

THE MILITANT

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Student Group to Campaign For DeBerry-Shaw Ticket

By Barry Sheppard

Students and other young people will have a real alternative to the two-party shell game in this election year. A new national organization, Students for DeBerry and Shaw, will bring the real issues of the presidential campaign to American campuses and to young people who are fed up with the hypocrisy and false promises of the major parties.

Students for DeBerry and Shaw is supporting the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Clifton DeBerry for President and Edward Shaw for Vice President as the best way for young people to fight against the war-witchhunt-racism-poverty program of the Democrats and Republicans.

Increasing numbers of young people, both on campus and off, have been fighting for Freedom Now, peace, jobs, and against the witch hunt. The Socialist Workers Party campaign will give youth a chance to fight for these things politically, and to protest the two-party rule which is stifling social progress in the United States.

Clifton DeBerry is currently on a speaking tour of the major campuses and cities of the nation, and Edward Shaw has been speaking at various East Coast schools. Largely as a result of these appearances, local support for the campaign has been growing.

A few weeks ago in the Twin Cities, DeBerry spoke to 50 students at Robbinsdale High School, to a meeting at the University of Minnesota, and another at Carleton College in Northfield. He also addressed a militant civil-rights group, Projected Employment Program, and talked with a group of high-school and university students and young workers interested in forming a local Youth for DeBerry, Shaw and Luoma committee in Minneapolis. (Everett Luoma is the SWP candidate for U.S. senator from Minnesota.)

At the May Day meeting of the Friday Night Socialist Forum in Detroit, Robert Lennox, a high-school student, announced the formation of a Detroit Youth for DeBerry and Shaw committee. Students at the University of California at Berkeley plan to establish



Clifton DeBerry

lish a Students for Independent Political Action club to support the DeBerry-Shaw campaign and local independent Negro candidates. Students at the University of Wisconsin at Madison have recently formed a Students for DeBerry and Shaw club.

Similar groups are being set up in Boston-area schools, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, Kent (Ohio), Antioch, Los Angeles, etc. The campaign committees plan to establish themselves during the remainder of the spring term, and begin to distribute literature, arrange tours for the candidates, enter into mock elections in high schools and colleges, and carry the campaign into their communities in preparation for an all-out effort next fall.

More information about Students for DeBerry and Shaw can be obtained by writing to Barry Sheppard, National Co-ordinator, Students for DeBerry and Shaw, P.O. Box 205, New York 3, N.Y.

F. N. P. Files For Place on Mich. Ballot

By George Breitman

DETROIT, May 2 — The Freedom Now Party yesterday filed petitions with 19,892 signatures for a place on the Michigan ballot next November. Additional signatures were to be submitted in Lansing tomorrow, the last day for filing.

The names of 14,896 registered voters are needed to qualify a new political party for ballot status in this state. It may be weeks before the secretary of state's office announces the number of signatures which it declares to be valid.

Michigan is the first state in the country where the all-black Freedom Now Party has filed on a state-wide basis. The Michigan section of the FNP was organized last October.

Today's *Detroit Free Press* reported that the filing had produced "some consternation among Democratic politicians." The *Detroit News* quoted Secretary of State James M. Hare, a leading Democrat, as saying that "the Freedom Now Party might get up to 100,000 votes with its program

of 'independent black political action.'"

Rev. Albert B. Cleage, state chairman of the FNP, added to the consternation by saying that his party expects to submit a full slate of Negro candidates in the Nov. 3 election.

"We will have a candidate for governor and for all other elective state offices," he said. "We also expect to have candidates for the state legislature, Wayne County offices and maybe three or four seats in Congress."

In recent elections the Democrats have been getting as high as 80 to 85 per cent of the vote in Negro districts. If enough Negro voters desert the Democrats for the Freedom Now Party, the Democrats will be in a bad way, and political life will get shaken up quite a bit in this state.

The Democrats may be consternated, but they are not too

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Opposition Jolts HUAC Probers at Buffalo Hearings

By David Herman

BUFFALO — A well-organized campaign against the House Un-American Activities Committee's hearings here on April 29-30 sent HUAC running with its tail between its legs. HUAC's attempted witch hunt was defeated before the committee arrived, as events during the two-day hearing made clear.

The sessions, which lasted all day Wednesday, April 29, and until 1 p.m. Thursday, were picketed almost continuously. Pickets were in front of the U.S. courthouse, where the hearings were held, more than an hour before the opening and long after the closing. Nearly 300 people picketed at the height of the demonstrations, and nearly a thousand participated at some time during the two days.

Pickets Undaunted

A heavy rain fell most of Wednesday, but this didn't daunt the militant, chanting pickets in front of the courthouse. Most of the time there were five separate picket lines in opposition against HUAC. The line directly in front of the entrance was open to all. It was led by Donald Silberman, chairman of the Buffalo Committee to Oppose HUAC, and supported by Youth Opposed to HUAC. Across the street, students from the State Teachers College at Buffalo demonstrated, and next to them students from Harpur College had their own picket line. In the middle of the square, on which the courthouse is located, students from the State University at Buffalo demonstrated. Next to the non-exclusive picket line of the Buffalo Committee Opposed to HUAC, a small group of college and high school students from Zionist organizations demonstrated.

Though they marched separately, the four groups in front of the courthouse chanted together or in counterpoint. Many of the chants were started by the non-exclusive line and picked up by the others.

The unusual arrangement of separate lines came about as a result of the action of the student

senate of the State University of Buffalo. It passed a resolution against HUAC and supported the demonstrations (even financially), but insisted on a separate line in which only its students would be permitted to demonstrate. The other colleges either followed this example or arrived at the same policy through a similar process.

The main reason for the separate lines appeared to be the desire to avoid any charge of being associated with outside radicals. Thus, on the one hand, these students were demonstrating against the witch hunt, and on the other were making concessions to it.

Most demonstrators were students. Two busloads of Harpur students came from Binghamton, about 150 miles away.

In the hearings themselves HUAC trod rather gingerly. The two most outspoken racists on the committee, Chairman Edwin Willis of Louisiana, and William Tuck of Virginia, both Democrats, did not even show up. Chairman Willis had been scheduled to preside at the Buffalo hearings.

Took Offensive

The subpoenaed witnesses took the offensive against the committee, and endeavored in many ways to expose its real role.

Attorney Stanley Faulkner started by objecting that the hearings were not actually public. A small room had been selected for the hearings which permitted only about 70 spectators to witness them. Moreover, admission to the hearings was not on a first-come-first-seat basis, since invitations had been given out by the committee and those with invitations were admitted first. The request to move to a larger room and admit all on a first-come-first-seat basis was denied. Despite this, there were enough spectators admitted and enough subpoenaed witnesses to make the atmosphere in the room hostile to the committee.

After the 1957 HUAC hearings in Buffalo it had been revealed

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New Reports Expose Lies About U.S. Role in Vietnam

By Art Preis

There is an old and somewhat cynical saying that a lie can travel halfway round the world before the truth can put its shoes on. The White House, State Department and Pentagon seem to have adopted that as their propaganda motto in the U.S. armed intervention in South Vietnam, which is just about halfway round the world from Washington.

One of the administration's most persistent and pernicious lies, for instance, concerns the role of U.S. military forces since 1961 in the Vietnamese civil war. We have long been regaled with the fiction that invading U.S. armed forces, now numbering about 16,000, are acting in the war solely as "advisers."

We have the right and duty to denounce the use of U.S. personnel even in such a role because they are acting on behalf of a brutal and corrupt military dictatorship which could not stand for 24 hours without U.S. arms and supplies. But it is now being revealed that the American forces

are engaged in direct warfare, killing and being killed. We have been dragged into a shooting war without the vote of Congress, let alone the consent of the American people.

The latest and most detailed revelation about U.S. fighting — and casualties — in the savage civil war are contained in a Saigon dispatch by Peter Grose in the May 3 *New York Times*.

As Grose puts it, the United States has what amounts to an expeditionary force in South Vietnam that is "unlike any other expeditionary force the United States has mounted. It is a force without fighting men. American troops pull triggers but do not engage in combat."

The insurgent South Vietnamese peasants, who have been fighting for land and national liberation for 20 years, may be forgiven if they fail to perceive the neat propaganda line drawn by Washington. All they know is that they are being bombed, blasted and burned by armed foreigners and

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Photo by Bob Greger

BELIEVE IT OR NOT. The cage on this car was to have been filled with rats collected by rent strikers in their Brooklyn tenements. But police and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals intervened in remarkable demonstration of concern for rats and prevented display on grounds of "cruelty to wild animals." For details, see story on page 2.

SWP Platform In Pamphlet

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party has announced that its 1964 election platform is now available in pamphlet form. The price is ten cents each, but in quantities of ten or more, the price is three cents a piece. The platform should be ordered from the SWP, 116 University Place, New York City 10003.

The SWP's statement of position in the '64 presidential campaign was first printed in the April 6 edition of *The Militant*. It called on Negroes, workers, and students to join in the political struggle against Jim Crow, against poverty, against the witchhunt, and against U.S. support of tyrannical regimes such as that in South Vietnam.

... Mich. FNP Files Petition

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surprised. They have been biting their nails since the FNP announced its petition campaign last October.

More than that. They have also been conducting a real hate campaign against those Negroes who have the nerve to think that their votes don't belong, forever and ever, to the Democratic machine, or to the Republican machine, and who propose to mobilize the Negro vote around a party that will be led by Negroes, controlled by Negroes and responsible to nobody but the Negro community.

Although the Freedom Now Party is only a few months old, it has already been given the full treatment of slander and misrepresentation that is reserved for truly independent parties. It has been accused — falsely — of advocating violence, being subversive, acting like wild lunatics and simple-minded utopians, preaching black supremacy, wanting to go back to Africa, helping the Republicans, disuniting the Negro community; everything in the book, with the exception, possibly, of wife-beating.

The whites who control the Democratic Party don't have to spread these slanders themselves — they have plenty of Negroes who will do it for them. One of the worst offenders is a man with a hitherto fine record, Rev. Charles A. Hill, pastor of the Hartford Baptist Church.

Had Won Respect

Hill has had, and has earned, respect for his courage in standing up to the House Un-American Activities Committee, in defending the rights of all, including the Communist Party, in speaking out against racism, war and regimentation. In the late 1940s he had the endorsement of the Socialist Workers Party when he ran for the city council.

But what he is doing now is really pathetic. He has helped to form a group, Volunteers for Lyndon B. Johnson, and is doing everything he can to discredit the Freedom Now Party. In one case he prevailed on another preacher to cancel the use of his church for an FNP meeting against police brutality. Last month he took the lead in getting the influential Baptist Ministers Conference to condemn the Freedom Now Party and the Group on Advanced Lead-



Rev. Albert Cleage

ership (GOAL) for spreading "violence, bitterness and hatred."

Hill was quoted as saying, "I say to these crazy people among us that we don't want them. If they want all-black, they should pack up and go to Africa. We should close our churches to them."

He is a living example, and a sad one, of people who until recently were in the forefront of the Negro struggle, but have now been swept off their feet and bypassed by its stormy new manifestations. They can't understand what has happened to the thinking of the younger forces in the struggle, they can't adjust themselves to the new pace and the new demands, they become shrill and incoherent, and some of them end up sounding something like the Uncle Toms they themselves have fought for so long.

If the Freedom Now Party is certified for the Michigan ballot, it will have the fifth row. The top two are occupied by the capitalist parties, the Socialist Workers Party has the third row, and the Socialist Labor Party the fourth.

Lovell's View

In a statement today, Frank Lovell, state chairman and candidate for governor of the Socialist Workers Party, said:

"Instead of consternation, we feel gratification about the Freedom Now Party filing its petitions, and we hope that public opinion will prevent any Democratic monkey-business such as challenging their validity.

"The Socialist Workers Party is in this campaign to fight and expose the Democrats and Republicans as the agents of big business, racism and reaction. We are not campaigning against the Freedom Now Party, which in our view has valuable contributions to make to the electoral struggle for a world free of oppression and exploitation. We welcome its entry into the election campaign, and hope it will get a fair hearing from whites as well as Negroes.

"Our only regret is that the labor movement hasn't broken from the old parties and asserted its political independence too. Let's hope that the independent example set by the Freedom Now Party will be contagious, catch on among white workers, and give birth to a labor party."

One-Day Drive Registers 500 in Carolina County

ENFIELD, N.C. — The first Freedom Day in rigidly segregated Halifax County resulted in registration of 500 Negroes to vote, raising the total in the county to over 2,000.

This was done in the face of delaying tactics by registrars and harassment by police. The latter included the setting off of a stench bomb in police headquarters after the polling place was moved there from its regular location.

"In some places it was as bad as anything in Mississippi," said John R. Salter, Jr., field organizer for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF). Salter, who organized protests in Jackson, Miss., last year, is aiding the Halifax Voters Movement in the registration drive.

More Negroes are running for office in Halifax County than in any county in the South since Reconstruction. Eleven are seeking county-wide offices and one is a candidate for Congress.

Salter said that in some places registrars took half an hour to register applicants. One registrar took three hours for lunch.

In another place, the registrar refused to tell applicants whether they were registered or not. Salter noted that this is a familiar tactic in Mississippi.

He said that protests have been sent to state officials and to the Justice Department in Washington. Very intensive legal action in the federal courts is also likely, he added.

Two more Freedom days are planned before the May 30 primary election. These will be on May 9 and 16, as registration books are open only on three Saturdays before the primary and general elections.

Doug Harris of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) is also assisting in the drive.

Rev. Cleage to Speak on FNP At Two New York Meetings

By Jay Garnett

NEW YORK — The outspoken chairman of the Michigan Committee of the Freedom Now Party, Rev. Albert B. Cleage of Detroit, is slated to address two meetings here in the coming week. He will speak on "Why the Need for the Freedom Now Party" at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Pl., on Friday, May 15 at 8:30 p.m.

The other meeting, sponsored by *Liberator* magazine, will be held on Sunday, May 17, at 5 p.m. at St. Luke's Church, Convent Ave. and 141st St. The topic of Cleage's Sunday talk is "The Big Political Power of Little People."

Rev. Cleage became well known in Detroit as one of the early advocates of carrying the black revolution through to its conclusion, no matter how hard this would mean stepping on the toes of the white liberals and "friends" of the Negro inside the power structure. His point of view is expressed regularly in the biweekly publication, *The Illustrated News*, to which he is the major contributor.

Liberator magazine, which chose Rev. Cleage as its "Man of the Year" for 1963, reports the key idea expressed by Cleage in his speech to the Northern Negro Grass Roots Leadership Conference. This gathering, held in Detroit Nov. 9 and 10, was one of the earliest gatherings of the kind of militants now united in ACT. Cleage told the conference, "Revolution — real revolution — is for power!"

Either the power structure gives the Negro all his rights or he will make this society's functioning impossible — this is his strategy. Cleage was one of the first to apply this in practice. He campaigned against a millage proposal by the Detroit Board of Education early in 1963. He debated several "shocked" liberals with this convincing argument: if the black students have to go to ghetto

schools, receive second-class education, and read textbooks that portray their people as inferior, why should Negroes give any support to increasing appropriations for the school administration?

Cleage is a founder and leading member of the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL) which organized the Grass Roots Conference. Among his many other accomplishments was his participation in the formation of the Detroit Council on Human Rights, whose major achievement was the mass march of 200,000 persons against Jim Crow in the North that took place last June.

Clear 'Security Risk' Who Had a Father

APRIL 27 — A 27-year-old electronics engineer has won a security clearance from the Defense Department. This ended a three-year fight by Charles Irwin Zuckman of White Plains, N.Y., and his civil libertarian lawyer Montague Casper to obtain a reversal of Zuckman's rejection on charges that his father had a "Communist" past.

Zuckman left home at 18 — four years after his father's last such alleged activity. His father, an Albany attorney, at one time ran for mayor there on the American Labor Party ticket. The son has "no political interests" himself.

Just the same, he lost a job working with navigation radar after his first rejection by the Defense Department.

Attorney Casper appealed the Department's decision, holding that the record showed "nothing derogatory" about Zuckman. He argued that the Department could not reject him simply for "association," even if the father had remained involved in "Communist activity."

... HUAC Probers Given Jolt in Buffalo

(Continued from Page 1)

that the table at which the witnesses and their attorneys sat had been bugged. This time the lawyers and the witnesses asked for assurances from the committee that there were no hidden microphones. This demand was raised so persistently that the first witness scheduled for a committee smear, Paul Sporn, an English instructor at the State University at Buffalo, was permitted to examine the table for bugging devices.

Sporn asked that he be allowed to make a motion contesting the legality of the hearings before he was sworn in. This request was granted and almost all the other witnesses made statements on the illegality of the hearings. Their legality was contested on the basis of the First, Fifth, Sixth, Ninth, Tenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution.

One charge that had a clear effect was the charge that the committee was sitting illegally because some of its members were not legally elected, because Negroes in their constituencies were not permitted to vote.

Sporn tried to expose the committee by repeatedly asking the relevance of the questions being put to him to the legislative purpose of the committee. His sparring with the committee lasted for three hours.

Witness Edward A. Wolkenstein handled his would-be inquisitors somewhat differently. He appeared without a lawyer, and after giving his name and reading a statement about the illegality of the hearings, he refused to answer any further questions.

"I will take every protection the Bill of Rights affords me, the 1st, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 9th, 10th, 15th

Amendments and every safeguard the Constitution affords me and, therefore, will not answer any question this infamous committee will direct to me."

Almost all the other witnesses followed one of these two patterns.

The audience indicated its support for the witnesses many times by applauding. The chairman warned against applause many times but never carried out his threat to eject people for applauding. During Wolkenstein's testimony his wife shouted out and the chairman ordered her ejected. The marshals were not able to carry this out, however, and the hearings proceeded.

One of the witnesses, however, was ejected when he shouted into the microphone in an emotional outburst before being sworn in. Both these incidents were played up by the press.

Anxious to Leave

The committee became increasingly anxious to finish and leave as the hearings dragged on. They badgered witnesses to answer as briefly as possible. But even when witnesses indicated at the beginning of their testimony that they would not answer any questions, HUAC insisted on going through a long list of prepared questions, making it clear that the witch-hunters' aim was to harass the witnesses publicly rather than to obtain information as they claimed.

The committee left before it questioned all of the subpoenaed witnesses.

The Buffalo Committee to Oppose HUAC is the group that did most to organize opposition to the hearings. It received help from

many individuals and other organizations.

The group handed out thousands of leaflets in the Negro community. Thousands more were distributed to workers at the plants represented by Joseph C. Scioli, International Representative of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, who was one of those subpoenaed.

The Committee to Oppose HUAC was not allowed to distribute leaflets on the campus of the State University at Buffalo, but thousands of leaflets opposing HUAC were distributed under the auspices of the Liberal Religious Fellowship, a recognized campus organization.

Resolutions calling for the abolition of HUAC were passed by four union locals and by church groups.

The campaign reached a high point on Monday, April 27, when some 700 persons attended a rally against the hearings. The rally was held at a Negro church and was addressed by ten speakers including: Sterling Hayden, movie actor and writer; Frank Wilkinson, director of the National Committee to Abolish HUAC; Conrad Lynn, prominent civil rights attorney and Mae Mallory, defendant in the Monroe "kidnap" frame-up.

The next day the *Courier Express*, one of Buffalo's daily papers, printed an editorial defending the subpoenaed witnesses against HUAC.

"Thought should be given to the possibility that the true patriots are among those who denounce the HUAC's activities. At least they are exercising, at perhaps some cost, rights guaranteed under the Constitution. Preservation of these is paramount," the editorial stated.

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten per cent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

CHICAGO

From High School Dropout to Socialist Revolution. Speaker, Robert Lennox. Fri., May 15, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 South Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

HEAR SOCIALIST VIEWS ON RADIO. Every Monday, 7:15-7:30 p.m. Station WQRS-FM (105.1).

LOS ANGELES

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Fri., May 15, 6:45 p.m. KPFA-FM (90.7 on your dial.)

NEW YORK

REV. ALBERT B. CLEAGE, leader of Michigan Freedom Now Party, will speak for the first time in N.Y.C., on Why the Need for the Freedom Now Party. Fri., May 15, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Come to a SATURDAY NITE CINDERELLA PARTY. May 16, (9 p.m.) Girls admitted free before 11 p.m. Refreshments free. Contrib. \$1.50. 116 University Pl. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

FRIDAY, MAY 22 — DR. ANNETTE RUBINSTEIN, on Arthur Miller's "After the Fall."

Yours for the Asking

For books and pamphlets on Cuba, the Freedom Now struggle, the labor movement, socialist theory, send for a free copy of our catalogue.

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116 University Place
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Supporters of the Militant Open Drive for New Readers

By Karolyn Kerry

In the past period, thousands of new readers have been added to the subscription list of *The Militant*. Our last three-month subscription campaign — Sept. 15 to Dec. 15, 1963 — added approximately 6,000 new subscribers to our list of readers. Many new readers, first acquainted with our paper through our special introductory offer, have become enthusiastic supporters of *The Militant*.

From this source alone, we have continued to receive a steady stream of new subscriptions, purchased for friends and acquaintances with whom they wished to share the experience of reading a paper which championed the cause of freedom NOW!

We wish to take this opportunity of thanking our new supporters for their co-operation and of announcing the launching of a two-month subscription campaign to further expand the list of new subscribers. This sub campaign will begin on May 15 and extend for a period of 60 days to July 15.

The campaign is intended to coincide with the increased interest in the big issues of the day caused by the national presidential election. *The Militant* is supporting the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Clifton DeBerry for President and Edward Shaw for Vice President, and for the

next period will feature the campaign activities of the SWP and its candidates.

Among the major issues involved in the 1964 presidential campaign are the civil-rights struggle for Freedom Now, the fight for jobs, for an end to war and the threat of atomic disaster, for the defense of civil liberties and for independent political action by labor and the Negro people.

The Militant will, each week, concentrate its fire on the white-supremacist hate-mongers and their "liberal" apologists. It will continue to expose the machinations of the atomaniacs whose exercises in "brinkmanship" threaten the very existence of humanity. It will demand that the so-called "affluent society" provide jobs for all or the equivalent thereof in the form of a living wage. It will fight every manifestation of the witch hunt and will expose the fakery of Tweedledee Democratic and Tweedledum Republican whose hypocritical words are designed to cover their naked defense of the status quo.

It is our aim to increase the circulation of our paper. We feel it is important to reach as many people as possible with our message. We appeal to our readers, new and old, to join in boosting our subscription list. We know we can count on you to do the job!

New York May Day Meeting Hears Report by Olson on Visit to Cuba

NEW YORK, May 2 — Vernel Olson, chairman of the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee, who recently visited Cuba, today told of the "stirring change" in what he termed that country's "post-Escalante period." Olson addressed an overflow audience at the May Day celebration here sponsored jointly by the Militant Labor Forum and the Young Socialist Alliance. His talk was preceded by a brief speech by Ralph Levitt, one of the Young Socialist Alliance defendants indicted on May Day a year ago.

Describing Cuba as a "test case of a society in transition to socialism," Olson contradicted assertions that the intellectuals and professionals had abandoned that country en masse. "Almost all the artists and writers have remained and support the revolution overwhelmingly," he said. Only 1,700 medical doctors out of 7,000 have left the island, he said. While of those remaining, about 60 per cent are not in opposition and about 30 per cent are "conscious revolutionists." Only ten per cent are "ideologically hostile." It was a measure of the revolution's success, he declared, that it could win over such a large proportion of this traditionally conservative group.

Castro Began Campaign

Olson characterized the post-Escalante period — when Castro began a campaign against sectarianism and bureaucracy — as a "probing period," "a cultural revival" and a "rebirth process" extending into every layer of society.

He cited as typical of the period the work of ICAIC, the agency whose policy is to import for the Cuban people the best films from France, USSR, Spain, Mexico, etc. He said that there were some, however, who opposed this trend in the name of "socialist realism" and that when he left Cuba, a debate on the subject was in full swing. Olson's opinion was that this was a sign of the vitality of the revolution.

Of the problems the Cuban people face today, he cited as primary those of raising the standard of living and at the same time raising the productivity of labor which is to be the basis of the



Vernel Olson

new society. A major problem is incentive and the development of initiative on the local levels in the face of "many problems rooted in attitudes and the culture of the past." But, he said, there was a great asset in that "people feel an identity with the revolution."

As to the future, Olson said that the Cuban people "have no perspective for a utopia in Cuba, but they are saturated with consciousness and look to Latin America with bated breath" for every sign of revolutionary stirring. Along with Castro, they see Cuba's future linked to that of Latin America.

Ralph Levitt, one of the three officers of the Young Socialist Alliance local at Indiana University indicted for subversion under that state's anti-communism law, spoke about the general rise of the student movement in conjunction with the civil-rights movement and the fight against the witch hunt. He called to the audience's attention the federal prosecutions of the students who traveled to Cuba last year, of the civil-rights fighters in Albany, Georgia, and of the Advance group in New York.

The May Day celebration began with a buffet and refreshments at 5:30 p.m. The meeting started at 8 and was followed by a social.

New York's 'Finest' Mobilize to Defend Welfare of Rats

By Bob Greger and Laura Greenfield

BROOKLYN — Five minutes before Brooklyn CORE's Rent Strike Parade started out from the corner of Lexington and Nostrand Avenues on May 2 Police Captain Jenkins of the 79th Precinct walked up to Mr. Major Owens, co-ordinator of the parade, and informed him that its main exhibit, a four-foot cage of live rats caught in Bedford-Stuyvesant tenements, would not be permitted.

Citing an obscure part of New York City's Health Code prohibiting the display of wild animals except in zoos, circuses, and laboratories, the captain announced that if CORE insisted on the display, he would issue summonses to anyone parading with the rats and arrest those who had kept the animals prior to the parade.

CORE Resilient

Brooklyn CORE is a resilient organization. It decided to parade the empty rat cage with posters pointing out that in New York City "Rats Have Police Protection." The empty cage was followed along its entire route by a station wagon of the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (ASPCA) driven by a policeman.

Three hundred tenants turned out and the march proceeded with chants of "Freedom . . . Now!" and signs reading, "No Services, No Rent!" At the end, there was a rally on Borough Hall's steps. CORE's speakers pointed out that there was another Health Code ordinance concerning rats. It states: "No dwelling shall be maintained in a condition where rodents, insect pests, and other vermin are allowed to exist." This part of the code is not enforced. CORE speakers challenged the classification of rats as "wild animals." "These are domesticated animals," they said, "they live with people." A tenant stood before the microphone and told how she found a rat in her baby's crib and how her landlord had offered her \$500 outside court the next day not to press the complaint.

CORE Leader's Court Statement:

Southern 'Justice' in North

Upon being sentenced to 13 months in a trespassing case, Arnold Goldwag, community relations director of Brooklyn CORE and a leading spirit behind the World's Fair stall-in, issued the following statement:

New York City judges have today shown themselves to be more racist than their Mississippi brothers. The harshness of the sentence imposed strips bare the hypocritical covering of so-called Northern liberality. The Mason-Dixon line is turned upside-down: Mississippi, the supposed bedrock of segregation, only gave 40-90 day terms to Freedom Riders.

Kangaroo Courts

It has become obvious to me that the mayor and the governor, through their kangaroo courts will stop at nothing to destroy the civil-rights movement in this city while they help perpetuate the racial discrimination they claim to be so much against. Governor Rockefeller, one recalls, fought for civil rights at the Governors' convention in Florida, while he ignored the CORE sit-in in his own office. Mayor Wagner condemned Birmingham racists and decried the "Ole Miss" riots, while the building trades remained all white.

My great crime, it seems, was taking part in CORE sit-ins against discrimination. Last May I received a suspended sentence and was placed on probation for my participation in a protest on housing discrimination. I "violated" probation at the Downstate Medical Center sit-downs last summer, where only whites are employed, and at the Board of Education, which continues to provide an inferior education for black children. A judge's son whose car killed five people gets by with a suspended sentence, while his fathers' colleagues send me to rot in prison for believing in, and working for, a free and equal America.

Vile System

My conscience will not permit me to co-operate one iota with this vile system of so-called justice; compromise with or acceptance of evil in any form is unthinkable. I will therefore engage in total non-cooperative civil disobedience from the moment of

Arnold Goldwag's Defense Organized

BROOKLYN — A defense committee for Arnold Goldwag has been set up to protest the unjust sentence he received for participating in civil-rights demonstrations. This committee is composed of Brooklyn CORE members and other groups and individuals who were shocked and angered by the harsh sentence.

Goldwag was slated to appear before the New York Supreme Court on May 6 on appeal. This was postponed to May 26.

For further information, contact Isiah Brunson, chairman of Brooklyn CORE or Duane Bey, in charge of community relations and chairman of the defense committee for Arnold Goldwag.

sentencing. I will not walk on my own power, nor eat of my own free will as long as I am kept in jail. If Rockefeller & Company are willing to continue sitting back and doing nothing, nature will take its course on my starving body. If New York officialdom thinks it can bear this on their consciences, then so be it, but I do not wish to continue living in a sick, corrupt society where the wrongdoers walk about with impunity, and those who try to right those wrongs are so severely dealt with.

Harsh jail sentences will not discourage or dishearten new members, on the contrary, they will serve to dramatize the great wrongs being done, and thereby help spur this movement forward. For every member they put in jail, ten more will take his place! There will be no let up or respite. CORE will continue to attack the racist structure, and the complacency of the white majority. Despite the water hoses, despite the lynchings, in spite of all the jails in the land — we will not be intimidated, we will not slow down, and we will have FREEDOM NOW!!!

... New Facts About U.S. Role in Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

they are fighting back — ferociously.

In the period of U.S. intervention up to the end of 1962, Grose reports, American combat casualties (other than losses due to accidents and disease) were 180. The total for 1963 was 602. So far this year, the reported casualties are 398. The grand total of U.S. combat losses is now about 1,200 — in an illegal, unpopular, undeclared war.

When Vietnamese guerrillas made a May 2 grenade attack on a group of Americans on the streets of Saigon, wounding eight U.S. soldiers, Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, the hardest non-campaigning candidate for the Republican presidential nomination, howled about the guerrillas' "murderous methods" which he called "utterly revolting to civilized people everywhere." King George III must have assailed the American patriots in similar terms when he heard about the ambush of the British redcoats on the road from Lexington to Concord in 1775.

But N.Y. Times correspondent Grose, in the above-cited dispatch, also gives us a glimpse of the utterly revolting atrocities being committed wholesale against whole villages and towns of Vietnamese, including helpless women and children, by U.S. warplanes dropping jellied gasoline (napalm) all over South Vietnam. As Grose

put it:

"Not only are Americans dying, they are killing the Vietcong. It was the hypocrisy of policy for many months never to admit in official statements that napalm was being used against Vietcong concentrations though the fact was plain to see and was freely discussed here. Secretary of Defense McNamara admitted recently that napalm was 'occasionally' used, which is the beginning of the truth. Furthermore, it cannot be denied, though it is not emphasized, that the American pilots are flying the strafing planes that account for the bulk of Vietcong casualties . . ."

Civilian Casualties

The most casualties are among the civilians. U.S. strafing from the air, including the saturation use of napalm, claims unarmed civilians as its chief victims.

What this strafing does to civilians was the subject of an Associated Press story from Saigon last December 12. It related the purported concern of "American psychological-war advisers" at the failure to win popular support. The reason cited by these "advisers" was that "innocent villagers are often killed and maimed in South Vietnam's war."

"Some of the targets are genuine military objectives," one adviser said. "Others are only suspected military objectives. When the air force goes in, it leaves be-

hind burning houses and wounded and dead civilians."

The above-cited dispatch tried to focus blame on the South Vietnamese government forces for these atrocities. Grose's *Times* dispatch leaves no doubt that the bombing and burning-alive of thousands, and perhaps tens of thousands, of Vietnamese peasants and their families is the "utterly revolting" act of U.S. planes, arms and men under orders from Washington, D.C.

Fidel Castro Denounces Bureaucracy And Sectarianism

March 26 speech assailing Anibal Escalante and others for converting the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations into "a yoke, a straitjacket."

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Monday, May 11, 1964

N.Y. Plumbers' White Job Trust

The white racist walkout by New York City Plumbers Local 2, AFL-CIO, against the employment of four Negro and Puerto Rican plumbers is a dirty business.

On April 30 the four men reported for work as plumbers on the Bronx Terminal Market construction site, a city project. The contractor had hired them at the request of the City Commission on Human Rights which administers the law against segregation on public projects. The 34 white journeymen and seven white apprentice plumbers on the job walked off after talking with leaders of the local. Local 2 President Jack Cohen claimed the walkout was due simply to the fact that the four new men were not members of the union.

The truth is that all four — Bernard Allman, 45; Jose Rodriguez, 49; Jerry Gonzales, 32; and Isaac Borges, 43 — tried to get in the union, want to join the union, and are required by the conditions of their being hired to join the union within 30 days.

Cohen's ravings about "union-busting" are cynical and hypocritical attempts to spread a smoke screen over his real motive — to maintain Local 2 as a lily-white job trust. Local 2 has 4,100 members, less than 20 of whom are non-white.

This is as clear-cut a case of outright white racist discrimination as can be found. In this particular case it is also against the law and against the rules of the AFL-CIO. Yet, so far, there has been nothing but silence from Harry Van Arsdale, head of the Central Labor Council, and from AFL-CIO President George Meany, himself a member of Local 2.

Seek to Defend Privileges

The reluctance of these top officials to live up to their pronouncements on civil rights even when the issue is in their own front yard is not accidental. One form or another of the job-trust system is common to most of the American labor movement today. Under it, exclusive sections of the workers occupy relatively privileged positions and become the base for a leadership which ignores the needs of the rest of the workers.

This was also the vile philosophy of the AFL craft union leaders who fought the rise of industrial unionism before the CIO.

Colored workers are not the only one to suffer from the job-trust system, but they suffer most and are fighting to crack it. In a period of unemployment this produces problems for which there are no immediate easy answers. The entire character of the labor movement must be transformed before the spirit of class solidarity, which the job trust leaders have subverted, can be revived.

A white plumber who walked off the job at the Bronx site declared: "We have a lot of people out of work. Why should a union man have to stand around unemployed while a Puerto Rican gets the job?" One of the Puerto Rican plumbers said: "There finally has to be a break for us . . . All we ever get is the garbage work that nobody else wants to do."

The white plumber quoted above is dead wrong, a victim of the rotten philosophy of job trust, peddled by his union leaders. The Puerto Rican is right. He has had to ply his trade at odd jobs because he was not allowed to get the higher-paying, steadier, unionized, construction jobs. He wants union wages and conditions and he's ready to fight for them. That's a union man's attitude.

The underprivileged are trying to crack the job trusts. They will have to transform the union movement in the process if they are to succeed in any significant numbers. More power to them. The unions will be the stronger for it.

THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION

A Call for Fundamental Change

By Alex Harte

"Three simultaneous revolutions are going on in the United States which require fundamental changes in public and private policy." This is the central tenet of a 27-page memorandum recently submitted to President Johnson by some 30 prominent figures including Gunnar Myrdal, W. H. Ferry, Linus Pauling, Gerard Piel, William Worthy, Ralph Helstein, Michael Harrington, H. Stuart Hughes and Maxwell Geismar.

Contending that the United States faces a crisis of growing poverty and unemployment in the midst of an economy of potential abundance, the document asserts that there are three immediate and identifiable elements of the crisis which must be resolved:

1) The Cybernation Revolution: The combination of computers and automated self-regulating machines realizes "a system of almost unlimited productive capacity which requires progressively less human labor."

2) The Weaponry Revolution: The development of weapons of total destruction threatens the obliteration of civilization.

3) The Human Rights Revolution: "A universal demand for full human rights [requires] the establishment of social and political regimes in which every individual will feel valued and none will feel rejected on account of his race."

Recognizing that the three revolutions are interconnected and must be met simultaneously, the authors of the memorandum, however, concentrate their analysis on the cybernation (automation) revolution. The problem imposed by automated industry in the American economy is not that less people must work to produce greater wealth — for this represents true social progress, but that the present industrial system does not allow equitable distribution of this wealth to all members of the society.

In fact, the authors point out that with the disappearance of jobs, millions of Americans are becoming permanently impoverished and a jobless class is arising within our society. Hardest hit are the Negroes and youth.

The "unemployment rate for teenagers has been rising steadily and now stands around 15%. The unemployment rate for Negro teenagers stands about 30% . . . Unemployment rates for Negroes are regularly more than twice those for whites, whatever their occupation, educational level, age or sex . . . Unemployment rates in depressed areas often exceed 50%."

The cause of increasing poverty side by side with increasing pro-



ductivity, the authors contend, lies in the fact that the industrial system falsely assumed that the distribution of power to purchase goods would occur automatically with the increasing production of goods — more productivity would mean more workers, greater consumer power, and a greater distribution of wealth.

But nearly the reverse has occurred. With increasing productivity due to increasing automation, the individual productivity of the worker has also increased. "In 1961, 1962, and 1963, productivity per man-hour rose at an average pace above 3.5%." Consequently job openings in the private industrial sector have almost ceased despite huge increases in productivity, and a 50% increase in profits, over the same period.

Of the 4,300,000 jobs created in the period 1957-1962, according to the document, about 200,000, alone were in private industry, the remaining being jobs in the public sector of the economy — primarily in teaching.

This inability of private industry to provide jobs leads the authors of this document, entitled *The Triple Revolution*, to the conclusion that the main solution to the unemployment crisis lies in the creation of new jobs in the public sector through massive public-works programs and building up the educational system. They declare, moreover, that society owes all citizens an adequate income "whether or not they engage in what is commonly reckoned as work."

The authors do not indicate,

however, how such a program can be put into effect in the context of the present political system. Having effectively exposed the paradox of the American economy, the document does not offer as a solution the logical consequence of its observations.

For this paradox is the general and fundamental contradiction of capitalism, between the actual socialization of production and the private capitalist form of ownership. In order to realize profits, the capitalist must fire workers in the course of automating production.

In its generalizations derived from the statistical evidence which buttress its conclusions the document confirms a number of the basic tenets of scientific socialism. Therein lies its inherent value to the movement which seeks a fundamental solution to life and death problems of an outlived social system. The authors of the document put it quite bluntly when they pinpoint the crisis of the American "free enterprise" system in this period of transition.

"Public philosophy for the transition," they insist, "must rest on the conviction that our economic, social and political institutions exist for the use of man and that man does not exist to maintain a particular economic system." The tremendous growth of the productive forces in an increasingly cybernated economy is incompatible with the private ownership of the means of production and distribution in which profit is the dominating motif.

The profit system (capitalism), under which the few are enriched at the expense of the many must give way to a more rational system of production for use (socialism). This is the essence of the "crisis" of American capitalism pinpointed in *The Triple Revolution*. It is summed up in the most radical of the views presented in the document that the current system cannot provide jobs at a living wage for all and that those who cannot find work through no fault of their own must be assured an adequate wage income. This view can be concretized in a brief slogan: Jobs or Wages, Now! We're all for it!

The forthcoming Summer issue of the *International Socialist Review* will contain the full text of *The Triple Revolution*.

Guardian, Liberation Reporters Go to Cuba

Several radical journalists were able to visit Cuba for the May Day celebration. David Dellinger, an editor of the pacifist magazine *Liberation*, left for Cuba three days before the celebrations, as did the reporter-photographer team of James Aronson, editor of the *National Guardian*, and Jane McManus of the *Guardian* editorial staff.

State Department validation of Aronson's and Mrs. McManus' passports for travel to Cuba as journalists came only at the last minute, after they had had to postpone flight reservations several times. Permission to travel to Cuba was denied A. J. Muste, dean of the pacifist movement in the U.S., who is also an editor of *Liberation*. The State Department has not yet explained this restrictive act.

Validation of passport for travel to Cuba was only one of the questions in Dellinger's case. There was another — whether he would even be issued a passport. He had refused to answer certain questions on the application form relating to political beliefs, attaching a written statement instead. Nevertheless he received a passport.

Dellinger plans to spend several weeks in Central America and Mexico after his visit to Cuba.

SOCIALIST FUND

New York Celebrates May Day Right

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

This week the Socialist Workers Party branch in New York celebrated May Day in a manner to be proud of — by making a magnificent 17% jump in fund payments to arrive at 59% — 1% above what the national average should be as of this date. That makes eight cities which are at 58% or above. Allentown also joined the group this week.

This is the first occasion in a very long time that New York has achieved a high place on the scoreboard on schedule. It has always taken on a very high quota and made it before the end of the campaign. But the performance this time is an indication of a new and growing vitality which augurs well for the future.

We wish to thank A.B. of South Fork, Calif., who sent in \$5 and a letter stating that in the com-

ing election campaign she is going to "declare for socialism." G.C. from way-down-South sent in a generous check for general too. We thank both these friends.

We urge our other friends throughout the country to contribute to our fund, also. Someday, a long time from now, when the whole world's economic and social system has become socialist we will be able to operate without that long green stuff but we are nowhere near that day yet. So if the fight to make this a better world — without war or fear of war, without want and hunger, with real integration and high-level education for all — is to go forward, we must have money. Do your share by making as large a contribution as possible. Send it to 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Detroit	\$1,000	\$ 792	79
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	870	73
Baltimore	150	110	73
New York	5,800	3,418	59
Denver	250	148	59
Chicago	1,800	1,100	59
Philadelphia	300	175	58
Boston	850	490	58
St. Louis	100	55	55
San Diego	350	184	53
Allentown	150	75	50
Milwaukee	350	150	43
Cleveland	600	191	32
Seattle	600	172	29
Los Angeles	5,000	1,324	26
San Francisco	800	165	21
Newark	250	47	19
Oakland-Berkeley	500	35	7
Connecticut	200	00	00
General	300	186	62
Totals through May 4	\$20,550	\$9,687	47%

AN APPEAL TO WHITE WORKERS

Support the Negro Struggle for Equality

[The following is the text of a speech made by Frank Lovell, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for Governor of Michigan. The speech was delivered over WQRS-FM in Detroit on May 4, 1964. Lovell is an auto worker and UAW member.]

I am glad to accept the Socialist Workers Party nomination for governor of Michigan because the Socialist Workers Party platform has the answers to the crucial problems facing this country. Our aim in this campaign is to tell the truth about these problems, whether the truth is popular or not, whether it will win us votes or lose us votes. Because only when the people learn the truth and act on the truth will we be able to solve these problems. I intend to take up the main issues one by one, starting tonight, here and everywhere else I can get anyone to listen. The most urgent issue, and the one I shall discuss first, is the current Negro struggle.

I hope that many of the people listening over this radio station tonight are Negroes, and that they will let me know what they think about what I say. But they are not the main audience I am trying to reach tonight. Instead, I am trying through this talk to reach the ears and the minds of white people, especially white workers. I hope I can help them understand the Negro struggle and show them why they should support it in every way possible.

What Negroes Want

What is it Negroes are asking, what is it they want? A decent job, a decent home, decent schools for their children, a voice in government, freedom from insult and humiliation, a life with some dignity — all reasonable demands. These are the same things white workers want. And Negroes want them now — not next year, or ten years from now — just as white workers would demand them now if we lived in a country where we were denied equal opportunity merely because of the color of our skin.

When the Negro people ask for equality and freedom, and demonstrate and fight for them, the newspapers and TV commentators complain that Negroes are "too impatient," are asking "too much, too fast." They want us to forget that Negroes were supposed to have gotten freedom and equality a hundred years ago, according to the Constitution. A hundred years! Instead, they got promises, promises broken, promises cynically betrayed by both the Republican and Democratic parties, promises about progress by-and-by, a time that never seems to come. The only reason Congress is considering a mild civil-rights bill today, the only reason, is because Negroes have stopped being so patient and started demonstrating and fighting.

Too impatient? No, if Negroes are to be criticized on this point, it would be for the opposite reason. I often ask white workers, would you be patient when patience means a continuation of second-class citizenship? When patience means you will be the last hired and the first fired? When patience means you cannot rent or buy a house of your choice that you have money to pay for? When patience means that your children, who have only one childhood, will continue to get an inferior education, so that they will not be able to compete equally when they get out of school, no matter how many civil-rights laws may be passed later on, after their childhood is gone?

Would you be willing to sit and wait under such conditions? Wouldn't you say, as Negroes are saying, "No, a hundred years is long enough," and start fighting, fighting hard, to achieve the equality that is supposed to be a hallmark of democracy?



Frank Lovell

Another charge used to smear the Negro freedom fighters is that they are guilty of "extremism." This is a perversion of words. On one side are the people who have been violating the constitutional rights of the Negroes for a century and want to keep on violating them. On the other side are the people, black and white, but mostly black so far, who want to stop these violations and compel a reluctant government to enforce these constitutional rights and the big business newspapers and many liberals want us to think that both sides are on the same level — the oppressors and the oppressed; that both sides are equally guilty of "extremism" — the racists and their victims, who only want to get the racists off their backs.

In the scales of this hypocritical logic, anybody who is strongly and passionately against oppression, anybody who is determined to end oppression at all costs, is an "extremist." George Washington's army in 1776 — they were "extremists." The people who fought the self-appointed aristocrats for universal suffrage, the right of everybody to vote — they were "extremists." The men and women who battled to introduce free public education — they were "extremists." And those of us, our brothers and fathers who went out on strike, and battled the scabs and cops to unionize auto and steel and the other mass industries 25-30 years ago, and weren't at all moderate about it — we were "extremists" too.

Setting Example

But without such "extremism," unwillingness to be moderate, refusal to compromise with injustice, and determination to use any methods possible to eliminate abuses and inequities, we wouldn't have had an independent country in the first place; and it wouldn't be worth living in the second place. If that is extremism, then I say we need more of it. And I feel grateful to the Negro people for setting an example that should be followed by white workers whenever and wherever we are confronted by injustice.

A third complaint against "impatient" and "extremist" Negroes is that they are inviting violence or advocating violence. This is another lie, a tricky way of putting the blame on Negroes when their enemies resort to violence. The truth is that Negroes have been remarkably non-violent up to now, considering the way they are treated.

I do not see any virtue in turning the other cheek when your head is being broken. The founding fathers did not advocate or practice pacifism when they fought to establish the United States in 1776. You white workers don't turn your other cheek when strikebreakers try to break

up your picket lines and smash your unions and deprive you of the benefits of unionism. Why is violence rarely mentioned or merely deplored when it is systematically used for a hundred years to keep the Negro in his so-called place, and then becomes so horrible when the Negro employs self-defense against racist force and terror?

Malcolm X is 100 per cent right when he says that Negroes should organize to defend themselves in those areas where the government fails to protect them against violence. I repeat, in those areas where illegal violence is being used against Negroes and the government does not protect them. Why should anyone get upset about that — except the racists who intend to keep on attacking the Negroes and don't want them organized and prepared to resist?

Self-defense is an American tradition, one of our glorious traditions. Why is it a virtue of which we boast for white people to continue this tradition, but not black people? What is behind all the lying propaganda about "Negro violence" except a desire to isolate the Negroes and make it easier for their oppressors to keep them down? Those of us who would defend ourselves against unjustified violence are duty-bound to defend the right of others to do the same.

Moral Reason

There are two basic reasons why white workers should actively support the Negro struggle for equality. One may be called a moral reason, the other a material reason. I shall talk about them in that order.

The Negro struggle is just. If you believe in democracy, then you cannot deny your black brothers and sisters an equal share in its benefits. If you deny them equal treatment, you have no right to talk about democracy. It is a mockery of the Constitution to support a racist division of the country into people who have certain inalienable rights and other people who don't.

Torn from his African homeland and shackled to toil in the fields, the Negro has earned the rights of full citizenship a hundred times over. He has earned it with his sweat — two and a half centuries of unpaid labor, followed by another century of underpaid labor; and with his blood — in the American Revolution where he fought to make this country independent and in the Civil War where he fought to make it free as well as independent. No cause in the long history of mankind is more just than that of the Negro. Those who oppose it, those who turn their backs on it, those who wash their hands of it, are no better, morally, than those who failed to oppose racist and religious oppression in Nazi Germany.

The other reason why white workers should support the Negro struggle may be more compelling. It is simply this — that racism and discrimination and segregation are harmful to white workers too, not as harmful as to the Negroes of course, but harmful just the same. Therefore white workers should oppose racism in their own self-interest.

I know very well that white workers can and do benefit from discrimination. When five people are competing for a job, or a promotion, or anything else, and when one of the five is a Negro, and he is discriminated against and pushed to the back of the line because of his color, then the other four, the whites, stand a better chance of getting the job or promotion, and in this sense certainly benefit from his exclusion.

But my point is that while racism benefits white workers in



DETROIT JOBLESS LINE. While Negroes are traditionally the first hit by layoffs, white workers are by no means immune from job-market shrinkage. Instead of fighting each other for jobs, both Negroes and whites would benefit from common effort to expand job opportunities or all.

some ways, it also hurts them in other ways. I will try to show how the damage outweighs the benefits.

Anti-Negro discrimination was originated by the employers, the capitalists, for two reasons: because it is economically profitable for them, and because it is politically useful for them as a way to divide and rule.

It is economically profitable because the black worker, who is singled out as "inferior" and then degraded, can be forced to work for lower wages. It is politically useful for the employers because it keeps the workers divided along color lines and fighting each other, instead of uniting to fight their common enemy and exploiter, the employers.

What benefits does the white worker derive from this? The existence of racial discrimination enables the employers to hold down the wages of all, both white and black. A look at the South proves this because that is the region where unions are fewest and weakest, and where wages are lowest in the nation, thanks to the Jim Crow system. So the white Southern worker has an advantage over the discriminated-against Negro worker, but he has to pay a high price for this advantage — conditions that keep him in poverty too. And he will be kept there until he learns he must unite with the black worker against the employers and the employers' politicians and force them to change conditions so that white and black workers will both have jobs with decent pay.

Here's another way white workers pay heavily for the racist system: If you are a white worker, you probably want Congress to pass Medicare, or provide better and earlier pensions, or raise the minimum wage, or repeal anti-union laws. But one of the main reasons you haven't been able to get these things is because anti-labor politicians from the South control Congress and block such legislation. And the main reason they control Congress is because Southern Negroes are fraudulently and forcibly denied the right to vote, with the consent of the big-business politicians from the North.

Bias Hurts Workers

I think I have proved my point about discrimination hurting white workers too. It will be a great day for all workers when we can get together and win political power away from the employers and their two parties. Then, instead of fighting among ourselves over jobs that are too few to go around, we will be able to reorganize the economy to provide well-paid jobs, decent housing and an abundance of the other things all of us need to live and grow as human beings. But that won't happen as long as the employers can keep us divided, competing against each other, each seeking some advantage at the expense of others — white against black, employed against unemployed, men

against women, skilled against unskilled, white-collar against blue-collar, old against young.

I want to cite one more example of self-interest dictating that white workers should help their Negro brothers. Whites are a majority in this country, but a minority in the world. And the world is changing. The days are gone when the non-white three-quarters of the human family will let itself be dominated and pushed around by a white minority. They are putting an end to foreign white rule and exploitation, and beginning to take their rightful place in the world.

What white-dominated countries like the United States and South Africa do about race relations today will affect race relations throughout the world in the future, the near future, when the non-white majority will have the biggest say. What white Americans do about the rights of black Americans will surely affect what the non-white majority of the world does about the rights of white Americans. If white Americans continue to deny equality to black Americans today, it will inevitably boomerang tomorrow, and may even make the difference between having or averting a world-wide racial war the day after.

Fight for Future

Those of you who are older and believe this will not come to pass in your time, I urge you to think about your children, and the kind of world you leave them, and make sure it is not the kind that will make them curse your name to the end of time.

The original motive for racism was economic — the greed for profit. As a socialist, I am convinced that eliminating the profit system, this dog-eat-dog jungle that goes by the name of capitalism, is the only sure way to eliminate racism altogether. In a socialist society, where the economy is planned and production is based on use and not profit, where no man can exploit another and the aim of all is the co-operative production of abundance for all, racial antagonisms will die out along with class distinctions and privileges.

But we cannot wait for the dawn of a new society before we begin uprooting racial discrimination in every form. We must do it now, as part of the struggle for a better world, as one of the ways to achieve a better world, and in self-interest.

I ask those of you who agree with this analysis to vote for Socialist Workers Party tickets in November, and to join our campaign between now and November. And I urgently invite all of you, whether or not you vote socialist, to join in all-out, unconditional support of the militant Negro struggle to end the racism that disgraces our country and acts as a brake on the basic economic, social and political changes that will benefit all workers, white and black.

PARLEY MARKED BY LIVELY DEBATE

Conference Reaffirms Algeria's Socialist Perspective

By Livio Maitan

ALGIERS, April 23 (World Outlook) — The congress of the FLN (National Liberation Front) came to a close Monday night with speeches by Chairman Bachir Boumaza and Ahmed Ben Bella, who was elected secretary general. On Tuesday afternoon a mass meeting was organized in Algiers to present the members of the newly elected central committee. Ben Bella utilized the occasion to make another speech, commenting on the decisions of the congress and on the current political situation.

As was expected, the congress unanimously adopted the program and the resolutions proposed by the political commission and by the economic and social commission. The general line of these texts was not questioned in actuality by anyone. The amendments that were accepted, although in certain instances not without interest, did not involve the essential points and implied no essential modifications.

Deepest Aspiration

This outcome of the congress, we repeat, should arouse no surprise. It is clear, in fact, that what in Algeria is currently called the "socialist option" corresponds to the deepest aspirations of the Algerian masses. Under these conditions opponents could not attack the fundamental lines of the program without suffering a very severe defeat. It must not be forgotten in addition that on the theoretical and programmatic level, the left holds big advantages, while the conservative and rightist elements are much less clear politically. Furthermore they do not preoccupy themselves with working on programs and texts. It is significant in addition that outside opponents — those who did not participate in the congress — thought it necessary themselves in some of their declarations to the press abroad not to question the "socialist option."

Having said this, it would be altogether wrong to conclude from this that the congress expressed substantial unity and represented an absolutely positive acquisition. In reality, rather profound differences found expression in quite distorted and deformed ways at the congress, and there is no doubt that Ben Bella felt very strong pressures, perhaps stronger than he had expected.

It is difficult to single out and characterize currents, political tendencies, which in reality exist only in a rather approximate form.



Ahmed Ben Bella

The often very lively debates brought into relief the existence or the survival of groups and "clans" the origin of which goes back to the past, including the crisis of the summer of 1962 and October 1963. The arguments advanced and the themes in dispute appeared secondary in themselves, at times being more linked to the past than the present. But at bottom, they expressed political differentiations and oppositions.

In a general sense the congress was the rather faithful reflection of the present political scene in Algeria. (Those absent, it is hardly still worth noting, achieved, so to speak, their own liquidation and more than ever are outside the real play of forces.) And the conservative resistance — which is real, and despite everything, very powerful in the country, was evident at the congress, at times even with extreme proposals. These were primarily the Islamic themes which were advanced by sectors as an ideological cover for their real tendency and their real interests. One delegate even went so far as to propose that it must be made obligatory for women to wear the veil and to completely cover their arms with sleeves!

The polemic about and between the military figures also won the attention of the congress. The old rivalries between the army of the interior and the army of the frontiers was revived, feeding on new themes and grievances. Colonel Boumedienne, whose role appears to be declining in the present phase, was reproached, for example, for utilizing a certain number of cadres out of the

French army. In his defense, Boumedienne invoked technical reasons and said he was ready to give up the cadres referred to, in the event different means could be provided to meet the technical requirements.

But the struggle became sharp and rough above all in connection with the election of the central committee. It is evident that where it is undesirable or impossible to openly question the general orientation and program, the real game becomes the conquest of positions in the leadership, of key posts (this is true obviously not only of the party but also, and even more, of the state, the administration, the economy, etc.) Thus there were fierce encounters, not in the full sessions, in the official meetings, but in the circles where the list of candidates was being made up to submit to the congress. There is no need to cite the rumors, founded on leaks. A sentence in the closing speech by Ben Bella says much about the atmosphere in the final phase of the first sessions of the FLN. "It is my duty to tell you," said Ben Bella, "that for three or four days, after overworking, I have been under nervous tension. If I have offended some brothers with my words, I beg their pardon from the depths of my heart."

Significant Indication

The composition of the central committee, composed of 80 members and 23 alternates, is, on the whole, the most significant indication of the congress. Roughly speaking, two groups can be distinguished of almost equal force (30 odd members each), representing respectively the tendency that is most properly Ben Bellist, and the army of the interior. It should be noted that chiefs of the former wilayas [military zones], including some who openly fought against Ben Bella, are on the Central Committee — even people who for a time took to the hills such as the well-known Mohand Ou El Hadj who was with Ait Ahmed last fall. The Boumedienne group is represented by about 15 persons, the others being linked in general to the former Federation of France and the present organization of the Algerian emigrants in France and Europe* (*Amicale des Algériens en France*).

Another aspect worth underlining: The Ben Bellist tendency includes at the same time elements of the left who favor self-management, etc., such as Mohamed

Harbi the editor of *Révolution Africaine*, and others who could be considered to be a tendency more inclined toward bureaucratic solutions and less enthusiastic about self-management (for example, Mahsas, Boudissa).

It is thus to be seen that the central committee is a body containing a certain equilibrium of forces and in which Ben Bella plays and will continue necessarily to play the role of an arbiter to a considerable degree. In fact, his personal position has been still further reinforced, and an amendment to the statutes approved by the congress goes in the same direction: while the original draft envisaged the election of the secretary general by the central committee, it was finally decided that the secretary general is to be elected by the congress.

The political bureau elected by the central committee also includes representatives of all the groups and tendencies, including elements that are flatly conservative, even reactionary, who took to the hills. The political bureau, after the departure of Khider and Bitat, had been reduced to three members, all of whom were re-elected.

The new bureau of 17 members is as follows: Ahmed Ben Bella, secretary general of the party and president of the Republic; Col. Houari Boumedienne, first vice-president of the council and minister of defense; Saïd Mohamed, second vice-president of the council; Bachir Boumaza, minister of the national economy; Mohamed Seghir Nekkache, minister of social affairs; Ahmed Medeghri, minister of the interior; Hadj Ben Alla, president of the national assembly; Ali Mendjeli, vice president of the assembly; Omar Benmahjoub, deputy of Orléansville; Col. Tahar Zbiri, head of the general staff of the ANP [Algerian National People's Army]; Col. Mohand Ou El Hadj, former commander of the seventh region (Kabylie); Col. Chaabani, former commandant of the fourth region (Biskra); Youcef Khatib (Col. Si

4th Int'l Sends Greetings to FLN

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International sent the following message to the FLN Congress in Algiers:

Brothers, Comrades: The Fourth International sends you its warmest greetings. Through you it salutes the Algerian Revolution, its magnificent example, its militants and its glorious martyrs. The Fourth International wishes the most complete success to the work of your congress, which will constitute a memorable date in the construction of socialist Algeria.

Long live the Algerian Revolution! Long live Socialist Algeria!

Hassan), former commandant of wilaya 4 (Algérois); Hocine Zaouane, representative of the Federation of Greater Algiers; Aït El Hocine, chairman of the *Amicale des Algériens in France*.

From all the evidence, it is clear that the situation at the congress led to a certain retreat on some very indicative points (role and conception of Islam). This was evident in a clear and unmistakable way in the differences between the speeches made by Ben Bella at the beginning of the congress and at the meeting in the Esplanade de l'Afrique.

Almost all the conscious cadres in Algeria are now convinced that the socialist orientation has been settled and that the program has been more or less accepted. But the real problem now, they feel, is its application — how to apply the line and program and by what means, by what instruments.

This problem remains to be solved and it is on its solution that the revolutionary experience now under way in Algeria will be determined in the period now closely ahead.

Iran Students Here Expose Torture by U.S.-Backed Shah

The Iranian Student Association in the United States has asked President Johnson to stop aiding the torture and misgovernment of the Iranian people. A telegram from Hassan Lebaschi, head of the student association, said:

"Mr. President, we beg of you to stop the flow of American dollars and munitions to the Shah's regime. Where did the dollars you gave in the last ten years go? To Swiss banks. How are your munitions used? To kill unarmed innocent people with orders of 'shoot-to-kill.'"

The telegram described the torturing of an Iranian engineer as an example of the bestial practices of the Shah's regime. The telegram quoted a letter from the victim of police torture as follows:

Describes Brutality

"I answered all of his [the police interrogator's] questions to the best of my knowledge. He then proceeded with questions concerning matters of which I had no knowledge at all. I had to confess my ignorance at which time he started at first by slapping me hard on the face and beating my right and left hand with his club. He would ask questions while repeating this procedure over and over again. He then made me take off my clothes and sit nude on an electric oven. He moved the hot plates close to my organs at which point I fainted. After I recovered he continued asking further questions. At this time with two assistants they stretched me on the

rack. He poured acid into a large container in which he dipped his club. They twisted my arms while holding them upwards. I could hear my joints crack. Not much room was left before breaking them. They were trying to place the club which was dipped in acid in . . . I fainted once more. By this time they succeeded in making me sign papers of the contents of which I am completely unaware."

The Iranian student group also released a letter to one of their members from William F. Dawson III, national director of the University People-to-People Program, as illustrative of the U.S. government's strong support of the Shah. It included the following:

"The presentation of the pin to the Shah during his visit to this country was done in accordance with the feelings of the United States Government in wanting to cement strong ties with Iran, and was done so with full knowledge of the Department of State and the United States Information Agency."

The telegram to Johnson pointed out that the Shah will arrive in Washington, D.C. on June 6 in order to press for more U.S. aid. It pleaded that no more U.S. aid be given him and declared: "Mr. President, we hold the Shah responsible for mass-killing, torture and shocking violations of the most basic rights of our people, all committed in the last ten years of his one-man-rule of arms and oppression."

World Events

Ben Bella in Moscow

Algerian president Ben Bella, in Moscow for the May Day celebrations, said in his arrival speech: "We have demonstrated and will continue to demonstrate our solidarity with peoples carrying on their just struggle for national independence, especially with the African peoples — of Angola, Mozambique, so-called Portuguese Guinea, Rhodesia, South Africa. Revolutionary Algeria will never abandon these peoples, nor any other people which is struggling for its national and social emancipation."

Youths Protest in Prague

For the third year in a row young Czechs chose the international workers holiday to demonstrate discontent with the regime of Antonin Novotny who has been in power since Stalin's day. Last year eight were sentenced to seven months to three years for "subversion." This May Day a gathering of youth, reported at 3,000, in

a Prague park for a poetry reading, was dispersed by police; later another demonstration formed in a downtown square. Demonstrators denounced police as "Gestapo" and chanted for "freedom" and a "better standard of living." The official Czech press agency said 31 were arrested.

Dominican Workers Strike

In the wake of May Day demonstrations by several thousand, a taxi and bus strike crippled transportation in the Dominican Republic as workers and students protested the U.S.-backed regime which seized power last September. Troops were brought into the capital, as crowds burned cars, hurled rubbish and stoned police.

Absences in Peking

Missing from China's May Day celebrations were delegations from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Hungary. Polish and Rumanian delegations were there. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions urged the Soviet

trade-union organization in vain to reconsider its rejection of an invitation to attend.

Next day the New China News Agency announced that an expedition had successfully climbed Mount Shisha Pangma, 26,291-foot peak in the Himalayas. The expedition leader reported from the top by radio the placing of the Chinese flag and a bust of Chairman Mao Tse-tung on the summit.

Battle Police in Portugal

Demonstrators clashed with police in May Day protests in Lisbon, Portugal. Dictator Salazar's police denied blame for the killing of one demonstrator and the wounding of another. They claimed only "four or five" had been arrested.

Free Zanzibar Celebrates

Thousands of workers in Zanzibar celebrated their first May Day free of British rule. An enthusiastic parade included Soviet weapons manned by Zanzibar's People's Liberation Army.

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters under 400 words. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Democrats No Help

New York, N.Y.

Here are a few arguments which advocates of "working for progress" in the Democratic Party have yet to refute.

Stop splitting the vote of the working people between the two

parties which don't represent them.

You alienate people who are honest and want a real change by telling them to vote for a capitalist party.

The worst single basket you can put all your eggs in is reliance on capitalist political parties to make social change.

You're an isolated (and shrinking) minority — and you are bound to become more isolated — from sincere opponents of racism, war, unemployment, and the witch-hunt as they learn that the parties of the status quo will not fight them.

In order to contribute meaningfully to progress you've got to get into a power structure, but the power structure which can function to erase the ills of capitalism. Right now, that implies building a political arm for the working people and the Negroes.

J.G.

On Communism

Oxford, Pa.

I address you as comrades because I regard all opponents of owning for a living as my comrades, no matter how much some of them may hate others. I am puzzled about the difference between the two Communist parties.

Trotsky was ousted and finally murdered by the Stalin faction in Russia, but that faction is out of office now, I believe. Why should not all Communists belong to one party now? If there is a good reason I should like to know it.

There ought to be a true American Communist party, with a program written in the dialect of America. What Marx wrote was directed to the conditions of his time, which have changed. How much of it is applicable to American conditions? The same may be said of Leninism.

The terminology should be revised. Bourgeois has no meaning in America today, or in any republic, for that matter. The fact that democracy in America is weakened by the unlimited private ownership of land and natural resources needs to be emphasized. That is the true cause of unemployment.

The Communist plan — from each according to his ability; to each according to his need — means that the more able workers will have to do more than their share, so that all may share alike. To make that work, we must learn to love our neighbors as we love ourselves, even if they disagree with us in politics. The four great religions teach that love, and to that extent they should make good communists. All families practice communism among themselves. Spread that idea.

American laws that are used against socialism were framed to hit "anarchists," who wish to destroy the government. It should be given full publicity that the socialist revolution can be accomplished by amendments to our present constitution, much of which is democratic. If there is any fighting to be done, it will be to defend the elected government against such a revolt as occurred in Spain.

Archie Craig

Safety Not Simple

Orange, Calif.

This evening's paper has an item about a 71-year-old painter who was killed when he fell off a scaffold.

I do not know the man or under what job conditions he was killed but I do know there have been too many killed needlessly.

I hope some day to go on a job and have safety conditions as our union contract calls for (as well as the state safety code) without having to start a revolution.

Carl A. Gregory

Peace Plan

Santa Cruz, Calif.

I notice that those countries defeated in war are the welfare indigents of the "victor" countries. They are nursed back to a healthy prosperity — Germany, Japan, et al. I see that a war economy makes munitions manufacturers rich. I see it takes two to make a war which kills millions of people and destroys billions of dollars worth of wealth. This seems senseless.

Why couldn't some powerful influence persuade the "attacked" country to surrender without shooting a shot. This would save lives and save the rich from money worries, as they would have it all and could throw "surplus" wealth into the ocean, rather than produce munitions with it to be destroyed in a war nobody wants.

Well, let's do some thinking — or even guessing. "We've" spent 150 billion dollars staving off socialism in Europe and Asia but how long can American taxpayers finance a bankrupt world while the wealthy "untouchables" manage to mop up the "surplus" profits?

I believe it would be educa-

tional to procure the best qualified speakers on political science in college debates with defenders of the status quo. Americans — especially workers — must understand that "politics" is the science of "how you live."

They must also "understand" all the 'isms, to decide which is good for the majority. And they must also understand — what makes a war in order to even think correctly on how to get peace. Everybody in the world wants peace. Then who and why a war?

H.E.B.

A Renewal

Detroit, Mich.

Please renew my Militant subscription. I enjoy reading it so much I would not want to do without it. I would like you to send me the issue I missed.

Mrs. J. R.

In Light of History

Fort Myers, Fla.

How fascinating to try to understand our own behavior today. Our affluence, integration, poverty, crime, war. And as the historian James Harvey Robinson says, only through a knowledge of the past, can we understand the present.

What does our past tell us? In Egypt fifty-seven hundred years ago through Herodotus and modern archaeologists we see hundreds of thousands of slaves forced by cruel masters to sacrifice many years of their lives to build the pyramid for the one Cheops. Such

blind brutal vanity of such leaders has poisoned the whole of human history.

Not much over a hundred years ago in England we see little children being hung for the theft of anything over a shilling. This was the official policy supported by the king, business, law, religion, education and custom. We see hundreds and thousands of children toiling and slaving endlessly in dreary factories. As H. G. Wells points out, the first Factory Act of 1819 tried to protect tiny children aged nine and to reduce the working day to twelve hours! Actual human slavery was abolished here in America just one hundred years ago. And was it six million Jews that the Hitlerian Germans massacred in a few years of our own century?

We must face this horror. But how much of life today does this help us to understand!

The hate-lined faces of those Louisiana women screaming on the nation's television. The ruthless and shocking murder of one brave man after another who were simply struggling for justice and human dignity for all.

The well-fed men in top places whose eyes are blind to the thin bodies of little children going hungry while vast stores of surplus foods waste.

The men howling for war slaughter who are blind to all the cataclysmic terror and tragedy of atomic annihilation.

We desperately need a new spirit of friendly cooperation for the welfare of ourselves and fellow human beings.

Gordon Caulfield

It Was Reported in the Press

Oversight — Several hundred "dignitaries" — principally politicians and business men — gathered at the World's Fair May 1 to "pay honor to the free-enterprise system," reports the *New York Times*. The occasion was the dedication of the Fair's "Hall of Free Enterprise" and the lighting of the "Torch of Truth" atop it. Included on the program for a few brief remarks was David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers. He, too, paid homage to "free enterprise" but added, wistfully his regret that "the Hall of Free Enterprise did not have an exhibition for the American labor movement." "A great oversight," he said.

Progress Report — Mrs. Edythe Gaines is slated to become the first Negro junior-high-school principal in New York City. She is the first member of her race to become a principal in a New York school above the elementary level. Of the city's 840 principals, two will now be Negroes. The other heads an elementary school. About 14 per cent of the City's population is Negro.

No Pussyfooting — A high-school class in Ionia, Mich., produced the musical, *Damn Yankee*. Rev. Raymond Bierlin, the local Protestant Episcopal minister criticized some of the dancing as "salacious and immoral." Two members of his parish, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Clore, wrote to a local paper characterizing the Reverend's criticism as expressing "archaic beliefs and moral knowledge." He promptly excommunicated the couple from the church. The excommunication was upheld by Bishop Charles Bennison who

declared: "We need more clergymen like him so he would not seem so unusual."

What Price Jim Crow? — According to a Labor Department survey, the average income of white city families in 1960-61 was \$6,160 while the average income for Negro city families during the same period was \$3,840.

Side Money — The *Value Line Investment Survey* reports: "The biggest 'side effects' produced thus far by oral contraceptives are to be found — not among the ladies who swallow the pills, but rather among investors excited about the pill-makers stocks. The Drug Industry's new 'glamor' product has indeed created a spectacular fever in the stock market — one that has not been matched since the 'glamour' boom in Electronic Stocks."

Bread Before Bombs — Brooks Atkinson, long-time drama critic, devoted a May 1 *New York Times* column to the plight of Judith Malina and Julian Beck, the husband-and-wife team who head New York's Living Theater. The

Becks face a jail term on the charge of impeding federal officers seeking to attach the theater's property for tax arrears. Commenting on why the Becks are in trouble with the government, Atkinson explained: "Although Mr. and Mrs. Beck worked 12 to 14 hours a day year after year, their theater went steadily deeper into debt to the government. If there was not enough money in the till to pay both the actors and the ticket tax, the Becks paid the actors."

League of Cautious Voters — Meeting in Pittsburgh last month, the 26th national convention of the League of Women Voters girded itself to adopt its very first resolution on civil rights. The resolution calls for a two-year study by local affiliates of opportunities in education and employment. The words "equal opportunity" were stricken from the proposed resolution after a delegate from New Orleans pleaded that their work would be impeded by "a word so controversial as equality." Another Louisiana delegate added: "Equality is a red flag where we live."

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"White-supremacists need not be alarmed," said Judge H. T. Delaney of the Domestic Relations Court at a conference in New York on *Children Apart*. 'A Supreme Court decision will not end segregated education in the United States.' He pointed out that a New York state law passed in 1900 made separate schools for Negroes illegal. But 54 years later most Negroes in New York City are still attending separate schools because of 'custom and residential segregation.' . . .

"Everyone knows that in Southern states practicing a 'separate but equal' policy, results are far from equal. Negro schools are notoriously bad. Academic standards are low, school-houses are in miserable condition, the number of classrooms and teachers is hopelessly inadequate. What about the segregated schools of New York City? The Conference revealed some startling facts:

"Some Negro children are illegally placed in classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of group tests.

"The quality and educational atmosphere of the school varies directly with the social and economic status of the neighborhood. When large numbers of Negroes and Puerto Ricans move in, educational standards are automatically lowered to accommodate the assumed lower educational potential of these children . . ."—May 10, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"The Nisei Japanese-Americans are one of the casualties of the second world war. Uprooted as a result of the war, they face the task of attempting to reintegrate themselves amid all sorts of opposition and hostility.

"The main concentration of the Japanese in American economic life was in the agricultural field, in the so-called 'stooping' types of truck farming, which requires back-breaking hand labor in the fields. They also engaged in peddling fruit, vegetables, and flowers in competition with white merchants. It is the white agricultural capitalists who are in the leadership of the movement opposing the return of the internees.

"A few months after Pearl Harbor the army carried through an exclusion order, for 'military reasons.' All persons of Japanese birth or descent were ordered out of the coastal areas. The evacuees were forced to liquidate their holdings. Property had to be sold or leased at sacrifice rates. This also applied to automobiles and other personal belongings. The present California law prohibits ownership of land by foreign-born Japanese and those ineligible for citizenship . . . The same process took place in the fishing industry in which liquidation was carried out under the eyes of military and naval authorities."—May 13, 1944.

Thought for the Week

"... incidentally, the economic problem and the poverty problem are really one problem." — Leon Keyserling, long a leading economic adviser to the U. S. government.

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SNCC Challenges Senator On Georgia Police Violence

ATLANTA, April 30 — John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), has asked Senator Richard B. Russell (D-Ga.) to speak out against "police terror" in Southwest Georgia rather than calling for investigations of police brutality in other states.

On April 22, Russell made a speech in the Senate describing brutal police treatment of demonstrators at the World's Fair in New York City. Lewis wrote Russell citing the police shooting of 15-year-old Bobby Miller in Albany, Ga., April 18.

Miller "was shot down by police who later claimed he was a burglary suspect," said Lewis. "This was the sixth such death in the past two years there, according to SNCC workers based in the Albany area."

Don Harris, 23, director of SNCC's Southwest Georgia project, said in Albany that affidavits were being gathered from persons at the scene of the killing who "witnessed the fact there was no warning call or warning shot before the slaying."

ATLANTA, Ga., April 30 — SNCC Chairman John Lewis said this week that Federal Bureau of Investigation Director J. Edgar Hoover is "merely seeking appropriations" and "giving aid and comfort to racists" in charging Communists have infiltrated the civil-rights movement.

Lewis said FBI agents "could more wisely spend their time finding the bombers, midnight assassins, and brutal racists who daily make a mockery of the United States Constitution." Lewis said the FBI "has become a specter of mistrust and suspicion" to "the

millions of Negroes in the Deep South."

HATTIESBURG, Miss., April 30 — The constitutionality of one of Mississippi's new anti-civil-rights laws has been challenged by two Negro congressional candidates.

Rev. John Cameron and Mrs. Victoria Gray filed a petition April 13 asking a United States District court to issue an injunction prohibiting enforcement of an anti-picketing bill signed into law April 8.

Cameron, a candidate from the state's Fifth Congressional District, was one of 44 persons arrested in the first use of the new law on April 10. The group had picketed the courthouse. The law forbids picketing of state, county or city buildings and public streets and sidewalks if it tends to interfere with normal business. SNCC Chairman John Lewis called the law "a police-state measure." Conceivably, it could also prohibit union picketing.

BATON ROUGE, La. — A young college student left the East Baton Rouge Parish Jail here May 5 after spending 60 days behind bars for civil-rights activities.

He is Dion Tyrone Diamond of Petersburg, Virginia, a student at the University of Wisconsin and a former staff member of SNCC. Diamond was jailed here Feb. 1, 1961 when he urged students to boycott classes at all-Negro Southern University. At that time he spent 59 days in jail before being released on a \$7,000 appeal bond.

After the U.S. Supreme Court refused to review his conviction, he began serving the 60-day jail term March 5.

U. S. Intervention in Vietnam Scored At New York, San Francisco Rallies

NEW YORK — Some 600 people, mostly students, took part in a May 2 rally protesting U.S. participation in the war in Vietnam. They gathered at Cathedral Square, near 110th Street, in Manhattan to hear speakers. Afterwards many of them marched to Times Square and then to the United Nations.

Students came from as far as Oberlin College in Ohio to participate in the demonstration. Colleges in the New York area and others, including Yale, Smith and Haverford, were represented, as were East Coast cities from Boston to Baltimore.

The rally was chaired by Russell Stetler, a Haverford College sophomore, whose right to continue to hold a Philadelphia Board of Education scholarship is under attack by right-wing elements because of his outspoken opposition to U.S. participation in the war in Vietnam. (At a five-hour hearing on May 1, the Veterans of Foreign Wars among others testified against Stetler; he was able to present witnesses in his favor, however, including the president of Haverford College and representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Association of University Professors.)

At the Cathedral Square rally folk-singer Phil Ochs made a musical attack on the U.S. role in South Vietnam. Speakers included: Bill Epton, introduced as a former candidate for Manhattan City Council; Mrs. Helen Lamont; Jay Garnett, representing May 2nd Committee Co-ordinator Peter Camejo who was unable to be present; Conrad Lynn, New York civil-rights attorney; Russ Nixon, general manager of the *National*

Guardian; Philip Luce, editor of *Rights*, the magazine of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee; Benjamin Ortiz, spokesman for the Federation of University Students for Puerto Rican Independence (FUPI), who had flown to New York for the rally; Bill Scott of the Rockland County, N. Y., Freedom Now Party; and Levi Laub, May 2nd Committee co-ordinator.

Among the groups supporting the demonstration were the Young Socialist Alliance, the Socialist Workers Party, Progressive Labor Movement, Youth Against War and Fascism and Advance. A leaflet distributed by Students for DeBerry and Shaw, the SWP presidential ticket, urged American youth to fight the war-makers by supporting the political campaign against the capitalist parties.

MAY 3 — In San Francisco yesterday 800 demonstrators participated in a protest that paralleled those held in other cities.

A rally demanding an end to U.S. intervention in Vietnam was addressed by Sterling Hayden, author and actor; Vincent Hallinan, presidential candidate of the Progressive Party in 1952; Nguyen Van Luy, a Vietnamese American; Dr. Thomas Brewer, of the Citizens' Committee for Nuclear Disarmament; Mike Myerson, of the Ad Hoc Committee to End Racial Discrimination; and John Thomas, the chairman of the Committee to End U.S. Intervention in Vietnam, which organized the demonstration.

Demonstrators marched to the Presidio, an army base open to the public, but were denied entry by a colonel commanding military police, backed up by a federal district attorney.

10 YEARS AFTER HIGH COURT DECISION

'Deliberate Speed' — 9% Integrated

By Dick Roberts

May 17 marks the tenth anniversary of the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school segregation. But a decade has hardly brought the progress most people anticipated. Today, there are 3,412,799 Negro children in the public schools of the South, the border states, and the District of Columbia. Of them, 3,094,760 are still in Jim Crow schools, while only 318,039 are in integrated schools.

Thus 91% of the Negro children to whom the Supreme Court decision was supposed to apply are still in segregated schools. This figure compares with 95% in 1959, the fifth anniversary of the decision, marking a progress of only 4% in five years. At this rate it would take another 120 years to achieve school integration.

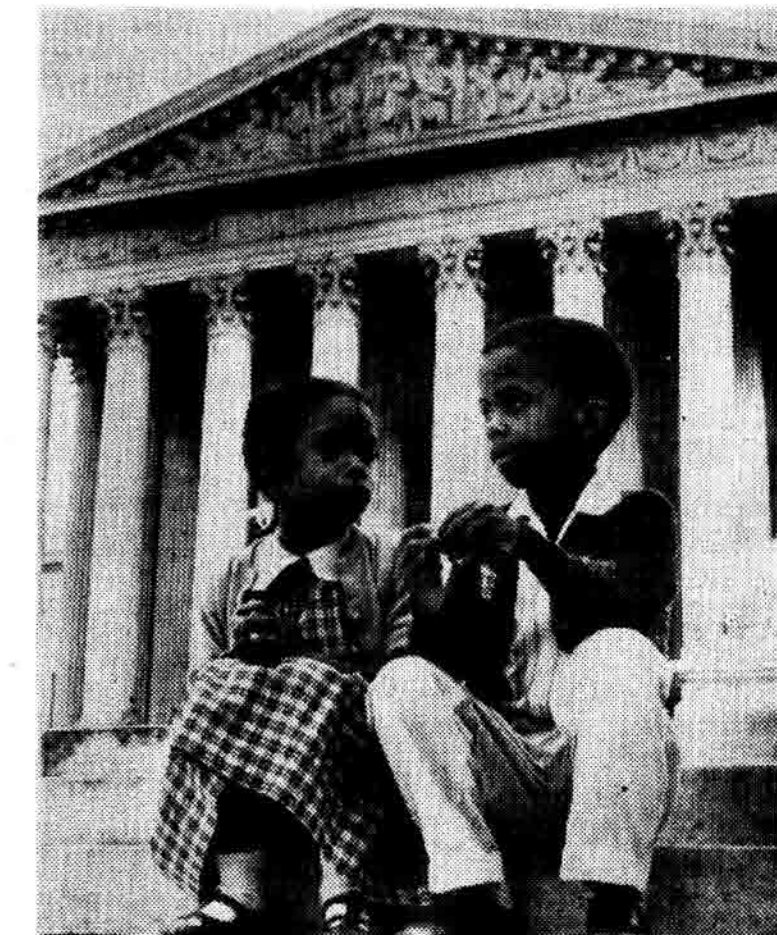
Yet even here the figures are too optimistic. Practically all the desegregation which has taken place has been in the border states and the District of Columbia, where 56% of the Negro children are in schools with white children. But of the 2,256 school districts in the South, which have both Negro and white pupils, only 423 have begun any desegregation whatsoever.

That this is only token desegregation can be seen in the fact that of the total Negro children in the South only 1% are in these "desegregated" schools: in Mississippi there are no Negroes in integrated schools; only ten Negro pupils in South Carolina are in "desegregated" schools with 3,108 white; eleven in Alabama with 106,199 whites; and less than 200 Negro students have been allowed in white schools in Georgia.

Thus in Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia, where there are 1,527,663 Negro pupils, only 198 have been admitted to white schools — ten years after the Supreme Court decision. And the racists are fighting hard to keep that figure from increasing or even to cut it down. Each year their state legislatures add new laws to make desegregation even more difficult.

An example of how such a state law works is afforded by Alabama's Act 522 which permits local boards to separate students on the basis of "disparate ability, background and achievement," and to provide special classes considered necessary "in the best interest of the students and the entire student body of the school."

When this law was passed in 1963, its sponsor, Rep. Alton Turner, said the legislation provided



How Long, How Long?

for segregation by sex and race within a school ordered desegregated.

Furthermore, it can be easily seen that most of the desegregation which has taken place resulted from the militant pressure of civil-rights groups, rather than the automatic enforcement by the federal government of the "law of the land." In fact, school desegregation had ground to a virtual halt in the 1957-60 period before the upsurge of civil-rights demonstrations.

It was the sit-ins of 1960 and the mass picketing which followed which prodded school desegregation to even its present level. This slow-down and subsequent revival can be seen in the following statistics for Baltimore schools, now at a relatively high level of integration (42%)

Integrated Schools	Year
1	1953
49	1954
65	1955
80	1956
81	1957
90	1958

89*	1959
88*	1960
102	1961
112	1962
125	1963

* an actual decrease

The Supreme Court's 1954 ruling was an important legal victory for the Negro people. It was a victory wrung from the government by years of struggle and because at that moment the rising colonial revolution put tremendous international pressure behind the Negroes' demands for equality. But the high court's decision was a victory which gave few immediate fruits other than the opportunity to carry the struggle to new heights. For where the rights of this country's black population are concerned no U.S. law or Supreme Court decision is ever automatically applied.

The recent period has seen the school struggle move to the front of the stage in the North also, where the boycott tactic has been applied on a mass scale against *de facto* school segregation in city after city.

Clearly the Supreme Court decision of ten years ago gave black children the right to equal and integrated schooling on paper only. To translate that paper right into actuality will require continued and even greater struggles.

Freedom Movement Sues School Board

Cleveland's United Freedom Movement, the coalition of over 40 civil-rights groups, is backing a court fight against the segregationist policies of the Cleveland Board of Education. A suit filed by two taxpayers charges the board, its employees and contractors with misuse of public funds in building two new schools in ghetto neighborhoods. The suit asks damages of \$1 million and an immediate halt to construction. One of those suing is Dr. Creed F. Ward, who was joint head of the committee of doctors which "excused" school boycotters on April 20.



MAKING THEIR VOICES HEARD. Heading down New York's busy 42nd St., demonstrators against U.S. intervention in Vietnam war make way to United Nations from rally they had staged near Columbia University.