

Leading Negroes Flay Kennedy; Condemn Both Major Parties

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Mounted Police Assault N.Y. Civil-Rights Pickets

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, Sept. 22 — Police twice broke up peaceful civil-rights demonstrations with horses and clubs on Sept. 20, the day President John F. Kennedy addressed the United Nations here. It was the first use of horses against civil-rights demonstrators in New York City.

The demonstrations began in the UN's Hammarskjold Plaza, with some 600 pickets from various groups forming one line to protest to Kennedy about the Birmingham bombings.

Participants included members from such groups as the Congress of Racial Equality, Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee, National Committee for a Freedom Now Party, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, Progressive Labor Movement, and Youth Against War and Fascism. Slogans ranged from "Uphold Human Rights" and "Arrest Gov. Wallace" to "Kennedy Is Responsible," "Federal Troops to Alabama," and "Armed Self Defense Is the Only Guarantee That the Negro Will Be Protected."

The plaza is around the corner from and out of sight of the UN buildings where Kennedy was speaking, and even large demonstrations there are usually ignored and get little publicity. The pickets therefore decided to move to the United States Mission to the UN which is in sight of the main UN buildings and where they could present their grievances directly to the U.S. government.

In front of the U.S. Mission, police, claiming the area was closed, turned the pickets back. The demonstrators were moving up the block in accordance with police instructions when the cops started brandishing clubs and three mounted police charged into the crowd. A 19-year-old CORE member, Willie Blackmon, was arrested and charged with striking a plainclothes cop.

The demonstrators regrouped and decided to march a half-mile to the 51st St. police station where Blackmon was supposedly held, to demand his release. There, they were told the prisoner was at the 35th St. precinct, so they marched there and sat down on the sidewalk across from the police station. At this point another police attack occurred and two more demonstrators, Thadd Beebe and Calvin Hicks were arrested. All three arrested demonstrators are Negroes.

Beebe, a 19-year-old professional guitarist and accompanist to folk singer Jimmy McDonald, described the scene as follows:

"We weren't blocking traffic or anything, just sitting on the sidewalk behind barricades the police had put up, and talking to reporters. We had presented demands to the police that they release Willie Blackmon and apologize for their actions. The cops removed the



Thadd Beebe

barricades. A little while later, without warning and without an announcement or anything, horsemen charged us and the cops came in swinging and pushing us down the street. Calvin Hicks just turned to them and asked why they were doing this and they arrested him." (He was charged with disorderly conduct.)

"I ran up the street. People were falling over each other, trying to get into doorways to get out of the way of the horses, but the cops were pulling them out. One group sat down on the sidewalk again and a horseman rode right through them. A girl was pinned between a tree and a horse.

"I turned around and saw a friend of mine being pushed down the street by about four cops. I reached out to help him keep his

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By William Bundy

NEW YORK, Sept. 25 — Leading Negro spokesmen delivered scathing indictments of the Kennedy administration and both major parties at meetings held here last week end in memory of the six Negro children murdered in Birmingham.

Authors James Baldwin, John O. Killens and Louis Lomax blamed the atmosphere in Alabama which produced the murders squarely on Kennedy's refusal to clamp down on Gov. Wallace.

Baldwin called for a break with the Democratic and Republican parties. Killens and Lomax challenged the policy of non-violence-under-all-circumstances and flatly supported the right of Negroes to armed self-defense.

The three authors addressed an audience of 1,500 on Sept. 20 at a meeting in Town Hall sponsored by the newly formed Artists and Writers Committee for Justice. Baldwin also spoke two days later at a memorial meeting in front of the Federal Building at Foley Square. This was attended by 12,000 and was sponsored by the March on Washington committee.

The earlier meeting set the tone for the Foley Square demonstration. It was clear that at Town Hall Baldwin, Killens and Lomax had put into words what the ac-



James Baldwin

tive civil-rights fighters were thinking, and even the more conservative Negro leaders were pushed along.

For example, the conservative pacifist, Bayard Rustin, who at the Town Hall had referred to the writers' talks as "emotional harangues," used militant-sounding phrases at the Foley Square gath-

ering. Rustin called for a massive campaign of civil disobedience, denounced the New York police for using horses against civil-rights demonstrators (see story this page), and even said that if the federal government doesn't protect them, Negroes "would not be men with red blood in their veins if they did not take whatever weapons were at hand."

At the Foley Square meeting, Baldwin was by far the most popular speaker and was besieged by autograph-seekers after his talk.

After pointing out to the audience that Negroes are used as a source of cheap labor by Northern as well as Southern capitalists and that these interests control the two major parties, Baldwin declared:

"I will not vote for any Republican candidate as long as the Republican party contains Goldwater. I will not vote for any Democrat as long as the Democratic Party contains Eastland . . . We have been tied up with this lesser-of-two-evils theory. I myself was so terrified of that salesman Nixon last time that I allowed myself to be stampeded into the Kennedy camp. It was a Kennedy phone call, you will recall, that did it. But it's time to serve notice that they can't have us that way . . .

"All we got from Kennedy's election was excuses. They say they can't act in Alabama, but when it comes to Cuba they can act . . . I, Jimmy Baldwin, speaking as an American, don't see any reason why I should invade Havana . . . We are here to begin to achieve the American Revolution, to take the government into our own hands . . . We don't have to go along with the old political machines. There is the possibility of a third party, you know."

Baldwin continued: "We've got to bring the cat out of hiding and where he is hiding is in the bank . . . You have segregation in New York, and it's not an act of God, it's not by law, it's by act of the real estate agents and the banks . . . This Christian nation may never have read the Bible but it understands the money . . . what would happen if Harlem refused to pay the rents for a month?"

As he had at the Town Hall meeting, Baldwin blasted the FBI: "The FBI has been unable to find a single bomber after 50 bombs in Birmingham alone. You know why? They can't afford to. If they did they would find their own . . .

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Support Grows for Demand To End Ban on Cuba Travel

As a federal grand jury in Brooklyn, N.Y., continued grilling people about the trip to Cuba by 58 recently returned U.S. students, opposition to the Kennedy administration's ban on such travel appeared to be mounting.

A statement by John de J. Pemberton, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, denounced the travel ban and the subpoenaing of the students by the House Un-American Activities Committee.

"Both HUAC's subpoena and the State Department's passport policy violate the American tradition of exchange of opinion and free association," Pemberton declared. "They deserve to be condemned by Americans concerned that such fundamental parts of the Bill of Rights not be sacrificed because of pressures of the Cold War."

An editorial in the Sept. 19 *New York Times* stated: "Any Iron Curtain is a symbol of fear. Ours against Cuba suggests that we do not trust our own citizens to see with their own eyes and make up their own minds."

Arthur Hoppe, the witty columnist of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, whose columns are now also ap-

pearing in the *New York Post*, after examining the travel ban on Sept. 17 concluded: "Meanwhile I suggest these angry students just remember this is a free country. Where one of our rights has always been to travel where we please. But to keep this a free country with the right to travel where we please, we have to give up certain rights. Like traveling where we please."

"And it behooves all of us in these times to help Our Leaders preserve our precious freedoms. By giving them up. One by one. Or, as my friend Miss Amanda puts it: 'Anybody who says this isn't a free country should be clapped in jail!'"

Meanwhile, a three-judge federal court in Hartford, Conn., set Oct. 7 for arguments by Louis Zimmell who is suing the State Department for refusing to validate his passport for Cuba.

Negro Group to Demonstrate Against Robert Kennedy in N.Y.

NEW YORK — The national committee for a Freedom Now Party has called on all New-York-area civil-rights organizations to join in picketing Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy Sat., Oct. 5, 5:30 p.m. in front of the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, Park Ave. and 50th Street.

The Col. Vigo Post of the American Legion is honoring the President's brother at a banquet there.

Attorney Conrad Lynn, chairman of the Negro committee, also appealed to Mayor Robert Wagner to withdraw as the main speaker of the evening.

Lynn said: "Under auspices of the Jim Crow American Legion, it would be a mockery of justice

for the mayor of the city with the largest Negro population to participate in a testimonial to an attorney general who permits brutal treatment of Negroes, North and South."

"Only recently in Albany, Ga.," Lynn added, "the attorney general obtained trumped-up indictments against the Negro leaders of the Albany Movement for alleged conspiracy to obstruct a justice that does not exist for black men."

The civil-rights attorney said the pickets would also protest the Justice Department's two-year vendetta against Negro newsman William Worthy who is currently appealing a three-month jail sentence for coming home to his native land without a passport.



IN MEMORIAM. Part of crowd of more than 10,000 that gathered at steps of Federal Building in New York Sept. 22 to mourn murdered Birmingham children and to demand meaningful intervention by Washington.

Negro Unionists Speak Up

Answer Attack by Bureaucrats

By Jim Campbell

DETROIT, Sept. 9 — A front-page editorial in the September issue of the *Vanguard* — newspaper of the Trade Union Leadership Council, Detroit affiliate of the Negro American Labor Council — takes up the challenge from within the United Auto Workers to TULC's independent role in the civil-rights struggle. The attack on TULC's leaders was launched initially by UAW Local 600 President Carl Stellato in *Ford Facts* (reported in the Sept. 2 *Militant*).

According to Robert Battle, TULC president, the source of the attack goes much further, that is, right into Solidarity House [UAW international headquarters] itself. Battle reports, "It was called to my attention recently, and I have a copy of one of the telegrams, that certain UAW international representatives are going around the country agitating local unions to send telegrams of protest against Horace Sheffield and TULC." Sheffield is both a vice president of the TULC and an international representative on Reuther's staff.

He reports further that "it is being rumored all over that the UAW International Executive Board is going to discuss Horace Sheffield and TULC at its next board meeting."

What caused this rupture between the TULC leaders and the UAW apparatus of which they are a part?

Undoubtedly the spark that lit the fuse was the TULC's "Open Letter" in the July *Vanguard* calling on the labor leaders to fight for more jobs through the shorter work-week. This runs counter to Reuther's policy of substituting phony profit-sharing schemes for the shorter work-week demand in order to avoid a struggle with the auto barons.

The TULC belatedly — only this year — assumed an active role in the Negro people's civil-rights revolution. It is now in a fight with the UAW brass because it was forced by the pressure of the Negroes in the mass movement to take a more militant posture — or be left on the sidelines.

Even so, it has allied itself with the old-line, more respectable and conservative wing of the Negro organizations in Detroit. Robert Battle makes much of the fact that TULC has "made progress and thereby prevented Detroit from becoming an open battle-



Stellato

ground between the Negro community and the labor movement." As an instance, Sheffield's role in getting one Negro into the plumbers union, after six months of agitation and negotiation, is cited as "responsible activity." Battle boasts that what Sheffield did "was something the industrial unions have been unable to do with the building trades..."

Unquestionably this independent activity of TULC has nettled the bureaucratic mentality at Solidarity House. It is an ingrained char-

acteristic of the American trade-union brass that any activity not sanctioned by the "top office" is suspect.

Reuther's role in this dispute is cloaked in ambiguity. But it is entirely logical and safe to assume that his hand is somewhere near, if not directly on the helm of the attack on TULC. Reuther, the arch trade-union bureaucrat, knows he is in danger when his hirelings begin — however timidly — to respond to mass pressure rather than to his orders.

Battle takes an equivocal attitude toward Reuther in the *Vanguard* editorial — at one and the same time exonerating and warning him. Battle writes: "How can these... unprincipled attacks keep coming from within the UAW, when Walter Reuther is striving so valiantly to make it a great liberal organization?"

But Battle says he decided to make the facts of the dispute "public because I want the UAW Board and President Reuther to think about what our record is against the record of our reactionary critics."

TULC is going to do its part, Battle warns, in the fight for full equality everywhere, "no matter whose toes we step on."

The question at the moment is, will the UAW Board attempt to dump Sheffield as an international representative? Because of this publicity, most likely not.

...Leading Negroes Flay Kennedy

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If I had done half what General Walker has done, I'd be in jail now. Look at Robert Williams of Monroe, North Carolina. [Local NAACP leader and advocate of Afro-American self-defense who was framed up by Monroe racists on a phony kidnap charge.] The FBI hounded him out of the country. I saw the posters in the post offices listing him as a criminal psychopath. But General Walker is white and Williams is black. That's the reason one is in exile in Cuba and the other is here, collecting from the Defense Department."

Killens' Stand

At the Town Hall meeting, Killens — author of *And Then We Heard the Thunder* and *Youngblood* declared: "We must question the tactic of nonviolence... We must assert and defend the right of the Negro people to defend themselves... We must protest the inaction of President Kennedy... I John O. Killens, speaking for myself, say that I cannot love those who persecute and kill Negroes, nor can I love those who allow this to happen."

Louis Lomax, author of *The Negro Revolt*, at the same meeting announced the formation of the new artists' and writers' committee saying: "We have decided to speak out for ourselves... We're no longer for sale... We are going to say to our government: 'How can you run Vietnam? How dare you invade Cuba?' This was greeted with loud applause."

Lomax continued: "What difference does it make how high the standard of living is when the murderers of children can go free... Until there is justice all the rest is the tinkling brass of phony liberal lies... President Kennedy turned a deaf ear to our appeals for federal protection in Alabama... He should have taken Caroline by the hand and gone to the funeral. Instead he makes a speech about his tax program... and about the test-ban treaty. Well, we tell him the treaty he'd better worry about is a treaty with the American Negro, because that's where the war is."

Lomax said the writers were going to open up a frank discussion around two issues: integration and non-violence. "When I

support integration," said Lomax, "I do not mean losing our identity." Lomax said he supported non-violence as a tactic in sit-ins and picket lines, but that "There is something immoral about the kind of non-violence that says you can get away with anything against me."

Actress Ruby Dee took up a collection for tombstones for the murdered children and announced the new group's address as: Committee of Artists and Writers for Justice, Box 1681 Grand Central Station, New York City.

At the close of the Town Hall meeting Baldwin read on behalf of the committee a statement which was adopted by the audience. It called for: 1) The impeachment of Gov. Wallace. 2) Apprehension of the bombers. 3) Immediate abolition of the committee composed of General Kenneth C. Royal and ex-football coach Earl Blaik, which Kennedy appointed to investigate the Birmingham situation. The statement calls this appointment "an insult to all Negro people." 4) A boycott of all Christmas-gift shopping "until this country is worthy of celebrating the birth of Christ."



RUBY DEE as she appeared in Broadway play, "Purlie Victorious." She and her husband, Ossie Davis, are now starring in movie sequel, "Gone Are the Days."



More than 300 striking garbage collectors participated in a sit-down demonstration in front of the Dallas, Texas, city hall Sept. 17. The unorganized strikers are demanding that they be granted the same 4 per cent pay raise recently given other city employees. The current pay scale for city garbage collectors is a miserly \$1.38 an hour.

More than 50 per cent of the city's three-man garbage collecting crews have joined the strike so far, and other crews are reporting for work short-handed.

At a meeting in the Dallas Labor Temple the night before the sit-down, more than 600 strikers met to discuss strike strategy. Representatives of most of Dallas' union locals who attended as observers are considering throwing the support of organized labor behind the strikers. One of these, AFL-CIO council representative Allan Maley, had appeared before the city council on behalf of the garbage collectors. He said, "I got what is known in these parts as a Roy Bean hearing and you know who he was. He was the man down on the border who served as judge and jury and said, 'Hang 'em'."

Six past and present leaders of the International Union of Mine Mill and Smelter Workers were convicted of violating the "non-communist" section of the Taft-Hartley Act by a U.S. District Court jury on Sept. 21. This is the second conviction of Mine-Mill leaders on the same charge in the ten years they have been under attack by government witch hunting agencies. Their first conviction in 1959 was reversed by a U.S. Appeals Court. The defendants have until Oct. 7, to appeal the second conviction. They include: Albert C. Skinner, president; Irving Dichter, secretary-treasurer; Maurice Travis, former secretary-treasurer; Harold Sanderson, controller; Raymond B. Dennis, executive board member; and Charles H. Wilson, international representative. One defendant, international representative Jesse R. Van Camp, was not convicted.

Union statements have referred to the trial proceedings as strange and weird. Much of the government's "evidence" is based on events and private discussions that go back 16 years. In addition, the testimony of Bill Mason, a former Mine-Mill board member, was introduced as evidence against the defendants despite the fact he was killed in an auto accident last October.

What made the government's persecution and conviction of the Mine-Mill leaders particularly loathsome was the fact that they were being retried under a section of the Taft-Hartley Act that was repealed four years ago.

In spite of this continuing campaign by the government to intimidate and weaken organized labor, no top AFL-CIO leaders have come out for the defense of the Mine-Mill defendants.

Borroughs Corp., the country's third largest producer of business machines and computers, employs some 8,000 workers in four Detroit plants. Over the years the company succeeded in defeating at least three UAW organizing campaigns and remained the largest anti-union strong-hold in Detroit. On Sept. 14, following an organizing campaign that stressed the need for job security, the company's production workers voted to join the UAW.

Rank-and-file members of Local 6 of the Hotel and Club Employees Union in New York have been

picketing their union headquarters to protest the policies of a leadership which has been in office for over 20 years.

The pickets claim the leaders have collaborated with bosses to dismiss members who challenge their rule.

A spokesman for the pickets said the same leaders had allowed hotels and clubs to violate job classification and anti-discrimination clauses in the union contract.

The pickets added that the union had had a Civil Rights Committee for years that was used only for "window dressing and propaganda."

28 Braceros (Mexican migratory workers) were killed and two subsequently died from injuries received when the truck on which they were riding was struck by a freight train near Salinas, Calif. Thirty-one other workers were injured and two remain on the critical list.

Over 60 braceros were riding on the flatbed truck which had makeshift benches lengthwise on the bed. This hazardous form of transportation is typical in an area where braceros are underpaid, underfed, and provided with squalid shelters by profiteering ranchers.

The governor of California has told the Mexican government that a "full investigation" is under way and the U.S. Department of Labor has also promised an investigation. However, both the state of California and the Labor Department have long ignored the miserable plight of braceros, including the dangerous methods used to transport them.

An attempt is already under way to shift the whole blame for the accident onto truck driver Francisco Gonzales Espinoza. He has been charged with the serious crime of felony manslaughter.

John T. Gojack to Speak At Forum in Chicago



John T. Gojack

John T. Gojack, veteran trade unionist and defender of the First Amendment, will speak at the Chicago Friday Night Socialist Forum on Oct. 4.

Gojack was president of United Electrical Workers Local 9 when he was subpoenaed in 1955 by the House Un-American Activities Committee. This was on the eve of NLRB elections involving his union and the hearing had been arranged by an industrial relations director at one of the company's factories. Gojack contested HUAC's right to probe his private opinions and was cited for contempt of Congress. His conviction was reversed by the Supreme Court in May 1962. But his victory was short lived. He was re-indicted on the same charge last October and his civil-liberties fight goes on.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

JOHN T. GOJACK, militant unionist indicted for contempt of Congress reports on his fight against anti-labor and anti-Negro HUAC. Fri., Oct. 4, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 210, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

The High Cost of Leaving, a discussion of the great American funeral racket. Speaker, Norma Lodico. Fri., Oct. 4, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

Theodore Edwards of the Socialist Workers Party presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly commentary. Fri., Oct. 4, 6:45 p.m. KPFK-FM, 90.7 on your dial.

NEW YORK

DR. ANNETTE T. RUBINSTEIN, author and literary critic, speaks on *The Negro Writer in American History*. Fri., Oct. 4, 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

HOOTENANNY! Starring DAVE VAN RONK, Danny Kalb, Barry Kornfeld. Sat. Sept. 28, 9 p.m. 125 Fourth Ave. Contrib. 99 cents. Proceeds for legal defense Thadd Beebe. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

Report from Civil-Rights Battle Front in Georgia

"The Girls Are Locked in a Room With No Windows"

(A special report by the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee)

AMERICUS, Georgia — It was hot here Thursday night, Aug. 8, and police standing under the open windows of Friendship Baptist Church had no trouble hearing 250 Negroes singing and talking about freedom.

Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee field workers had been here since January, living with the people, helping the Sumter County Movement to register voters and organize attempts to use the front door of a local movie theater.

The people in the church knew the police were standing by but they decided to go outside anyway. The 250 — mostly teenagers — strode one block to Cotton Avenue and, standing in front of a "colored" cafe, began singing "We Shall Overcome."

"During the singing 18 policemen, the city marshal, the sheriff and two state patrolmen showed up," one young Negro said. "They tried to surround us, but we surrounded them in the middle of the street."

"Nobody Moved"

"So they pulled their guns and started shooting in the air. They tried to tell us to disperse, but we just kept on singing. They started shooting, but nobody moved," he said.

Then policemen and troopers, wielding guns and billy clubs, slugged their way through the group to arrest SNCC field secretary Don Harris, whom they regarded as the leader. The 21-year-old Negro went limp, refusing to co-operate with police terror. So they beat him in the street and dragged him into a squad car.

The Negroes scattered to find rocks to defend themselves against the onslaught of flailing weapons. SNCC field workers Ralph Allen and John Perdew, and local youth Thomas McDaniel, were trampled on by police and beaten. Allen required three stitches to close a wound above his eye. Another local youth, Miss Sallie May Durham, was punched several times by local officers. Harris, Allen, Perdew, McDaniel and Durham were arrested.

The three SNCC workers — Harris, Allen and Perdew — face possible death sentences. They have been charged with attempt to incite insurrection, a capital offense in Georgia. No bonds have been set for the capital-crime charges and they will have to remain in jail until the Sumter County Supreme Court meets in November. In addition each individual has been charged with eight peace bonds totaling \$40,000.

All five have been charged with unlawful assembly, unlawful rioting and obstruction of lawful arrest. All but Perdew have been charged with assault and battery. Durham and McDaniel, the local

youths, are in jail with bonds of \$20,000 each.

Police brutality was not new to Americus Negroes. But it could not be ignored. The following evening, Aug. 9, 175 Negroes left Allen Chapel AME Church to protest at the police station.

"They intended to pray and protest the arrests and brutal beatings of last night," said John L. Barnum, Jr., treasurer of the Sumter County Movement. "They left the church," he said, "and walked four blocks in orderly columns of two's, not blocking the sidewalk. The police officers were armed with guns, two-foot clubs, electric cattle prodders and black-jacks. Officers came down into a field where the group had walked. When they got there the city marshal and Police Chief Cambliss asked them if they had a permit to parade and asked them to disperse. But before any response could be given the officers started bludgeoning groups of boys and girls with clubs and the battery-operated cattle prodders, which give a severe shock and leave burn marks on the flesh."

Most of the group were arrested. The police, troopers and deputized white citizens brutally beat the peaceful demonstrators. Milton Wilkerson, 19, required 20 stitches to close the wounds on his head. Emanuel McClendon, 67, required three stitches on his head. Thomas Douglas, 16, needed six stitches on his head. He also had scars on his back and arms from cattle-prod burns. Collin McGhee bled profusely from the nose and face after being beaten with clubs. Another 16-year-old youngster, Johnny Boynton, had four stitches to close head wounds.

Non-Demonstrators Jailed

But you didn't need to be in the demonstration that night. Rudolph Brown was walking along a main street after the demonstration — he was arrested and clubbed. Bobby Simms was sitting on the doorstep of his home — he had not demonstrated — and the police came up and arrested him. Gene Mann and James Williams were walking together, after most of the demonstrators had been arrested, and were grabbed by state patrolmen. Williams protested he had done nothing — for that he was beaten and his leg broken. The list goes on and on.

The arrested are stored away in jail facilities similar to animal cages. "The conditions in what serves for a jail are unbelievable," Barnum said. "The male juveniles are sleeping on the floor in a dirty building that has been abandoned for over a year. It formerly housed a newspaper. There are no working toilet facilities or showers. The toilet upstairs was stuffed and overflowing on the floor. The children have been receiving four hamburgers daily, nothing else. The girls are locked in a room with no windows and no ventilation; the odor is unbearable."

On Sunday, Aug. 11, another group of 25 knelt in prayer at the police station and was arrested. That night Archie B. Porter, 18, was shot at while walking home. Seventeen police officers stopped him, then beat and arrested him. His mother, Mrs. Maybelle Porter, heard of the arrest, went down to the police station to inquire about his condition and was arrested too.

That same night the police went to a local drive-in to harass Negroes. The people there became disturbed by this intrusion, so the police shot into the crowd. No one was reported hurt, however.

On Aug. 12, the police arrested Sammie Joe Haynes on the street. "He is 13, but looks much younger," Barnum said. They kicked and beat him unmercifully because he had been in prior demonstrations. He is now being held

in the county jail for the juvenile authorities."

On Aug. 13, the Justice Department announced that FBI investigations in Americus did not uncover any evidence of police brutality. On Aug. 17, another 35 were arrested while praying at the police station, bringing the total to more than 200 locked up for voter-registration work, participation in peaceful demonstrations, attempting to use the front door of a movie theatre, etc.

Among the 35 was Zev Aleony, a field worker for the Congress of Racial Equality. He was charged with attempting to incite insurrection.

There is no question that the police take the initiative in enforcing a rigid segregation system. One Negro youth described a demonstration he was in during July at the theatre where he had worked as a janitor.

"The manager of the theatre said he would be willing to sell us tickets if we would not come in large groups. He wanted us to come two at a time," he said. But the police would not permit that. So the group was arrested. This makes the third arrest of this particular fighter and he returned for 20 days to a 4' x 4' box, with no water or toilet facilities.

Nor are the courts a source of relief from police oppression. Barnum said that trials had been scheduled for Aug. 12 for 19 persons arrested July 19 on charges of loitering. The trials were canceled. "The judge refused to hold court," Barnum said, "claiming that the demonstrations were intimidating his court, although no demonstrations were in progress at that time."

On Sept. 3 the trial was finally held and all 19 were convicted and sentenced to 30 days in jail or \$55 fines each. Defense Attorney C. B. King of Albany said the convictions would be appealed but that there was difficulty in raising the \$110 appeal bond for each defendant. In the meantime the Sumter County Movement pressed economic and school boycotts to free the more than 120 still in jail.

Negotiations

The mayor's attitude also fails to encourage hopes for a reasonable settlement. A negotiating team from the Sumter County Movement, including Barnum, Executive Board Chairman Rev. J. H. Campbell and Secretary Teresa Wiggins Shields, went to talk with the mayor, Aug. 17.

Mrs. Shields said the Movement had hoped that a bi-racial commission could be set up to arrange a peaceful agreement. Mayor T. Griffin Walker and City Engineer Charles Wheatley refused to budge. The Mayor said he had no authority nor any plans to bring the issue before the city council. He said Negroes could attend meetings of the council if they wanted, but it would not do any good.

"The situation is new to us," Mrs. Shields said, "and we don't know what to do. The mayor said he didn't think any white person would be interested in meeting with us because of the situation."

The situation grows worse. On Aug. 20, James Brown, 30, a Korean War veteran, was shot through the back of the neck by local policemen. Apparently, he was walking through a white section of town — perhaps crime enough in Americus now. Investigation also revealed he had a one-inch cut and lump on his head, and a swollen jaw.

Intimidation pervades every corner of the community. One Negro businessman, owner of several "colored" establishments, refuses to allow members of the Movement to patronize his restaurant, pool hall, or liquor store. A young



CROSS BURNERS. Members of Ku Klux Klan, in full bedsheet regalia in cross-burning ceremony near Atlanta, Ga. The state has long been a stronghold of the murderous nightriders.

girl who had just been refused service told a meeting he said he didn't want any demonstrators, or anyone who had ever attended a mass meeting, to come there.

New forms of harassment are devised constantly. The Sumter County Movement kept its funds in the Citizens Bank of Americus, a member of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the Federal Reserve System. The bank forced the Movement to close its account. The secretary of the Movement now has the burdensome problem of keeping track of all the nickels, dimes and quarters that filter into the headquarters.

The fear of losing a job is a main stumbling block in recruiting new workers. One 15-year-old girl said her parents, both working for the Board of Education, would participate if it weren't for fear they would be fired. Her parents oppose her participation because they fear she will be hurt. But she and her 13-year-old brother are eager to go to jail, in spite of the likelihood of brutal beatings and sub-human jail conditions.

It is expected that some teachers will be fired as a reprisal for protest efforts. One person suggested that if one teacher is fired, all of them should walk out immediately. But another was skeptical that teachers would stick together under pressure.

Jail bond is another form of pressure wielded by the police and courts. In addition to the exorbitant bonds levied against a few individuals, more than 100 others are still incarcerated in lieu of \$200 cash bond for each. They have not had hearings because the judge took a vacation. Because they have not had hearings, the bonds are "appearance" bonds and may be required to be posted in cash. The total value of bonds set thus far is more than \$200,000.

Barnum, the treasurer of the Movement, is a funeral director who for many years had posted property bonds with local authorities to free Negroes. His bonding competitor is also a funeral director, but one who is said to have too many white friends to be interested in freedom fighting. Jailed Negroes are no longer permitted to call Barnum. They must call his competitor.

When air is compressed, the pressure builds. When people are oppressed, the same thing happens.

The people here aren't working together to improve school and hospital facilities, nor to expand the library, nor to improve wages

and working conditions, nor to provide jobs for the unemployed, nor to make Americus a community where every citizen, black or white, can hold his head up and say, "I'm proud to be here."

Instead Negroes must fight desperately to gain the right to speak their minds without reprisal, to walk in the streets with signs and literature, to express their desire for a new way of life in Americus and America.

"The Man" is desperate, too, ruthlessly smashing Negroes in order to defend white supremacy, white economic and political domination, and white ability to exploit Negroes at will.

"We will fight as long as necessary," Mrs. Shields said. "How long is that?" she continued. "Until integration."

"If (Martin Luther) King was never born," one aging minister said "this (the Movement) would have happened. If Kennedy goes out of office, this will continue to happen. The Negro has never thought this thing was right. When the Negro discovered his own strength, that's when he awakened."

And so he has. When will the white man?

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The King Leadership Surrenders to Kennedy

The speed of development of the Negro people's movement for Freedom Now may be gauged by the rapidity with which it outgrows its leaders.

For it is now apparent that the Martin Luther King leadership's days are numbered. That leadership arrived on the scene during the 1956 bus boycott in Montgomery. In a matter of months it had supplanted the decades-old primacy of the NAACP leadership in the Negro struggle. For seven years now it has commanded the enthusiastic support and confidence of the great mass of Negroes in this country.

That enthusiasm and confidence, however, will not long outlast its failure of leadership — indeed, abject surrender — following the recent Birmingham events.

What was that leadership's record in the recent events? In the critical days preceding token school desegregation in Birmingham, it allowed Kennedy to get away with his soft-and-slow policy towards Governor Wallace. Instead of denouncing this gambling with Negro children's lives as cheap politics to keep the South's 81 electoral votes in the Democratic column in next year's presidential election, the King leadership was silent or at the most registered a few mild dissents.

When the lack of a federal presence in Birmingham led to the savage murder of six Negro children, the King leadership, acceding to the unanimous demand of the Negro population, called for the sending of federal troops to Birmingham. But when King and his aides went to Washington three days later for what proved to be less than hour with Kennedy, they dropped the demand for federal troops.

This moral collapse when the Negro people were united by indignation, common needs and a readiness for struggle, when the sympathy of the nation's white population was with the Negro people as never before, shows the bankruptcy of the King leadership.

A leadership equal to its historic role would have demanded federal intervention by Kennedy. Had he remained adamant, it would have exposed him publicly and undertaken to mobilize a mass campaign to destroy him politically. It would have forced effective federal action in Birmingham or taught the politicians in this country a lesson about civil rights and the power of the Negro people that would never be forgotten.

A. J. Slaughter, Washington correspondent of the *Associated Negro Press* (in the Sept. 28 *Afro-American*) describes the White House conference as "a fiasco for the colored people" from which not even King "could save face." And further, "King and his associates were reduced to playing the roles of stage hands . . . It was a week of astute 'Kennedymanship' which thoroughly boxed in Birmingham's colored leadership."

This failure of leadership was foreshadowed during the March on Washington. That was when the speech of John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, was drastically censored because of its criticisms of Kennedy. It was a sorry example of the top Negro leaders yielding to pressure. But on Aug. 28 it had been a question of words; in less than a month it had become a question of deeds.

The King leadership may hang on for a while — some individual members of it may even switch their positions radically and thus qualify to be in the upcoming leadership. But, as a whole, and on a national scale, Birmingham marks the beginning of its end. Until it is replaced it will not really lead but rather will be a drag on Freedom Now's future progress.

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BOOK REVIEW

Soldiers in a Jim Crow Army

AND THEN WE HEARD THE THUNDER. By John O. Killens. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 485 pp. \$5.95.

In his new book, John O. Killens has written an important political novel — without touching on any of the ordinary electoral or governmental elements of political life.

His book deals with "the exercise of the rights and privileges by which the individuals of a state seek to determine or control its public policy." His state is the segregated U.S. Army in World War II. His individuals are Negro soldiers in a white-officered company, fighting against a Jim Crow war between fascists overseas and profiteers back home.

The book is lauded by its publishers as a "big, robust novel," "lusty," "humorous," "sensitive," told in "the realistic and vigorous idiom" of army life. It is all that, and a pleasure to read, containing all the elements that readers, according to their tastes, welcome or find objectionable in modern "lusty" novels.

Killens is very perceptive and direct in relating the special horrors of life in a Jim Crow army. He does not deal with the ordinary horrors of white army life.

The book is especially important for anyone who wants to understand the powerful force and growth of black nationalism. Read along with the essays of James Baldwin, it is an elementary instruction in the thoughts and emotions behind the black revolution in America.

The novel's central character, Solomon Saunders Jr., is a handsome, sensitive, ambitious, college-trained, Negro draftee. He enters the Army with the viewpoint of an assimilationist. "Solly dreamed . . . the great American story. An elegant woman at his side — opportunity — success — prominence — acceptance — affluence — position. In one word, Status." But unfortunately for Solly's dream he is also honest and a fighter. And there are few places like the Army to quickly bring one hard up against the cruelty of American life.

The story relates Solly's adventures:



John O. Killens

training in a Georgia camp, bucking for corporal and sergeant ratings, a love affair, a beating by white MPs, a long relationship with a liberal white officer friend, a constant struggle together with his buddies against the humiliation of Jim Crow treatment everywhere from boot camp to the front lines. The story moves to amphibious warfare in the Pacific and the Philippine campaign.

It comes eventually to a rest area in Australia where the "colored Yankees" are accepted as friends by the Australians. This paradise is finally poisoned by the arrival of a Southern white division, "white Yankees," bringing segregation and discrimination as inevitably as they bring Spam and cigarettes. The story ends in a bloody race riot, with colored and white American troops machine-gunning each other in the heart of the town.

The other story, the "political" story the book tells, is that of Sol-

ly's evolution from assimilationist to "race man." His buddies are already developed in their characters, mostly race men, from rank opportunists to pro-Japanese nationalists. Many of these characters are excellently drawn, not as fully developed individuals, but as expressions of one or another aspect of the militant Negro's "human nature."

Solly's is the only character that changes, through a conflict of ideas and sentiments that result from a conflict of social pressures. Through intense emotional turmoil he gives up his plan of "passing" — not racially, but in terms of social prestige and eventual officer status. He gradually turns from interest in purely personal advancement to join with the men in his company in their common struggle.

Hardest Part

Hardest of all, he is forced to give up his liberal white ideology and adopt "black" ideas. Beginning his struggle with the idea that black and white together must fight a democratic war against fascism so that the post-war world can be better, he concludes on his own freedom struggle, the race riot: "This is my war, not that Murder Incorporated up on the islands. This is my beachhead, you better believe me!"

Killens will undoubtedly be criticized in some progressive circles for his open nationalistic sentiment. But Killens is sharp, and parries this in one striking scene. At a drunken party with his liberal white Australian friends — they turn out to be some sort of Communists, to the left of Earl Browder — Solly discovers that "They did not really want to know his thoughts. They wanted affirmation of their own opinions. He'd been to these kind of things before, back in New York. The only Negro at a party — the center of attraction. The oddity. The noble savage."

He gets drunk enough to tell them his real feelings about the Negro's future in America, "I don't want into your house of plenty. It may be plentiful with pimps and whores for all I know. I'm putting my money on that large minority known as colored people, three quarters of the world's population." His friend responds excitedly, "You're not a Socialist. You're nationalistic and you're anti-white and you're reactionary."

For anyone who thinks that black nationalism is reactionary, this book is must reading.

—Allen Taplin

'Free Enterprise' at Work

A New 'Job Opportunity' Swindle

By Jay Burns

DETROIT — I saw an article in the paper about a new contract arrangement between Painters District Council No. 22 and the contractors. They're setting up a joint "Painting and Decorating Institute of Detroit" for six months, November 1 to May 1, to get more business in the "slow winter months." They say it's to "promote the painting industry."

Time-and-a-half pay for weekend work will be eliminated during these months. Painters will now get only eight hours pay for seven hours work on weekends. That's the clincher to the deal!

They dress this up, saying it will "develop more winter jobs." They cite the success of a similar plan in Cleveland last year, which netted business a savings of \$250,000 and added 100,000 man-hours of work.

Painter's Story

I asked Nick what he thought about it. He's one of the painters on the new building they're constructing at work. Yes, he knew about it, and that wasn't all he had to tell me.

"That ain't the half of it," he said. "You know, I worked last Sunday eight hours. Remember, I told you I had to come back at 8 p.m. and work five more hours. You know why? This way they don't pay us premium pay, just ten cents extra for night work."

That's why I take Monday off — too much for one day.

"And they used to pay us \$4.85 an hour for painting open girders high up. You see that tower there." He pointed to the 250-foot pickling tower they had just built. "Now they got a clause to cover it, we get only \$4.25 an hour painting up there."

"I got a friend, he used to talk real good for the men. So I support him for union office, and he got elected. You know what, in a couple of months he's riding around in a big car. I didn't recognize him. He's got big all over, you know with a big belly up front. No wonder things get bad. They work hand in glove to make the companies money."

What Nick said reminded me of another news item, about a discussion by ten unnamed United Auto Workers officials, sponsored by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. These guys are complaining that the union is losing its influence among the workers.

UAW man No. 7 said that "we've been forgetting about the guy way down below who is really getting kicked in the face."

You bet, say I, remembering Nick. Between well-fed bureaucrats and get-rich businessmen, the workers are taking it on the chin.

Fall Issue

International Socialist Review

Freedom Now

Socialist Workers Party Resolution

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Resolution of Reunification Congress of the Fourth International

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Author Julian Mayfield in Plea To Ohio Gov. in Mallory Case

[The following is an open letter to Governor James A. Rhodes of Ohio from novelist Julian Mayfield who for the past year and a half has been working in Ghana. The open letter appeared in the *Ghanian Times*, published in Accra, capital of Ghana. Mr. Mayfield has written essays and reports on the Afro-American struggle and is the author of three novels, *The Hit*, *The Long Night* and *The Grand Parade*.]

Like many thousands of others I am writing you to express my concern for the plight of Mrs. Mae Mallory, whose life quite literally rests in your hands.

Unlike most of those who have written to you, I was present at the events which led to the charges against Mrs. Mallory. As a novelist and journalist I was there to cover the story for the *York, Pa., Gazette and Daily*.

I know that as Governor it is not your business to consider evidence. But the Governor is also a human being who, as leader of a state with great, liberal traditions, will not lightly send the mother of two children to her death, which is what Mrs. Mallory's extradition to North Carolina would mean.

So allow me, as briefly as possible, to set forth the facts as I know them.

The kidnapping for which Mrs. Mallory has been indicted never, in fact, occurred. At the height of the rioting, I saw the car carrying Mr. and Mrs. Stegall turn into North Boyte Street where Afro-American leader Robert F. Williams lived.

A crowd of angry Negroes surged around the car and ordered the couple to get out.

Several people in the crowd identified Mr. Stegall as a member of the local Ku Klux Klan. Neither Mrs. Mallory nor Mr. Williams was in that crowd.

Entered Yard

The crowd forced the Stegalls to walk to Williams' yard a few steps away. At this time Mrs. Mallory and Williams came out from the house onto his front porch.

The crowd began to shout to Williams that they wanted to kill the Stegalls because they were under the impression that several Afro-Americans had been shot and beaten in town. The Stegalls protested that they knew nothing about the rioting in town, that they were merely out for a Sunday drive.

At just that moment a small private airplane flew low over-

Public Turnout Is Urged At Phila. SACB Hearing

PHILADELPHIA — Upholders of civil liberties are being urged to attend the hearings of the Subversive Activities Control Board in this city to manifest their protest against that witch-hunting body and the infamous McCarran Act which brought it into existence.

One hearing has already taken place, a second is scheduled for Monday, Sept. 30 at 10 a.m. and a third for the next morning. Place of the hearings is U.S. Customs Bldg., 2nd and Chestnut Streets, Room 321B.

In a public letter, Mrs. Frances Gabow, second witness scheduled for grilling, declared: "To comply with this [McCarran] law is to abet in the destruction of our Constitution. This I will not do. As a Communist I have fought for the past 25 years to uphold the Constitution and extend its guarantees of equality and freedom to all Americans. . . . Friends, interested people and observers are invited to attend and see for themselves the monstrosity of these SACB hearings. I urge your attendance."



Mae Mallory

head, and several of the men fired their rifles at it.

This clearly frightened Mrs. Stegall who said that if Williams would let her and her husband enter his home, she would telephone Police Chief Mauney and ask him to release the Afro-Americans in jail.

She and Mr. Stegall were afraid to go back through the crowd to their car, and they took sanctuary in Williams' home voluntarily.

Mrs. Mallory Not Involved

Throughout this entire episode Mrs. Mallory played no part. She had only been in the town six days as a guest of the Williams, and had no influence in the community. My statement is partially borne out by Mrs. Stegall herself who told a Charlotte newspaper the next day that Williams had saved her life.

The Governor of North Carolina assured your predecessor, Mr. DiSalle, that Mrs. Mallory would receive a fair trial. On what basis could he have given such an assurance.

On Aug. 27, 1961, the Saturday before the alleged kidnapping occurred, Robert Williams attempted to telephone Governor Sanford who was attending a conference in Hawaii.

Williams wanted to ask the Governor to intervene in Monroe where the law had broken down and the police were parading with the Ku Klux Klan.

He succeeded in reaching the Governor's aide, and described the scene to him. I heard the aide laugh and ask: "Williams, aren't you dead yet?"

There, in a nutshell, Governor Rhodes, was and is the attitude of the state of North Carolina toward her Afro-Americans. It is Robert Williams the white supremacists want, but since they can't reach Williams, any of his supporters will do.

Kissing Case

I would remind you also that Monroe is the town where two Afro-American boys, 7 and 9 years old, were imprisoned in 1958 on a charge of "assault with intent to commit rape on a white female" because one of them kissed, or was kissed by, a white girl playmate, age 7.

They were held incommunicado for six days, and then in a closed hearing — where they were not even represented by their mothers, much less by counsel — were sentenced to indefinite terms in a reform school. That was their fair trial.

Mrs. Mallory's case has been well-publicized here in West Africa where it is hoped that the proud state of Ohio will not sully her record by cooperating with the ugly Americans in North Carolina.

Negro Spokesman Answers Critics

Defends Move for Freedom Now Party

[The following is reprinted from the Sept. 21 *Detroit Courier*. The author is acting chairman of the Michigan Committee for a Freedom Now Party.]

By LaMar Barron

The ink was hardly dry on the call for the formation of an all-black Freedom Now Party before various critics, white and Negro, began popping off.

Robert C. Ruark, the novelist, is well-known for his hate, contempt and slanderous distortions of the African freedom struggles. But that doesn't stop him from writing a condescending column (*Detroit Free Press*, Sept. 6) telling us what we can and cannot do, and what we should and should not do, in our freedom struggle here.

When Negroes get together and try to improve our lot through our own resources, he condemns our self-reliance as "reverse discrimination" and warns us, ominously, that this is "dangerous."

Dangerous to whom? To what?

An all-black political party, he pontificates, is a "return to discrimination." But how can there be a "return" to something that hasn't left or been ended? Let discrimination be truly abolished (and not just talked about) and the Ruarks won't have to worry about us organizing against the discriminators.

Justified Feeling

Meanwhile, as long as discrimination continues, we intend to use the justified racial feeling of Negroes to promote the elimination of discrimination. What's wrong with that?

The *New York Times* is even more upset than the Ruarks. Its editorial against the Freedom Now Party (Aug. 26) is entitled "Racism in Politics." It is long on invective and short on argument. It seems to be trying to make two points:

One is that "the United States is not Africa" and that all-black political action worked in Africa because blacks are a majority there and can't work in the U.S. because we are a minority here.

Profoundly brilliant! We don't know how we could get along



CONRAD LYNN, chairman of the National Committee for a Freedom Now Party.

without these clever editorial writers.

But we never said or pretended we are a majority in this country. What we say is that a minority can exert political power too if it is united and bold and stops letting its own power be used by its proven enemies.

If we organize our own party, it will shake the whole political structure of this country from top to bottom.

There would no longer be a MAJORITY political party. New alignments and alliances would have to take place. Negro political power would then count for something, because with our own party we would be able to use it for our own benefit.

Bigwigs Know

The Democratic bigwigs know this. That's why they are upset even by TALK about a Freedom Now Party.

The other *Times*' argument is that the labor movement doesn't have a labor party, so why should the Negro movement have a Freedom Now Party?

All I can say to that is that labor SHOULD have its own party. It is the only labor movement in the world that doesn't have a par-

ty of its own, and that is why it is so politically weak and on the defensive.

I predict that labor will form its own party after we form ours, because after we leave the Democratic Party it will become a permanent minority party, and labor will see no further point in hanging onto the Democratic coattails.

I also predict that a Freedom Now Party and a labor party will cooperate because they will have common enemies and many common goals.

A Negro weekly newspaper has chimed in too. "All-Negro Party A Step Backwards" is the title of its editorial.

The Negro weekly sees no hope for the Negro unless he "joins with the white liberal." It thinks anything else is "illogical . . . impractical . . . political suicide."

I am afraid that the brothers at the Negro weekly still don't know what the present massive black revolt is all about. If our revolt means anything, it is our rejection and repudiation of the white liberals, whom we have permitted for too long to dictate what we ask for, when, where and how.

If our fate depends on our remaining "joined" to the white liberals and letting them have veto power over our struggle, we might as well give up now and resign ourselves to being buried in our grave as a slave.

Proposal

All the Negro weekly has to propose politically is that Negroes increase their "voting strength in the two major parties." At the same time they lament the fact that "in the North many Negroes feel they have nothing for which to vote."

The only reason many Negroes feel that way is because it's so. Neither of the major parties has anything to offer Freedom Now fighters; that's why so many of us go fishing on election day. But a Freedom Now Party will generate political enthusiasm and activity on a mass scale in the Negro ghetto, North and South. Because it will stand for something the people want.

Finally, we take note of the contribution to the discussion by Roy Wilkins, NAACP secretary. Speaking over radio in New York (Sept. 8), Wilkins said:

"I would hate to see a racial, purely racial political action in this country. I think it would be unfortunate if we had a white party and it would be equally unfortunate to have a black party."

Present Setup

Well, we have white-controlled parties now, and that certainly has worked out in an unfortunate way. But why, with white-controlled parties blocking our way to freedom, would it be "equally unfortunate" to have a black-controlled party striving for our freedom?

Brother Wilkins did not say, at least in the article I read. But he said something even more revealing — that a "Negro political party might have some value in the South on a local basis."

Why? Because "they've been the victims of racism in the South and so it makes sense down there." But if it makes sense for Southern victims of racism, why doesn't it also make sense for Northern victims? Or is Brother Wilkins contending that we in the North are not victims of racism?

Whatever way you look at it, his argument doesn't make much sense. But that often happens when "Negro leaders" try to parrot white arguments against independent action and self-reliance by the Negro.

They say politics makes strange bedfellows. This surely is confirmed by the mental antics of the unholy crew lining up against the Freedom Now Party.

Priest Who Praised Cuba Is Silenced by Superiors

Rev. Felix J. MacGowan, the Catholic priest who returned to the U.S. after an extensive tour of Cuba to declare that he had found complete freedom of worship there and to praise the social achievements of the revolution, has been silenced by his church superiors. MacGowan, a member of the Maryknoll Fathers, had spent ten years in missionary work in Bolivia. They were, he said, "so poor that they never had enough food, had no proper medical attention."

This knowledge of conditions in Latin America made what he saw in Cuba all the more impressive. In an interview over Radio Havana (printed in the Sept. 16 *Militant*), the U.S. priest declared: "Here in Cuba, today, with the new social changes, one finds a tremendous spirit of brotherhood and also a willingness to sacrifice for the common good. One finds the poor people with good steady jobs and security. One finds the young people being offered tremendous opportunities in education — as never before. There is medical care and aid for everyone, and all under a system of equality without any privileged groups. And this to me is Christianity in practice."

Rev. MacGowan acted as moderator of the public meeting held in Washington Sept. 13 by the students then being witch-hunted by

the House Un-American Activities Committee because they had defied the State Department ban on travel to Cuba. He denounced the brutality of the police in ejecting students from the hearing.

After the meeting, he held a press conference at which he revealed that he had been suspended by the Maryknoll Society. While this did not constitute excommunication from the Catholic Church it deprived him of the right to preach or administer sacraments.

The following week a spokesman for Maryknoll said MacGowan's visit to Cuba had been unauthorized. Though he had been given a three-month leave of absence to visit dioceses in Latin America, his superiors claim that they had verbally indicated disapproval of a visit to Cuba. However, a letter, making that disapproval official was not sent until Aug. 7, about a month after the priest's departure.

The Maryknoll spokesman said that the suspension would be lifted if MacGowan agreed to cease speaking about Cuba and participating in pro-Castro meetings. MacGowan then told reporters he was accepting the conditions laid down by his superiors. He said he was doing so on the advice of Dorothy Day, editor of the *Catholic Worker*, that he could do more good in the long run by remaining in the Maryknoll Society.

Report from Canada

Labor Party Nominates Negro

By James Small

On my recent trip to Canada, I was fortunate to have been able to attend a nominating meeting of the New Democratic Party in the province of Ontario called to select a candidate for the provincial congress. Perhaps a few words on the nature of the Canadian NDP would be in order.

The New Democratic Party is the first mass labor party formation in North America. The NDP is not yet a socialist organization but, being based on the working class, it should of necessity move in a socialist direction. It arose out of the old Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, which originally had had a socialist program; but, unlike the old CCF, the NDP has the official support of Canada's trade unions.

The NDP national leadership is strictly reformist in character and seeks only to modify the excesses of capitalism. The leadership nationally — and especially in Ontario — is bureaucratic and attempts to suppress dissident, militant ideas within the party. Recently, for example, a number of militant socialist youth were expelled from the youth organization of the NDP solely because of their espousal of revolutionary socialist ideas.

The riding (electoral district), whose nominating meeting I attended, is a predominantly Italian working-class district, many of whose residents have recently arrived in Canada and are familiar with radical politics. The nominee, Jack White, is a Negro iron worker who was formerly editor of his union paper.

White began his acceptance speech by saying that he was honored to be a candidate of a



workers' party and wished to campaign for the working class. He was formerly a member of the CCF and strongly believes in the principles of socialism. He reminded the audience that a vote for the NDP as opposed to the two capitalist parties was the only alternative for the working class.

The candidate's program was based on three main issues. First, the need to amend the Labor Relations Act so that workers would be given back the right to strike which has been taken away from them by means of bureaucratic red tape which, in essence, prevents strikes.

Second, the need to amend the Fair Employment Practices Act. Although racial discrimination is not as blatant as in the United States, it nevertheless exists in a subtle and insidious form in Canada. The existence of the present FEP Act does not prevent discrimination for there are many loopholes in it which White pledged to plug up. He pointed to the railways where no non-white was ever hired as engineer, fireman, brakeman, or conductor. He told of one Negro finally promoted to the position of sleeping-car conductor who, as a result, lost his seniority rights because his work at a lesser position for the

railroad was not counted for seniority. "Only the bosses," White said, "benefit from discrimination whether it be due to race, national origin, language or creed."

Jack White was one of the chairmen of the Ad Hoc Committee for Solidarity with the Washington March which staged a demonstration of over 300 in Toronto in front of the U.S. consulate.

The third plank of his platform concerned itself with job security and full employment. One of the immediate problems for workers in the Toronto area is runaway plants. A number of plants are planning to leave the area and move to locations which they believe will be more profitable, leaving the workers behind to fend for themselves. It was his aim, White said, to prevent these plants from leaving, for protection of the workers' jobs takes precedence over profits for management. He also said that Ontario must develop its own resources without exploitation by the United States.

Although Jack White did not impress me as being a rip-roaring radical, he certainly appears to be head and shoulders above the bureaucrats in the NDP and perhaps his nomination is a portent of things to come.

Special Interview

A Peruvian Exile's Story

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — "I hate injustice, either against myself or my neighbor, and I will fight against it." With these words the graceful young American in a small Hollywood apartment changed into a Peruvian revolutionist, exile for political activity.

McDonald — for that is how he wants to be known to avoid harassment by U.S. officials — was taken to Peru when a baby by his American parents and raised in the comfort of a well-to-do family. His father, who has now disowned him, was proprietor of a brickyard and sawmill.

When he reached young manhood, McDonald acquired a ranch and married a Peruvian girl. The ranch of about 7,000 acres was mostly inaccessible jungle land. On the arable part he grew coffee and he also raised cattle and cut lumber. It was in the Cuzco district and could be reached only by water, necessitating the shooting of river rapids. He and his bride called it *Frontera Alegre*.

Slum Miseries

McDonald had seen the miseries of the slums in Lima, the capital, where some families depend on garbage dumpings to feed their children. He showed me a newspaper clipping, quoting a mother in those slums as saying: "It's a real loss now that they have stopped dumping garbage near us. For years that kept the children alive. Now it's even harder to find food." Yet only 15 minutes away from these slums, McDonald added, there are mansions even more magnificent than those of Beverly Hills.

But it was the misery of the Peruvian Indians in the mountains that McDonald knew best — for he was closer to it and most affected by it.

"The mountains have but little arable land," he said, "and its pasture land is owned by the big landowners. The people are treated like property. When they attempt to sell a cow they are told, 'This cow was fattened on my land, you must sell it to me, at my price.' If the Indians attempt to better their conditions by changing landlords, I have known them to be arrested and jailed for 30 days."

"The Indians make their huts of mud and native grasses. It's cold up there and there is a lot of tuberculosis, but fortunately they don't have the sicknesses of the jungle. They live on potatoes and corn, and perhaps meat once a month."

Work in Mines

"Sometimes they cannot get enough to eat off the land and the Indians are obliged to work in the mines — gold, silver and iron. They are paid about 25 cents a day and out of this they must buy their food at the company store. When they work on the ranches they get about three cents a day."

"The mountain Indians raise llamas and burritos, too, and some of them use just a llama skin for clothes. I would say that about 40 per cent of the babies die."

McDonald worked with and speaks the dialect of the Campa Indians and fought on their side in a revolt against the landlords. The area McDonald comes from is just the other side of the mountains from the Concepción Valley where Hugo Blanco organized unions of peasants — for which he is now held in jail, facing death.

"I have not had the opportunity to meet Hugo Blanco," McDonald said, "but there are peasant heroes on the eastern side of the mountains, too. One of these is Mario Godeau, an excellent speaker, 27 years old. He led the slate that I supported in the last elections that I participated in about a year ago."

McDonald supported a slate of nine independent candidates; two

of these, he said, were from the Communist Party.

"We wanted the nationalization of oil and agrarian reform," McDonald said, "so that each campesino would have land — the return of the land taken away from their Inca ancestors. These people own nothing, not even their lives."

McDonald's slate first supported Dr. Fernando Belaúnde-Terry, who won the election for President in June and replaced the military dictatorship which had ruled Peru for a year. The independent slate favored by McDonald withdrew its support of Belaúnde, when he failed to state clearly that he was for trade and diplomatic relations with Cuba, and threw its support to Gen. Cesar Pando, president of the National Liberation Front.

It was after this political activity that McDonald, who still retained U.S. citizenship, was abruptly thrust aboard a plane by the authorities and soon found himself in Miami, Florida.

"I had seen much corruption in government and many injustices in Peru," McDonald said, "and about three years ago — about the time of the Cuban Revolution — I decided that a similar fundamental change was necessary in Peru."

Corruption

"I saw corruption and I saw workers and peasants killed when they rose up for their rights. Peasants who were starving for want of land would go onto unused land, put up their mud huts, and attempt to grow something. A hundred families or so would go into an area as squatters. Then the police would come in and kill. They would not just chase them out, they would kill."

"The Alliance for Progress cannot help the working class of Peru because it must go through the ruling class, which doesn't give a damn about the working class. The Peruvian big shots are the executioners, the usurers."

Just now McDonald is working every angle to get back to his wife and home in Peru. "When I get back," he said, "the first thing I will do is get my ranch back from the army and distribute it among the peasants."

...N.Y. Pickets

(Continued from Page 1)

footing and the cops jumped me. One hit me in the stomach with his club and the others wrenched my hands behind my back and put the handcuffs on me. They charged me with assaulting a policeman."

The demonstrators regrouped again, however, and marched in a group to Town Hall where the Artists and Writers Committee was holding a memorial for the six children murdered in Birmingham. In the course of the meeting, author John O. Killens, the chairman, announced the receipt of a telegram from Mayor Robert F. Wagner. From the audience a man shouted: "We got his telegram this afternoon when his horsemen rode us down."

Killens said, "Thank you" and put the telegram aside without reading it.

After the meeting, a large group went downtown to night court where the two men arrested at the police station were being arraigned. In the crowd outside the courtroom, a high-school girl displayed a horseshoe she had picked up after it dropped off a policeman's horse during the charge.

"I'm going to hang this in my room as a symbol of racial equality and freedom," she said. "All we wanted," she continued, "was to tell the president to get with it. Why shouldn't he send troops to Birmingham? I'm telling you, I'm mad."

World Events

Williams Visiting Peking

Robert F. Williams, North Carolina Negro leader now in exile in Cuba, has left for China to attend the 14th anniversary celebration of the Chinese revolution Oct. 1. He accompanied Luis Gomez Wanguemert, editor of the Havana paper *El Mundo*, who is representing Cuba at the celebration. It was in response to an appeal by Williams that Mao Tse-tung issued his Aug. 8 declaration of support to the American Negro struggle. Williams plans to visit Africa after his stay in Peking.

Education in Latin America

Half the children who enter school in Latin America drop out within three years and of those that make it to high school, only one out of five graduate, according to an AP article from Bogota, Colombia, by James Dewey. "Most children leave school to work," he reports. "Some don't get enough to eat and play hockey to forage for food." But, he adds without comment, "Education ministers took a close look at the situation at a meeting here and concluded popular education has been neglected chiefly because Latin Americans don't care."

Education in Formosa

Chen Chung-kang, president of the provincial assembly of Formosa, in opposing a bill which would forbid prostitution by girls younger than 18 years, declared: "All prostitutes aren't bad. Many of these young women enable their families to live. Some of them use part of their earnings to pay for the schooling of their brothers and sisters."

Unrest in India's Army

A recent debate in the Indian Parliament threw some light on

the reasons for the crushing defeat of Indian forces by Communist Chinese troops in late 1962. The Chinese apparently did some effective propagandizing about the class privileges enjoyed by Indian officers at the expense of the rank-and-file soldiers. Among other things, officers get higher-priced rations and are better fed.

Defense Minister Y. B. Chavan announced that officers have now been told to "democratize" their relations with enlisted men. The Indian army "inherited certain traditions from the British," Chavan delicately phrased it. But prior to the Sino-Indian conflict, he said, "we already knew changes should be made."

Greek Cops Held in Murder

Warrants for the arrest of the inspector of gendarmerie of northern Greece, the director of the Salonika police, and two other police officers were issued Sept. 14. They were charged with being accessories before the fact in the death of Gregory Lambrakis, a left-wing member of parliament. The four officers were in charge of Salonika police May 22 when Lambrakis addressed a ban-the-bomb rally.

Coming out of the rally Lambrakis was deliberately run down and killed by a motorcyclist, and another member of Parliament, George Tsarouchas was seriously injured. The mass protests that followed the murder of Lambrakis led to the resignation of the Greek Premier.

Fight in Ceylon's CP

In discussing a faction fight in the Ceylonese Communist Party between pro-Chinese and pro-Soviet groups, the *Ceylon News* pointed out how a similar struggle was resolved in the Indian CP. There "the Russian faction has eliminated the Chinese faction by

getting members of the latter discredited in the public eye as traitors to India or even getting them imprisoned or detained by the government of India."

The *Ceylon News* drew an interesting parallel: "This situation is very like that which arose in Ceylon in the war years, when the CP got the better of LSSP [the Trotskyist Lanka Sama Samaja Party] in the trade-union field by embarrassing the latter, branding it as an opponent of the war."

During the war years the CP bitterly opposed the efforts of the LSSP and others to continue the struggle for independence from Great Britain, with the CP insisting that the independence demand must be put aside to "win the war."

Miners Offer to Take Over

The Bolivian National Miners Federation offered to take over the Catavi tin mine, producer of 25 per cent of Bolivia's tin and a bone of contention for months between the union and the state mining company, Comibol, controlled by the government of Paz Estenssorro.

Comibol has declared its intention of imposing a plan to increase the mine's profitability by firing some 2,000 workers and two militant union leaders. The miners union called a 13-day general strike to oppose the plan. After the strike ended Aug. 28 further negotiations were carried on, but the union refused to agree to the firing of workers.

Now it has offered to take over the mines and show the government they can run them at a profit. The union said it would invest funds from "outside sources." In the past, the Paz government has refused Soviet offers of aid to the Bolivian tin industry, while the union has urged their acceptance.

Letters From Our Readers

"Free World" Malady

New York, N. Y.

The *New York Post* (Sept. 13) printed an AP dispatch quoting our Joint Chiefs of Staff as solemnly assuring all U.S. Army commanders around the world that "it is a well-known principle of international law that one nation may not interfere in the internal affairs of another."

Only the adolescent mentality of the Pentagon could reconcile this pious platitude with the presence of half a million U.S. armed forces in 50 nations across the globe, buttressing corrupt, dictatorial regimes, suppressing popular movements that would topple U.S.

puppet rulers and acting generally, in the famous words of General Smedley Butler, "as high-class musclemen for U.S. Big Business." To say nothing of the nefarious activities of Pentagon's little brother CIA who plots unceasingly in Vietnam, in Laos, in Tibet, in Hong Kong, Korea and Pakistan; in Iran, Lebanon and Turkey; in Venezuela, Guatemala, British Guiana and Cuba — the list is endless; the burden on the U.S. taxpayer unbearable.

It seems to me this nauseating hypocrisy is one of the most revealing symptoms of the sickness that pervades the self-styled "Free World" society.

Taylor Adams

Reactions to Birmingham

New York, N.Y.

I listened to WWRL, a Brooklyn radio station which is run by and for Negroes in New York. On an audience-participation program, listeners were asked to call in their answers to the question, "Should the President proclaim this Sunday a day of mourning for the four little girls who were bombed to death in Birmingham?"

The first two answers were polite and moderate. Both said, "yes," and that they hoped that this atrocity would awaken the consciences of the whites in Birmingham.

The third was a woman who shouted a loud, "Yes!" and immediately said she was for the policy of "an eye for an eye" instead of "turning the other cheek."

She explained that if a few white corpses were found lying in the streets of Birmingham federal troops would be rushed in. As it is now, she explained, Kennedy wasn't interested in protecting black people.

The commentator warned her that such a thing would mean war, and she replied "Tell me the time in history when anything was won without war? If you want something, you've got to fight for it!"

The commentator then said he hoped that others who called in would be more moderate. But from then on almost all who called aligned themselves with this woman and stated very clearly that though they were for a day of mourning, that it was secondary to preparing for armed conflict, and as another woman put it: "Every Negro in Birmingham has a gun for hunting purposes. The time has come to get them out."

E. B.

Flays Our Rights Stand

Baltimore, Md.

In your reply to A.G.'s letter of Sept. 9 you are basing your arguments not on Marxist-Leninist principles and not even on Trotskyist principles, but on assumptions contrary to these principles and ideas. Your general role in the labor movement today is reactionary, chauvinistic, nationalistic and detrimental to the interests of the Negro people and the working class generally.

You assume that job discrimination is remediable under the present wage-slavery system, an assumption that can only mislead working people, white and black.

When all signs point to a continuing lessening of jobs how are you to eliminate discrimination without at the same time setting black and white workers against each other?

Your claim of Marxism is belied by your support of the motto:

Thought for the Week

"This is a bad time to advertise our wares." — Caldwell Marks, chairman of a committee of 100 businessmen set up to bring new business to Birmingham, Ala.

"Freedom Now," whereas the most logical and feasible motto for revolutionists should be: "Socialism Now!"

E.S.

[The letter from A.G., which we were replying to, castigated our pro-civil-rights stand and asserted: "It's about time you championed the white man's cause."]

Serious Marxists don't limit themselves to repeating that socialism is the only answer. They participate in the struggles of the workers and Negro people with confidence that in the course of these struggles the participants will come to recognize the need for fundamental socialist solutions to their problems.

In supporting the fight to end job bias we urge a reduction of the work week to 30 hours — at 40 hours pay — to make more jobs available for all.

We support the Freedom Now struggle because simple justice demands it and because we are convinced that this struggle is speeding the day when socialism will be achieved.—Editor.]

Likes Cuba Coverage

Lakeside, Calif.

I appreciated your interview with the young Jencks couple about their trip to Cuba and can verify the success of the Revolution as I was there in 1960-61.

I hope you will continue to give more reports by those students who went to Cuba.

I also enjoyed Jack Scott's articles about Cuba and hope he writes more of the same.

A detailed report by Charles P. Howard on his trip to Cuba would be appreciated.

Do you have information concerning U.S. investments in Vietnam?

L.A.

[The series of articles on Cuba by Vancouver Sun columnist Jack Scott has been published in its entirety by the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The pamphlet may be ordered from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y., for 35 cents.]

A series of articles by Charles P. Howard, describing his recent visit to Cuba are currently being published by *Muhammad Speaks*, the *Afro-American*, and other papers subscribing to the Howard News Service.

To our knowledge, U.S. capitalists do not have extensive investments in South Vietnam (the French still have investments there) but the U.S. is the dominant force in South Vietnam in that its guns and dollars maintain the Diem dictatorship. The U.S. intervention there is part of the bipartisan drive to smash the colonial revolution throughout

Southeast Asia and to ring China with military bases for an eventual attack on that country.—Editor.]

Daisy BB a Runaway

Roseville, Mich.

Your item about the Daisy Manufacturing Company investing in an "educational" campaign to get kids used to guns gave me a laugh or two. Daisy was a runaway plant from Plymouth, Mich. If Daisy teaches those youngsters in the same way the Michigan employees, Daisy will find the windows in its Rogers, Ark., plant all broken one morning.

But seriously, if we libertarians act to suppress firearms as a matter of public safety we may find ourselves up a creek without a paddle some day. This can work both ways. If we ever need arms to stave off screwballs like the Minutemen and don't have them we will be in trouble.

The Second Amendment to the Constitution was added to give the people the right to revolution; the right to rise up against a tyrant. A private citizen, a dentist, shot Huey Long. How long would the Wallaces and the Barnetts mouth off if they were faced with a people's militia?

Keep up the good work. We can win only if we work.

A.W.M.

It Was Reported in the Press

Double Victory — Mrs. Adelaide Jones of Brooklyn, N.Y., won court reversal Sept. 19 of a State Unemployment Compensation Commission ruling denying her benefits because she had quit her job. Mrs. Jones had left her \$49-a-week packer's job after the U.S. Treasury Department had slapped a 100-per-cent lien on her paychecks for settlement of a \$140 tax debt. In upholding Mrs. Jones — who will now receive about \$780 in back compensation — the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court said, "It is not reasonably to be expected that a worker is to continue to provide the necessities of life without the benefits of any of the wages he earns."

Tough Situation Dep't — "Gourmets cringe as prices rise on fresh caviar. Dwindling supplies from the Persian Gulf area, a principal source of supply, and increasing demand for the delicacy have in recent weeks pushed retail prices in New York to \$43 a pound from \$38 a pound." — The Sept. 19 *Wall Street Journal*.

One Way to Get Ahead — Representatives of publishers and advertising firms have moved into Aberdeen, S.D., for a fierce competition to win advertising and media rights on the quintuplets born there to Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Fischer. The many lucrative offers should not be too unwelcome to the Fischers. Andrew Fischer, father of the quint — whose birth brought his total number of offspring to ten — earns \$76 a week take-home pay as a clerk in the wholesale grocery where he has worked for the past 18 years.

View from Abroad — Commenting on life in the U.S., Nicola Gentile, described as a former U.S. leader of the Mafia, told a Roman newspaper: "You have to

be strong, courageous, cruel to live in that country."

Go, Man, Go — "The process by which workers are matched with jobs in this country is beset by barriers, inefficiencies and inadequacies, which will require great and specific efforts to overcome," says the U.S. Department of Labor. The solution, according to the department: "Many may have to change their residence as well as their occupation and industry. This increased mobility may be required not only of blue-collar, but also of white-collar workers in diverse jobs ranging from unskilled file clerks to middle-management executives." Top executives, apparently, can continue to sit where they are.

News of the Week — "WASHINGTON, Sept. 19 — A broad area of agreement between government officials and business executives on national policies was disclosed today in a survey by the Research Institute of America." — The *New York Times*.

More Unfair Cuban Practices — Henry Raymond reported in the Sept. 18 *New York Times* that Latin American delegates to the UN are disturbed by what they describe as stepped-up Cuban efforts to promote "subversion" in their countries. These delegates,

he reported, feel something should be done about this. But, he adds, "One difficulty the inter-American system has encountered in dealing with Cuba has been the absence of substantial evidence that Cuba was shipping arms to support insurrection in other Latin American countries."

Majesty of the Law — Municipal officials in Jersey City, N.J., have long been noted for the tender, loving care they lavish on one another. Now the city council has decided to put some of the benefits of public office in the public eye. They authorized the purchase of \$200 gold badges for the city's two top cops.

Not True Enough to Suit Him — The following is from Peter Bart's advertising column in the Sept. 18 *New York Times*: "Another common charge against Madison Avenue is that 'advertising corrupts the press,' Mr. Ogilvy noted. This charge generally is untrue, Mr. Ogilvy noted. Mr. Ogilvy expressed irritation with publications that accept an agency's ads but criticize that agency editorially. The *New Yorker*, he said, carries considerable advertising from Ogilvy, Benson & Mather, yet once criticized several of its campaigns. 'This,' said Mr. Ogilvy, 'is bad manners.'"

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500 Demonstrators Demand UN Enforce Rights in U.S.

By George Saunders

NEW YORK — Demonstrators here protesting the murders of Negro children in Birmingham called upon the United Nations to intervene to protect American Negroes. This Sept. 17 demonstration was sponsored by the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee. The 500 demonstrators first picketed the UN at Hammerskjold Plaza and then held a rally addressed by SNCC leaders.

Executive-Secretary James Forman urged: "Let's begin applying some pressure to end police brutality. We need to be down at Wagner's office. He's part of the Democratic machine. After you have done everything you can, then maybe you can say, 'I'm not guilty of those deaths.'"

"We are organizing to get rid of Eastland in Mississippi," Forman said, and proposed to that end the putting of pressure on Northern politicians including, if necessary, campaigning against them. "The whole question in the South," he asserted, "is the question of the transfer of political power. And Eastland isn't going to give up his power easily."

Young Veterans

The rally was also addressed by young but already veteran Field Secretaries Reginald Robinson, a leader of last summer's long and bitter struggle in Cambridge, Md., and Pratheia Hall of southwest Georgia. Of the current struggles there, she said: "We are more than horrified, we're tired. 'We're too tired to keep on fighting, but we keep on fighting.'"

SNCC Field Secretary Robert Zellner told the demonstrators about the federal authorities' "go-slow" advice and "do-nothing" policies. He said there was ample evidence of violations of existing civil-rights laws but nothing was done to enforce these laws. On the other hand, he pointed out, the U.S. Department of Justice had brought indictments against civil-rights leaders in Albany, Ga.

The appeal delivered to the UN Commission on Human Rights said:

"The heinous, barbaric act which ended the lives of innocent chil-



James Forman

dren in the city of Birmingham, Alabama, on Sunday Sept. 15, is, in our minds, conclusive evidence that the federal government of the United States of America has failed to uphold the laws of its constitution and those covenants set forth (Chapter IX, article 55) in the charter of the United Nations.

"Over the past ten years, and particularly within the last year, it has been made obvious to the U.S. government that large portions of its citizenry are not only denied the right to vote, but are also victims of police brutality, as well as racial discrimination in housing, employment, education and public accommodations.

"Moreover, tremendous numbers of U.S. citizens have made it clear to their government that they can no longer tolerate the existing dichotomy between written law and actual practice. The chronology of abuse extends from shore to shore but in the southern section of this country a majority of the population is deprived of the basic principle of respect for human dignity, a principle to which the United Nations charter ascribes.

"Mass Beatings"

"In Danville, Virginia, there have been brutal mass beatings by 'law-enforcement' officials; Cambridge, Maryland has provided public displays of blatant disrespect for Negroes; in Americus and Albany, Georgia, jail conditions and police atrocities are reminiscent of medieval times; Mississippi flaunts unpunished murders before the faces of disenfranchised and impoverished citizens; then in Birmingham, Alabama, over 20 bombings went unsolved before one crude dynamite cluster took a devastating toll. Apparently the policy of the federal government of this country is to neglect the fulfillment of its avowed principles and written laws, and, by default, to lend its tacit consent to illegal and immoral assaults upon its Negro citizens.

"We respectfully urge that the Commission use its authority to demand that the U.S. government act immediately to guarantee the safety and dignity of all American citizens, that the Commission investigate violations of civil rights and the rampant racism existing in this country — especially in the South. It is the responsibility of your Commission to insist that the U.S. government uphold the moral, humanistic principles of the United Nations charter: 'universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion.'

Nominate Negro As Independant In S.F. Election

SAN FRANCISCO — Sam Jordan, for many years a fighter for Negro rights, has filed his nomination petition to enter the election for Mayor of San Francisco. Jordan is running as an independent Negro candidate in opposition to both the Democrats and Republicans. Many more than the required number of sponsors, both Negro and white, signed Jordan's nomination petition.

Former Warehousemen

Sam Jordan is 38 and has been a resident of San Francisco for 18 years. A former warehouseman and trade-union member, he now runs a club in the Bayview district of this city. His club has long been the unofficial headquarters of numerous struggles to improve conditions of the many Negroes living in the Bayview district.

Jordan has played a leading role in fights against police brutality, school segregation and for integrated public housing. His particular concern has been with Negro youth. He has headed a committee fighting school dropouts and job discrimination.

Sam Jordan went on the Aug. 28 March on Washington and participated in the Washington conference on the Freedom Now Party which followed.

Official Statement

In his official statement to be mailed to every voter in San Francisco, Sam Jordan said:

"As an independent Negro candidate, one hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, I advocate the program of the Negro Revolution—Freedom Now. In the interests of all the people, I call for an end to dependence on the two old do-nothing parties; for a 30-hour week with 40-hour pay to create jobs for the unemployed, both black and white; child-care centers for working mothers; more aid for senior citizens; an end to discrimination and segregation in employment, union membership, housing, and public facilities. End de facto segregation in schools, and police mistreatment of minority people. Vote for Freedom Now!"

CORE Pickets Press Drive Against Dayton Hiring Bias

By Arthur Maglin

DAYTON, Ohio — Demonstrations at Rike's, the largest department store in the downtown shopping area, continue. Thus far, in the prolonged attempt to end hiring bias there, 42 demonstrators have been arrested in "walk-ins."

The demonstrations, picketing and "walk-ins" had their origins in the Easter shopping season. Shortly afterwards, attempts at negotiation were begun, but they have since broken down. The company claims that it does not discriminate in hiring.

A quick survey of Rike's visible personnel (sales clerks, cashiers, etc.) is enough to dispel this claim. Dayton, with a population that is 22 per cent black, could easily provide more than the obviously token (roughly 5 per cent) integration that is apparent at Rike's. Especially, since recent statistics show that while Dayton's Negro population has a higher unemployment level, it also has a higher educational level among its unemployed.

The "walk-ins" take the form

7 Framed-Up Miners Face 20 Years in Ky.

By Tom Leonard

Seven striking coal miners face trial next month in Jackson, Ky. They are charged with violating the Federal Train Wreck Statute by conspiring to blow up a railroad bridge. If convicted, they face 20-year prison sentences and \$10,000 fines. The seven defendants are: Berman Gibson, Adam Huff, Tommy Allen Combs, Bige Hensley, Clayton Turner, Herbert Stacey, and Charles Engle. Charges against another miner, Britt Baker, were dismissed after Baker had spent eleven days in jail.

The defendants are participants in a continuing, year-long strike against small mine operators in a seven-county area in Eastern Kentucky. The strike started in September 1962, when miners were informed that their hospitalization cards were being withdrawn because mine operators had defaulted in payments to Pension and Welfare Fund. The strike was not authorized by the United Mine Workers but it won wide support as bands of roving pickets succeeded in closing down mines.

Authorized Strike

In November, the UMW finally authorized a strike of 180 miners at Blue Diamond Mine #2 near Hazard. This action led to a wildcat strike at an adjoining mine by the roving picket movement. Fearing another of a long series of court injunctions against the union, UMW leaders asked the roving pickets to call off the wildcat strike at Mine #2 and the pickets agreed. Since then, however, the UMW has continued to abandon the fight against contract violations by area mine operators.

Now, nearly a year later and after great personal sacrifice, the roving pickets are making a determined effort to obtain outside support for their fight. This includes: 1) Legal defense of the strike leaders; 2) Miners' representation on the boards of the hospital which are currently being turned over to the Presbyterian Church; 3) Organization of an unemployed miners' movement which can raise demands for jobs at the local, state and federal levels; 4) Continuation of the struggle to get official support from the UMW which the strikers consider crucial



Berman Gibson

to winning points two and three.

At the moment the strikers' most pressing need is to raise funds for the victims of the conspiracy charge. In a letter last July to the Committee for Miners, a group of prominent liberals and unionists who have undertaken to aid the miners, Berman Gibson, strike leader and spokesman for the defendants said: "I am innocent of this charge. The charge is a frame-up by the coal operators and their political friends."

Gibson further said: "The whole power of the federal police (FBI), the state police, and local police, the injunctions by the operators' judges and sheriffs and local authorities have driven the miners to the wall."

"Eastern Kentucky," continued Gibson, "is an area where miners have lost their rights. Operators are keeping us in near wage slavery, from \$5 to \$10 a day. Almost everybody is on food stamps to feed their families. Federal food stamps keep non-union mines going by supplementing the low wages they pay."

Most of the aid the Hazard miners received last winter following national publicity about their impoverished living standards has been used up. They face the coming winter with no immediate prospects of material aid or jobs to relieve their suffering. One miner described their hardship by saying, "I've lost so much weight, I can walk across dry leaves without making a sound."

The Committee for Miners has undertaken the difficult task of raising funds and securing able legal counsel for the defendants. Hamish Sinclair, a spokesman for the committee, recently returned from Hazard, where he lived with the strikers and was instrumental in helping to arrange bail following the arrest and jailing of the defendants. Sinclair said appeals for funds are now being made "to unions and the public at large." In addition, Berman Gibson will speak at fund-raising meetings and rallies in New York and other cities starting in early October.

Contributions for the defendants can be sent to the Committee for Miners, 96 Greenwich Ave., New York 11, N. Y. YU 9-0768.

"No soldier starts a war — they only give their lives to it. Wars are started by you and me, by bankers and politicians, excitable women, newspaper editors, clergymen who are ex-pacifists, and Congressmen with vertebrae of putty. The youngsters yelling in the streets, poor kids, are the ones who pay the price." From sermon, Joffre memorial service — Francis P. Duffy (1871-1932).

Minn. Socialists Answer Baptist Smear Attack

MINNEAPOLIS — Replying to a red-baiting attack by the Minnesota Baptist Convention, Joseph Johnson, Twin Cities organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, and George Tselos, local chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, reaffirmed their defense of civil liberties at a meeting Sept. 13 of the Twin Cities Labor Forum.

Both speakers dissected and refuted a resolution adopted by the recently concluded Minnesota Baptist Convention which cited a report by the House Un-American Activities Committee on "subversive" activities at the University of Minnesota. Among other things this HUAC report dealt with a 1961 meeting at which Johnson, Tselos and University of Minnesota Professor Mulford Q. Sibley had spoken up for the civil liberties of the Communist Party in the face of the attempt to outlaw it under the notorious Walter-McCarran Act.

At the Twin Cities Labor Forum, Tselos quoted Prof. Sibley as saying that the recent blast by the Baptist convention and the HUAC report were "part of a pattern of attacks" on the university community.

Johnson said that while the SWP is a political opponent of the Communist Party, it nevertheless defended and would continue to defend the CP's civil liberties.