

THE MILITANT

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Malcolm X Launches A New Organization

By David Herman

NEW YORK — Malcolm X launched his long-awaited organization at a rally at the Audubon Ballroom here June 28. Its name is the Organization of Afro-American Unity. As OAAU chairman, Malcolm X read aloud its Statement of Basic Aims and Objectives. After he had explained and expanded on these, applications for membership in the new organization were accepted.

Malcolm X recalled to the audience the prediction he had made when he first began to work among the non-Muslim Afro-Americans. He then said that after the young people had a chance to consider the problem they would form either a black nationalist party or a black nationalist army. The OAAU, he said, is what those who have been working on the problem since then have come up with. It is patterned on the Organization of African Unity, founded in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, to unite all Africans despite their differences in the fight to eliminate colonialism.

Object Equality

The OAAU's object is to win freedom, justice, equality and dignity for Americans of African descent "by any means necessary." "We want it now," the black nationalist leader said, "or we don't think anybody should have it."

The OAAU has begun organizing in New York City because there are more Africans concentrated in the Negro ghettos here than anywhere else in the world, but intends to spread to the rest of the country and eventually to the rest of the Western Hemisphere. The long-range perspective is that once those of African descent in this hemisphere were united, they could unite with their brothers in Africa.

The OAAU's second principle is the right of self-defense: "We assert that in those areas where the government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of our people, that our people are within their rights to protect themselves by whatever means are necessary. A man with a rifle or club can only be stopped by a person who defends himself with a rifle or club."

Afro-American Duty

This country is willing to go to war at the drop of a hat, said Malcolm X, while it preaches to black people that they should not defend themselves. It is the "duty of every Afro-American to defend his brothers," he declared. Speaking of Mississippi, he said: "We could send brothers down there to form defense groups." He called on Elijah Muhammad, head of the Black Muslims, to join in a common project to fight against the enemies of their people in Mississippi instead of fighting each other.

"Both parties are racist," declared Malcolm X, "and the Democratic Party is more racist than the Republican Party. . . . Both parties have sold us out." The OAAU statement on political action says:

"We will start immediately a voter-registration drive to make every unregistered voter in the Afro-American community an independent voter; we propose to support and/or organize political



Malcolm X

clubs, to run independent candidates for office, and to support any Afro-American already in office who answers to and is responsible to the Afro-American community."

Any black candidate who is "controlled by the white power structure" would not be supported, he said.

The OAAU statement also outlines a broad program of educational, economic and social self-help for the black community. Many specific proposals for action are included.

Malcolm X indicated that the new organization's first actions would be against the Gestapo-like "No-Knock" and "Stop-and-Frisk" laws which have just gone into effect in New York.

Among a number of other projects now being worked on, he mentioned establishment of an OAAU newspaper.

The temporary headquarters of the OAAU are at Suite 128 of the Theresa Hotel at 125th St. and Seventh Ave. The Sunday night rallies at the Audubon Ballroom will continue, under OAAU sponsorship.

The full text of the OAAU's Statement of Basic Aims and Objectives appears on page two.

Johnson's Refusal to Act Is Encouraging More Lynchings in Mississippi

By Barry Sheppard

James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, the three young civil-rights workers missing in Mississippi, must now be presumed dead — lynched by police and white supremacists. While the search for their bodies continues, the racist reign of terror in that state mounts.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, spearhead of the fight for justice there, charges that "Mississippi law-enforcement officials and private citizens are engaged in a conspiracy to harass and intimidate local Negroes and civil-rights workers through cross-burnings, beatings, shootings and illegal arrests."

Despite these well-known facts, President Johnson stubbornly refuses to intervene to protect the lives of Negroes and civil-rights workers in Mississippi. Though his oath of office obliges him to protect their constitutional rights, he is defaulting in this duty lest he offend the powerful Southern wing of the Democratic Party. Thus he has turned a deaf ear to pleas to send federal troops or marshals to Mississippi and to deputize and arm Negroes there.

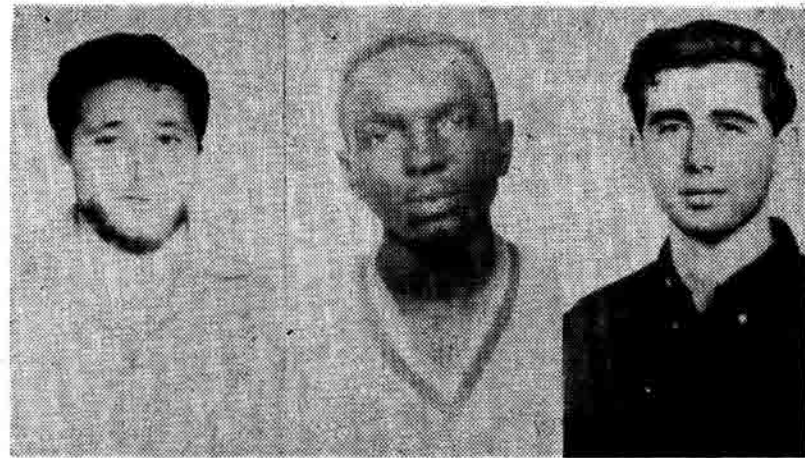
Instead of sending troops, Johnson has utilized a number of publicity gimmicks to give the impression that he is "doing something." None of these gimmicks extends federal protection to Mississippi Negroes or civil-rights workers or cuts into the power of the state's Negro-hating officials and racist organizations.

Fact-Finding Trip

Johnson's first gimmick was to send spymaster Allen Dulles, former CIA head, to Mississippi. When the headlines subsided, it turned out that Dulles' mission was only a fact-finding junket consisting mainly of having a conversation with the Governor.

James Forman, executive secretary of SNCC, along with other Mississippi Negroes, managed to see Dulles. Forman told him the federal government must honor "repeated requests made by local and national civil-rights leaders for a federal protective force in Mississippi." But Johnson ignored this plea and many others.

Johnson's second gimmick was to order a few hundred U.S. sailors (they were first announced as Marines) to the area where the civil-rights workers had disappeared. But the sailors were first disarmed by Johnson's order and their mission was not protection



MUST BE PRESUMED DEAD. Michael Schwerner (left), 24, James E. Chaney (center), 21, and Andrew Goodman, 20, the civil-rights workers who disappeared after being arrested by Philadelphia, Miss., police.

but merely to help search for the bodies.

SNCC has chronicled some of the harassment Mississippi civil-rights workers have been subjected to in the week following the disappearance of the three young men:

On June 21, the day of the disappearance, police in Ruleville stopped a carload of summer volunteers for "questioning"; ordered other volunteers off the street in Clarksdale; jailed civil-rights worker James Brown on a trumped-up charge of "reckless driving" in Mayben. SNCC worker Andrew Barnes in Natchez barely escaped ten men who broke into his car and stole literature and personal items.

On June 23 three homes were bombed in McComb. Two reporters were chased from Ruleville to Greenwood at speeds up to 90 miles per hour. In Jackson a Negro man was shot twice in the head while following two white men who had fired into a Negro cafe.

Whites in cars circled the Negro community in Ruleville June 24, throwing bottles at cars and homes. Armed whites met voter-registration workers in Drew. SNCC worker Morton Thomas was ordered from Hollandale by the mayor and police chief who said he could not do voter-registration work without a permit. In Canton a car used by voter-registration workers was shot into, and CORE worker Scott Smith barely missed being hit by a shotgun blast.

Five more bomb threats occurred in McComb the same day; 40 M-1 rifles were stolen from a National Guard armory in Collins.

A white man set fire to a hall used for registration meetings in Moss Point, and two white SNCC volunteers were held overnight without charges. In Jackson a Negro minister's home was shot into, and in Clarksdale Police Chief Collins threatened to beat volunteer Fred Winyard.

On June 25 a church in Ruleville was firebombed. In Itta Bena two volunteers were ordered out of town by two truckloads of white men. A church was set on fire in Clinton, and two SNCC workers were ordered out of Durant.

Eight voter-registration workers were jailed in Columbus on June 26, and CORE worker Ed Hollander was beaten in a Jackson jail. In Ruleville on June 27 a pro-civil-rights white minister was prevented from attending a white church by the mayor. Night-riders fired into a volunteers' car on June 28 in Hattiesburg; the following day Pete Stoner, white SNCC field secretary, was arrested on two traffic charges in the same city.

Hand in Glove

Police and other law-enforcement officials are hand in glove with white-supremacist organizations like the Klan and the Association for the Preservation of the White Race, noted for its strength in Philadelphia, Miss. All indications are that the local official who arrested James E. Chaney, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, on June 21 either arranged for them to be killed in the jail or handed them over to a lynch gang.

The state and local police in Mississippi are not going to protect the lives of Negroes and civil-rights workers. Johnson knows this. If he continues to refuse to arm and deputize Mississippi Negroes and use federal troops to enforce the Constitution, then the blood of future victims of the white-supremacists will be on his hands.

Johnson's refusal to act is emboldening the racists and convincing them that they can get away with murder. In the face of the mounting terror and the federal government's failure to provide minimum protection, Negroes in Mississippi have the right and duty to arm and organize themselves for self-defense.

THE PEOPLE LOSE AGAIN

Medicare Bill Is Dropped

By Marvel Scholl

The American Medical Association won another victory over the American people on June 24 when the House Ways and Means Committee flushed the King-Anderson Medicare bill down the drain and came up with an inadequate substitute bill calling for a 5 per cent increase in Social Security pensions, inclusion of self-employed doctors in coverage, lowering the age at which widows may draw pensions and a few other minor changes.

The bill would increase Social Security taxes from 3.625 to 3.8 per cent and would be paid on the first \$5,400 instead of \$4,800 annual wages. Ironically one of the AMA's arguments against "so-

cialized medicine," as represented by Medicare, had been that it would increase the Social Security tax which, they said, would be "resented" by younger workers. Actually Medicare would have increased the tax rate only to 3.875 per cent.

The administration says it hopes it can attach a medical-care amendment onto the present bill, if and when it reaches the Senate.

The defeat of the King-Anderson Medicare bill will once again provide the liberal politicians — especially the Democrats, though they control both Houses of Congress — with a valuable campaign issue. In 1960 candidate John F. Kennedy shed crocodile tears before huge mass meetings of oldsters, promising them that upon election his first order of business

would be passage of adequate, Social Security-financed, medical care. Now, four years later, President Johnson declares that "the fight has just begun."

Meanwhile, almost 19 million older people in this country live without proper medical care when they need it most. Those with health insurance find they must pay ever-increasing premiums. Those without such coverage go without care when sick or have to submit to a humiliating means test if they apply for aid under the Kerr-Mills Act. That act, passed in 1960, is financed by matching state and federal funds, and was supposed to provide for the "medically indigent." Even the American Medical Association admits that it has failed in that purpose.

Our Summer Schedule

During July and August The Militant is published every other week. Our next issue will be dated July 27. Weekly publication will resume in September.

Program of Organization of Afro-American Unity

The following is the full text of the Statement of Basic Aims and Objectives of the Organization of Afro-American Unity made public by Malcolm X.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity, organized and structured by a cross-section of the Afro-American people living in the U.S.A., has been patterned after the letter and spirit of the Organization of African Unity established at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, May 1963.

We, the members of the Organization of Afro-American Unity gathered together in Harlem, New York:

Convinced that it is the inalienable right of all people to control their own destiny;

Conscious of the fact that freedom, equality, justice and dignity are essential objectives for the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of the people of African descent here in the Western Hemisphere, we will endeavor to build a bridge of understanding and create the basis for Afro-American unity;

Conscious of our responsibility to harness the natural and human resources of our people for their total advancement in all spheres of human endeavor;

Inspired by a common determination to promote understanding among our people and co-operation in all matters pertaining to their survival and advancement, we will support the aspirations of our people for brotherhood and solidarity in a larger unity transcending all organizational differences;

Convinced that, in order to translate this determination into a dynamic force in the cause of human progress, conditions of peace and security must be established and maintained;

Determined to unify the Americans of African descent in their fight for Human Rights and Dignity, and being fully aware that this is not possible in the present atmosphere and condition of oppression, we dedicate ourselves to the building of a political, economic, and social system of justice and peace;

Dedicated to the unification of all people of African descent in this hemisphere and to the utilization of that unity to bring into being the organizational structure that will project the black people's contributions to the world;

Persuaded that the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Constitution of the U.S.A. and the Bill of Rights are the principles in which we believe and these documents if put into practice represent the essence of mankind's hopes and good intentions;

Desirous that all Afro-American people and organizations should henceforth unite so that the welfare and well-being of our people will be assured;

Resolved to reinforce the common bond of purpose between our people by submerging all of our differences and establishing a non-religious and non-sectarian constructive program for Human Rights;

Do hereby present this charter.

I — Establishment

The Organization of Afro-American Unity shall include all people of African descent in the Western Hemisphere, as well as our brothers and sisters on the African Continent.

II — Self-Defense

Since self-preservation is the first law of nature, we assert the Afro-American's right of self-defense.

The Constitution of the U.S.A. clearly affirms the right of every American citizen to bear arms. And as Americans, we will not give up a single right guaranteed under the Constitution. The history of unpunished violence against our people clearly indicates that we must be prepared to defend ourselves or we will continue to be a defenseless people at the mercy of a ruthless and violent racist mob.

We assert that in those areas where the government is either unable or unwilling to protect the lives and property of our people, that our people are within their rights to protect themselves by whatever means necessary. A man with a rifle or club can only be stopped by a person who defends himself with a rifle or club.

Tactics based solely on morality can only succeed when you are dealing with basically moral people or a moral system. A man or system which oppresses a man because of his color is not moral. It is the duty of every Afro-American and every Afro-American community throughout this country to protect its people against mass murderers, bombers, lynchers, floggers, brutalizers and exploiters.

III — Education

Education is an important element in the struggle for Human Rights. It is the means to help our children and people rediscover their identity and thereby increase self-respect. Education is our passport to the future, for tomorrow belongs to the people who prepare for it today.

Our children are being criminally shortchanged in the public school system of America. The Afro-American schools are the poorest run schools in New York City. Principals and teachers fail to understand the nature of the problems with which they work and as a result they cannot do the job of teaching our children. The textbooks tell our children

nothing about the great contributions of Afro-Americans to the growth and development of this country. The Board of Education's integration program is expensive and unworkable; and the organization of principals and supervisors in the New York City school system has refused to support the Board's plan to integrate the schools, thus dooming it to failure.

The Board of Education has said that even with its plan there are ten per cent of the schools in the Harlem-Bedford-Stuyvesant community they cannot improve. This means that the Organization of Afro-American Unity must make the Afro-American community a more potent force for educational self-improvement.

A first step in the program to end the existing system of racist education is to demand that the ten per cent of the schools the Board of Education will not include in its plan, be turned over to and run by the Afro-American community. We want Afro-American principals to head these schools. We want Afro-American teachers in these schools. We want textbooks written by Afro-Americans that are acceptable to us to be used in these schools.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will select and recommend people to serve on local school boards where school policy is made and passed on to the Board of Education.

Through these steps we will make the ten per cent of schools we take over educational showplaces that will attract the attention of people all over the nation.

If these proposals are not met, we will ask Afro-American parents to keep their children out of the present inferior schools they attend. When these schools in our neighborhood are controlled by Afro-Americans, we will return to them.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity recognizes the tremendous importance of the complete involvement of Afro-American parents in every phase of school life. Afro-American parents must be willing and able to go into the schools and see that the job of educating our children is done properly.

We call on all Afro-Americans around the nation to be aware that the conditions that exist in the New York City public school system are as deplorable in their cities as they are here. We must unite our efforts and spread our program of self-improvement through education to every Afro-American community in America.

We must establish all over the country schools of our own to train our children to become scientists and mathematicians. We must realize the need for adult education and for job retraining programs that will emphasize a changing society in which automation plays the key role. We intend to use the tools of education to help raise our people to an unprecedented level of excellence and self-respect through their own efforts.

IV — Politics - Economics

Basically, there are two kinds of power that count in America: economic and political, with social power deriving from the two. In order for the Afro-Americans to control their destiny, they must be able to control and affect the decisions which control their destiny: economic, political and social. This can only be done through organization.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity will organize the Afro-American community block by block to make the community aware of its power and potential; we will start immediately a voter-registration drive to make every unregistered voter in the Afro-American community an Independent voter; we propose to support and/or organize political clubs, to run Independent candidates for office, and to support

any Afro-American already in office who answers to and is responsible to the Afro-American community.

Economic exploitation in the American community is the most vicious form practiced on any people in America; twice as much rent for rat-infested, roach-crawling, rotting tenements; the Afro-American pays more for foods, clothing, insurance rates and so forth. The Organization of Afro-American Unity will wage an unrelenting struggle against these evils in our community. There shall be organizers to work with the people to solve these problems, and start a housing self-improvement program. We propose to support rent strikes and other activities designed to better the community.

V — Social

This organization is responsible only to the Afro-American people and community and will function only with their support, both financially and numerically. We believe that our communities must be the sources of their own strength politically, economically, intellectually and culturally in the struggle for Human Rights and Dignity.

The community must reinforce its moral responsibility to rid itself of the effects of years of exploitation, neglect and apathy, and wage an unrelenting struggle against police brutality.

The Afro-American community must accept the responsibility for regaining our people who have lost their place in society. We must declare an all-out war on organized crime in our community; a vice that is controlled by policemen who accept bribes and graft, and who must be exposed. We must establish a clinic, whereby one can get aid and cure for drug addiction; and create meaningful, creative useful activities for those who were led astray down the avenues of vice.

The people of the Afro-American community must be prepared to help each other in all ways possible; we must establish a place where unwed mothers can get help and advice; a home for the aged in Harlem and an orphanage in Harlem.

We must set up a guardian system that will help our youth who get into trouble and also provide constructive activities for our children. We must set a good example for our children and must teach them to always be ready to accept the responsibilities that are necessary for building good communities and nations. We must teach them that their greatest responsibilities are to themselves, to their families and to their communities.

The Organization of Afro-American Unity believes that the Afro-American community must endeavor to do the major part of all charity work from within the community. Charity, however, does not mean that to which we are legally entitled in the form of government benefits. The Afro-American veteran must be made aware of all the benefits due him and the procedure for obtaining them. These veterans must be encouraged to go into business together, using G.I. loans, etc.

Afro-Americans must unite and work together. We must take pride in the Afro-American community, for it is home and it is power.

What we do here in regaining our Self-Respect, Manhood, Dignity and Freedom helps all people everywhere who are fighting against oppression.

VI — Culture

"A race of people is like an individual man; until it uses its own talent, takes pride in its own history, expresses its own culture, affirms its own selfhood, it can never fulfill itself."

Our history and our culture were completely destroyed when we were forcibly brought to America in chains. And now it is

important for us to know that our history did not begin with slavery's scars. We come from Africa, a great continent and a proud and varied people, a land which is the new world and was the cradle of civilization. Our culture and our history are as old as man himself and yet we know almost nothing of it. We must recapture our heritage and our identity if we are ever to liberate ourselves from the bonds of white supremacy. We must launch a cultural revolution to unbrainwash an entire people.

Our cultural revolution must be the means of bringing us closer to our African brothers and sisters. It must begin in the community and be based on community participation. Afro-Americans will be free to create only when they can depend on the Afro-American community for support and Afro-American artists must realize that they depend on the Afro-American for inspiration. We must work toward the establishment of a cultural center in Harlem which will include people of all ages, and will conduct workshops in all of the arts, such as film, creative writing, painting, theater, music, Afro-American history, etc.

This cultural revolution will be the journey to our rediscovery of ourselves. History is a people's memory, and without a memory man is demoted to the lower animals.

Armed with the knowledge of the past, we can with confidence charter a course for our future. Culture is an indispensable weapon in the freedom struggle. We must take hold of it and forge the future with the past.

When the battle is won, let history be able to say to each one of us: "He was a dedicated patriot: Dignity was his country, Manhood was his government, and Freedom was his land." (from *And Then We Heard the Thunder*, by John Oliver Killens).

Weekly Calendar

WEST COAST

A SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CAMP. Aug. 29 through Sept. 7. Fifty miles south of San Francisco. Magnificent site. All facilities for a relaxed and pleasant vacation. Reservations must be made in advance. In San Francisco, call VA 4-2321; in Oakland, call 444-8012; in Los Angeles, call AN 9-4953.

DETROIT

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

LOS ANGELES

HELEN TRAVIS, recently convicted of traveling to Cuba, will speak on **THE RIGHT TO TRAVEL**. Other speakers: Jean Pestana, prominent local attorney; Tom Morgan, former defendant Bloomington Student case. Chairman: Steve Roberts. Fri., July 17, 8:30 p.m. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum, 1702 E. 4th St.

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary Tuesday, July 21, 7:45 p.m. (repeated July 22, 9 a.m.), KPFF-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

CUBA: AS I SAW IT. Speaker, **DAVID DELLINGER**, editor of *Liberation*, just returned from Cuba. Fri., July 17, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

FRIDAY, JULY 24 — TRIPLE REVOLUTION OR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION? Speaker, Lynn Marcus, contributor to the *International Socialist Review*.

FRIDAY, JULY 31 — FROM BRAZIL'S COUP TO THE CHILEAN ELECTIONS: The Coming Showdown in Latin America. Speaker, Jay Garnett, staff writer for *The Militant*.

SUB DRIVE

The Militant subscription drive has rolled up a grand total of 3,057 subs as we go to press. A full report on the drive will appear in our next issue.

DeBerry Begins New York Campaign

Clifton DeBerry, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, began campaigning in New York City in a series of street meetings defending black nationalism before the white community.

DeBerry, the first Negro to run for President, declared, "We welcome the formation of the Organization of Afro-American Unity by Minister Malcolm X and other black militants, as a giant step toward the real black revolution in America."

The socialist nominee also denounced the anti-Negro "no-knock" and "stop-and-frisk" laws put into effect July 1, and described how the freedom struggle of the black people will benefit white workers as well.

FIDEL CASTRO

on

Marxism-Leninism

(Speech of Dec. 2, 1961)

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345

Monday, July 13, 1964

A Lie Nailed

On July 24 Attorney General Robert Kennedy told an NAACP delegation the federal government could not take police action to protect the rights and lives of Negroes and civil-rights workers in Mississippi. He said it was "a local matter of local law enforcement."

His hypocrisy was pointed out by 29 prominent jurists, including Mark DeWolfe Howe of the Harvard Law School, in a June 30 statement. It declared that federal action in the South is authorized under Section 333 of Title 10 of the Federal Code. In a letter to the *N.Y. Times* on the same day, civil-liberties lawyer Stanley Faulkner emphasized the same point.

Under Section 333, the jurists declared, the President is authorized to use the armed forces of the nation "whenever he considers that unlawful obstructions, combinations of assemblages . . . make it impracticable to enforce the laws of the United States . . . by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings." They quoted a 1879 Supreme Court opinion which holds it "an incontrovertible principle that the Government of the United States may, by means of physical force, exercised through its official agents, execute on every foot of American soil the powers and functions that belong to it."

The Attorney General would be less "misleading," the jurists politely phrased it, if he would admit that the President had the power to act, but thought doing so was "inadvisable."

But Democrat Kennedy thinks it "inadvisable" for the administration to take steps which would alienate the Southern racists. Nor does he want to lose votes among supporters of civil rights who still have illusions about the Democratic Party. So, as a "practical" capitalist politician and a practising Democrat, he simply lied about what the law is. And the bigwig leaders of the NAACP delegation not only didn't call him on it, but actually applauded him!

Real Beneficiary of the Tax Cut

The 5.3 per cent unemployment rate in mid-June considerably dampened official optimism about the effects of the tax cut, according to the July 5 *Wall Street Journal*. This sharp rise from the previous month's figures added 1,052,000 to the jobless list — for an official total of 4,692,000.

Hardest hit are teen-agers and June college graduates: The overall teen-age jobless rate is 15 per cent — nearly 30 per cent for Negro teen-agers.

But there was no fuss about these figures down in Wall Street. Last week's market hit an all-time high, while big business is pouring billions into new plant and equipment.

It shows that building new automatic machinery — that's what the corporations did with their tax savings — and providing new jobs aren't quite the same thing.

Johnson's War Talk

Capping threats against China by the Secretary of State and assorted admirals and generals, Johnson in his recent Minneapolis speech declared the U.S. would not hesitate to "risk war" when "necessary."

It is a measure of the state of politics in this country that such bellicose talk comes from the "moderate" capitalist politicians, the self-proclaimed "peace" wing as opposed to the Goldwater fireaters. Johnson's "peace" program, like his anti-poverty program and civil-rights program, is phony to the core.

To Appeal Cuba Travel Verdict

LOS ANGELES, June 22 — Mrs. Helen Travis, previously convicted of twice leaving the country to visit Cuba without valid passport, received a six-month suspended jail sentence and a \$1,000 fine. Through her attorneys, who have been provided by the American Civil Liberties Union in Southern California, she immediately announced she intended to appeal "to the U.S. Supreme Court, if necessary."

ACLU attorneys A.L. Wirin and John T. McTernan are challenging the constitutionality of the State Department's ban on "unauthorized" travel to some, though not all, of the countries with which

the U.S. does not have diplomatic relations.

They argue that it violates the implicit First Amendment right to obtain information; that no explicit legislative right exists to limit travel on a geographic basis; and that the State Department has usurped a law-making function on the basis of a "fatally vague" statute, the applicability of which rests on the artificial extension of the Korean War "national emergency."

The Travis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 2126, Los Angeles 28, California, was launched last week to bring the issues in this test case before the public and to raise funds needed for the appeal.

On New York's Lower East Side

Why Tenants Join the Rent Strike

By Ethel Bloch

In the storefront window of the New York Lower East Side Rent Strike headquarters are two signs. One, with a huge picture of a rat, reads: "Rat in Court — Guilty of Disease and Infection and Must Pay Consequence!" The other has in big bold black letters: "Knock Landlords Out!"

The office is on one of the most neglected streets in this slum area. Groups of youngsters hang around the door from the time the office opens until it closes late at night. They are attracted by the activity, the signs in the window and by the knowledge that they too are a part of this fight against the slumlords.

I spent an evening talking with the secretary of the Lower East Side Rent Strike. Her apartment is right over the office and she lives there with her husband and five-year-old daughter. Another baby is expected in September. They are relatively fortunate. At the start of the rent strike their landlord was frightened into doing a few repairs, such as painting the hallways and plugging up the more noticeable holes in the walls.

Steady Stream

We talked about the steady stream of people who make their way to the rent-strike office; about their specific problems and the despair which finally drives them to seek this radical solution. Here are some of the things she told me.

One evening a woman from the neighborhood brought in an aunt and her seven-year-old son, who live in East Harlem. The little boy looked worn out and his mother was near hysterics as she related her story. Her youngest child, a little girl, no longer lived with her, after having been bitten by a rat a week before. And then two days ago her little boy awoke with a rat walking across his face and he hasn't been able to sleep since. She herself woke up that morning with blood gushing from one of her fingers. (The rent-strike secretary told me that the finger was swollen and infected.) The woman in desperation caught one of the rats in a can and rushed to the landlord's office to show him what she had to live with. His only response was to say, "Are you trying to scare me with it?"

Bitten to Bone

The young secretary sent the woman to the hospital where it was discovered that her finger had been bitten to the bone. She then telephoned the Uptown Community Council (which is carrying on the rent strike in Harlem and East Harlem) and asked them to send an organizer to the building. Then she called the Board of Health and asked them to send an inspector to the apartment. Their initial reply was that they wouldn't do that until they got a report from the hospital stating that the woman was bitten by a rat. She threatened a massive demonstration; thereupon they changed their mind. The inspector was there the next day, but he had such an emotional reaction to the conditions in the apartment he couldn't look at the rats and had to go outside where he was sick to his stomach. The house is now being organized by the Uptown Community Council.

Another young mother who has a 90-day-old baby came to the office in desperation. Her apartment was so infested with rats that the newborn baby had gotten very sick and had to be rushed to the hospital. Fortunately the infant got well, but the hospital won't release the child until something is done about the living conditions. The doctors say that the baby would die if it went back to the rat-infested place.

A young man, who has two chil-



RENT-STRIKE HEADQUARTERS. Neighborhood children congregate at organizing center of movement on Manhattan's Lower East Side.

dren and whose wife is expecting a third within the next few weeks, says he stays up all night in order to protect his family from the rats. The landlord, who is notorious for the miserable conditions which exist in the many buildings he owns, refuses to make any repairs in this family's apartment. The place was freezing cold in the winter and they must share a toilet out in the hallway with all the other families on the floor. For this they are supposed to pay \$60 per month rent. This couple is very active in the rent strike.

The young secretary then told me about a woman in the neighborhood who can't enter her apartment because the sewerage from the toilets above was draining into her apartment. She had called the Board of Health and was told no one could get there for ten days. The Sewerage Department said it wasn't its problem since it wasn't due to a blocked sewer, and that it was the landlord's problem. But the landlord couldn't be located.

The rent-strike office then called the Board of Health and, though it got an inspector down the next day, he didn't make any repairs. The landlord has now been found and there is some possibility that the problem might be solved. Meanwhile the apartment continues to fill up with sewerage.

The people who come into the office are angry. They are fed up

with paying rent for such inhuman living quarters. The older people in the neighborhood are somewhat afraid about joining the rent strike, but the young couples with children are ready for militant action. These are the poorest people of the city. Two-thirds are on partial or full welfare. All who come in have tried desperately to get into a housing project. Most have legitimate emergency conditions which should make them immediately eligible. Many have heart conditions, or chronic chest ailments and they have letters from doctors confirming their dire need for a better apartment. But despite all this they haven't even got an answer from the Housing Administration.

But let's not conclude that justice isn't being carried out on the Lower East Side. Just that day an 80-year-old lady, who is active in the rent strike, came into the office in great agitation. Her friend, same age, who is able to live (not being on welfare) by periodically selling gambling numbers to neighbors had been arrested. But though the police had arrested her they had little evidence, having failed to find any numbers on her, just names of people. Well it seems that the fleetfooted cops, though not able to catch any of the criminal landlords, who are directly responsible for the sickness and misery of thousands, are able to track down and arrest an 80-year-old woman who is desperately trying to survive.

New Book on Death Penalty Blasts Sobell Imprisonment

NEW YORK — *The Death Penalty in America*, a new anthology edited by Hugo Adam Bedau and published by Doubleday Anchor, has been hailed by the Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell as providing a fresh condemnation of the injustice done in the Rosenberg-Sobell case.

In a preface, the book's editor takes the position that the cases of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, like those of Sacco and Vanzetti and Carlyn Chessman, were so unjust that he would not include them in a study of capital punishment. His opinion is that his subject is better illustrated by cases other than such obvious wrongs.

Bedau asserts that "one of the reasons these cases have become notorious throughout the world is that in each instance massive injustice was committed." He continues: "The intrinsic importance of these cases has, understandably

enough, permitted them to obtrude upon almost every discussion of capital punishment in America. The powerful emotions aroused and the far-reaching political and social consequences of each case have usually carried the controversy far beyond the question of capital punishment itself."

The Rosenbergs were offered their lives if they would "confess" to the charge of conspiracy to transmit classified information to the Soviet Union during World War II. They maintained their innocence and were executed. Morton Sobell, now serving his 14th year in prison, maintains his innocence, too.

Only now Roy Cohn, special assistant prosecutor in the Rosenberg-Sobell case, is himself being tried on charges of conspiracy to obstruct justice and commit perjury. Years ago, however, when the defendants accused Cohn of perjury, the courts took no notice.

An Interview With a Lead

The following is a translation of sections of a six-hour, tape-recorded interview with Comandante Elias Manuitt, member of the General Military Command of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) and Chief of Staff of the "José Leonardo Chirinos" guerrilla front in Falcón State, Venezuela. The interview took place in the mountains of Falcón. The interviewer was a representative of the Venezuelan Committee of the Fourth International. Prior arrangements had been made by members of the Second Section (Information) of the FALN.

Q: Comandante Manuitt, how would you summarize the present political situation in Venezuela, and what do you think are the perspectives of the Venezuelan people's struggle for liberation?

A: Well, I consider that the present Venezuelan situation hasn't changed at all. The change which a section of the people tried to obtain through the ballot was not attained. Nor will it ever be so attained, because that change here in Venezuela will not be achieved until the people directly control the political power. The power of the state is not in the hands of the people. We have as evidence: the jails are still full, killings continue, the revolutionary press is shut down, homes are broken into and searched without warrants, repression continues in working-class districts, our wealth is handed over, the bolívar is devalued. The unification of the exchange rates is nothing else but barefaced devaluation of the bolívar, which only and exclusively benefits imperialism and the importing capitalists of this country.

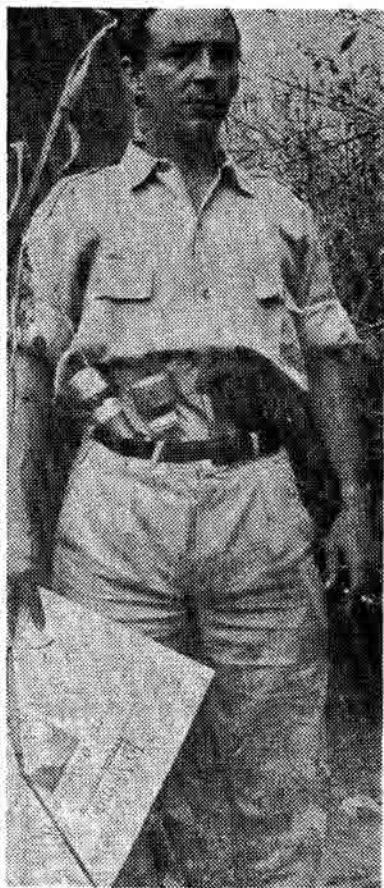
The past elections served to unmask many individuals, for example, Jovito Villalbas and company. And consequently by now all who dreamed about elections should have realized that in this country nothing is solved by elections, because an individual who is not a revolutionary and obtains political power will not change at all the country's political, economic and social situation. Yes. Because this can't be solved by a change of individuals but simply and clearly by a change of systems. And the change of systems cannot be brought about in this country except with the weapons in our hands.

Our people have suffered too many years under exploitation, misery, humiliation, slavery; they cannot wait any longer. Of course, dialectics itself tells us that in an evolutionary manner a moment will come in which capitalism will pass to socialism, but this would be witnessed by our great-great grandchildren . . .

This doesn't mean that the only way to fight is carrying a gun. No. You can fight with a pen. You can fight in the university, you can fight pasting up a sign *Vivan las FALN* in the street, placing a bomb, carrying out an assault against the North American interests, painting slogans, guarding a hideout. I really consider that the important thing is to orient around armed struggle; that we all work for armed struggle. In this sense, then, I am not sectarian. We are all fighting because we are all contributing our grain of sand to this revolution on which we have embarked, and which we will not cease until we have obtained the economic, political and social liberation of our people.

Q: Why have guerrilla forces appeared in Venezuela?

A: The guerrilla forces have appeared for the following reasons. First, any people which wants to liberate itself must have its armed guard. They must have a vanguard that arms itself to attain liberation. The presence of men in this country signifies that in this country revolutionaries have become convinced that the only way



Elias Manuitt

to achieve political power for the oppressed, for the humble people, for the people who suffer and go hungry, is by armed struggle.

Here, then, for a long time, we have had repression and torture. They have tried every means to attribute to our struggle a cheap political motive, and they have failed. They have failed because this is not a Venezuelan phenomenon; it is a world-wide phenomenon; Latin-American and world-wide. U.S. imperialism will never voluntarily permit people to liberate themselves . . .

Q: Comandante, what do you think has been the effect of the socialist revolution in Cuba upon the revolutionary process in Venezuela and in Latin America in general?

A: Well, the process of liberation of Cuba opened the eyes of the peoples of Latin America. These peoples, following the Cuban triumph, realize it is possible to attain liberation, that when a people determines to liberate itself, it achieves it. What is needed, simply, is the determination. And the Cuban people and their leader, Fidel Castro, are brilliant examples of combativity and what people are capable of when they decide to emancipate themselves completely.

The war of liberation of Cuba and the War of Independence of Latin America seem very similar to me in many respects. At first, Bolívar and Sucre were called extremists and trouble-makers. They started with their little group here in Venezuela, and they began growing and growing, and before you knew it, all Latin America was liberated. Naturally, it was free for a short time only. Then came a new imperialism, more refined, more powerful, more aggressive, richer, which took over all of Latin America.

This new owner, North American imperialism, took possession of our economy: copper in Chile, sugar cane in Cuba, petroleum and iron in Venezuela, bananas in Central America, etc. What it did was to take the place of the Spaniards. And what we are doing also is taking the place of the liberators, without imagining our merits equal to theirs . . .

In Latin America's new war of liberation, Cuba jumped ahead of us. We gave them the example in the First War of Independence and now they are giving the example.

Q: What is your view of the revolutionary movements in Latin

America and, concretely, the existence of guerrilla groups in countries like Peru, Argentina, Guatemala and Colombia?

A: I see them as something very positive. The presence of those guerrilla groups influences the advance and the triumph of the liberation of Latin America. This takes us back to the same thing. When Venezuela was fighting for liberation from the Spanish yoke, armies — we could call them guerrillas, that is, armies of liberation — were also arising in Argentina, in Chile and other countries.

A single country here in Latin America, after the Cuban example, cannot in isolation attain its liberation. The war in Latin America has to be a simultaneous war to triumph. Imperialism now has learned from the Cuban example. Imperialism now knows what is meant by the expropriation of its assets, of its interests in Latin America and it will not let these possessions go without a fight. And naturally, the stability of the struggle in Venezuela influences the rest of these countries. The North Americans, having much greater interests in Venezuela than in any of the other countries, cannot afford to lose this battle.

Anyhow, they exploit all Latin America but the exploitation of the Venezuelan people is more profitable for them. Here the bite is bigger than they had in Cuba. Because of this, it is necessary for an offensive to be developed in all of Latin America . . .

Therefore I admire, then, the decision of all those revolutionaries who are starting their liberation. I respect the opinion of some leaders of some countries who are trying to gain power by pacific means. I respect their opinion, but at the same time — and you'll excuse me — I omit the criteria that I am sure that they will not be able to stabilize themselves in power by those means.

Q: How do you regard the struggle which the American Negroes are presently carrying on?

A: I completely solidarize myself with the movement of the Negroes in the United States, simply because that is part of the liberation movement of all peoples. In the U.S. the most exploited, the most oppressed, the most discriminated-against, are the Negroes. I might call them the Latin Americans of the United States. I compare them to the Latin Americans also because, like us, they are a people determined upon their liberation. They now begin to see their future, they now have a vision of a future, and they now believe, and they have every reason to, that they can obtain their real economic, political and social independence. There are 22 million Negroes in the U.S., 22 million, not all of whom are in the struggle. But as time passes, this movement will continue growing, and the moment will come when the North American whites will forget the color they have and will solidarize themselves with the Negroes . . .

Q: Why does the FALN maintain that the line of armed struggle in Venezuela is the line of victory? What are the perspectives of the revolutionary war in Venezuela?

A: The perspectives I see are a function of what we have seen develop up to now. Today we have four guerrilla fronts in the country, totally stabilized. They have repelled all the enemy's attacks successfully. That makes me think — what's more, and lets me assure you — that the perspectives of the struggle in Venezuela are excellent, because each day our army grows.

The most recent specific case of action with the enemy, is the case of Trujillo state where the enemy employed 2,500 men in the notorious and defeated operation

"Tenaza" where they tried to intimidate the valiant guerrillas operating in Trujillo, and they came down gloomy and beaten. They had raised a publicity hulla-baloo about how in five or six days they were going to wipe out the guerrillas in Trujillo. They established encampments in Bocono. They raised a fuss and then suddenly became silent. The press became silent. And that was due simply to the fact that they came down defeated. And they had realized that they could not defeat the guerrilla front in Trujillo.

They did the same in Lara State. They have done the same here in Falcón and in every instance they have gone back down defeated. They utilized all the methods there are or have been. They used all the experience acquired in South Vietnam, in heroic South Vietnam which is struggling for its liberation and will obtain its liberation despite the North Americans, despite that lackey ruler they have there. They used all that experience, and all that experience failed them.

They approached the peasants with a soft hand, giving them medicines, cigarettes, food, constructing homes with zinc roofs for them, showing affection for the children, telling them, "We love you very much," and they achieved nothing.

They approached the peasants in the same way the Spaniards approached the Indians with trinkets and necklaces, exchanging those things for iron, for petroleum, for everything we have. So they go up to the peasants with medicines, they pull their bad teeth, they tell them the little boy looks cute, they show affection for the children, and they build them zinc-roofed houses, all this as if they were the best people on earth.

Now the peasants, naturally, are surprised. They wonder about all this sudden love. Then, of course, the peasants see this sudden love and they see the guerrillas in the mountains and they say, "Well then." They realize that all that love came to them because of the guerrillas. When the guerrillas weren't there — well, nothing. Cavities rotted their teeth, they died of hunger, malaria, etc. Now, then, they are eating, they are given things, and they realize — because our peasant is intelligent — that it is demagoguery, that the rulers don't want the guerrilla movement to grow and therefore they are trying to buy them out . . .

Well, as I was saying, it turns out that on cold nights, we have smoked Lucky Strikes, we have eaten concentrated foods, and our women *compañeras* have even put on those phony trinkets. Because what happens? The peasant women take those gifts and they bring them to us and offer them to us and tell us all that is happening. And we told them to continue accepting . . .

The enemy has realized that these methods fail. Now they utilize other methods. Now, instead of coming with the little present and such, they come with the machete. They whip them, they torture them . . . One man, in the presence of the rest of the inhabitants of the village, was hung by his testicles, to instill fear in all the people of the village and so that he would be overcome by fear. And then, after torturing him savagely they tried to use him as a guide, and that peasant, knowing well where we were, led them elsewhere. Not even by force could they use him. In other words then, all the methods have failed them. All the methods they brought from Vietnam have failed them.

Q: Does that mean that the Venezuelan peasants are with the guerrillas?

A: They are with the guerrillas. The peasants are with the guerrillas and each day more join our

ranks, and we have peasants incorporated in the guerrillas throughout the whole country, with the weapons they have asked us for . . . sometimes we lack arms to give the peasants, because what they want is to struggle directly along with us.

Q: What can you tell us about the sieges that the government has tried to carry out against the guerrilla strongholds?

A: The enemy has already attempted various sieges against us. They have even bombed us. They have used light artillery against us, and I'm not certain about medium artillery. They have also used recoilless cannons, 60 and 81 mm. mortars. They have used all the old and the new weapons that the Americans have given them. Well, all their weapons come from the U.S. And up to now, they have gained nothing . . .

Another thing they have said is that we were assassins. Here, they put their foot in their mouth. When we took the village of Pueblo Nuevo, what did we do? We acted as guerrillas should act, as we should. This was conceded by the prefect, who was disarmed along with the policemen, whom we did not touch otherwise, because we do not use cheap methods, dirty methods, criminal methods. But we simply overcame the police. We called a meeting in the village plaza. We bought goods in the village stores, merchandise, etc., to take up to the mountain. No one wanted to accept a cent from us, because they know we are broke. Naturally, at that moment we had money to pay for all the merchandise, but no one accepted money. So they gave us all the things.

The following day the prefect made some statements to a reporter from *El Nacional* [daily newspaper with the highest circulation in Venezuela] in which all he did was to praise the guerrillas, saying that they had behaved very well, etc. Of course this man made these statements to the press because he had not been briefed by the governor. The newspaperman had arrived before Governor Saher. So the prefect, spontaneously declared all that he had seen, our attitude, so that goes against the negative propaganda of the government.

Q: Comandante, why aren't sabotage and other actions against the enemy being carried out with the intensity of past years?

A: Well, at no moment can we say that actions of this nature ceased. We have simply passed to another stage of the war and we have drawn up a balance sheet of all the actions, some positive, others that we, as revolutionaries, have to recognize as negative. There have been some cases of improvisation. In some, over-estimation, in others, under-estimation of the enemy. In some actions, then, instead of obtaining the backing and approval of the masses, they haven't taken it very well. As true revolutionaries, we have recognized these errors. Also, as revolutionaries, we are correcting them.

This has been a lull that at no time has meant a paralysis of these actions. Now, with greater audacity, with greater organization and co-ordination, we shall recommence these actions on a national scale. We shall above all stress rural actions, without this meaning that urban actions will disappear. We will pursue a political objective in each of these actions . . . They are in a hurry to destroy us, because they can already detect in us the signs of victory. We are not in a hurry, because we are sure, completely sure, that we will triumph without unnecessary sacrifices.

Our actions have been carried out with real love, with revolutionary fervor, but some were car-

er of Venezuelan Guerrillas

ried out hastily, with the sad result that we have lost valiant fighters. But all that has been changed and corrected in practice. This lull has allowed us to prepare ourselves, to tune up the revolutionary machine, and we will return with greater audacity . . .

We have also recognized the grave mistake we committed when we tried to compare the kidnappings of Colonel Chenault and Di Stefano. The latter is a soccer player, an international sportsman. He is not an enemy of the people. He is simply indifferent, has nothing to do with this. So we cannot follow the same procedure with the indifferent as with those that are our real enemies.

Colonel Chenault repressed the guerrilla movement in a savage, bestial and criminal manner in Vietnam. Colonel Chenault, then, has debts to settle with the oppressed of the world, with the world revolution. So we were altogether too lenient with this enemy. Furthermore, he is a man that was and is directing the imperialist war against our cadres, and we should have dealt with him as with a prisoner of war, and brought him before a revolutionary tribunal . . . We dealt with him as we did with Di Stefano. We held him as a prisoner to make propaganda, etc., and then we let him go. In any case, we don't discard the possibility that another Chenault may fall into our hands, and since we have realized our mistake, we shall proceed differently.

Q: Does the FALN have proof of the participation of the Pentagon and the U.S. State Department in Venezuela's revolutionary war?

A: Yes, of course we have. But we aren't jumping around desperately, as Betancourt is doing before the OAS about the supposed arrival of Cuban arms on our coast, which is a complete frame-up. They have raised a fuss from which they plan to organize a new invasion of Cuba. We have clear-cut proofs of the flagrant intervention of the U.S. in the revolutionary war in our country. But we are not at all surprised at this because it is them we are fighting, that is, imperialism. So we aren't surprised that they attack us . . .

They have advised and, in other instances, directed military actions against all our fronts. This has been done by the North American Military Mission. It is they who are organizing anti-guerrilla courses, and they have even gone up to the front lines. They have directed the bombardments, as in the specific instance near Huque here in Falcón State . . . If we go to the actual truth, Venezuela's armed forces — and this unfortunately, is not known to the lower ranks — are under the orders of the U.S., of the Pentagon

Q: What has been the role of Venezuelan women in this war of liberation?

A: One of the most valuable things that the Venezuelan struggle, and also the struggles of all the peoples of the world have, is the women . . . Women are sharing with the men all the sufferings and sacrifices that this war entails. The presence of women in this revolutionary war is something that should fill all the women in the world with pride, to know that they are well represented in the struggles for liberation . . . I want to tell all the women of the world who read this interview that they have been very well represented in this heroic Venezuela and in these glorious mountains, and that in urban and rural actions Venezuelan women have given their quota of blood and each day a greater quota of sacrifice. We truly feel proud of a Conchita, of a Trina, of an Epifania, of the new heroines of this war. That is, the heroines of the



LATIN AMERICA'S BURDEN. This scene from Peru could have been taken in any of a dozen Latin American countries where the exploitation of the people is so inhuman that men are used as beasts of burden.

Second War of National Independence.

We also know that in Vietnam and in all the Latin American countries, in Africa, and in all the countries of the world which are trying to obtain their liberation, the participation of women is very significant, it is something morally positive, which attracts and sets an example for many wavering men. I am not going to establish discrimination between women and men. No sir, we are all struggling. But because of that concept about women, about the weaker sex, that's not true. They are not weak. Because we have seen cases here in the mountains where if a man carried 20 kilos, a woman would carry 40. That is to say, in almost all aspects, women can and are giving excellent examples to any man.

Feminine solidarity could make itself felt on the basis of an international campaign by women with respect to the liberation struggle the Venezuelan people have begun. It could deal with the freeing of political prisoners, cessation of the crimes, tortures, and atrocities to which Venezuelan revolutionaries are subjected. Also, help of an economic nature. Because we are not going to deny that we need money. There are many weapons which we capture from the enemy, but we can't capture them all from the enemy. We need money to buy them, and we have no money, because this struggle is being carried on by Venezuelans. This is a struggle that is being underwritten by the Venezuelan people. So, naturally, we need that solidarity.

What we don't need is the solidarity expressed by one man, the Ambassador of Poland to the United Nations, Mr. Bohan Lewandowsky. The solidarity of this man is actually harmful to our struggle. It was a negative solidarity on his part when, upon his arrival in our country to attend the inauguration of Dr. Raul Leoni as President, he gave barefaced, dirty, cheap, praise to this government. He even cited Venezuelan "democ-

racy," democracy in quotation marks, as a worthy example to be imitated by other countries of the world. Words like these from the mouth of a Communist, are frankly, discouraging, to say the least.

This man, upon his arrival at Maiquetia Airport, made a statement to *El Nacional* in which he praised the government. That, frankly, is negative. It damages our cause, though not much, but it damages it, because the people, the exploited, humble masses, who are being jailed, killed on the streets, hear from the mouth of a Communist that this is an ideal democracy. They say, "What is this, is this democracy? This is the democracy of the socialist countries? Then it is a lie." And it turns out this man isn't speaking for his people, for his government, for anyone. He is speaking for himself. This is clear if the statements in the press are true. If not, well I ask this gentleman to forgive me.

Pseudo-solidarity of that kind we can do without. In fact we reject it energetically, because on principle we don't have any "cramps in our tongue." And we sing out the truth to whomever needs to hear it, running all the risks that that implies, because I, at least, have never been in agreement with muffling and obscuring things for the sake of expediency, etc. No, there are things that are better unmasked. It is better that they be known, that the people know about them.

Concretely, I wrote him a letter, which, unfortunately, never reached his hands. I would like to take advantage of your presence here to read you that letter so that it may reach him personally or publicly, either way, but I would like this letter to reach him:

"Sierra of Falcón in Arms,

March 9, 1964

"Mr. Bohan Lewandowsky, Ambassador of the Republic of Poland to the United Nations:

"The writer of this letter is only another of the fighters against the 'exemplary democracy'

which you so warmly praise, and so emotionally admire, blatantly identifying it as worthy of being supported by all Venezuelans and imitated by the rest of the oppressed peoples of the world, according to your own statements which appear today in *El Nacional*, daily newspaper with the largest circulation in the country.

"Mr. Ambassador, the writer of this letter has not yet had the immense honor of joining the glorious and combative Communist Party of Venezuela. He has not personally suffered one of the least of the thousands of tortures that in such criminal and savage manner this 'exemplary democracy' applies to all those Venezuelans who have the bad luck of falling into its clutches. The writer has not passed a fraction of a second in the filthy jails and concentration camps of this 'exemplary democracy' which today are filled with worthy and valiant revolutionaries of both sexes.

"Until barely two years ago he didn't have the least concept of the beautiful incomparable Marxist-Leninist doctrines. None of his relatives have been massacred with criminal fervor by the repressive armed forces and police of this admired and 'exemplary democracy' which is stained with proletarian blood. None of the Communist, Mirista [MIR, Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionaria], Urredista [URD, Union Republicana Democrática] members of parliament, elected by the people in the free elections of 1958 or in the fraud of December 1, 1963, who are today jailed by this admired and 'exemplary democracy' are party companions or relatives of his.

"He who writes you has never been editor or writer or narrator of the various organs of the press and radio, today closed down by this admirable and 'exemplary democracy.' He who writes you has never felt the immense hunger and the unemployment that creeps like a filthy monster among the humble sons of this people today governed by this admired and 'exemplary democracy.' He never lived in those flimsy carton houses that you will see as a horrible, clawing belt of anguish along the hills that surround the architectural jewel of this first petroleum capital of Latin America, or that you may see from the cushioned and luxurious official vehicle which this 'admired and exemplary democracy' will make available to you. I will not continue enumerating these manifestations because I assume, for the better, that as soon as you arrive at your country's embassy in ours, you will be informed of everything.

"Mr. Ambassador, he who writes you could not feel on his own body all the atrocities I have pointed out to you, since he lived the comfortable and privileged life of an officer of the army of the country of Simon Bolívar.

"By the way, when you were a Communist and struggled for the liberation of your people — if you struggled — did you ever read anything about the life of this man? If not, then I recommend that you read the true history of Venezuela, not the distorted history that often circulates under the auspices of North American imperialism . . .

"Mr. pseudo-Ambassador of the heroic and admired people of Poland, I flung all the comforts and privileges of the army into that pit of corruption where I had been suffocating for 15 years, and where they had tried, unsuccessfully, to deform my conscience as a true Venezuelan and my sentiments of solidarity toward the suffering of others. And with the weapons that the people had given me, I came to these mountains to fight to death, shoulder to shoulder with your heroic comrades and with many men and women belonging to no party, against the

'admired and exemplary democracy' which you, the delegate of a worthy and combative people, praise so emotionally.

"Mr. Lewandowsky, we do not ask or need solidarity of any kind from you for the revolution which we have begun and which we will carry through to the end, whomever it shall hurt. But what I do insist energetically of you is — if there is anything left in you of the sacred principles which you left in your desk drawer at the UN — that when you are sitting on the comfortable sofas of the Tamanaco and Macuto-Sheraton Hotels or the Miraflores [Presidential Palaces], Salon Eliptico, etc., do not praise the unpraiseworthy. I ask it of you with the absolute certainty that I am speaking in the name of more than 1,500 political prisoners, of one million unemployed out of a population of seven million, of the millions of hungry Venezuelans, of the thousands of tortured citizens, of the widows, the mothers, the sons of the unburied but immortal dead, assassinated by this regime, in name of my country, subjugated and suffering, and in name of the people of Poland and the rest of the free nations of the world.

"Mr. Lewandowsky, you have spoken like a representative of Yankee Imperialism's State Department. When you return to Washington, stay there, and don't ever return to your country, because I am sure that the people will slap you down, they will throw your infamy, your servility, your viciousness and your desertion from the ranks of proletarian internationalism in your face.

"Mr. Lewandowsky, to barter with the crafty bosses of this despotic dictatorship it was not necessary also to barter with the sacred principles of the revolution of all oppressed peoples anxious for liberation. Such baseness was not necessary. I hope, Mr. Lewandowsky, that your statements to the press have been distorted, so that for that reason, and for that reason alone, I will someday have to retract all that I have said."

* * *

Comandante Manuitt: I would like to take advantage of the opportunity you afford me to send in name of the FALN [Armed Forces of National Liberation], shall we say — since I know that this is the conviction of its membership in general — greetings of brotherhood and solidarity to all North American Negroes who are fighting today against the misery and insult to which they are subjected by the Yankees, the real Yankees.

Let the North American Negroes know that they can count upon all our support, our solidarity, and that their struggle is ours, and that their struggle is in our hearts. Each time we see that dogs are turned on them, as if they were dogs themselves, our blood boils, and we honestly wish we could be there next to them, fighting to end the infamy perpetrated against them.

Let the North American Negroes know that in the Venezuelan people they have a maximum ally. We sympathize with their struggle which each day must and will continue growing because they are human beings and have a right to live like human beings. And also that the weapons that we Venezuelans hold in our hands are at their disposal, at their service. Our mountains are open, to receive them all in a revolutionary abrazo [embrace] of solidarity.

And they should keep in mind that the struggle we have undertaken here is not only for the people of Venezuela. It is for all the oppressed, discriminated-against, and exploited peoples of the world. If some are unable to fight there they can come here, because our struggle is everyone's struggle — and for everyone.

Revolutionary Party Leads the Way

Building Cuba's New Society

By Lawrence Shumm

On December 5 of last year Major Armando Acosta, Secretary General of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution (PURS) in Oriente Province in Cuba, announced that the ten-point program put forward by the party's provincial section to deal with the destruction left by Hurricane Flora had been fulfilled and the damages basically repaired. During the hurricane itself and in the reconstruction afterwards it was the PURS which directed and coordinated the activities of the mass organizations.

During 1963 and the first months of this year, the most significant event in the Cuban Revolution has been the construction of this party. In this period the revolution occupied itself with the building of a Marxist party closely linked with the worker and peasant masses and capable of mobilizing the workers and peasants in activity and construction on all fronts of the revolution.

To understand the present building of the PURS and its role, it is necessary to grasp what has happened. In 1959, 1960 and 1961 the gains and achievements of the revolution (land reform, education, public health, housing, nationalization of industry) brought the workers, peasants, students and a significant sector of the middle class into solid support of the revolution. Those three years also saw an increasing participation of the masses in the life and leadership of the revolution. This democratic participation took a diversity of forms.

Volunteer Militia

As the revolution was increasingly threatened by the attacks of counter-revolutionaries supported by the U.S., a volunteer popular militia was formed. Hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants were armed and stood in defense of their island and its achievements against an attack from abroad. They also stood guard against any possible bureaucratic degeneration of the revolution.

In the Committees of Defense of the Revolution (CDR), which began to be formed on the block level in 1960, the masses began to work, discuss and participate on the social and economic fronts. These committees have not only guarded against counter-revolutionary terror and sabotage, they played a major role in the education and public-health campaigns and took control of the food-rationing system.

With the growth of the municipal councils of education on the local level, the planning and direction of education took on an increasingly democratic nature. This was complemented by the students in the secondary schools and universities, and to a lesser extent on the primary level, playing an important role in the control of the schools.

Solidly behind the revolution, the small peasants built their own organization, the National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP), to advance their demands and increase their participation in the building of the new society.

The Union of Young Communists and the Federation of Cuban Women mobilized the enthusiasm and energy of the youth and women.

In the local juntas of co-ordination, execution and inspection (JUCEI), which are local councils of economic planning, the mass organizations participated in formulating economic policy.

In the factories and on the state farms throughout the island the people were participating in discussing and deciding the issues and problems that were important to them and to the revolution. The revolution was moving in a democratic direction. This was seen in 1962 when, on the basis of a free and open discussion, the 118,000



Fidel Castro

members of the sugar-cane co-operatives decided in a 9-1 vote to change the co-operatives into state farms. It was seen last October when, after meetings and assemblies in places of work, it was decided to raise the prices of beer, cigarettes and other items in order to finance an immense hydraulic project in Oriente to provide water and power to industry and agriculture and to prevent a repetition of the floods caused by Hurricane Flora.

It has been in the innumerable occasions on which the revolutionary leaders have gone before the people and discussed in a full and open manner the problems of the revolution. Another expression was in March of 1962 when the revolutionary leadership called upon the masses to fight against the bureaucratization of the revolution and took a number of organizational steps against the growth of bureaucratic privilege.

Political Democracy

What has been happening in Cuba is that on the basis of public ownership of the wealth of the island — the factories, mines, bank, land and transportation — a rough, primitive and unfinished political democracy has been growing up. The Revolutionary Government has followed the policy of drawing the masses into the work of administration of the state and economy, into increasing control over the shops, factories and farms where they work.

It is within this framework that the building of the United Party of the Socialist Revolution takes on great importance. For it is the PURS which must develop a program to formalize, develop and extend the institutions of workers' democracy which have arisen.

It is the party which must establish and develop organs of state power, some form of workers' councils, through which the workers and peasants can direct their economy and their state; workers' councils in which all tendencies and points of view which support the revolution can participate openly and freely in determining national policy. It is the party which must guard against the danger of bureaucratization of the revolution, a real danger arising out of the low cultural and economic levels in a underdeveloped country like Cuba.

The way in which the PURS is being constructed clearly shows that the party has initially oriented itself in the right direction. In August and September of last summer I had the opportunity of seeing this at first hand.

The party is being built directly on the factory workers in the urban centers and on the agricultural workers on the state farms and the small peasants. The first

phase of this process was organizing units of the party in the factories so that the industrial and urban workers would constitute the heart of the party. The next phase was to go into the countryside and give the PURS a solid base among the agricultural workers and small peasant, deliberately excluding any rich peasants who might try to get into the party. Last of all, party units were to be organized in the state administration in Havana, thus making any possible bureaucratic elements come into a party dominated by the best and most conscious men and women among the urban and rural workers and peasants.

In organizing a party unit in a factory or on a state farm, a general assembly of all the workers is called. On the basis of certain standards the workers then nominate those they consider best qualified to be members of the party. The standards are the following: a member of the popular militia, a model worker, revolutionary consciousness, general morality and honesty. The PURS then selects from these nominees those that it thinks are truly qualified. After this selection another general assembly is called and the party spokesman explains why any of the workers' nominees were not accepted.

Santiago Factory

At a large cement factory in Santiago, which I visited with other Americans, there were 50 members of the PURS among a work force of 508. While we were in the midst of a long discussion with the director and administrative personnel in the plant office, an older worker in dirty, oil-smeared work clothes came in. He looked as if he had just come up from the depths of the factory, which was probably the case. He was introduced as the head of the party in the plant — the farthest thing from a bureaucrat you can imagine.

At the Juan Abrahantes state farm in western Cuba the administrator had been a *machetero* (sugar-cane cutter) two years before. These are the kind of men and women who are becoming the leaders of the party, a fact which underlines a question posed by Fidel Castro in his attack on bureaucracy on March 26, 1962:

"How are we going to build socialism and communism which means work, which means the giving of one's self over completely to the work of society, without the men who are willing to work all the hours necessary, to make the necessary efforts, who go to work even when they are ill, who are never absent, without that type of worker of which the masses can give us many examples? That type of worker who is a militiaman, who is never absent when sugar cane has to be cut, who never misses guard duty, who is the kind of *compañero* who encourages others, who is recognized by the masses as a worker-hero, as a model citizen. We have to recruit such men as these!"

If the United Party of the Socialist Revolution can successfully bring these men and women into its ranks and on this basis construct a functioning system of workers' democracy, it will prove itself to be a party worthy of Marxism, a party worthy of Lenin and the early years of the Russian Revolution, a party worthy of the needs and aspirations of the Cuban people. For it is on the basis of the widest range of workers' democracy, the direct participation of the masses on all levels of the state and economy, that the planned economy can be assured of the most harmonious development in the transition from capitalism to socialism. The PURS is now in the process of deciding its orientation and perspective on this vital question.

Rent Strike in Philadelphia Is Organized By Students

PHILADELPHIA — All the established civil-rights groups here are finding themselves by-passed by a group of young students and ex-students who are organizing this city's first rent strike since the 1930s.

Under the leadership of 20-year-old Joe Stevenson, former head of the Harlem Action Group, and one of the initiating members of the New York rent-strike, the Philadelphia Action Committee (PAC), has been formed. In the three brief months of its existence, PAC has persuaded 112 families in three parts of Philadelphia's ghetto to withhold rents from the slickest of the world's lower forms of primate life, the slumlords. PAC has also affiliated with ACT, the militant new nation-wide coordinating body of civil-rights organizations.

Philadelphia is one of the gateways leading out of the South, and many Negro families have come to this city full of illusions. Once here, however, it is not long before they discover that Philadelphia is little better, and in some ways, a damn sight worse than back home. Besides the bewilderment at urban life that many rural people experience, there is a concerted, high powered, well camouflaged, and vicious effort made by all of the partners in the capitalist power structure to push them into the worst jobs (if any are to be had at all), education, and housing.

Housing for most Negroes in Philadelphia is appalling. In one block on 20th street, where half of the families are on rent strike, there are perhaps 20 working toilets for 33 families. There is never adequate heat during the winter, and one family reports that there was snow in its kitchen all winter long.

Windows are missing; hallways are unlighted; rats outnumber people. Children are often hospitalized with severe rat bites. In some of the houses, the family takes turns staying up all night to keep the rats away from the smaller children. Rents run from \$16 to \$22 per week, and are collected

every week by white agents of the absentee landlords. But all of this is a familiar story to every Negro slum dweller from San Juan to Seattle.

The objective of PAC is to develop community organization through the means of a rent strike, and eventually to develop this into a powerful independent political movement. Joe Stevenson says: "We see independent political action as something operating outside of the two-party structure for the purpose of getting representatives from our own communities, and for forcing the two major parties to make concessions to our demands."

With the modest success that PAC has so far had, there are many indications that it is throwing the local power structure into a panic. Stevenson reports being offered a job with the Human Relations Commission at \$6,000 to \$8,000 a year. He told the briber what he could do with his money. It wasn't polite.

For the first time in a long time, the Bureau of Licenses and Inspections has started doing some inspecting. By curious coincidence, houses condemned seem to be those that are on strike. The Bureau of Relocation has been telling people living in condemned houses that it cannot fulfill its legal obligation to find them new homes and pay their first month's rent, because the bureau is clean out of money. Nonetheless, Philadelphia is planning a \$30-million sports stadium on stilts above the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks, paying the railroad \$6 million for air rights.

Philadelphia police have tried to intimidate rent strikers by surprise visits and warnings that picketing could lead to violence and that people might get hurt.

PAC is in urgent need of full-time and part-time volunteer workers. All kinds of skills are of use. Also urgently required is money. PAC's weekly budget is presently \$12 a week! Contributions and inquiries should be addressed to Philadelphia Action Committee, 2165 North Camac Street, Phila. 22, Pa., CE 6-2869.

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Statement by the Fourth International

Coalition a Sell-Out of Ceylonese Workers

The following resolution was passed unanimously by the United Secretariat, the executive body of the Fourth International, and released to the press June 22.

The United Secretariat takes the following stand on the deal negotiated by N. M. Perera with the Prime Minister of the Ceylon government in which, in return for his betraying the program of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party and the basic principles on which the world Trotskyist movement is founded, he and two others, whom he designated, were added to the cabinet.

1) We condemn the secret personal negotiations with the head of a bourgeois government which N. M. Perera engaged in behind

the back of his party, without the authorization of the party's Central Committee, without the knowledge of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International and in defiance of the express opposition voiced by the United Secretariat to any course except one leading to the establishment of a workers' and peasants' government.

The fact that N. M. Perera later submitted the results of these back-room negotiations — in part or in whole — to the Central Committee and to a summarily called party conference that had no time to adequately study or debate the life-and-death issue involved, in no wise mitigates his monstrous violation of Leninist organizational procedures.

Split Preparations

In logical continuation with these shady maneuvers, which were part of his preparations to split the party, Perera acceded to the demand of the Prime Minister that she be given personal authority to decide on the list of candidates which the group he heads will run in the next election. By this act he transferred his leadership to the head of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and publicly displayed his role as an agent of a bourgeois party.

2) We condemn N. M. Perera's crossing of class lines. His acceptance of a post in Mrs. Bandaranaike's bourgeois government on a strictly reformist platform belongs to the long series of opportunist capitulations to the class enemy committed in the past by Social Democratic and Stalinist parliamentarians with such bitter consequences for the working class and its socialist aspirations.

Joined Coalition

The same condemnation applies to Perera's disciples, Anil Moonesinghe and Cholmondeley Goonewardene, who joined him in capitulating to the Prime Minister. These three former Trotskyists, by giving up their revolutionary aims and joining in Mrs. Bandaranaike's frantic efforts to bolster her crisis-ridden government and to save capitalism in Ceylon, have betrayed the most elementary principles of revolutionary socialism.

3) Through their own actions, these three placed themselves outside the ranks of the Fourth International. The United Secretariat recognizes this fact and in view of the gravity of the crime expels them forthwith. In addition the

United Secretariat suspends all members of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party who voted at the June 6-7 conference for Perera's proposal to enter a bourgeois coalition government, referring further action to the next meeting of the International Executive Committee.

4) We urge those members of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party who supported Perera in the mistaken hope that his proposal to enter a bourgeois coalition might signify a step forward, to reconsider their position. We urge all those who continue to collaborate with Perera, in the mistaken hope that this will save the unity of the LSSP, to break at once and to rally to the side of the comrades who are upholding the program of Trotskyism on which the party was founded.

Perera's course invites a major disaster for the Ceylonese workers and peasants. As the government crisis deepens, this will become glaringly apparent. Mrs. Bandaranaike wanted Trotskyists in her cabinet in order to gain time and temporarily relieve the crisis, but above all to compromise the Trotskyists, since they offer the main possibility for a workers' and peasants' government to come to power. Her scheme is to maneuver the Trotskyists into sharing the nationwide disapproval and unpopularity of which her bourgeois regime has already become the target.

Bandaranaike's Plan

She hopes to achieve this by associating the Trotskyists with measures against the working class and the minorities, especially by crippling industrial action. Through this she counts on making it more difficult for a government based on the program of revolutionary socialism to move into office and open a genuinely new alternative for Ceylon. However, if such a government — now on the order of the day in Ceylon — does not come to power, then the ultra-reactionary right wing will eventually install a brutally repressive regime. Perera's capitulation helps pave the way for such a catastrophe.

While a bourgeois coalition government may offer minor, temporary reforms, the Sinhalese and Tamil peoples can solve their basic problems only by breaking out of the framework of capitalism the way the Russians did in 1917, the Chinese in 1949-52, the Cubans in 1959-60, and as the Algerians are now in the process of doing.

5) We commend all the leaders and members of the Lanka Sama

Samaja Party who launched an internal struggle against Perera's opportunism, who fought his capitulationist course without concessions, who have done their utmost to maintain the honor and integrity of Trotskyism in Ceylon, and who have continued to battle for establishment of a workers' and peasants' government as the only realistic road for the Ceylonese masses.

We urge all members of the Fourth International and groups and parties sympathetic to its aims throughout the world to do everything in their power to help the Revolutionary Section of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party to maintain and to advance the program of revolutionary socialism in Ceylon. The capitulation of Perera will prove to be only a passing episode in the class struggle in Ceylon.

The loyal and far-seeing leaders and members who grasped the implications of Perera's opportunist parliamentarism some time ago and who organized a struggle against it have already passed a difficult test. Through their firmness these comrades kept together the precious basic cadres needed to repair the damage in the shortest possible time.

With the help of the international Trotskyist movement they will proceed with all the more self-confidence in the task of building a revolutionary-socialist party capable of guiding Ceylon onto the road of socialism.

FIRST FRUIT

One of the first acts of Ceylon's new "Center-Left" coalition government was to lock out 3,000 workers at the central workshop of the nationalized transport board, which comes under the Minister of Communications Anil Moonesinghe, a former Trotskyist. Before the coalition, a slow-down was in progress at the shop as part of a protest against unfair pay differentials. When the unrest culminated "in acts of indiscipline" such as the throwing of nuts and bolts, the government cracked down June 17. The move, said the Colombo correspondent of the London Times, indicated that the "coalition government intends to be firm in labour disputes."

LSSP Left Wing Upholds Line of Class Struggle

The following statement by Edmund Samarakkody, a member of the Ceylonese parliament and one of the leaders of the Revolutionary Section of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party, was issued June 7.

The decision of the reformist majority of the LSSP to enter into a coalition with the capitalist SLFP [Sri Lanka Freedom Party] government and thereby to become an instrument of the capitalist class in Ceylon, constitutes a complete violation of the basic principles of Trotskyism on which the revolutionary program of the party is based.

This degeneration is the logical outcome of the parliamentary reformist line which the majority of the leadership of the party has followed for several years and the substitution of parliamentary and reformist struggle in place of class struggle and revolutionary perspectives, and the systematic recruitment of non-revolutionary elements into the party on that basis.

The revolutionaries of the LSSP have, in this situation, decided to organize themselves on the basis of the party program. They therefore withdrew from the conference and will hereafter function as a separate organization under the name of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section).

In order to carry forward the revolutionary struggle for power, the LSSP (Revolutionary Section) calls upon all the adherents and supporters of the LSSP in the country to rally round the revolutionary banner which it refuses to surrender to the SLFP government and the capitalist class.

(Signed) Edmund Samarakkody, Secretary, Provisional Committee of the LSSP (Revolutionary Section).

ADVERTISEMENT

Montana SWP Convention

A Montana state nominating convention of the Socialist Workers Party will convene 2 p.m., Saturday, July 18, at the City Auditorium of Plentywood in Sheridan County.

Keynote speaker: Everett Luoma, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota.

All SWP members and adherents may participate. Others welcome.

Direct inquiries to John Boulds, P.O. Box 55, Plentywood, Montana.

10 YEARS AGO
IN THE MILITANT

"PORTUGUESE ANGOLA PROVIDES AN ALMOST CLASSICAL example, in 1954, of how capitalism modernizes the slave system of production, and introduces racial discrimination and segregation to maintain capitalist rule by keeping the workers divided."

"In an article entitled 'Africa's Modern Slavery' in the July issue of Harper's Magazine, Basil Davidson, a British journalist, vividly describes forced labor conditions in Portugal's colony on the southwest coast of Africa . . .

"The facts reveal:

"1) 'Contract labor' is a 'system of veiled slavery' which 'has continued ever since full and formal slavery was abolished' . . .

"2) Despite slightly more humane treatment of the forced laborers today, brutality and violence are still used to maintain and extend the 'medieval, pre-industrial' system of exploiting the native population . . .

"3) Racial discrimination and segregation as we know it . . . has not been an important institution in Angola in the past, but 'with the arrival of large numbers of white immigrants from Portugal' . . . and the growth of a white working class in the colony, 'this tolerance is growing less' — July 12, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"THE ROLE OF THE KREMLIN IN THE AFFAIRS OF THE EUROPEAN continent is being revealed with complete clarity in the case of Rumania, where Stalin's henchmen have appeared on the scene as the saviors and supporters of the rotten system of capitalist-landlord exploitation and its political regime of repression and reaction."

"At the beginning of April, the Red Army, pursuing retreating German and Rumanian troops, crossed the river Pruth and entered Rumanian territory. This was its first incursion across the Soviet borders. The capitalist world was manifestly nervous and apprehensive."

"Molotov, Stalin's foreign commissar, hastened to allay all suspicions and apprehensions with a statement: 'The Soviet Government declares it does not pursue the aim of acquiring Rumanian territory or of altering the existing social structure of Rumania . . .'

"It is, however, the details of [foreign] correspondents' findings which afford the most glaring confirmation of the reactionary role of the Stalinist government. . . . Wrote [AP correspondent Henry C.] Cassidy: ' . . . The local officials, including Mayors of the towns and prefects of regions, are left to carry on their usual functions . . . Local laws, including those with anti-Semitic provisions, are left unchanged . . . ' — July 15, 1944.

It Was Reported in the Press

Gruesome Governor — Almost a week after the three civil-rights workers were reported missing, Mississippi, Governor Paul Johnson expressed his confidence, according to the June 27 New York Times, that they would be found. "It might not be in my lifetime," he added.

When War Is Not War — "Public opinion," bewails the July 3 Wall Street Journal, "seems likely to be led even more deeply down the blind alley of believing that the struggle for Southeast Asia is in fact a 'war.' But, it concedes, 'in a sense, of course, it is a war, if by that is meant that shots are being fired and soldiers, including Americans, are being killed. In

Laos, there is even something resembling conventional troop deployment, with open, pitched battles . . . In South Vietnam, somewhat the same can be said . . ."

"We'll Consider It" — Soviet Premier Khrushchev, touring the liberal capitalist countries of Scandinavia and preaching the benefits of co-existence, took care not to give his Chinese critics a chance to accuse him of ignoring the class struggle. As he left a Porsgrunn, Norway fertilizer plant, he shook a finger at the manager and admonished, "Don't oppress the workers."

He Ought to Know — M. G. O'Neil, president of General Tire and Rubber Co., said in a speech

on "internationalism" at the 19th annual World Trade Conference recently held in Cleveland: "I'm not exaggerating one iota when I say the world has become our business oyster."

Thought for the Week

"The church is not established to control the state, in the sense that she is obliged to protest through her bishops and priests against every act of injustice which the rulers commit. She must protest for juridical reasons when one of her own rights is violated — when for example, church property is illegally confiscated. This she did." — From a 1945 memorandum by Joseph Cardinal Frings, then archbishop of Cologne, on the Roman Catholic Church's attitude toward Hitler.

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Chicago Civil-Rights Rally Blasts Scranton, Johnson

CHICAGO, JUNE 30 — Some 300 Negro civil-rights workers marched seven miles to the U.S. Courthouse here and held a 90-minute protest meeting from 2:00 to 3:30 yesterday morning. They were dramatizing their protest against Jim Crow in general and Johnson's failure to protect civil-rights workers in Mississippi in particular.

Dick Gregory opened the meeting with this remark, "Maybe we'll be here one night. Maybe we'll be here many nights. We are here now to protest Mississippi. When we get through maybe we'll protest this joint — Chicago."

Chester, Pa., rights leader Stanley Branche announced that ACT, the militant, national united front of rights leaders which sponsored the march and rally, would also demonstrate against Pennsylvania Gov. William Scranton when he came to Chicago to win support for his bid for the Republican presidential nomination.

Police Brutality

"Scranton sent state troopers to Chester to beat up 300 persons demonstrating against school segregation on April 24. Gov. Scranton is talking about Goldwater's stand on Mississippi when he should be concerned with the police brutality in his own state."

Branche charged that Gov. Scranton's state police are "as brutal as any in the South." "Chester is just a Northern Birmingham," he said. "It might be better if Negroes don't vote at all this November, if all they have to choose between is Scranton and Johnson, or Goldwater and Johnson."

ACT plans to follow Scranton to the Republican convention in San Francisco to demonstrate against him there.

Prior to the seven-mile march, ACT held a rally on Chicago's South Side. Speakers included Jesse Gray of the Harlem Community Council on Housing; Lawrence Landry, leader of Chicago's two successful school boycotts; Nahaz Rogers, of the Negro American Labor Council; Dick Gregory; and Stanley Branche.

Gray challenged Attorney General Kennedy's claim that the U.S. government is "powerless" to intervene in Mississippi, citing the precedent of the Reconstruction Period and calling for another occupation of the South along the same lines.

Negroes should realize, Gray went on, that the power structure in Mississippi will not yield peacefully to democratic pressure. They cannot change the power structure "by sitting and waiting for the man to deliver in good faith." Mississippi and Chicago are basically

the same, he said. With Goldwater the probable Republican candidate, many Negroes are panicking and Democratic Mayor Daley feels safe. Holding that there is no difference between Johnson and Goldwater, Gray advocated a boycott of the elections.

At an ACT press conference in Chicago former Washington CORE director Julius Hobson said ACT had been formed because "many civil-rights organizations are no longer militant . . . They are primarily concerned with keeping their image. They have to play up to the people from whom they get their money."

By Beverly Webber

CHICAGO — On Sunday, June 21, 75,000 people attended the Illinois Rally for Civil Rights in Chicago, which was sponsored by over 60 churches, civil-rights groups, and human-relations clubs. The rally, which was the largest civil-rights rally in the city's history, turned into a "victory" celebration upon the passage of the civil-rights bill.

Rev. Martin Luther King, the keynote speaker, praised Senate approval of the bill as a "bright interlude . . . that will lift millions of people from despair to hope." However, he cautioned that the bill is not a panacea, for it will still have to be implemented and tested. He said: "We must continue to engage in demonstrations, boycotts, rent strikes and use all the resources at our disposal to get rid of these conditions."

Government Funds

James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, made the point that federal funds are being used for the wrong projects. He said: "We should skip a few moon shots . . . and use the money to eliminate dirty, rotten slums and to improve the quality of the schools."

By far the most militant speaker was James Forman, national secretary of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, who criticized the civil-rights bill because it failed to deal with the problem of police brutality, which he believes will be felt more and more by civil-rights demonstrators. Forman talked at length about the Mississippi summer project, and about the federal government's failure to protect civil-rights demonstrators.

No Federal Help

He said he was glad to hear that President Johnson had sent his greeting to the Chicago rally, because repeatedly SNCC members and other civil-rights fighters had tried to get commitments from the federal government to support projects in Mississippi, and never got a "mumbling word." Further he declared, "If I die in Mississippi this summer, it will be because the federal government has not done all it should." Forman added that he has made his will, and requested that his ashes be sprinkled on the steps of the White House and the Justice Department.

Chicago's Democratic administration was obviously very concerned that the rally might get out of hand. Mayor Daley refused to come to the rally, first stating that he had not received an invitation, and after a second one had been issued to him, saying he would prefer to spend Father's Day with his family. He was plainly afraid of being booed again, as he had been at the NAACP rally last July. However, the Chicago police force was out in full strength and violated people's rights by refusing to allow any one to sell or distribute any type of newspapers, literature, or leaflets.

Iron Ore Region Hears Talk by SWP Candidate

DULUTH — Everett Luoma, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota, addressed a capacity crowd of 250 at a June 27 meeting here sponsored by the tri-weekly Finnish newspaper, *Industrialisti*.

Begun 50 years ago to serve the Finnish members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), *Industrialisti* has a national circulation, primarily among older Finnish workers. Luoma contributes two columns a week in English to the paper.

Speaking first in Finnish then in English, the SWP candidate said that the lull in the class struggle in this country was being dispelled by the heroic struggle of the Negroes. To this white audience in the economically depressed iron-ore region, he held up as examples the methods of struggle and militancy of the Negro civil-rights fighters. He urged the unemployed iron miners to go out and do likewise.

Luoma condemned the leadership of the trade union movement for impotence in dealing with the problems of automation and mass unemployment resulting from the pullout of industries as happened here when U.S. Steel moved its mining operations to Venezuela.

"As far as I am concerned," he said, "the only time the Iron Range will again know prosperity is when the mines are socially owned and operated by the workers."



Everett Luoma

Louisville Integrationists Fight Pool Discrimination

A court order June 25 barred Carl Braden, field secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and other integrationists, a number of them members of the Students for a Democratic Society, from demonstrating against the segregation of a privately-operated swimming pool at Fontaine Ferry Park in Louisville, Kentucky.

The city's Human Relations Commission ruled June 20 that the Fontaine Ferry Swim Club, Inc., was a public facility and therefore must admit Negroes under the city's anti-discrimination ordinance. Both before and after the ruling, integrationists had sought entrance to the pool and it had been denied to them. Through demonstrations, they sought to highlight the biased actions of the pool managers.

William Dady and Miss Anita Smith were evicted from Fontaine Ferry Park June 21. Braden had been denied admission June 6.

After the court order, local inte-

Conference Finds New Youth Group

SAN FRANCISCO — A national youth conference called to form a new socialist youth organization ended three days of intense debate here June 21 with the merging of a number of local socialist youth groups into a national organization to be called The DuBois Clubs of America.

Some 350 young people — mainly from this area and Los Angeles — participated in the conference. Others came from New York and Wisconsin with a scattering of individuals from other localities. The conference had been originally scheduled for Chicago but was changed to San Francisco to insure maximum attendance.

The conference was organized into nine workshops followed by several plenary sessions. It quickly became apparent that this national gathering could not avoid a sharp confrontation of two political lines: the "Khrushchevite" pro-Democratic Party line vs. socialist independent political action.

The young people present came from picket lines, courtrooms and demonstrations. Many present were on the way to jail or to Mississippi. Their commitment to the civil-rights movement and anti-imperialist demonstrations had brought them into hostile conflict with the Democratic Party administration nationally and locally.

Political Alliances

Yet the conference organizers were determined to subvert these troops into bellpushers for the Democratic Party, nationally and locally. In their chlorophylled euphemisms the "need was to extend and strengthen political alliances and coalitions of the peoples movements, to further independent political action without losing touch with the mainstream of people's organizations and without coming into conflict with the candidates of people's coalitions." (People's World June 27, report by Peggy Dennis) A handy key for the translation of the above language is to substitute "Democratic Party" for "people's."

Challenging this line and calling for a rejection of both Republican and Democratic Party politics, some 40 local members of the Young Socialist Alliance tried their best to prevent this new effort from going down the opportunist drain as had all its precursors.

But what the conference organizers lacked in political principles they more than made up in two-



Tom Morgan

bit organizational trickery — and, it must be said, in just plain gall. Participants were there as individuals, yet the organizers made certain of a safe majority by contriving a system of weighted votes. Individuals from Los Angeles had two votes each; those from New York, three votes; those from Wisconsin, six votes; and so on. This gave a distorted picture of the real relationship of forces operating in the youth movement today.

The "Khrushchevite" line of the conference organizers was formally endorsed by the conference but it is not at all certain that this line can command majority support among the socialist-minded youth today. Very likely not. And it must be apparent to its carriers now that they have a very difficult line to sell today's committed young troops.

Liberties Resolution

Bloomington defendant Tom Morgan introduced an amendment to the civil-liberties resolution calling for opposition to all politicians who voted for the Smith or McCarran Acts. Through their system of weighted votes, the organizers of the conference defeated this motion. If the amendment had passed, it would have put the conference on record as opposing virtually the entire Democratic Party.

Two other minor tendencies were present. One, the Progressive Labor group (pro-Peking), had about six supporters there and acted in general concert with the YSA. The other, a small group of YPSLs (Young People's Socialist League — youth group of Norman Thomas' party), came as official observers but abstained from any intervention.

The conference finally passed a motion barring future organizational participation to anyone holding a differing political position. This was aimed at the YSA and forced a reluctant walkout of the YSA participants and many more independent youth. Nevertheless, the YPSL delegation remained and issued a cautious statement of critical support.

The conference organizers won a highly dubious victory with passage of the exclusion motion and the backlash brought dismay to their followers. Thereupon the motion was rescinded. But the damage had been done and the originally hopeful atmosphere soured.

Back on the picket line, in jail, and at the various demonstrations, the debate goes on. Shall these new youth in their first political involvement become bellpushers for the Democratic Party or the builders of a vigorous socialist alternative?

To a reflective observer the future looks good.



Stanley Branche