer Book Store, 1488 Fulton St. WE 1-9967.

**ST. LOUIS.** Phone Main 1-2669. Ask for Dick Clarke.

**SAN DIEGO.** San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books, Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

**SEATTLE.** 3815 5th N.E. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

## N.Y. Times Offers Negroes Free Advice

# Takes Dim View of Freedom Now Party

By Tom Kerry

The rich and influential *New York Times* is opposed to the launching of a Freedom Now Party. It is against what it dubs: "Racism in Politics." It frowns upon any movement which threatens to upset the political status quo. It strongly urges a continuation of the practice of Negroes supporting candidates of the two major parties for public office. It would be strange if it were otherwise.

For the *Times* is generally recognized as the country's most diligent watchdog guarding the interests of the ruling capitalist class. It has a keen nose for sniffing out any danger that might undermine the "white power structure" which rests upon that unique American institution — the two-party system. It vows upon its editorial soul that its only interest in warning the Negroes against "racism in politics" is — of course, of course — its concern over the welfare of the Negro people.

### Distorts History

To this end, the *Times* does not hesitate to distort the history of Negro struggle, nor to offer a recipe calculated to give every conscious freedom fighter an acute case of political indigestion. The proposal for a Freedom Now Party, says a *Times* editorial of Aug. 26, "implies a total misunderstanding of the nature of our political parties and the great flexibility of the American political system. The progress Negroes have made in this country in recent years has been possible precisely because Negro voters have worked through our major political parties as allies of whites of goodwill." (My emphasis.)

On the contrary, the movement for a Freedom Now Party is given its greatest impetus by a growing understanding "of the nature of our political parties," which have served as the medium through which the Jim Crow system has been maintained and is being perpetuated. Responsibility for the betrayal of the aspirations of the Negro people for freedom and equality has been shared by both major parties for a whole historical period.

The reforms of the Reconstruction period following the Civil War were scuttled by a deal between the industrial and banking magnates of the North, operating through the Republican party, and the Southern Plantocracy, which seized upon the Democratic party as its instrument of oppression. In the period of American imperial expansion at the turn of the century, Republicans joined with Democrats in erecting the monstrous Jim Crow edifice which codified the pernicious doctrine of white supremacy.

Until the advent of the New Deal in the 1930's, Negro voters in their great majority — those who could vote — supported the Republican party under the carefully fostered myth that it was the party of Abraham Lincoln, author of the Emancipation Proclamation.

### Upheaval of 1930s

With the labor upheaval of the 1930s, following the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the rise of the CIO, there was a massive switch by Negro voters to the Democratic party. The social-reform measures of the New Deal, coupled with the fact that organization of industrial unions in the mass-production industries compelled the admission into the unions of large numbers of Negro workers, cemented the Labor-Negro-Democratic-Party-alliance, which persists to this day.

From the Roosevelt sweep of 1936 to the election of Kennedy in 1960, Negro voters in their great majority have supported the Labor-Democratic Party coalition. As

## Uninvited Guests at Justice Dep't

The Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial didn't witness all the action at the March on Washington, the Department of Justice got its share as well.

All through the night of Aug. 27-28 marchers from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee picketed the building in which Attorney General Robert Kennedy's and FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover's offices are located. They were protesting the federal prosecution of civil-rights leaders in Albany, Ga., and the lack of federal protection for voter-registration workers in the Deep South.

On Aug. 29 a group of national committee members of the newly-announced Freedom Now Party accompanied William Worthy and Conrad Lynn to Hoover's office for "a symbolic sit-in" there. Forewarned by the press, nervous FBI officials immediately ushered the group of seven into the presence of the almighty J. Edgar himself. Thereupon he and his top assistants tried to answer the delegation's charges that the FBI was uninterested or incompetent in bringing white-supremacist criminals to justice. The session ended when the Freedom Now Party spokesmen had to leave to catch their trains.



J. Edgar Hoover

the *Times* editorial puts it, "Negro voters have worked through our major political parties as allies of whites of goodwill." To what end?

This grotesque political monstrosity has served to bolster the racist Dixiecrat power in the solid Democratic South and elevate to key positions in Congress the most rabid spokesmen of white supremacy. To attribute the "progress the Negroes have made in this country in recent years" to the policy of supporting Republicans and Democrats is due, either to abysmal ignorance or deliberate deception.

What progress the Negroes have made in recent years is due primarily to the fact that they are no longer willing to rely upon the "whites of goodwill" in the major parties but have taken the struggle for freedom into the streets. Reliance upon "whites of goodwill," that is, white liberals, has led only to frustration and despair. These are the don't-rush-go-slow boys who counsel patience after 100 years of betrayals and broken promises, of barbarous indignities heaped upon searing humiliation, of economic, political and social discrimination that is an affront to the human race.

### Born of Revolt

What the *Times* cannot understand is that the movement for a Freedom Now Party is born of revolt against further subordinating the Negro struggle for Freedom Now to the time schedule fixed by the "whites of goodwill" who presumably are outraged that the Negroes insist upon taking their destiny into their own hands.

The *Times* also chooses to misunderstand the meaning of the emphasis placed by the sponsors of the Freedom Now Party — William Worthy, Conrad Lynn and Pernella Wattlely — upon "All-Black Political Action" and an "All-Black Slate." Their statements and records make clear that white allies will not be spurned and rejected. Not at all! They will be welcome, providing they act as allies and do not presume to lead and control.

That is a role to which the white liberals and labor leaders are unaccustomed and from which they recoil in mock horror. Too long has Negro subjection to white liberal and labor leadership led to frustration. Negroes want no more of it. They are in revolt against it. They are determined that there

shall be no further repetition of it.

If, to paraphrase Patrick Henry, the Freedom Now Party constitutes treason to the so-called "whites of goodwill" who have hitherto insisted upon retaining political leadership of the Negro freedom struggles, let them make the most of it.

(Note: in the same editorial the *Times* urges upon the Negroes, as an example to follow, the political policy of the leaders of the American union movement. We shall discuss this aspect of the question next week.)

## ...South Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

bribery charges or that the CIA was planning such action "at this point," but there is little doubt that such efforts were going on. And when Diem makes such charges, he knows whereof he speaks. He himself was brought to power with the aid of Col. Edward G. Lansdale, chief CIA agent in Vietnam in 1954, and CIA Director General Allen W. Dulles, brother of then Secretary of State John F. Dulles.

Washington now wants to move Diem out the same way it put him in nine years ago. The administration's moves have nothing to do with "democracy" or saving the Vietnamese people from having "minority rule" imposed on them. It only wants a guarantee that "its man," devoted to preserving private property and following its cold-war line, rules the country. And if the regime there gets too discredited, the solution is to switch around and change a few faces.

Meanwhile, hundreds are dying every week in the struggle of the Vietnamese peasants against Diem's swollen, marauding armies, which are trained and led by 16,000 U.S. troops. Washington is spending \$1.5 million per day to keep up this "dirty" war in which American GIs have already suffered over 300 casualties. And the events of the war are kept shrouded in secrecy.

All of Kennedy's maneuvers — whether they be to rebuff de Gaulle or to appoint a Republican Ambassador to South Vietnam to maintain bi-partisan solidarity on the issue — are aimed at keeping the slaughter going.



## Statement by Secretariat of Fourth International

## Moscow-Peking Dispute Enters a New Stage

[The following is the text of a statement on the Sino-Soviet dispute adopted by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International on July 25, 1963.]

The interruption of the "ideological conference" which was held in Moscow between the representatives of the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Chinese Communist Party opens a new phase in the Sino-Soviet rift and in the crisis of Stalinism. The new phase became clearer from the publication on June 14, 1963, of the "25 Points" concerning the general line of the international communist movement issued by the Central Committee of the CCP and the "Open Letter" in reply given by the Central Committee of the CPSU a month later.

The Fourth International, the world party of the Socialist Revolution founded by Leon Trotsky, considers it necessary to state publicly the stand it takes on the questions raised in the discussion between the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Peoples Republic. This is all the more necessary as the CPSU's "Open Letter" explicitly refers to the positions of the Trotskyist movement and accuses the Chinese Communist Party of "acting as real Trotskyists." It also accuses the Chinese representatives in Ceylon of being in "close contact with the faction of Edmund Samarakoddy, which is an instrument of the so-called Fourth International (Trotskyists)," and states that the Trotskyist Fourth International has sent an Open Letter to the Chinese Communist Party "completely approving Peking's activities."

The position of the Fourth International on the Sino-Soviet rift is embodied in a document adopted at the Reunification Congress of the Fourth International, held in Italy from June 21 to June 26, and just published in a special issue of the magazine *Quatrième Internationale* (No. 19, 21e année). We summarize the ideas developed in that document, and clarify our stand on the essential problems posed both in the "25 Points" of the CCP and the "Open Letter" of the CPSU.

## I

The Fourth International is of the opinion that the discussion initiated in the world communist movement as a result of the Sino-Soviet rift is a healthy development. Far from "weakening the socialist camp" and "objectively helping imperialism," a frank and public debate on all the basic problems and the strategy of the world socialist revolution can only contribute to ideological and political clarification in the working-class movement and the anti-imperialist movement of the colonial countries, and thereby strengthen the struggles of all the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist forces in the world.

It is indeed a step forward that

the discussion is now finally taking place out in the open, and that the ridiculous spectacle of Khrushchev concentrating his attacks on Albania and Mao directing his ire against Yugoslavia is finally over, when the main debate for years was between the CCP and the CPSU.

Public discussions on ideological differences within the world revolutionary movement are far from being alien to the Marxist-Leninist tradition. All great ideological discussions in Lenin's time, either before the October Revolution or after it, were waged by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in public, for the benefit of all workers and Marxists, in the tradition of Rosa Luxemburg's struggle against the reformist leadership of the German Social-Democratic Party before 1914, or for that matter, the struggle of the Left in the Socialist International from 1900 onwards against Bernstein and Millerandism (regarding participation of socialists in bourgeois governments).

Also all the discussions during the first four congresses of the Communist International, in Lenin's lifetime, were conducted publicly. The minutes of these congresses were published. These discussions involved questions concerning the tactics of mass parties in Germany, Italy, France and Czechoslovakia, and also questions concerning many tactical problems posed in the process of the building of the Soviet State.

## Nothing to Fear

If the international communist movement could conduct such public discussions when it was relatively weak and when the first Soviet State, encircled by enemies, was involved in a civil war, with its economy nearly broken down, surely the international movement has nothing to fear from such discussions when it is immensely stronger and when the Soviet Union is the second industrial power in the world, surrounded by workers' states both in Europe and in Asia. Moreover, the world relationship of forces has decisively changed at the expense of imperialism, in favor of the anti-capitalist forces.

The argument that such discussions help the imperialists to know what is going on in the socialist camp is not valid. The bourgeois press has kept itself "informed" about the Sino-Soviet differences for many years. Imperialist powers and the colonial bourgeoisie have freely speculated on the extent of the rift and tried to profit from it. The only force misled was the international working class which was prevented from intervening in the debate. Once again it has been proved that the methods of "secret diplomacy" within the working-class movement can only help imperialism and capitalism.

A clear distinction should be drawn between a discussion on the problems of strategy and tactics of the international working class and revolutionary movement on the one hand, and the problems of mutual relations between various workers' states on the other. While we favor frank and public discussions between parties, we stress the absolute necessity of maintaining unity of action among the workers' states in the military, diplomatic and economic fields. In order to ensure this, it is necessary to establish the relations among workers' states strictly on the basis of equality, and do away once and for all with the theory of the "state-guide" and the "party-guide." Common action by the workers' states must be attained by mutual consultations and negotiations without any state having the possibility of dictating to the others.

Secret diplomacy between Communist Parties was introduced in the world revolutionary movement by Stalin to defend the narrow in-

**HOW TO CONTAIN HIM?** A basic dividing issue between Peking and Moscow is how best to hold back Washington's war drive. Chinese fear Khrushchev would make deal with Kennedy at their expense.

terests of the Soviet bureaucracy which had usurped power in the Soviet Union. Servile submission of the leadership of all Communist Parties to the Soviet bureaucracy was likewise introduced in the world movement by Stalin. We call upon all communists, and particularly the communists of China who say that they are fighting for equality between Communist Parties, and the communists of the Soviet Union who claim that they are "liquidating the consequences of the cult of Stalin's personality," to eradicate these bureaucratic methods once and for all from the international communist movement.

Do not hide differences from your militants and the working class!

Do not replace ideological discussion by secret diplomacy!

Fight for an international conference of all organizations which owe allegiance to Marxism-Leninism! Such a conference must include all Communist Parties, the Fourth International, the *Fidelista* forces in Cuba and Latin America, the Yugoslav League of Communists, "pro-Chinese" communists expelled from the official Communist Parties. It alone can thrash out all the problems of strategy and tactics of the world revolutionary movement today, not in a bureaucratic manner but on the basis of the rich revolutionary experience of the last twenty years.

## II

The Khrushchev leadership endeavors to cloud the issues by pretending that the Chinese communists "desire a nuclear war," or "are indifferent to the danger of a nuclear world war breaking out." This is nothing but pure and simple slander, objectively helping the anti-Chinese and anti-communist propaganda of American imperialism.

It is true that the Chinese CP in some of its old documents while supporting the Soviet Union in its fight for the destruction and banning of nuclear weapons, which constitute a great danger to the working class of the world, sometimes used formulas which implied an underestimation of the destructive power of these weapons. When the CPSU's "Open Letter" in reply to the CCP's "25 Points" continues to argue on the assumption that the CCP would be "indifferent" to nuclear war or that the Chinese even wanted to unleash such a war, it is clear that the Soviet leadership deliberately distorts and falsifies the CCP's positions clearly stated in points 15, 16 and 17 of the CCP's document.

In reality the discussion in the world revolutionary movement does not and cannot center around the "advisability or not" of unleashing the nuclear war, for no one outside a handful of madmen can defend such a suicidal proposal inside the international

working-class movement. Nor does the discussion center around the destructive potential of a nuclear war. This again is not a problem of "tactics" but a scientific fact. **THE REAL DISCUSSION DOES NOT RELATE TO THE POLICIES OF WORKERS' STATES** (neither of the Soviet Union nor of the Chinese Peoples Republic), **BUT TO THE POLICIES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE COLONIES.**

Nowhere in their "25 Points" have the Chinese asked the Soviet state to initiate an armed intervention in the anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial people. What they do ask is that the Communist Parties of the imperialist and the colonial countries should not use the slogan of "peaceful co-existence" between states as an excuse for "peaceful co-existence" with their own bourgeoisie and as a cover for their abandonment of revolutionary strategy and tactics in favor of reformist and revisionist opportunism of the crassest type.

## Armed Struggle

The Chinese are absolutely right in drawing the attention of the communist movement to the well-known fact that all victorious revolutions so far (not only in the pre-nuclear era, but also since the development of nuclear weapons) had to be fought with arms for the overthrow of the enemy as was demonstrated by the Vietnamese, the Cuban, and the Algerian revolutions.

It is a monstrous slander, therefore, to identify revolutionists who state these undeniable truths with people wanting to provoke a nuclear war. On the contrary, the Chinese are generally justified when they state that only the successful — including, if necessary, armed — struggles of the colonial masses against imperialism, and successful proletarian revolutions in the imperialist countries can, in the final analysis, disarm world imperialism, destroy nuclear weapons and guarantee definite and lasting peace for mankind.

Inasmuch as the Chinese Communists more or less advocate the above general line, we support them against the right-wing opportunism of the Khrushchev tendency on the question of world revolution. The Chinese now share the Trotskyist criticism of the extreme right-wing degeneration of some CPs, i.e., the Dange leadership's treacherous support [in India] of its own bourgeoisie against not only the Chinese workers' state but even against the revolutionary workers and peasants put in jail by Nehru; the American Communist Party's scandalous appeal to the Negroes and workers to support the Democratic party of monopoly capitalism and of the most rabid segregationists; the French Communist Party's ignominious passivity during the

Algerian war; the Italian Communist Party's revisionist theory that a capitalist society can be transformed into a socialist society by "structural reforms" by parliamentary means, without having to overthrow the bourgeois state and without the conquest of power by workers and poor peasants. To that extent we support their general criticism of these CP leaderships. We question at the same time the consistency of the CCP position when Peking maintains silence over the Indonesian CP's opportunist support to Sukarno's bourgeois regime.

## III

On the other hand, when the "25 Points" of the CCP contend (point 23) that Yugoslavia has ceased to be a workers' state and has become a capitalist country, or when the Chinese (point 19) say that "some people" exaggerate the problem of a "certain person's role" in the past, when they ask for a discussion on "the criticism of Stalin," we certainly cannot approve their positions.

## Non-Marxist View

The CCP is correct when it refuses to attribute too much importance to the rôle of a single individual and refuses to accept the non-Marxist thesis of Khrushchev that the terrible crimes, committed under Stalin against communists and workers in the Soviet Union and against the international working class, were due to the so-called "personality cult." The Chinese are also right when they criticize Khrushchev for wanting to "make one person responsible for all faults and glorifying himself with all merits" (point 19). This criticism of the Khrushchev leadership is valid only if it is used to push the so-called "de-Stalinization" process further than Khrushchev has. This criticism becomes irresponsible and incorrect if it is used for combating the process of de-Stalinization as such.

The crimes committed against the entire old-guard leadership of the Soviet Communist Party, the majority of whom were physically liquidated by Stalin; the crimes committed against the international working class by the Stalinist leadership, which tried to sabotage and prevent revolutionary struggles in many countries are very real and very concrete. And these crimes live today in the consciousness of millions of communists, revolutionary workers and peasants in many countries, above all in the Soviet Union and in the workers' state of Europe.

When we criticize Khrushchev's policies on these problems we must say: these crimes were not the personal responsibility of Stalin alone but were the collective responsibility of the entire leadership of the CPSU of that period. These crimes can be explained in a Marxist way only if we see them as the expression of the interests of a bureaucratic caste which had usurped the power of the workers and poor peasants and had suppressed Soviet democracy as a real instrument of proletarian power. In order to prevent a revival of such crimes, it is not enough to denounce Stalin as a person. It is necessary to destroy the political, social and economic privileges of the bureaucracy, to restore real Soviet democracy on the basis of elected workers' councils, to restore the right of communists to form tendencies within the CP (for, as the Chinese CP itself has stated, a minority can be right within a CP), and to restore the right of workers to form new working-class parties within the framework of Soviet legality and on the basis of the socialist constitution. It is necessary to re-establish the rule that the "party

(Continued on Page 6)

**Moscow**  
vs.  
**Peking**  
**The Meaning**  
**Of the Great Debate**  
By William F. Warde  
The first comprehensive appraisal of the Sino-Soviet dispute from a Marxist standpoint  
50 cents  
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## Major American Figure Gone With Death of W.E.B. DuBois

Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, one of the few great men born in this country in modern times, died at 95 in Accra, Ghana, Aug. 27, the eve of the great civil-rights demonstration in Washington. That was a milestone in the struggle to which DuBois had devoted his life and talents.

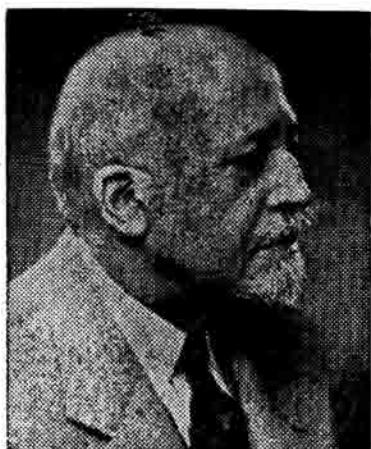
There were many aspects to DuBois's greatness. He achieved literary greatness. Had he written no more than his early book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, his literary reputation would have been securely established.

His second great achievement was in the field of history. He singlehandedly opened up the whole field of Negro History, which had been buried under piles of neglect and the muck written by anti-Negro Southerners. His crowning achievement here was *Black Reconstruction*, the first work to really examine the Reconstruction Era and show its true importance in the unsuccessful struggle for democracy in this country.

DuBois is great not only as a historian of the Negro, to whom the whole school of younger historians in this field is indebted, his achievement goes beyond that. Without an understanding of Negro history, American history is incomprehensible. Historians of American society in general, especially those of the materialist school, are tremendously indebted to DuBois.

There are two other great achievements in his life. He was a founder of the Pan-African movement even before World War I. And he broke ground in the battle for Negro equality in the U.S. He led the Niagara Movement against the Uncle Tomism of Booker T. Washington, which before DuBois dominated Negro intellectual life. In 1905 DuBois declared: "We claim for ourselves every right that belongs to a free-born American — political, civil and social — and until we get those rights we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America with the story of its shameful deeds toward us."

The Niagara Movement merged



Dr. W. E. B. DuBois

with a movement of white liberals and socialists to form the NAACP. While DuBois's efforts made the NAACP an important national organization, it was men of lesser stature and more limited horizon who inherited it and still run it today.

There was another feature of note in his life. DuBois saw the need of allying the Negro struggle in the U.S. with the world movement for socialism. In line with this idea, he ran as candidate for U.S. Senator for the American Labor Party in New York.

Such left-wing activity brought government retaliation in the form of an indictment as a "foreign agent" in 1951, a frame-up that was later dropped. Although the yellow press vilified him as a "Communist stooge," DuBois opposed the CP line of supporting the Democratic Party and in 1958 he supported the Independent Socialist Party campaign in New York. He left this country in 1960 to live in Ghana, where in 1963 he took up citizenship. Late in 1961 he announced he was joining the Communist Party as a demonstration of solidarity with the CP against the McCarran Act persecution, which had just opened up.

Upon DuBois's death the government of Ghana declared a national state of mourning.

## Demonstrations Held Throughout World In Solidarity With March on Washington

Solidarity demonstrations with the March on Washington were held in various parts of the world.

In Great Britain, the Committee of Afro-Asian and Caribbean organizations, made up of nearly 40 organizations representing people from nearly every country in those areas, staged a march through London. Since a principal purpose of the march was to link the struggle against racial discrimination in the U.S. with that in England, the route of the march was through areas of London noted for discrimination and rioting against Negroes.

Some of the slogans carried by the demonstrators were: "Support Negro Struggle"; "U.S. Negroes—Your Fight Is Our Fight"; "No Imperialism—No Racism"; and "Racism At Home—Aggression Abroad."

### Statement

The following statement was presented to the U.S. Embassy:

"We, the undersigned, wish to associate ourselves with the cause for which many thousands have marched to Washington, D. C. — the cause of the Negro people of the United States in their just demand that all forms of racialism and discrimination should end forthwith.

"We urge the United States Government to take all necessary steps at once to implement without reserve or qualification, in every part of the United States, the full equality — economic, social, political and educational — to which American Negro citizens are entitled.

"We believe that the professions of goodwill and offers of assistance which the United States government extends to the newly-independent countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, will count for nothing as long as 20 million American Negroes are subject to exploitation and humiliation in the land of their birth.

"We feel that the Negro people have been forced to wait far too long for the realization of those



**CANADIAN SOLIDARITY.** Several hundred Toronto residents marched in the rain to U.S. Consulate where the presented declaration of solidarity with the March on Washington. Demonstration was organized by Committee for Solidarity with the Washington Marchers. Declaration was presented by Jack White, New Democratic Party candidate for legislature, Mrs. Jean Daniels, President of Anti-Apartheid Ass'n, and Mrs. Anne Olsen, secretary of committee.

fundamental rights of citizenship which have been theirs on paper for 100 years, and we pledge them our support in their struggles to turn constitutional guarantees into social facts.

"We are convinced that the word of the United States Government in international treaties and agreements can only be trusted if faith is kept with all citizens in its own homeland."

Other demonstrations in support of the March on Washington were held around the world.

In Munich, Germany, some 30 Negro and white Americans, led by Al Hoosman, a former professional boxer, marched on the U.S. consulate.

In Tel Aviv, Israel, some 50 Americans marched to the U.S. Embassy with banners reading, "The Civil War Is Over" and "Black and White Together."

In Accra, Ghana, about 50 Negroes picketed the U.S. Embassy with placards calling for "Equal Rights Now."

In Jamaica thousands marched in solidarity with the D.C. trek.

## ... Muslim Trial

(Continued from Page 1)  
time and the complexity of the case, wrong decisions were made.

Mrs. Yvonne Magaris is quoted in the *California Eagle* as stating that she thought "being shot a number of times was quite a bit of punishment in itself." Another juror, Mrs. Donna Huber, complained of the pressure and of being hurried. Still another thought that just being at the scene of the trouble made the defendants guilty and she found out too late that this was not so. She offered to testify for the prisoners at their probation hearings.

Mrs. Helen Hinds was quoted as saying that she believed "justice was not done because of intolerance."

News analyst Hart commented that since the trial, one of the jurors has apologized to the defense attorneys.

A *Militant* story of June 17 described the attack on the Muslims as having begun as a "police rousting" and then developing into a police shooting spree in which the unarmed Muslims were repeatedly fired at, clubbed, kicked in the groin, then arrested and charged with assault. It started when two Negroes, delivering dry cleaning to the temple, were set upon by the race-prejudiced police. When they protested the cops' rough handling of them, more cops were called and a frenzy of police violence followed against members of the temple. Seven unarmed Muslims were shot, some inside their church.

It is a strict policy of the Muslims not to carry arms — even pen knives are forbidden — but to defend themselves if attacked.

Muslim leader Malcolm X, who attended the trial, declared that it was the Los Angeles police, not their wounded and beaten victims, who should have been on trial.

## ... Moscow-Peking Rift Enters New Stage

(Continued from Page 5)

maximum" (maximum income of a party member in administration) be not higher than the average income of skilled workers, as under Lenin. Above all it is necessary to entrust the workers with real power in the factories by establishing workers self-management through workers' councils.

Such a criticism of Khrushchev would be very welcome and very popular among the communists and workers in the Soviet Union and other workers' states. The CPSU's Open Letter correctly states that the mass of the Soviet people certainly support de-Stalinization. Any attempt by the Chinese to fight de-Stalinization will only cut them off completely from the rank-and-file workers and communists in all workers' states.

The Fourth International can under no circumstances support the position of the Chinese CP on de-Stalinization. We seek to develop our criticism of the Khrushchev leadership in the opposite

direction. We firmly maintain that only a political revolution will restore real Soviet power in the Soviet Union. The liquidation of the abuses and privileges of the bureaucracy will immensely strengthen the Soviet Union and international communism.

We also reject the Chinese campaign against the Yugoslav communists and their characterization of the Yugoslav state as a capitalist state. The Chinese are correct in their denunciation of the extreme right-wing deviation of Yugoslavia in her foreign policy. But the nature of the state in Yugoslavia as elsewhere is determined by the property relations. The property relations in Yugoslavia are those of a workers' state as much if not more so than in 1948 when the Chinese CP also considered Yugoslavia a "socialist country."

The Chinese communists are, of course, justified in their denunciation of Khrushchev's non-Marxist theory of "the state of the people" as a substitute for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union. They are right in denying the validity of Khrushchev's — also Stalin's! — theory that a classless society has already been established in the Soviet Union. They point out correctly that there are still two classes [workers and peasants] in the Soviet Union, thereby exploding the theory that the building of socialism has already been accomplished in that country. But when the Chinese quote extensively from Lenin's *State and Revolution* in

order to prove that as long as classes exist, the state will also exist, they seem to "forget" the other dialectical part of this fundamental truth, also developed by Lenin in *State and Revolution*: the dictatorship of the proletariat is a "state of a special type," a "state which begins to wither away," because more and more state functions should be exercised collectively by the mass of the working people. The Chinese do not seem to insist, as Lenin insisted, on the necessity of a constant development and increase of socialist democracy, on the necessity of fighting again and again against bureaucratic deformation and degeneration by placing real power in the hands of the mass of the workers. Why? Perhaps because it is the Yugoslav "revisionists" who have made the greatest progress in this field? Or is it because in China itself there are powerful bureaucratic deformations and the mass of the workers do not exercise direct state power as elaborated in *State and Revolution*?

### IV

This in brief represents the Trotskyist position in the present "great debate" within the world communist movement.

The Trotskyists extend wholehearted but critical support to the Chinese and the left-wing tendencies within the various CP's which fight against the right-wing opportunism of their pro-Khrushchev leaderships in the colonial countries as well as in the im-

perialist countries.

We critically support the Chinese call for a revolutionary orientation of the CPs in the capitalist countries as the only means of effectively fighting imperialism and imperialist preparations for a nuclear war.

But contrary to the tendencies of Khrushchev and Mao the Trotskyists defend the principles of Marxism-Leninism against any attempt to revise them to suit the immediate interests of any bureaucratic group or caste, or to distort them to reflect the temporary advantages of any workers' state. We strive to develop the theory of Marxism-Leninism so that, within the great revolutionary upheaval mankind is passing through in the present epoch, it can reflect the general historical aspirations of the international working class and of mankind as a whole. We repeat, mankind's only way out of the present crisis is a successful international socialist revolution.

The present crisis reflects the urgent necessity for the world communist movement to come out of the morass in which Stalinism had sought to drown it in order to answer the demands of the present period. We repeat our concrete proposal to all communists throughout the world:

Forward to an international conference of all organizations owing allegiance to Marxism-Leninism!

Forward toward revival of Marxism-Leninism through workers' democracy and international debate.

### How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

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



# Letters From Our Readers

## The Universal Language

New York, N.Y.

I was glad to see Richard Garza's letter commenting on the arrogant *New York Times* editorial which denounced the current proposal to end the English-language literacy requirement for voting by U.S. citizens of Puerto Rican birth.

The *Times* editorial was "cleverly" headlined in Spanish "English Spoken Here." But I have not seen the *Times* express any criticism of the numerous businessmen in the city who are quite willing to tolerate the language limitations of potential customers as indicated by the many shop window signs

that announce, "Spanish Spoken Here."

I will say that from the businessman's point of view one Greenwich Village shop has gotten to the heart of the matter with a sign that reads: "Money Spoken Here."

J.B.

## Dislikes Our Rights Stand

Garden City, Mich.

Please cancel my subscription. Your civil-rights issue is more than I can take at this time. It's about time you championed the white man's cause.

A.G.

[By fighting for their freedom, the Negro people are performing a service to all who are exploited, regardless of skin color. When the Negro fights against job discrimination he is laying the basis for ending the "divide-and-rule" situation by which the boss holds down the wages and conditions of all workers. When the Negro fights the slumlords he is striking a blow for better housing for all. When he fights against Jim Crow schools he is helping to improve the entire educational system. In brief, the Freedom Now movement is making this country a better place for everyone to live in. In giving full support to the fight of the Negro people *The Militant* is championing the cause of all whites except those who profit from racism. EDITOR.]

## Sold on First Sight

Philadelphia, Pa.

Please find enclosed a money order for \$1 and a coupon which was in the current issue of *The Militant*.

Kindly send the introductory four-month *Militant* subscription to us here for this is the first issue we have seen and we find it more than interesting. Thank you.

P.G.

## From a Merchant Seaman

San Francisco, Calif.

I'm a member of the National Maritime Union and have been since 1937. As of late, I've begun to feel nothing but shame instead of pride in the carrying of this union book that once was a badge of honor amongst working seamen. Working men the world around recognized it as such.

Now Joseph Curran and his stooges have turned this once strong union into a branch of big business, with the Pension Plans that we must finance with our next two pay increases — that we will never see — even though we were on strike almost a month a couple of years ago for said increases. We have now been sold a new contract until 1969, which was ratified in all ports last Monday with little protest. Because of the camouflage that was given on retirement and fringe benefits, no pay increases were discussed or asked for during such contract.

Well, this all sounds good, but let me clue a few of these overtime-hungry guys that are satisfied with these conditions. There are changes coming and you had better get off your cans and start looking around. You can see what has been done to you and what is being done to most of the rest of Labor.

Overtime that once was a penalty for working you over eight hours is now being used to keep you in line by forcing you to work it in order to supplement your wages and to meet the cost of living ashore. The Huntley-Brinkley

report of Aug. 27 stated that the cost of living has reached the highest point in the history of the USA. Jobs are getting scarcer in our industry because of your willingness to cut out jobs by working overtime and this falls in line with the big plan of the companies and present Union officials to cut manning scales, such as Esso has already done on its tankers.

Big business and these labor fakers have gotten together and agreed with President Kennedy's plan of no more wage increases, only fringe benefits that you'll never see as automation comes more and more into this industry and all others. Wages are frozen and you had better realize it, if you and workers in other industries are going to do anything to counteract this Big Sellout. It would be good to start by refusing to work overtime and thereby make Meany & Co. start living up to their statements of the Miami convention about the shorter, 30-hour work week. It would also put pressure on Joseph Curran to carry out the part of the union constitution which says it shall be the duty of the union to seek shorter hours; then you will get that dream of the four-watch system. More jobs for everybody, including mates and engineers.

Let's start a campaign in local union halls to get these union officials to work on the cost of liv-

ing. Rollbacks in rents and food ashore so you can once again be Union Men, not slaves, in order to live.

You, yourselves, get involved with local politics, religious groups, civic organizations and put some heat on the landlord, banks and chain stores who are picking your pocket while you work 12 to 15 hours a day.

F.L.

## Thinks We Missed a Point

Brooklyn, N. Y.

The first item in your column, *It Was Reported in the Press*, reported that the city of Vandalia, Ohio, had adopted an ordinance making it illegal to escape from jail. The last item in the column was about a *New York Times* report that jails are badly overcrowded. As a Marxist paper, don't you think it was your responsibility to tie together these two obviously related facts?

J.H.B.

[We just wanted to see if our readers were on the ball. EDITOR.]

## We're a Relief in Ft. Wayne

Fort Wayne, Ind.

Although my pocketbook is somewhat short, I cannot resist your special offer. Please send me *The Militant* at the above listed address. In four months I will try to scrape up more. Your colorful style and socialist truth are greatly appreciated by this victim of

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Note to HUAC** — The following story is reprinted in its entirety from the Aug. 25 *New Orleans Times-Picayune*: "NOME — An Alaskan Eskimo has been found who claims to have seen Russian troops in the United States."

**Notify the Man** — When booking arrested sit-in demonstrators at a Jim Crow housing tract in Torrance, Calif., police asked them who to notify in case of sickness or death while in jail. Police Captain John Maestri reported that of 154 arrested, 95 per cent replied, "John F. Kennedy."

**Dangerous Digging** — The Public Health Service reported Aug. 25 that radiation apparently caused a high rate of fatal lung cancer among uranium miners in seven western states. The service said a 12-year study showed eleven cancer deaths among 768 miners who worked underground for five years or more. This is ten times the normal lung-cancer rate.

**Helpful Herbert** — Herbert S. Walter, the millionaire building contractor appointed to succeed the late Estes Kefauver as U.S. Senator from Tennessee, is described by the *Memphis Press-Scimitar* as possessing "a conservative businessman's approach to government." Says Walters: "I don't want anything out of politics. My interest has always been to help the fellow who couldn't help himself."

**More Fallout Facts** — According to an Aug. 24 Washington AP dispatch, "The Public Health Service is trying to determine if there is any connection between certain types of cancer and birth deformities in Nevada and Utah and radiation from the Nevada nuclear test site." The Health Service began looking for the connection after a citizens committee, com-

posed mostly of scientists, disclosed that the amount of radioactive iodine falling on the test-site region far exceeded government safety limits. The committee said that an estimated 3,000 children received heavy doses of the radioactive poison in their milk and that ten or 12 of them would probably be afflicted with cancer of the thyroid.

**Crazy, Man!** — Twenty future managers of fallout shelters in Charlotte, N.C., spent the last night of their study course in a "shelter" which was actually the basement of the local Red Cross building. When their quarters got stuffy they turned on the air conditioning. During the course of their incarceration, reports the *Charlotte Observer*, some of them "faked going crazy."

**Who Watches the Watchman?** — Wilmark Service System, Inc., which checks on the honesty of employees in mercantile establishments was brought into court by the Department of Labor and admitted it had violated minimum-wage, overtime and record-keeping provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

**The Alliance at Work** — "Almost all of Latin America's big

fascist-dominated Fort Wayne. One needs occasional relief from the lying capitalist press, which their comic sections alone cannot provide. Keep up the fight for freedom!

R.P.

## The Young Democrats

St. Paul, Minn.

An article in the August 20 *Minneapolis Tribune* reported that a recent convention of Young Democrats from 13 western states urged resumption of U.S. diplomatic relations with Cuba, lifting travel restrictions to Cuba and China, and withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam. The convention, held at Berkeley, California, also demanded a non-aggression pact between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the socialist nations of the Warsaw Pact and condemned compulsory arbitration in labor disputes.

The political polarization occurring in this country appears to be driving some of the Young Democrats to the left. In fact, a few of their stands are further left than those taken by some Socialist Party members. All of these positions stand in direct conflict with present policies of the Democratic Party. If this trend continues, many Young Democrats may be forced to follow the logical conclusion of their position and disengage themselves from the Democratic Party.

D.J.

## 10 YEARS AGO

### IN THE MILITANT

"Another rise in the cost-of-living index between mid-June and mid-July gave more than a million workers who are protected with an escalator clause in their contracts an additional one cent an hour in their paychecks. No matter how inadequate the escalator clause is, as it has been formulated by the labor bureaucracy, it still constitutes a measure of protection against inflation. About 98 per cent of the working class has not won even the principle of automatic wage adjustments to accompany increased living costs. That means that the overwhelming majority of workers took another cut in their real wages with the new rise in the cost of living.

"The need to fight for protection against inflation is emphasized with every new wave of price increases. But in this struggle the working class will not get the help of the American Stalinist newspaper, the *Daily Worker*, which has opposed the escalator clause from the very beginning... And naturally they try to ridicule an automatic wage adjustment to rising living costs as a 'Trotskyist' invention. The argument of the *Daily Worker* has been that the escalator clause constitutes a 'wage freeze.' However, the *Wall Street Journal*, which is also opposed to the escalator clause, complains that just the opposite is the case... The opposition of the *Wall Street Journal*, spokesman for big business, is to be expected, for every pay increase the workers win comes out of the profits of the capitalists. But the opposition of the *Daily Worker* shows how far removed the Stalinists are from the real interests of the American workers." — Sept. 7, 1953.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"Big business made more profits after taxes in 1942 than it did in 1929. But it is now certain that 1943 will go down as the year in which the corporations made the highest profits in the history of the country... corporation profits were 14 per cent higher, after taxes and other deductions, during the first six months of this year than during the same period in 1942... It is figures such as these which provide the key to the drastic drop in Wall Street stocks in the period following the downfall of Mussolini. *The Exchange*, organ of the New York Stock Exchange, attempted this week to explain away this slump in stocks by attributing it to the market's practice of jumping suddenly whatever the news, provided it is unexpected. The truth is that the stocks took a nosedive after Mussolini's fall because of Wall Street's fear that the huge flow of war profits might be discontinued in the near future." — Sept. 11, 1943.

## Thought for the Week

"We will not stop until the dogs stop biting us in the South, and the rats stop biting us in the North." — From message to the March on Washington by James Farmer, national director of CORE, then in the Donaldsonville, La., jail.

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**DEFIED CUBA TRAVEL BAN.** Students, who visited Cuba this summer in defiance of State Department ban, landing at Idlewild Airport Aug. 29. On landing, 45 of them sat down in airport immigration section for four hours, refusing to yield up their passports which Immigration officials had threatened to stamp "not valid." Finally officials gave in and let them through without stamping passports. But several have been subpoenaed to appear before HUAC, and FBI has threatened to grill all of them. (For interview with two returned students, see page 3.)

## NSA Condemns Prosecution of Young Socialists

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. — At its Sixteenth National Congress, held here from August 18 to 29, the National Student Association passed a resolution on academic freedom strongly supporting the three Young Socialist Alliance members at Indiana University who have been indicted under Indiana's "anti-subversion" Act of 1951.

The National Student Association, the nation's largest student organization, speaking for student bodies at 300 colleges and universities, declared that "USNSA believes that the action (indictment) taken against the IU students (YSAers) and the pressures put upon the University administration are in fact based upon prejudices against the students' political views, rather than because of any criminal action."

Tom Morgan, James Bingham and Ralph Levitt, officers of the YSA at IU, were first indicted in May of this year by a Monroe County grand jury after a three-month "trial-by-newspaper" carried on by the zealous county prosecutor, Thomas A. Hoadley.

That indictment was thrown out by the County Circuit Court for faulty wording. However, the students were re-indicted on July 18 by another grand jury. If convicted, they face one to three years imprisonment.

In spite of Prosecutor Hoadley's attempts to use the local press to smear the students, the IU administration has refused to withdraw official recognition of the Young Socialist Alliance as a campus organization.

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, P.O. Box 7797, Chicago, Ill. 60680, is asking all persons concerned with academic freedom and civil liberties to lend their names to support of the defendants and to contribute towards the costs of the legal defense.

tants are proposing as a way out of the political impasse. Such a course, it says, would be the most effective way to get rid of Cavanagh, who richly deserves to be defeated in the 1965 majoralty election because of his arrogance towards the protests.

"I cannot afford to waste my time making money." — Louis Agassiz (1807-1873) Swiss naturalist and teacher in America.

## Interview With New Orleans Picket

# Young Negroes Wage Fight on Job Bias

By Harry Ring

NEW ORLEANS — A brief visit here is enough to make clear that there's something new going on in this cultural capital of the "old Southland." The first thing that hit my eye as I came onto Canal Street, the city's main thoroughfare and downtown shopping area, was a Negro boy, who looked no more than ten, marching with military bearing and carrying a sign that declared: "Stay Out — We're Planning for the Future!"

He was among a dozen pickets, most of whom appeared to be teen-agers, marching in the broiling sun in the busy shopping area. Their signs appealed to passers-by to withhold their patronage until the stores ended discrimination in hiring and in their treatment of Negro customers. Some of the signs appealed to the good sense of Negroes others sought to evoke a spirit of fair play in whites.

## No Bargain

A young woman held aloft a placard that read: "Is Freedom Worth a Dollar Bargain? Don't Buy."

"Don't Short-Change Youth — Give Them a Chance to Get Decent Jobs," declared a poster carried by a tall, athletic young man. He was Raphael Cassimere Jr., one of the Negro students who integrated Louisiana State University at New Orleans. He's been spending his summer as a picket captain for the New Orleans NAACP adult chapter and youth

council which are jointly sponsoring the anti-bias action.

Stepping off the line to direct a picket to an uncovered entrance at Sears Roebuck several blocks away, he took out a few minutes to explain what was going on.

The pickets are demanding that the stores hire Negroes as clerks and for other than non-menial positions. They are also demanding equality of treatment for Negro customers, including abolition of "white" and "colored" toilets and dressing rooms and segregated stand-up lunch bars.

About 150 people have participated in the picketing, Cassimere said, but the action has been sustained by a solid group of about 75, most of them high-school and college students.

What was the reaction of the whites to the pickets? "There's some insults," he replied, "but we're used to that. But the thing that's really encouraging is that about a dozen whites — most of them students — have joined our line. What happens is that a few are brave enough to express themselves and then others come out."

There have been only two cases of violence against pickets, so far, he said. But those two seemed a bit more than coincidental. First, Llewellyn Soniat, the adult adviser to the NAACP Youth Council was attacked by a passerby. Then, a week later, his son, Donald Soniat, was also attacked by a passerby.

"But we haven't had any seri-

## Hearst Columnist in Smear Of Black Muslims and SWP

By Clifton DeBerry

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Brooklyn Councilman at Large

Hearst's New York Journal American carried a column Aug. 31 by Jack Lotto which was entitled, "Reds Split on Black Muslims." And to add a nice ominous touch to it, a subtitle warned: "On Your Guard." In the column, Lotto dishes up a stink-bomb type "inside dope" story hinting that a secret, dangerous alliance has been forged between the Black Muslims and the Socialist Workers Party.

As one peg for his "revelation," Hearstman Lotto exploits the recent shameful attack on the Black Muslims by leaders of the Communist Party. He quotes Communist Party spokesman James Jackson who made the slanderous assertion on July 7 that "The Muslim organization in general, and Malcolm X in particular, are ultra-reactionary forces..."

Lotto doesn't quite know what to make of the fact that the Communist Party leaders are trying awfully hard to win the approval of the "respectable" Negro leaders and think they can make headway in that direction by doing a hatchet job on the Muslims.

But Lotto apparently feels he can get in a good kick of his own at both the Muslims and the SWP by tying them together in some kind of a "conspiracy."

While the Communist Party was attacking the Muslims, Lotto informs his readers, "another cited subversive group, the 'Socialist Workers Party,' a Trotskyite Communist organization was holding its closed convention in New York."

Mr. Lotto then presents his "expose" of what is supposed to have happened at the convention:

"Attending this Marxist-Leninist parley as delegates and guests were Muslim members who participated in discussions on resolutions on Negro activities, which



Clifton DeBerry

called for closer SWP orientation toward the Muslim movement. The co-operation resolution won nearly unanimous endorsement."

Let me make just a few comments on these assertions. First, I can state that none of the delegates were Black Muslims. Secondly, I don't know whether or not any of the guests were Muslims, but I can be equally positive in stating that if any were present as guests they were completely welcome to be there.

Finally, Mr. Lotto most likely got his big "expose" when a copy of *The Militant* of Aug. 5 came across his desk. That issue contained both an article about the Communist Party attack on the Muslims and a report on the "closed" SWP convention.

## Nationalist Mood

The great majority of the delegates agreed that the rising nationalist mood of American Negroes — of which the growth of the Black Muslims is one manifestation — and the growing demand of rank-and-file civil-rights activists for an independent, all-black leadership is highly progressive. The convention declared its full support to all groups and movements for Negro rights — whether they be "integrationist" or "nationalist."

Finally, let me give Mr. Lotto a "scoop." Men and women of color in the Socialist Workers Party — myself included — consider themselves "revolutionary nationalists." We're nationalists in the sense that we are firmly convinced that to win their rights the Negro people must build their own, independent movement completely free of domination by the white power structure. That's why the building of an all-Black Freedom Now Party is a principal plank in my platform as candidate for Brooklyn Councilman at Large.

And we're revolutionaries in that we are convinced that the road to complete emancipation lies in the abolition of capitalism. That's why we're with the Socialist Workers Party.

## Journalist to Speak In N.Y. on Cuba Trip

NEW YORK — Journalist Charles P. Howard, Sr., just returned from an extensive tour of Cuba, will report on his trip, at a meeting of the Militant Labor Forum, Friday, Sept. 13, 8:30 p.m. at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Avenue.

Head of the Howard News Service, Mr. Howard is UN and foreign correspondent for the *Afro-American* and *Muhammad Speaks*. His most recent report from Cuba was an interview with Juan Almeida, head of the Cuban army.

## Protest Detroit Police Brutality

DETROIT — The Socialist Workers Party on Aug. 27 began distribution of a leaflet attacking the police brutality which erupted in two killings in this city in July. Entitled "Against Police Brutality," the leaflet scored the white-washing of the cops who shot down Cynthia Scott and Kenneth Evans.

City, county and state officials (all "liberal" Democrats) have sanctioned these killings, which climaxed a series of brutal acts by the cops in the Negro and working-class neighborhoods.

In January 1961, the SWP distributed leaflets calling on the Negro people of Detroit to organize for self-defense and to vote Mayor Miriani out of office. When Cavanagh defeated Miriani for mayor in November and appointed a "reform" police commissioner, George Edwards, the SWP distributed another leaflet raising the call for a police review board as a better answer to police brutality than the promises of liberal Democrats.

## 100% Support

In its latest leaflet, the SWP expresses 100 per cent support of the recent demonstrations protesting police brutality and outlines a four-point program to end it.

1) It urges formation of block committees for defense against illegal search and arrest.

2) It demands that cops be disarmed, noting that, at the time of the killings, Police Commissioner Edwards was on a junket in England and couldn't have failed to observe that the police there do not carry guns.

3) It urges that labor and Negro movements raise the demand for an elected police review board — to which victims of police brutality could go for justice — and wage independent campaigns to put their own representatives on such a board.

4) It cites the futility of relying on liberals or others in the two-party power structure, and urges the labor and Negro movements to take the road of independent political action against the capitalist political machines. The SWP leaflet gives full support to the idea of a Freedom Now Party which many Negro mili-