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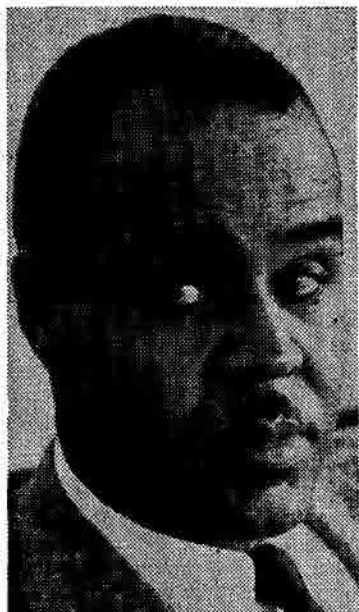
Civil Rights Fighters Veto Leaders on 'Moratorium'

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, Aug. 4 — Major "moderate" civil-rights leaders attempted a grand sell-out of the Negro struggle July 29 when they announced a "broad curtailment if not total moratorium" of all mass demonstrations until after the Nov. 3 presidential election. Fortunately, their cowardly and dangerous scheme to hogtie the Freedom Now struggle for the benefit of the Democratic Party national ticket, didn't work. These "leaders" succeeded only in proving that they have almost no influence in the black ghettos.

The sell-out conference, which was held here, was called by NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins and attended by Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the Negro American Labor Council; Whitney Young, executive director of the Urban League; James Farmer, national CORE director; John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; and Bayard Rustin, vice-chairman of the March on Washington.

Wilkins, King, Randolph and Young signed the moratorium statement, and Rustin gave it his full support. The statement was clearly made at the behest of national Democratic Party leaders — King had just met with New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner — on the theory that continued mass actions by Negroes would em-



Roy Wilkins

Found ranks rejected 'moratorium'

barrass the Democrats in their attempts to hold onto racist votes for which Goldwater is making a bid. These "moderate" Negro leaders showed that they agree with Johnson that the way to beat Goldwater on the civil-rights issue is to adopt Goldwater's program — stop any effective struggle by Negroes.

Only one day after this big announcement, when from the Negro "summit meeting," these leaders thought they had delivered the

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Photo by Bob Fletcher

HOW ABOUT A MORATORIUM ON POLICE BRUTALITY? Mississippi cop lunges at voter-registration worker during July 16 police attack on COFO workers in front of Greenwood courthouse. The woman is expecting a baby soon. Her sister, at left, tries to protect her from cop. President Johnson said he favored moratorium on civil-rights demonstrations but said nothing about imposing moratorium on police brutality.

DeBerry Demands U.S. Get Forces Out of Vietnam

NEW YORK, Aug. 5 — "All U.S. warships, planes and troops should be immediately withdrawn from Southeast Asia," today declared Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, as the news came of bombing attacks by U.S. planes on coastal installations in North Vietnam.

DeBerry termed the attacks ordered by President Johnson "open, unabashed acts of aggression carried out in contemptuous disregard of international law and of all humane and civilized sentiments." The blood of the people of North Vietnam and of the American pilots killed in the attack was on Johnson's hands, he said.

"Is Lyndon Johnson staining his hands with blood and spreading the war to North Vietnam — and possibly to China — in order to prove that he is an even tougher warmonger than Barry Goldwater?" the socialist candidate asked.

The Negro candidate for President said that the attack on North Vietnam had been planned in the White House and Pentagon for a long time. "The incidents between the U.S. destroyer and the PT boats were the pretext not the cause of the U.S. air attack," he asserted. He pointed out that for the past six months U.S. authorities have been leaking stories about the need to attack North Vietnam because the U.S.-sponsored civil war in South Vietnam was doing so poorly.

DeBerry said that the U.S. had no right to be in South Vietnam in the first place. "Ninety per cent of the people there now hate America's guts for keeping that civil war going and imposing a series of brutal, corrupt dictators on them. American troops are being forced to suffer and die there in an illegal undeclared war because the corporations and billionaires who really run the U.S. believe that it is their divine, imperialist, white-supremacist right to control Southeast Asia and the other colonial and semi-colonial areas of the world.

"Political stooges of big business like Johnson and Goldwater wholeheartedly carry out this dirty policy but the American people,



Clifton DeBerry

despite massive brainwashing by the controlled press, know something is wrong about U.S. policy in Southeast Asia — as they knew something was wrong with the undeclared war in Korea.

"We of the Socialist Workers Party say get all the troops, planes and warships out of Vietnam — North and South. If as Johnson claims their purpose is to 'protect democracy,' then send them to Mississippi and let them do some protecting of black Americans there."

The reprisal bombardment of the national territory of a country without declaring war is an open violation of all norms of international law. It has only a few precedents in modern times. The closest parallel to the action ordered by Johnson took place in 1936. At that time German warships were aiding Gen. Franco by sinking Spanish Loyalist vessels, by transporting troops for the Spanish fascists, etc. There was a clash at sea between a Loyalist plane and a German warship. In reprisal for this "unprovoked attack," Hitler ordered a naval bombardment of the Spanish coastal city of Almeria. At the time the shelling of Almeria was condemned as a criminal act in all countries except those with fascist governments.

The other modern precedent was the bombardment ordered by Mussolini in 1923 of the Greek island of Corfu.

Before the inflammatory newspaper headlines about the "unprovoked attack" on the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* on Aug. 2 and Johnson's quick follow-up with "shoot-to-kill" orders to the U.S. Seventh Fleet, few Americans were aware of U.S. naval activity in the Gulf of Tonkin — indeed, few even knew where the Gulf of Tonkin was. Tonkin is the northernmost province of North Vietnam. The gulf which bears its name is a body of water extending deep into southern China and North Vietnam. Its shores are all Chinese and North Vietnamese. The presence of U.S. warships there is in itself a provocation ordered by the administration as part of its "get-tough" policy.

Concealed, moreover, by the controlled U.S. press was the fact that U.S. naval units in the Gulf of Tonkin have been engaged in hostilities against North Vietnam. Washington maintains the fiction that the actual attacks were carried out by South Vietnamese vessels and that U.S. warships just happened to be along as bystanders. This fiction is on a par with the claim that U.S. fighting forces in South Vietnam are not there as combatants but merely as "advisers."

The North Vietnamese charge, however, that the U.S. vessels actually participate in the raids on their coastal cities and islands. A half-way admission of this appeared in the Aug. 4 *New York Times*: "It has been reported that the [U.S.] destroyers on patrol have sometimes collaborated with South Vietnamese hit-and-run raids on North Vietnamese port cities, though the destroyers themselves stay in international waters."

While the State Department and news media pretend to be mystified by the motives of the North Vietnamese government, the key to the "mystery" is obvious. On July 30, two islands on the North Vietnam coast, Ho Me and Non Ngu, were shelled by hostile naval vessels. The government of North Vietnam declared the attackers

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Meaning of Harlem Riots

Advance Tremor of Black Revolution

By William F. Warde

Harlem exploded right after the country-club set, the racist-minded, the hottest cold-warriors whooped it up for Goldwater in San Francisco. These are the social and political extremes of American life today. At one pole the rich, pampered and powerful — but worried and fearful — delegates of the ruling order set about to make the country and the world safe for their oil wells, Cadillacs and white supremacy. At the opposite pole, the most deprived and despairing part of our people wrathfully rose up against their atrocious conditions and the forces upholding them.

There is no need to dwell upon the background and immediate causes of the New York events. They are so well-advertised that outbreaks have been predicted for months. Now the much-discussed "long hot summer" has been converted from anticipation into reality. What must be done is to size up the significance of this long-prepared episode in the unfolding of the Freedom Now movement and what it portends for the coming period.

The Harlem eruption took place ten years after the Supreme Court school desegregation decision and one year after the March on

Washington. It is a landmark of even greater importance than these two milestones. Washington is the white capital of the country but Harlem is its black capital. And what Harlem feels, thinks and does — or does not do — can be decisive for the progress of the Negro revolt.

This stands out clearly when we compare the principal features of last week's events with those of the March on Washington which has up to now been the peak of the mass mobilization of black protest.

The March on Washington was a peaceful and well-ordered demonstration with almost a festive air.

It was a carefully-controlled assemblage, shepherded from start to finish by its moderate organizers who collaborated with the local and federal authorities.

It was an interracial affair from the speakers on the platform to the crowd.

It had a respectable, middle-class atmosphere, even though many of the participants, black and white, belonged to the working class.

Finally, it had a reformist aim, its central demand being the passage of the Civil Rights Bill. It

was a means of exerting direct pressure upon the politicians to hurry along much delayed legislation.

Now, no sooner was that bill enacted and signed than Harlem erupted and initiated a higher stage of the struggle. The advance — which the liberals and pure pacifists regard as a retrogression — was registered in the following ways.

The Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Rochester encounters were not at all peaceful. They were provoked by police violence and answered in kind. These justifiably vehement uprisings contained the shoots of civil and racial war.

Instead of being staged with the consent of the authorities and in benevolent consultation with them, they were directed against the police and similar agencies of the power structure. The cops were attacked and fought in roving battles of urban guerrilla warfare.

These movements were not bi-racial but almost entirely nationalist in temper and leadership. Here was the black ghetto speaking, protesting, battling with its own forces on its own account. The whites, even sympathizers and radicals, were not in it and

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... Real Meaning of the Harlem Riots

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not welcomed. In some places they were told to stay out.

These actions were not organized or directed from above. They were spontaneous outbursts of fighting-mad black masses out to vent their hatred of hopeless slum-life and those responsible for it. They were agitated by militant leaders but apparently not under their control.

The leaders who were in full command of the March on Washington — Rustin, Farmer, the clergy, NAACP — were tossed about like feathers in a gale. They were driven to the left as they exerted efforts both to chime in with the seething anger and damp it down. The most militant and unrestrained spokesmen, Gray, Epton and the various Black Nationalists, had the ear of the freedom-fighters.

Direct Action

And that is what it was: The entry into direct action of do-or-die freedom-fighters, an authentic, made-in-the-USA resistance movement, the uprising of the most daring and self-sacrificing elements of an oppressed people.

These protests had a revolutionary edge and implication manifested not only in the methods of action but in the underlying aim. Although the Harlem demonstrators put forward several specific immediate demands — the arrest of the killer-cop and a civilian review board — the generalized character of their mood and movement went much beyond these. They were revolutionary defiance aimed at the overthrow of the whole rotten system that condemns them to such misery and brutality. It was anti-capitalist in effect, if not in consciousness.

Finally, these were the responses and deeds, the methods of struggle, of the "nitty-gritty" core of the ghetto inhabitants: the restless youngsters, the harried adults, the aroused mothers. It was not the respectable and the dignitaries but the most deprived, resentful and rebellious who were out on the streets and on the tenement rooftops.

And so, in contrast to the March

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, 444-8012; in Los Angeles, AN 9-4953.

DETROIT

THE PROBLEMS OF DETROIT'S SCHOOLS. Speakers, DR. LOUIS CLEAGE and RICHARD HENRY, members of GOAL and candidates for the Detroit Board of Education. Fri., Aug. 14, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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

LOS ANGELES

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Aug. 18, 6:45 p.m. (Repeated Aug. 19, 9 a.m.), KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

THE MEANING OF THE GOLDWATER NOMINATION. Speaker, Tom Leonard, contributor to The Militant. Fri., Aug. 14, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

FRIDAY, Aug. 21 — THE INDEPENDENT ROAD TO BLACK FREEDOM NOW. A talk by PAUL BOUTELLE, candidate of the Freedom Now Party for State Senator.

A London View of Harlem Riots

Reporting to its British readers on the Harlem events, The Times of London recalled the 1935 outburst and offered this comment:

"An investigating committee then found that among the causes were police brutality, overcrowding, extortionate rents, shortages of schools, poor health facilities and discrimination against Negroes in the labor market."

"An investigation of this week's terrifying riots would produce an almost identical list, with perhaps an addition — fury that so little has changed in so many years."

on Washington last August, which was peaceful, thoroughly regimented from on top, interracial, middle-class, reformist and legalistic, these July incidents have been rough, uncontrolled and uncontrollable, black nationalist in spirit, wholly proletarian in composition and revolutionary in tendency.

Now let us look at the other side.

The city, state and federal officials and politicians knew that something like this was brewing and bubbling in the ghetto cauldrons. They may have thought the Civil Rights Bill would allay the unrest for a while at least. But that legislation, whatever usefulness it may have in the South, gave nothing to the Northern Negroes.

Nothing of substance has been done about jobs, housing, schooling and all the other festering grievances which are at the root of the problem. Instead of taking measures to mitigate police malpractices, the departments concerned stored weapons and made plans for their riot squads to stamp down on any sizeable expressions of discontent.

Callous Officialdom

The first reactions of the president, governor and mayor show how callous they are and insensitive to the needs of the situation. 1) They dispatched more cops, state-troopers to crack down, proclaimed a curfew, banned meetings and demonstrations. 2) They made the most minimal token concessions: shifting three Negro police officials to replace whites in Harlem while refusing the major demands of punishing the killer-cop and establishing a civilian review setup. 3) They launched a Red-scare.

Stupid Mayor Wagner, who had to cut short a jaunt to Europe, was far more worried about the effect of the unfavorable publicity on World's Fair attendance than on making this world a little bit fairer for the outraged citizens of Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant.

Whether these highly-placed know-nothings and do-nothings realize it or not, the New York uprisings give warning that the patience of the black masses penned in the ghettos is nearing exhaustion. They'd better look up from their Martinis and take notice of the Molotov cocktails that were tossed into the midst of the police battalions and at their patrol-wagons. At the height of the melee an NACCP official issued a pleading leaflet captioned: "Cool it, baby, the message has been delivered."

It would be good if that were so. However, it appears that the message, though delivered, has not been read or understood. The gist of that message is: "You'd better hurry up and give us what we so desperately want and have called for — or Harlem will be heard from again and even more

vigorously. And not only Bedford-Stuyvesant and Rochester, but Chicago, Washington, Baltimore and other districts may join them. You may put out the fire this time but it will blaze up more fiercely the next."

The NBC television program on Harlem, *Test of the North*, concluded by posing the alternatives before the powers-that-be in this way: either large-scale repression or large-scale satisfaction. Which will it be?

Certain Negro leaders are talking about a \$16-billion Marshall Plan on the ground that the ghettos are disaster areas and the plight of the people there is catastrophic. Such a demand is more than justified. But it is most improbable that Johnson and the Congress will unbalance their budget for the exclusive benefit of the black masses, even as a self-protective measure. The President's program for the phony "war on poverty" doesn't include any extensive or expensive improvements, let alone the elimination of the terrible injustices and inequities responsible for the ghettos.

What, then, is the most likely prospect?

The outbursts in New York are only the beginning — the first of their kind in the Northern cities. Whatever the laments of Negro and white liberals, they will be succeeded by others even more stormy and protracted so long as the ruling rich and their political servitors refuse to remove the conditions that have generated them and make their recurrence virtually mandatory.

The revolt of the black freedom-fighters is moving forward under our eyes from one stage to another in obedience to the objective laws of every great na-

tional and social revolutionary process. Each new stage emerges with implacable necessity from the gains and deficiencies, the victories and setbacks, of its predecessor. The needs and demands that power its progress are too imperative and irrepressible to be arbitrarily halted. Both concessions and repressions feed it and stimulate its forces in different ways as the cumulative momentum of its onward march keeps lifting it to higher levels of struggle.

One salient drawback, among others, disclosed in the New York events is the lack of an authoritative leadership and organization which can knit together the spontaneous and spasmodic local struggles, give them an adequate program and direct their efforts into the most effective channels. It remains to be seen whether Malcolm X and the new Organization of Afro-American Unity can step into this vacancy.

The moderate camp followers of the Democrats are counterposing electoral action and registration to direct action. There is crying need for a national movement which knows how to combine mass action with the right kind of independent political organization.

One of the major themes of the Socialist Workers Party election campaign must be to defend the freedom-fighters, North and South, to explain the reasons and rightness of their resistance movement, and press the white working-class community to wake up and back their demands for the sake of their own freedom. For the Negro-haters in the seats of power will have to take the road to a South African solution of the crisis in race relations unless they are fought and forestalled in time.

A Letter from Mississippi

[A reader has sent us the following letter which she received from a librarian who spent his summer vacation traveling from place to place in Mississippi, setting up libraries as part of the Community Center program of the Mississippi Summer Project. For the protection of individuals names have been omitted.—Editor]

I was picked up at the COFO office in Carthage by Mr. and Mrs. —, who proved to be a most interesting and refreshing couple. Mr. — said several things on the trip which impressed me. After asking me why I was down in Mississippi and receiving my answer, he said, "Mr. —, I know you aren't going to enjoy it down here, but I hope you like it."

We arrived in Carthage late in the afternoon. As we approached the Negro community, Mr. — pointed out how the paved road went through the white community and then curved to miss the Negro community. It was supposed to go straight but that would have meant going through 30,000 acres of Negro-owned land, so the route was changed.

An outstanding memory of the trip and of my whole stay in Carthage was the almost embarrassing amount of gratitude to me for my visit and amazement that a white man had the nerve to do what I was doing. As Mr. — put it, "That's a tough old pecker-wood sheriff we have." And the lady where I stayed told me not to worry if I heard noises on the porch — there was a dog posted there to bark and give the alarm in case of trouble.

As we worked in the old church which had been converted into the library, the group pointed out an incredibly dilapidated building which had been their school until this year and said that after the Supreme Court decision on school desegregation the whites had built brick schoolhouses

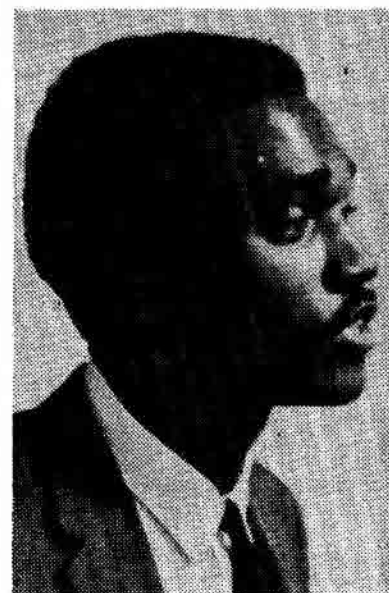
wherever there was a little group of white children. One white school had only 78 children in the whole school! In the ramshackle Negro school which I saw, one teacher had 68 pupils in one class. A little girl helping with the library had attended school from the start of the fall term until the Christmas vacation without being called on to answer any questions or to recite.

Coming from an area of smug suburban lip service to reading and education, it was inspiring to work with a group with a real hunger for the books and education of which they have been deprived. Even many of the tattered discards reached a haven in Negro homes.

I left Carthage Sunday morning and Saturday night the people who had helped set up the library stopped by, singly or in groups, to express their gratitude, and half a dozen or so took my address "up North" with the intention of sending me a present at Christmas. They had been so eager to get to work on the library when I arrived that one man, when I asked what time they planned on getting started next morning, asked excitedly, "Is eight o'clock too early for you?" In the discussion which followed, the group decided to have a meeting that evening, so I conducted an orientation class before starting to organize the library. It was fortunate I did, because I found that some of the people involved didn't know fiction from non-fiction, a result of enforced lack of education and rural lack of facilities.

Just before I left, one of the ladies told me, "Mr. —, tell what you have seen. You have only seen the best part of the Negro community here, but I know you've seen enough. And tell the truth as you saw it, for the truth will set you free."

Freedom Now Nominee Enters Race in Harlem



Lee Forest

Paul Boutelle

NEW YORK, Aug. 4—The Freedom Now Party for Independent Black Political Action has announced that Paul Boutelle has been selected to run for the State Senate from the 21st Senatorial District in Manhattan. Boutelle, 29, is the party's Metropolitan Committee chairman. He has been active in organizing the Freedom Now Party this year. He is a native of Harlem, where the 21st district is located, and is well known to many rank-and-file Harlemites.

Boutelle will begin his campaign with a rally in Harlem Square — east side of Seventh Ave. between 125th and 126th streets — on Saturday, Aug. 8 from 4 p. m. to 9 p. m.

At the rally, Boutelle will speak on the party's platform for 1964 and discuss such questions as: "Why black people should boycott the Democratic Lucifer (Johnson) along with his twin Blood Brother the Republican Satan (Goldwater)" and "How an organized, international black whip will handle any backlash."

Boutelle will speak at the New York Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place on Friday, Aug. 21 on the subject: "The Independent Road to Black Freedom Now."

Those wishing to contribute to the Freedom Now Party in New York can make checks or money orders out as follows: Met. Comm. F.N.P. They should be mailed to Met. Comm. F.N.P., 30 E. 125th St., New York, N. Y. 10035.

Suit Filed on Behalf Of Slain N.Y. Youth

NEW YORK — A damage suit for 1.1 million dollars has been filed against the city of New York by the estate of Frank Rodriguez, Jr. who was shot dead by an off-duty policeman on Feb. 18.

The complaint charges Probationary Patrolman Ronald Meszars, who killed the 18-year old Puerto Rican youth as he allegedly fled from the scene of a street fight at Second Avenue and 92nd St. with unwarranted and unnecessary as well as unreasonable force. Luz Diaz, the administrator of the slain boy's estate, is bringing the suit on behalf of the decedent's widow and her two small children.

In 1962 the Boys Club of America had bestowed the Boy of the Year award on Rodriguez. He was the first New York State boy to be so honored.

"A slave who has become conscious of his slavery, and who has risen to the height of fighting for his emancipation, has half ceased to be a slave." — Lenin.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

CUBA: SEVEN THOUSAND MILES FROM HOME by Dave Dellinger, in June-July issue of *Liberation*. 40 cents.

Even though he managed to get State Department approval to go to Cuba this spring as a reporter for *Liberation* magazine, Dave Dellinger had to travel 14,000 miles going to and from the island 90 miles off our shores because of U.S.-devised red tape and difficulties. Hence the title of the first in a series of articles about what Dellinger saw and experienced during the three weeks he spent driving the length and breadth of the island speaking with friends and enemies of the Revolution.

Dellinger is a pacifist, and, as he says, "I was not predisposed to like the Cuban Revolution, either on my first trip in November 1960, when I spent three and a half weeks on the island, or this time . . . I must confess that after being subjected to more than three years of false reports, invented facts, and devastating analyses by ex-Cubans and other experts who have not even seen Cuba during several years of swiftly moving developments, I half expected to be as disappointed and disillusioned this time as I had been inspired and exhilarated in 1960. Only after I had been back in Cuba for some time did I realize how much the constant propaganda had sapped my morale and clouded my vision."

This initial report, which Dellinger says is an introduction to his forthcoming articles, pierces the cloud of lies and presents us with a sharp view of the real Cuba. The actuality of the development of the Revolution has clearly not disillusioned or disappointed Dellinger, and what he has to say will hearten all supporters of the first workers' state in the Americas.

Dellinger has a good eye, not only for signs of the material progress the Revolution has brought and is bringing, but also for evidences of the extent of freedom of speech, growth of bureaucracy, development of democratic forms, etc. He conveys vividly the flavor and feel of Cuba today, the revolutionary spirit which still dominates Cuban life, and which can only be observed through the kind of direct experience Dellinger shares with his readers.

Dellinger was at the May Day celebration in Havana where 800,000 people gathered to celebrate the gains of their Revolution. He reports that "it was a day of determination as well, determination, as Fidel expressed it, on the one hand to press ahead to new accomplishments and, on the other hand, never to surrender to the imperialists no matter how great

the military odds in their favor might be." He quotes extensively from Castro's May Day speech on U.S.-Cuba relations.

The subsequent articles in the series will go into more detail on the developments in the new party (PURS) and other institutions evolving in the direction of new forms of direct democracy like the popular assemblies "that take place regularly (usually once a week) in the Cuban factories, *granjas* [state farms], co-operatives, schools and housing projects, that fulfill a grassroots, democratic function similar to that formerly provided in the United States by the New England town meeting."

—Barry Sheppard

THE OBSTACLE COURSE ON CAPITOL HILL. By Robert Bendiner, McGraw-Hill; 232 pages; \$4.95.

THE SENATE ESTABLISHMENT. Speeches by Senators Joseph S. Clark and others. Foreword by James MacGregor Burns. Hill and Wang; paper edition (*American Century Series*) \$1.50; 140 pages.

These two books help answer a question which must puzzle most Americans—what makes Sammy Congressman run? The Bendiner book is a valuable contribution. It is interesting as well as educational.

His first chapter, "The Nays Have It," sets the tone and tells the story. Representative government is a hollow shell as a minority consisting of Republicans and Dixiecrats control both Houses through their chairmanship of the major committees.

He likens the progress of any social-welfare measure to a child's board game in which advances or retreats depend upon the tossing of dice or the spinning of a wheel. The traps along the way are many and deep. Bendiner cites the long history of the attempts to get federal aid for elementary and secondary schools to illustrate the point. He could just as well have used such issues as Medicare, housing, civil rights, etc.

Senator Clark's major premise in *The Senate Establishment* is that the "moderns"—those "new generation" legislators who are backing the Kennedy-Johnson social-welfare program—have been punished by their own Steering Committee for having voted for cloture against the 1962 filibuster. They were bypassed in the handling out of major committee chairmanships and memberships. Clark's speech lasted three days, and that part of the book is taken directly from the Congressional Record.

The Establishment is a minority consisting of the Dixiecrat contingent and the "conservative" Republicans who are "dedicated to the status quo in economic and property rights and to the past in human rights."

The existence and power of the Establishment was graphically demonstrated when it tied up the Senate for 75 days of "debate" against a very weak civil-rights bill. Senator Humphrey, the bill's floor manager, charged on May 11, that the 81 senators "not from the South" were more responsible for the situation than the 19 Southern Democrats who conducted the delaying action.

He told reporters "any intransigent minority can run the Senate if a majority stands around with jelly for a spine." Senator Clark's book makes clear that the "jelly" consists of—fear about committee assignments when the 89th Congress is organized in 1965!

—Marvell Scholl

Appeals for Justice Won't Do It

Black Ghettos Need Political Power

By Robert Vernon

The recent revolts by the youth and impoverished masses in the streets of Harlem, Brooklyn, Rochester and Jersey City have been a severe shock to the white ruling class, disturbing its confidence in its ability to control and manipulate black people through the medium of "responsible, dedicated Negro leaders." They have been an even greater shock to white liberals and responsible Negro "leaders," and are disconcerting to many supporters of the civil-rights movement. There are repeated frantic complaints that these events are "damaging the cause of civil rights."

That may be. But the masses of poor black people in the ghettos of New York, Rochester, and other urban centers are interested first and foremost in *their own cause*. "Freedom Now" has other meanings to the ghetto poor than those implicit in "civil rights" in the narrow sense. The unemployed, poorly-housed and poorly-fed masses confined to the ghettos of the integrated, liberal Northern cities want freedom—NOW—from slumlords, corrupt and brutal police, rats invading their babies' cribs, unbearable living conditions, increasing unemployment and unrelieved poverty, and an alien and oppressive Way of Life.

Of course the ghetto masses feel some sympathy toward the integration struggle in the South, and toward the efforts of middle-class Negroes to rise in American society. But when the ghetto masses go into action, it is on their own terms and for their own aims, which are not completely identical with those of the civil-rights movement.

Offer Nothing

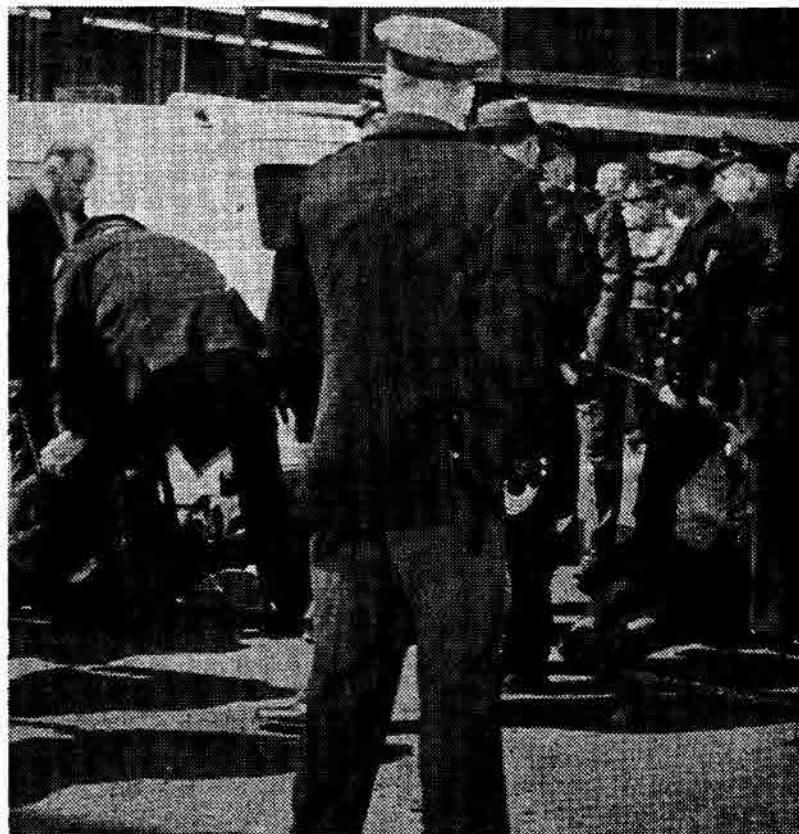
Capitalist politicians have no concessions to offer to the ghetto poor. The ruling class relies on "responsible leaders" to handle the situation. The ruling class accepts a militant middle-class leadership as "intelligent" and "responsible" and expects the black masses to be content with the crumbs handed to Negro "leaders."

The white ruling class feels that black people should be grateful when some Negro is appointed to a government post, or is allowed to play on a golf course at Atlanta, or is given the opportunity to send his son to a military prep school. New York's Mayor Wagner feels that when he condescends to talk with Rev. Martin Luther King, he has communicated meaningfully with all Negroes worth talking to.

Now Dr. King is recognized as the authoritative spokesman of the Negro middle class and of all conservative, politically inert, church-going Negroes who never throw bottles or bricks at cops. But Dr. King does not even represent Atlanta's Buttermilk Bottom ghetto (whose poor black masses are not pliable material for non-violent workshops). He is no more qualified to speak for the angry masses of Harlem than for, say, South Vietnamese peasants or the shantytown dwellers in Johannesburg.

We are observing a classical sequence which repeats itself in all mass struggles. When the moderate "leaders" see that their limited demands are being met, they frantically insist that the masses go back and stay in their place, that more trouble will "only hurt the cause," i.e., the middle-class cause. The "leaders" often really believe that the masses are fighting for the same things that the "leaders" will be satisfied with.

"Cool it, baby!" these "leaders" tell the masses. We've won our demands, now we got our message across to the good white folks. Go back off the streets. If you keep this up, you're only doing harm to our pure cause. Go home, we'll tell you when to demon-



PRIME GHETTO ISSUE. Police brutality, like the kind shown here against civil-rights demonstrators in Chester, Pa. is one of the things driving residents of black ghettos to seek more effective leadership. They know cops won't be swayed by appeals for justice.

strate again. Don't call us, we'll call you."

By its very nature, the civil-rights movement, no matter how militantly led, gravitates toward appealing to white liberals, and its success is dependent upon whites accepting Negroes as fellow Americans. The civil-rights movement is basically a movement of protest or appeal to the "conscience" of "good" whites. Appeals to love and to the brotherhood of man, to the solidarity of fellow Christians and "fellow Americans," are common. Intense efforts are made to win sympathy and pity. This is backed up by more militant attempts to shame unfeeling whites, to work on their guilt feelings, if any, to make them "understand" how much Negroes suffer as second-class citizens, etc.

More militant civil-rights fighters seek more forceful ways of arresting the attention of indifferent whites. Sit-ins, wade-ins, lie-ins give way to more strident tactics such as stall-ins, aimed at irritating and attracting the attention of whites, at whatever cost, as if the "conscience" of white America could be twitched once the plight of America's poor, helpless, pitiful Negroes were truly felt deep in the heart.

Win Little

These tactics sometimes win partial gains, and attract a following of white liberals and well-meaning white youth. But they are ineffective in making basic changes in society.

The key question here is power, independent black political power. The black urban masses cannot win anything important by begging, pleading, shaming, or throwing tantrums to attract attention and pity. Police, school boards, automating factories, racist mobs, and white capitalist power have no conscience or heartstrings, and feel no guilt. They respect only power, and yield only to power. Political power is a life-and-death issue for black people in America.

The road ahead for the black masses in the urban centers is to organize solidly at the grass-root level, building a radical political force with which to counter the power of the white ruling class. Independent political power, free from control and influence by "good" Democrats or Republicans, can do something meaningful about schools, jobs, police, and housing—even when that power

is organized only locally. Nothing less than independent black political power will be effective.

Independent political power is still power no matter which enemy of the black people, Johnson or Goldwater, gets elected. Independent black political power is the only power that can be counted on to stand up to the backlash, or frontlash, sidelash, uplash, downlash, or any other kind of whiplash that Uncle Sam can inflict on black people.

A powerful, independent, ghetto-based movement will be of enormous value to black people in fighting back against the oppressive American Way of Life. Large numbers of potential white allies among the white poor (in Appalachia, in migrant-worker camps, in unemployed lines, etc.) and among white youth will be won, not through appeals to "love" and "brotherhood" (which attract only individual idealists), but through building a powerful revolutionary movement which can give them leadership and show them a road out of the mess they are in, too, in this capitalist society.

Such a movement, because it has power and therefore commands respect, can un-brainwash other layers of the white workers, who are now relatively more privileged, backward and conservative, and draw them into the struggle to bring about the revolutionary changes that have to be made in America if there is to be justice, equality and a decent life for any working-class people of any color.

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Monday, August 10, 1964

Strikers in Baltimore Fight Lockouts, Court Injunctions

By Eloise LaVonne

BALTIMORE — Leaders of Local 692, Retail Clerks of America, AFL-CIO, began negotiations with Acme, a major food chain with 58 stores in the Baltimore area, on Jan. 7. Company policy is to hire on a part-time basis, giving the employees odd hours, low pay and meager benefits. The pay scale in the Baltimore area is \$20 per week lower for beginners and \$10 lower for experienced clerks than in the Washington, D.C., area although there is no noticeable difference in the price of merchandise.

On April 17 Acme workers in the Baltimore area went on strike after realizing that a satisfactory agreement could not be reached by negotiations. In order to break the union, the six other big food chains in the area shut down.

Food chain workers have been subjected to the concerted ruthlessness of the bosses and the anti-labor bias of the judicial system here. Most of the locked-out workers have not been able to find work and have been without income because the courts ruled that they are ineligible for unemployment compensation.

Nine weeks after the lockout a federal mediator proposed a compromise settlement. The union agreed, but the corporations flatly rejected it, and the six other chains which had locked out their workers made plans to re-open despite lack of agreement with the unions. Acme, too, announced plans to re-open, manning its stores with strike-breakers.

Immediately picket lines were set up at all the Acme stores. At Acme's request for an injunction

on the grounds of "information and belief" of violence at eight of the 58 stores, Judge Barnes ruled against any picketing. The Maryland State Attorney then invited Acme managers to report any individuals picketing to Judge Barnes for contempt of court citations.

The union filed charges of unfair labor practices with the National Labor Relations Board because 1) an injunction against all primary picketing pre-empts the National Labor Relations Act; 2) Maryland has an anti-injunction statute; 3) federal labor law is being violated; 4) the First Amendment, guaranteeing free speech, is being violated; 5) instead of a full hearing with affidavits filed by Acme, the injunction was granted on hearsay.

The workers are fighting back. The injunction was ignored and picketing was strengthened. Since the Acme announcement of plans to re-open, store windows have been broken, scabs turned back, locks jammed with solder, and a manager padlocked inside a store. The 650 members of Local 692 are still picketing the store, now open for business. The employees of the other six unionized food chains are honoring Local 692's lines. The butchers of Meatcutters Local 117 and the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers Local 68 both of the AFL-CIO are also supporting Local 692.

In view of all this, Judge Barnes moderated his no-picketing ruling. The strikers may now legally have up to three pickets per entrance with no more than six persons picketing per store.

Fidel Castro's 26 of July Speech

Support to Revolution Not Negotiable

[Following are excerpts from the speech of Fidel Castro in Santiago de Cuba on July 26, the eleventh anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks which is regarded as the starting point of the Cuban Revolution.]

Recently a U.S. newsman interviewed me and we talked for about 18 hours . . . You all know how newsmen are . . . They ask a lot of questions and some of them are very shrewd in their questions . . .

One of the questions the newsman asked me was this: "Can the question of Cuban aid to other countries, to the revolutionary movement in Latin America, be negotiated . . .?"

Answered Question

I thought that his question referred to the "aid" they say we give the revolutionary movements in Latin America. I did not say yes or no, in other words, I did not say whether or not we gave aid. I just answered his question. I told him: "Look, aid to revolutionary movements cannot be negotiated, cannot be negotiated." Then I said to him: "If you ask me another question, that is, if you ask me if we are a nation capable of living in accordance with international norms, then I would answer yes." . . . But this is already a different question.

If Cuba were to send arms to a country that respects our sovereignty, that doesn't meddle in our internal affairs, that doesn't give arms to the counter-revolution, then we would be violating the norm . . .

Afterwards they published a story which said: "Cuba is ready to negotiate the aid it gives to the revolutionary movement." But the question was not nor could it have been put in that way . . .

It doesn't matter how great our sympathy may be towards revolution. The realities of the world, the true and objective existence of more than 100 states in the world, make it imperative that states live subject to norms of international conduct . . .



Fidel Castro

What we do not believe is that international norms are applicable in some areas but are not obligatory elsewhere . . .

Countries which don't respect Cuba, which meddle in the internal affairs of Cuba and promote counter-revolution have no right to complain if we help the revolution in those countries. We believe this is clear and elementary.

And as you know, the Organization of American States, that rubbish heap, that U.S. Ministry of Colonies, has met to judge and declare sanctions against Cuba on the pretext that Cuba sent a load of arms to the Venezuelan revolutionaries.

Other Weapons

They say that there they found arms of Belgian-Cuban manufacture. What we can be sure of, from the information that we have from very reliable sources, is that there were also bazookas and mortars manufactured by the United States, made in U.S.A.

And these were never acquired by Cuba. So how is it possible to explain the existence of those mortars and those bazookas . . .

To declare sanctions against us on charges of having sent arms to Venezuela they would first have to declare sanctions against the government of the United States 70 times and they would first have to declare sanctions against the governments of Nicaragua and Guatemala 70 times, the countries

where the Playa Girón invasion was organized . . .

[Castro then read the OAS declaration against Cuba and described the governments, almost all of them military dictatorships, which voted for the sanctions.]

And what governments voted against sanctions? The government with the longest democratic and constitutional tradition in Latin America: Mexico, Chile and Uruguay . . .

All of you know the history of Uruguay, Chile and Mexico. They are no socialist countries. They are capitalist countries. But for many years constitutional governments have prevailed there . . .

And the fourth country is Bolivia, where a worker-farmer revolution took place ten years ago . . .

Brazil had also refused but the imperialists solved that problem with a coup d'état . . .

Favor World Peace

When the revolutionary government speaks in defense of a position in favor of world peace, when the revolutionary government reiterates the position it has held and states that it is ready to discuss differences, then they say we do so because we are weak and because we are desperate. They always reach the same conclusion and always the wrong conclusion . . .

We could say to [the signers of the OAS declaration] . . . Give weapons to the workers and peasants in Latin America and then see how long the military dictators in power will last . . .

What are they doing? They are issuing a call to counter-revolution . . .

Cuban Call

In the face of the call by the imperialists to counter-revolution, [we issue] the call of the Cuban revolution to the Latin American revolution. Call against call. And we will see who is right.

In the United States the political forces are polarizing around two positions: The more reactionary and the less reactionary. It could very well be said that U.S. politics is a matter of bad or worse . . .

As you know, since April 19 a certain type of extremely serious provocation began such as crossing the border line [at the Guantanamo Naval Base] to insult our flag; firing at a soldier and wounding him; firing and killing another revolutionary soldier only a few days ago. In the face of such incidents, we have given proof of great moderation . . .

We don't want Mr. Goldwater to win but if, as the price of keeping Mr. Goldwater from winning we suffer a death every time it suits the fancy of the U.S. Marines, then what more can Goldwater do than Johnson is doing?

...Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

were South Vietnam and U.S. warships and broadcast its protest on Aug. 1.

The next day the clash between the U.S. destroyer *Maddox* and the North Vietnam motor patrol boats took place. However, the State Department and Navy accounts and the press reports were carefully doctored to obscure the sequence of events. Ninety-nine per cent of the readers of U.S. newspapers have the impression that the PT boats opened fire first and that the *Maddox* only fired back. A careful deciphering of the double-talk issued in Washington reveals that the *Maddox*, whose guns far outrange the weapons of the small motor boats, first opened fire and had been firing at the PT boats for ten or 15 minutes, possibly even a half hour, before the PT boats launched their torpedoes.

... Civil Rights 'Moratorium'

(Continued from Page 1)

Negro people, bound and gagged, on the altar of the Democratic Party, the moratorium began to crumble. Militant statements by local Negro leaders poured forth, opposing any halt in demonstrations. Then CORE's James Farmer and SNCC's John Lewis repudiated the moratorium, declaring their organizations would continue demonstrations where necessary.

Among the local leaders who spoke out early against the moratorium were New York rent-strike head Jesse Gray; Stanley Branche, head of the Chester, Pa. Freedom Now movement; Ruth Turner, chairman of Cleveland CORE; J. A. Bagsby of the Pine Bluff (Ark.) Movement, a SNCC affiliate; Lincoln Lynch, chairman of Long Island CORE; Rev. Milton A. Galamison, leader of the New York school-boycott movement; and Herbert Callender, head of Bronx CORE.

Branche declared: "The only way we got this far is because of our demonstrations. Everyone's running scared of the white backlash. To me it is nothing but the same old dirty bigotry and prejudice." Rev. Galamison said: "Nobody is going to pay any attention to this ban. The people in the streets throwing bottles won't listen to these leaders anymore."

Black nationalist leader Malcolm X declared from Cairo, Egypt — where he has been lobbying at a meeting of heads of independent African states — that the leaders proposing the moratorium "have sold themselves out

and become campaign managers in the Negro community for Lyndon Johnson."

James Shabazz, aide to Malcolm X and representative of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, said the leadership which called for the moratorium was "a head without a body." He made the statement at a Militant Labor Forum symposium in New York July 31. At the same meeting, Paul Boutelle, chairman of the New York Metropolitan Committee for a Freedom Now Party, also denounced the moratorium. On the same occasion, Harlem rent-strike organizer Major Williams said: "They say we can't fight because we're only 10 per cent of the population, but if we retreat now, we'll soon be only five per cent, and then one per cent."

Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, said of the proposed moratorium: "This is the surest way for Negroes to get nothing. If Johnson feels the civil-rights vote is in his pocket, he'll move way to the right to accommodate the racists. Black people must develop independent political force. That's the only way they can be a power and the only way they can defend themselves against the attacks of the racists which will come whether Johnson or Goldwater is elected." Of the leaders who advocated the moratorium, he said: "Now we know what New York Police Commissioner Murphy meant when he talked about 'responsible' Negro leaders — responsible to the power structure."

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Fritz Pappenheim Dies: Was Marxist Scholar

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — The death of Fritz Pappenheim on July 31 at his home here is a great loss for his many personal friends, students, acquaintances and, indeed, for all who are concerned with the progress of mankind.

He is survived by his wife, Yvonne Pappenheim.

As an economist, sociologist and philosopher, Fritz Pappenheim devoted himself to labor and adult education in Frankfurt, in his native Germany, until the Nazi take-over forced him to flee to Spain in 1936. He was interned in a concentration camp in southern France, where he had fled after Franco's victory in 1939. After many difficulties, he managed to obtain permission to come to the United States in 1941 and taught social sciences at Talladega College in Alabama from 1945 to 1952. After that he lived in Cambridge, and devoted himself to research and lecturing on the subject of alienation.

His book, *The Alienation of Modern Man*, published by the Monthly Review Press in 1959, is a broad and comprehensive study of the nature and causes of the estrangement and atomization of life in modern capitalist society, based largely on the theories of Karl Marx and Ferdinand Tönnies.

It is a shameful index of America's political and intellectual immaturity, that this book, which has sold close to 100,000 copies in Japan and Latin America, has hardly received notice here, at least in the academic world.

Fritz Pappenheim's life in America afforded a refreshing and inspiring contact with what for our society is a very rare phenomenon: an intellectual and scholar who had stood unflinchingly by his Marxist principles through the worst privations abroad and the fear and cowardice of the McCarthy era and post-war reaction here. Fritz never hesitated to give his vocal and practical support to every progressive cause — whether it was in defense of the civil-rights movement or the Cuban Revolution. A man of great personal warmth, and generosity, his passing will be especially felt by the Boston branch of the Socialist Workers Party, where, despite some differences in views, he gladly gave many lectures and participated in discussions and forums. Let us hope his example will encourage American students and workers to take the courageous path he took: the struggle for a socialist future free of exploitation of man by man and of alienation of man from man.

Clashes in Northern Ghettos Sparked by Police Brutality

By Jay Garnett

AUG. 3 — To explain the outbreaks in Northern ghettos simply as the explosion of social dynamite that has been piling up for decades is incomplete. Most explosions require a spark. A little investigation reveals that the police sparked the recent clashes in St. Louis, Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Rochester and now Jersey City, contrary to the stories which try to blame the black nationalists, "outside agitators," or "reds."

In the St. Louis ghetto outburst of July 6, police invaded the home of a heart patient who had called for an ambulance. According to the July 31 *Muhammad Speaks*, their uninvited presence was opposed by the heart patient's two sons. The cops, shouting epithets at the family, called for reinforcements, but the neighborhood turned out en masse.

The July 16 shooting of 15-year-old schoolboy James Powell by a plainclothes cop set off a bottle-and-can-throwing counterattack on the police in Yorkville, Manhattan.

A peaceful demonstration on the evening of July 18, protesting Powell's murder at a Harlem police station, blew up when the cops charged the demonstrators. Adding gunfire to the traditional billy-club beating, they fired 2,000 rounds of ammunition and sent for more.

More than 400 cops were immediately ordered to the scene. They crouched and fired volley after volley, according to officials into the air just above the roofs. At least one Harlem resident was killed and dozens were wounded.

Sunday night violence broke out when police charged Negroes gathered outside of the Funeral Home where ceremonies for Powell were being held. Three busloads of "anti-riot" policemen invaded the area to attack and disperse all Negroes present.

Testimony from police about their entire approach to these events is damning evidence that these "sparks" were not accidental. The July 20 *New York Times* reported that "in theory, the Police Department was fully prepared several months ago for the riot." Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy and his staff

"had brought their riot-control plans up to date" in view of the expected "long hot summer."

"In practice," continued the *Times*, "individual judgment was required" when police were dropped off on Harlem street corners. But the behavior of the cops was remarkably uniform: "The idea is to make a lot of noise — run at them yelling; that usually breaks a crowd," one sergeant told reporters after just having done that. The cops had just fired scores of shots over the heads of Negroes, shouting "Charge!"

If the police, steeped in racism, believed they could handle the people of Harlem like jungle beasts, it was their error. It is precisely being treated like animals that Negroes have resolved not to tolerate.

In Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant Murphy's police used the same tactics.

The Rochester ghetto explosion which resulted in the declaration of martial law and the calling in by the city's Mayor of the National Guard was sparked when the police intervened in a street dance, held on the evening of July 24 by the Northeastern Mothers Improvement Committee. They arrested a Negro youth, allegedly intoxicated. Clubbing and kicking him, they dragged him away.

Word of this got back to some 200 persons who were attending the dance. They surrounded the police and, within minutes, bottles were flying and police reinforcements were rushing to the spot. In the course of the evening, the police used tear gas, fire hoses, and police dogs were held in abeyance — according to one report, they were used.

On August 2, Jersey City, N.J., police set off a clash which at one point had several hundred Negroes hurling anything that was loose at them. The cops are reported to have mistreated a black woman in the course of arresting her allegedly for drunkenness. Several bystanders protested and one, a man, was arrested. After a brief protest demonstration by about 40 at the police station, there was a mass gathering at a street-corner near a housing project. Police, sent to the scene, were met with flying debris.

With Union Brass All Lined Up:

Dems Offer Labor Nothing — Maybe Less

By Tom Kerry

It is generally conceded that with the nomination of Goldwater as the Republican presidential candidate there will be a further shift to the right by the Johnson Democrats in both foreign and domestic policy. I use the word "further" advisedly. For it is a matter of public record that the rightward swing of the present administration began long before the Arizona "know-nothing" captured the Republican nominating convention.

To begin with upon taking office Johnson lost no time in setting out to woo the profit-sharks whose insatiable appetite for monetary gain grows with the feeding. He not only wooed 'em — he wowed 'em! So much so that a prominent financial journal recently chortled: Wall Street loves Lyndon! Life-long Republican tycoons have plumped for Johnson. "Among them," reports the July 22, *Wall Street Journal*, "are Henry Ford II, chairman of Ford Motor Co., Joseph L. Block, chairman of Inland Steel Co., Ray Eppert, president of Burroughs Corp.," etc., etc.

Irrefutable Logic

With profits soaring to historic levels one Ohio industrialist, a registered Republican, argues with irrefutable logic: "Johnson has been good to business, so why stop a good thing?" In contrast to the full-speed-ahead for the profit-gougers is the Kennedy-Johnson brake on labor's demands for wage increases and shorter hours. "Wage rates," reports the July 18 magazine, *Business Week*, "have gone up by about 3% per year, the smallest rate of gain for any postwar upswing." Legislation calling for a 35-hour week to combat unemployment has not even been given a hearing.

Under the circumstances Wall Street's love for Johnson is not hard to understand. It is the deep and abiding affection accorded an ardent suitor come laden with a dowry full to the overflowing with riches beyond the dreams of avarice. But what reasons do the labor leaders have for "loving Lyndon?" Certainly not for the gifts he has brought the workers. Nor for the promises he has made of future rewards — for he has made none.

The July 25 issue of *Business Week* headlines the plight of the political bankrupts who head the AFL-CIO in an article entitled: "Nowhere to go but to Johnson." The article quotes a "somewhat disgruntled AFL-CIO political strategist" who sums up labor's unenviable position: "Let's face it," he observes, "He [Johnson] doesn't have to do anything. He doesn't have to give us anything."

To which *Business Week* adds

Peace Walkers Defy State Dep't

NEW YORK, July 29 — The Committee for Nonviolent Action announced today that in the near future members of the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo Walk for Peace, now in Miami, Fla., will proceed to Cuba despite the travel ban. Although they applied more than two months ago, the Peace Walkers have not received validated passports from the U.S. State Department.

Formal notice that they will complete the Havana-to-Guantanamo leg of their march was sent to Secretary of State Dean Rusk. A letter signed by Rev. A.J. Muste, national chairman of the CNVA, and Bradford Lyttle, Coordinator of the Walk, reminds Rusk that despite several weeks of conferences and correspondence in relation to Cuba travel and despite the support a number of Senators and other public figures have given their request, no validation has been granted.



Meany

its own comment: "Unions have no political bargaining power. Johnson will welcome their support — but need not woo it. Indeed, if general political expediency should warrant it, Johnson could turn a bit in the other way, stepping on union toes in doing so, without worries of labor defections."

"The truth is," adds BW, "unions have nowhere else to go... They cannot afford to sit this one out no matter what Johnson might do between now and the election — and in the potentially critical auto negotiations, a word or a move by Johnson could have strong bearing on the year's most important bargaining." This spokesman for Big Business has little doubt that, if push comes to shove, Walter Reuther will emulate the craven Negro conservative leaders who recently tripped all over themselves following the Harlem anti-police uprising to call for an end to civil-rights demonstrations, in order to "defeat Goldwater."

Reject Timid Demands

The result? A few days later Mayor Wagner summarily rejected the timid demands for the modest measures to control police brutality against Negroes and to indict the killer-cop who sparked the Harlem revolt. Like the labor skates, these conservative Negro leaders "had nowhere else to go" and "no bargaining power" to gain even the most meager concessions. The attempt to dampen civil-rights actions and to declare a moratorium on the Freedom Now struggle can have no other result than to lead to the same blind alley in which the organized labor movement now finds itself immobilized.

There is more than a touch of irony in the fears expressed by AFL-CIO "political strategists" that the Goldwater nomination may lead to a "backlash" against the union movement. "A few months ago," BW observes, "labor was describing Goldwater as its favorite candidate for the GOP nomination — as the Republican

easiest to defeat in November. Now its political strategists say wistfully that New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, Pennsylvania Gov. William W. Scranton, or any of a number of others would have been preferable. With Goldwater the nominee, labor and its causes will become a fighting issue. Labor fully expects Goldwater and his campaign attack will be rejected, but many union leaders are afraid labor may be hurt in a backlash."

What a confession of bankruptcy! The major responsibility for the rightward shift of American politics can be laid squarely at the door of the labor "statesmen." Their policy of clinging to the coat-tails of the Democratic Party has led to a continuous loss of influence and prestige despite their leadership over what is potentially the most powerful political force in the country. To maintain their alliance with the Dixiecrats the so-called "liberal" Democrats have forced down the throats of labor one bitter pill after another, always under the guise of warding off the more deadly doses demanded by the "conservatives."

Attack on Unions

It was under cover of the "backlash" of the Robert Kennedy-McClellan pogrom against the unions in 1959 that labor was saddled with the union-busting Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act in 1960. This did not deter them from endorsing co-author Jack Kennedy for president in that campaign.

There is no longer any talk of repealing anti-labor legislation devised to hobble, hamstring and undermine the unions. On the contrary, the overstuffed union bureaucrats cower liked whipped curs hoping against hope to evade the inevitable sting of the lash which is their reward for faithful service to their masters. And this not from a Goldwater whom they "fully expect" will be defeated but from those to whose victory they pledge a full measure of their not inconsiderable material resources.

This, then, is the net result of the theory and practice of the "lesser-evil" policy. It can have no other. So long as the labor movement remains tied to the capitalist two-party system the gains made in bitter union struggles over the past 30 years will be eroded and washed away. The rightward drift of American political life can be reversed by breaking with the two-party shell game and launching an Independent Labor Party which, in alliance with a mass political organization of the Negro people, can offer a genuine alternative to capitalist reaction at home and abroad.

The average monthly rate of unemployment, according to government figures, was 5.6 per cent in 1962 and 5.7 per cent in 1963.

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MARXISM AND THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

What Marxism Is and How It Survives

By George Breitman

The Negro movement continues to unfold with ever-increasing scope and power, but, like most mass movements, empirically — feeling its way along through experiment, trial and error. It is working out its positions, policies and orientation step by step under the press of immediate necessity.

Since the system against which it is rebelling is capitalist, its policies are becoming more and more anti-capitalist, implicitly for the most part, but explicitly too. But the most advanced elements of the movement (radical and nationalist) have not yet projected or adopted a clear-cut ideology or a comprehensive program of social revolution based on a thorough examination of U.S. monopoly capitalism and the ways and means to end its domination.

Need for Theory

The need is felt for the movement to broaden its perspectives and formulate a fundamental theory for its action. Some Negro intellectuals are trying to fill this need. Inevitably this begins with analysis and critique of existing theories. Having rejected liberalism, that is, liberal capitalism, behind which Lyndon Johnson, Walter Reuther, Roy Wilkins, James Farmer and Martin Luther King are all united, the Negro intellectuals are faced with the task of defining their attitude to Marxism, the theory and practice of scientific, revolutionary socialism.

Marxists can only welcome the most searching examination and criticism by black radicals. The one thing we ask is that Marxism be discussed as it really is, and not as one of the many straw men substituted for it through malice or ignorance in this country, where the misrepresentation of Marxism is a national industry.

This elementary condition for fruitful discussion is not met in Harold Cruse's article on "Marxism and the Negro" in the May and June issues of *Liberator*. Primarily a polemic against the Socialist Workers Party, this article is designed to support Cruse's thesis that Marxism is unrealistic, unable to adjust to revolutionary reality, dominated by "white" thinking, and intent on exploiting and dominating the Negro movement. Cruse's depiction of Marxism is on a higher level than one finds in most of the capitalist press, but it too suffers from many errors and distortions. We shall start with his conception of Marxism in general.

Estimate of Marx

Cruse tips his hat to Marx, acknowledging that he was a great thinker, whose dialectical materialist method of analysis vastly expanded the world's knowledge about society. But he can find nothing positive or creditable to say about 20th century Marxists. He accuses them of merely repeating what Marx said, of being inflexible, of clinging to outdated ideas and failing to adjust to changed conditions. Simultaneously, he accuses them of the opposite fault — of not repeating what Marx said, of being too flexible, of deviating from Marx so much that they don't really deserve to be called Marxists.

Heads I win, tails you lose: When modern Marxists repeat what Marx said, they are parrots, and when they don't repeat what he said, they are not Marxists. Let us take up first the second of these charges — "deviation."

As a theory Marxism began with Marx, but it did not end with him. If it had, if Marxism was only what Marx discovered and formulated a century or more ago, it would have no claim whatever to being called scientific; it would be classified now as some kind of dogma or cult, and the world would have stopped debating about it long ago. Marx

developed his theory and worked out some of its laws on the basis of the knowledge and conditions of his time. His theory would indeed be useless today if other thinkers, using his method, had not added to it and brought it up to date in the light of subsequent knowledge, different conditions and new experiences.

Cruse criticizes the 20th century Marxists for adding to what Marx started, adapting his ideas to conditions that did not exist in his day, and applying his theory in circumstances it was impossible for Marx or any other human being of that time to foresee. This would make sense only if one expected a theory to have magic qualities: to be full grown and fully developed at birth, to apply to all times and places in the same way, to be perfect, unimprovable. No one makes such demands of other theories and sciences. Modern evolution is not, cannot be, the same thing as the findings of Darwin a century ago, but it stems from them, it is an extension of them. Similarly with Marxism.

"Deviations from Marx"

Cruse would probably concur with these remarks as a generalization, saying that what he is talking against are not extensions of Marx's theory, but deviations from it — deviations so great that they have thrown Marxism into a hopeless and insoluble crisis. We can better understand what he means by deviations from Marxism, and therefore what he means by Marxism, when we turn to the only example he gives of such deviation: the Russian Revolution of 1917. (As will soon be seen, the role of Marxism in the Russian Revolution sheds important light on the real relationship between Marxism and the Negro struggle.)

The chief deviator, says Cruse, was Leon Trotsky, "who first said that a socialist revolution was even possible in Russia. This was in 1905 when none of the Russian Marxists agreed to that possibility (not even Lenin). Trotsky was denounced as a ridiculous visionary for saying this but later won other Russian Marxists over to his thinking . . .

Serious Dilemma?

"Marxism, as Marx himself developed it, did not foresee or predict a 'socialist revolution' in a backward agrarian country such as Russia. According to Marx, the revolution he predicted had to come about in a highly industrialized nation which had necessarily created a large industrial class of workers . . . (who) would revolt and expropriate the owners . . .

"(The Russian Revolution) put the Marxist parties in western Europe, the U.S., etc., in a serious dilemma — a dilemma which over the years has deepened into a series of crises. This was because every social revolution that has taken place since the Russian Revolution has also developed out of industrially backward, agrarian, semi-colonial or colonial conditions . . .

"According to a strict interpretation of Marxian formulations, Trotsky tampered very loosely with Marxian 'laws' and reaped the whirlwind . . ."

It is true that Marx expected the working class revolution against capitalism to begin in the industrially advanced countries, and it is also true that it began in a backward, semi-colonial country. But neither fact invalidates Marxism or convicts Lenin and Trotsky of "tampering" with Marxism. On the contrary! The overthrow of capitalism in Russia signalled the beginning of the end of capitalism as the dominant world system and therefore was, in fact, the first major confirmation of Marx's theory.

The time sequence of revolutions expected by Marx was

shown to be faulty or outdated, but that was a minor thing compared to the fact that the working class revolution predicted by Marx actually took place, that the workers decisively demonstrated their ability to take power away from the capitalists, that a gaping wound was torn in the side of world capitalism.

A crisis? Yes, the Russian Revolution produced a crisis all right — for capitalism and imperialism, a crisis that still haunts them. For despite the subsequent degeneration of the Soviet Union during decades of isolation, the Russian Revolution has been an example for the oppressed masses in many lands and has inspired successful revolutions against capitalism and imperialism by other colonial and semi-colonial countries. Some more "crises of Marxism" like that and world capitalism will be finished.

Lenin and Trotsky were, unlike Marx, able to see the possibility of the revolution occurring first in an industrially backward country because they lived later and, "standing on his shoulders," were able to see farther. Much happened to change the world during the third of a century between Marx's death and the Russian Revolution. That was the period when capitalism definitively passed beyond the industrial stage and entered its monopoly stage (imperialism).

Monopoly Capitalism

Marx had shown that capitalism was inevitably moving in the direction of monopoly, but he did not live to see it arrive there. The imperialist conquest of the world, the final subjugation and division of Asia and Africa by the advanced capitalist powers, created a new situation. They lodged new and deeper contradictions in the capitalist system — and opened new opportunities for the revolutionary opponents of that system.

In this situation Lenin and Trotsky applied the method they had acquired from Marx. Lenin's theory of imperialism, its corollary insights into colonialism and nationalism, and Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution added new and indispensable features to the body of Marxist thought. They revealed weaknesses in the capitalist structure that had not existed or had not been visible in the mid-19th century: imperialism would break first at its weakest link, the ruling classes in industrially backward countries would not be able to put up as much resistance to revolution as their stronger brothers.

Prime Example

Applied to Russia and acted on, these additions to Marxist theory resulted in one-sixth of the world being torn out of the capitalist stranglehold. How can one ask for a more magnificent example of the creative application of Marxism to a specific country and a specific set of problems and relationships? What Cruse calls "tampering" is Marxist theory enriched and made concrete under special and unique conditions. Marxism would be dead today if not for those additions.

When Cruse sees deviations because Lenin and Trotsky did not merely repeat what Marx had said, he shows an inability or unwillingness to recognize important features of Marxism — its richness, its variety, its ability to cope with changing situations, its unfinishedness. Marxism is not only what Marx worked out a century ago, nor only what Lenin and Trotsky added when they applied Marx's method to the conditions of their time, but also what subsequent Marxists did, do and will do as they apply this theory to other situations, including some that do not even exist yet.

Marxism is a theory in process of development, which grows in



DISCUSSING PROGRAM TO WIN FREEDOM NOW. Rights fighter William Worthy addresses Harlem rally on need to build all-black Freedom Now Party to fight Jim Crow system politically.

power and scope as it is applied to specific situations and to new conditions. It developed when Lenin and Trotsky applied it to the specific conditions of Russia in the epoch of imperialism ("Russianized" it). It developed further when the Socialist Workers Party applied it to the specific conditions of America ("Americanized" it). And it continues to develop as the SWP applies it to the specific conditions of the Negro community in the United States ("Afro-Americanizes" it, as the SWP put in the 1963 convention resolution, Freedom Now: The New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation, Pioneer Publishers, 25c).

Based on Reality

Theory is derived from reality; the more closely a theory corresponds to reality, the better a theory it is. Marx studied the conditions and struggles of the west European workers, learned from them, and incorporated those lessons in his theory. Lenin and Trotsky did the same with the Russian workers and peasants. And from its inception the Socialist Workers Party has been doing this with the conditions and struggles of the American Negro people, which have always been unique in many respects. Embodied in its theory and program are many lessons learned from the Negro struggle, and from the ideas, feelings and outlook of the masses in the black ghetto.

Nor is that all. The Negro struggle in 1964 is not the same thing it was ten or even five years ago — much has changed. Speaking at a recent Freedom Now Party rally in Detroit, state chairman Albert B. Cleage noted: "Everywhere the black man's whole conception of himself, of his struggle, has changed. You may not know the day you started thinking differently but it has changed." (*Illustrated News*, June 29.) With the change of the black man's conception of himself and his struggle have come many other changes — in goals, strategy, tactics — even changes in the way certain words are defined.

The SWP has been studying these changes, trying to understand their causes, find out their direction and fit their revolutionary aspects into a theory and program of action capable of replacing capitalism with socialism. It has been listening to and learning from non-Marxist figures — such as Malcolm X, Rev. Cleage, William Worthy, Jesse Gray, Daniel Watts, James Baldwin, the exiled Robert F. Williams and Julian Mayfield, even Harold Cruse sometimes — who to one degree or another express the thinking, feeling and aspirations of the black ghetto which, as Robert Vernon recently pointed

out, is "more solidly working-class and revolutionary in outlook than the trade unions, or anything else in America today."

From these studies and from its own participation in the struggle, the SWP in the last year or two has developed a number of ideas — Marxist ideas — about black nationalism, separatism, independent black political action, the Negro's relation to the capitalists, to the white workers, etc. Whether these ideas are perfect or less than perfect, whether they are complete or only beginnings toward a more complete grasp of reality, no one can deny that they do grapple with vital questions concerning the Negro people and their allies. Certainly no other party in this country has done more than the SWP along these lines.

A Straw Man

The most discouraging thing about Cruse's article is not that he rejects Marxism, but that he deliberately refuses to confront or even mention what the SWP thinks, says and stands for. Preferring to construct a straw man that even a mental flyweight can demolish, he simply ignores what the Marxists actually advocate and propose. For example, the SWP is the only organization claiming to be Marxist in this country which says that black nationalism is progressive and offers it support and collaboration. Isn't it strange that Cruse can find no space for this fact in an article about the SWP and the Negro movement? Or would stating such a fact undermine the whole structure of his polemic?

In some cases where the SWP position is widely known, Cruse accuses the SWP of saying things it doesn't really believe in, but he is always careful not to inform his readers just what those things are so that they can make their own judgment. He never offers evidence of the alleged insincerity, merely asserting that Marxists cannot believe the unstated things they claim to believe because then they would have to give up Marxism (at any rate, Cruse's version of Marxism). Of the SWP's pioneering effort to Afro-Americanize Marxism, which should be of some interest to readers of an article called "Marxism and the Negro," he never gives the slightest hint or notice.

This may be one way to "win" a debate, or to create and strengthen prejudices against Marxism. But it's a poor way to educate black militants, or anyone else, about Marxism, or anything else. Cruse has the right not to discuss what the SWP really stands for, but an article about the SWP is a strange place to be exercising that right.

Another article on this subject will appear in the next issue.

Letters From Our Readers

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

The Need for Self-Defense

St. Albans, N.Y.

On Monday, June 22, 1964, two similar, but also different kinds of human-rights actions took place. In St. Augustine, Florida, demonstrators invited violence to be directed toward them by being known to the public as "non-

violent" adherents. In Queens County, New York City, demonstrators in front of the Jamaica Savings Bank shouted "BANJO BILLY MUST GO!" while carrying placards which read, "This is a SELF-DEFENSE Demonstration — Unite or Perish!"

The Self-Defense declaration by the Queens Human Rights Demonstrators forthrightly told the public that they have pride and self-respect, and during the demonstration no one spat upon or attempted to intimidate the demonstrators as members of the white public had in the past.

Demonstrations will continue until the offensive "Banjo Billy" mural is removed from the walls of the bank. However, continued abuse of the demonstrators by the public will not be tolerated. Accordingly, the SELF-DEFENSE posture of the Queens demonstrators tells all that we will practice immediate, instant self-defense in the American tradition of freedom and that the American slogan, "Don't Tread On Me!" applies to all citizens.

As recent events in Mississippi continue to underscore, it is criminal for American adults, who have full knowledge of this country's vicious anti-Negro history, to send our youths into dangerous, racist areas without protection and with instructions that they shall not protect themselves nor uphold the dignity of their American citizenship.

The Rochdale Movement has been asked why we believe in a position which is identical with our nation's position, and with that of all self-respecting, freedom-loving people — the position of SELF-DEFENSE. The answer is simple — it is because we have learned that the character-corroding, servile, subservient, unnatural, and un-American "non-violent" technique is wrong as the final means. The proud and sane American tradition of self-defense does not mean aggression or violence. It stands for honesty — and it is time that we be honest with the whites and tell them they do not have a license to abuse or to kill us, and that we will defend ourselves until death, just like our oath to defend the U.S.A. until death.

Self-defense equates to self-respect; and the only thing the white racist mentality understands is power. To allow oneself to be abused and beaten is not a display of strength — but of weakness. It tells the other person that you do not have any respect for yourself and encourages him to abuse others. The non-violent adherents are laying the groundwork for violence because they are telling the whites a lie — the lie that they can abuse the African-Americans.

Merle Stewart
Co-Chairman The Rochdale Movement Queens' Direct Action, Self-Defense, Human Rights Group

Democrats and Civil Rights

Minneapolis, Minn.

"Are Northern Democrats Really Different?" (Fred Halstead's article in the June 22 Militant) was instructive in its analysis of the Siamese-Twin Democrat and Republican parties of Big Business. Also instructive was the deserved criticism of those who consciously attempt to drown all or part of the Freedom Now movement in the Democrat Party swamp. However, there are ad-

ditional factors that deserves to be considered.

While we recognize the natural alliance of the Northern and Southern Democrats as well as that between them and the Republicans, there are natural contradictions between them that most people only recognize as a supposed difference between Johnson and Wallace on civil rights. These natural contradictions must be analyzed.

Johnson and Humphrey (along with Republicans) make a lot of noise about the passage of an alleged Civil Rights Bill. Wallace and Goldwater stand publicly opposed. The Democrat-Republican majority does not attempt to appear as civil libertarian for any reason except that there is social pressure on them to do so. Their problem is that they have to do what they think is necessary to 1) keep the ship of state afloat and moving and 2) get elected. They correctly estimate that, while the vast white majority is not willing to accept Afro-Americans as full and complete equals or fully compensate them for 400 years of degradation, there is growing popular support for black Americans obtaining the right to vote and the right to a job. Wallace and Goldwater do not recognize this reality. Mr. Halstead correctly states that "when the chips are down, they are all in the same party and they are all loyal to the same system." Yet, he does not state that they do not all agree on how to best support the system. That is why the white power structure chooses a Johnson and not a Wallace to rule in its interest.

There appears to be considerable interest among the black leaders of the Freedom Now

movement to "expose" the Democrat-Republican alliance (especially the Northern-Southern Democrat coalition). Should we not then assume that these black leaders are also aware of the same social pressures that the more intelligent wing of the ruling class are and that this has led them to their tactics toward the Democrat convention. Mr. Halstead states that this tactic will not work — that the Freedom Now delegation will not be seated and the Southern whites will. I have a hunch the Freedom Democrat leaders know this as well as Mr. Halstead does — but they want to prove it to others by this challenge.

Regardless of this, we should begin by congratulating them for making the challenge, support it, and go on to point out what these tactics must lead to — independent political action such as the Freedom Now Party and the Socialist Workers Party campaigns.

Jim Krahn

Prediction on Far East

New York, N.Y.

Millions of words have been written about our policies and performances in the Far East, but I imagine the history books of the year 2964 will tell the story in a single sentence, something like this: "After trying for a century to assert what it called its 'Manifest Destiny' to dominate the East Asian Pacific littoral, the United States of America, last of the Western imperialist predatory powers to attempt the plunder of the vast resources of these backward, helpless countries, was finally thrown out as a resurgent, modernized, atom-powered China regained its traditional hegemony over the area."

There will be no mention of the stultifying hypocrisies of "maintaining freedom throughout the world" or "helping small nations who ask us to help them fight Communist aggression" with which the United States cloaked its own Westward expansionism.

Taylor Adams

Negro Organizations

Chicago, Ill.

I am writing in answer to M.R., whose letter appeared in the June 15 Militant.

M.R. makes the same mistake many sincere people make in equating black nationalism with ideas of black supremacy. It is nothing of the sort. It simply means that Afro-Americans want to control their own movements, their own community, and their own lives.

The Negro community is traditionally controlled by whites; the same is true of Negro organizations. But, you say, aren't Negroes heading Negro organizations now? The Negroes who head Negro organizations are usually people with a stake in white capitalist society.

The nationalist is not tied to or obligated to the white man. Nationalists are independent and only independent Negro organizations can really accomplish anything constructive for their people, because they are obligated to their community alone. Whites should help but under no circumstances attempt to control the Negro movements. M.R. should examine the entire question carefully; if he still comes to the same conclusions he should switch to the *New York Times* or possibly the *Worker*.

Michael Kaplan

It Was Reported in the Press

It's a Problem — Asked how he felt about being labeled the world's richest man, oil baron Jean Paul Getty snapped, "It's rather bad manners. How can anyone be sure?"

No Payola for Satire? — New York radio station WNEW will no longer broadcast recordings "that ridicule the United States government, its processes, institutions, officials, lawmakers and political candidates." "Satire has an important place in our free society, and indeed in broadcasting," a station spokesman piously said. "But," he added, "in these days of political heat and social unrest, we call for a strong second look at the broadcaster's responsibility to his industry and its image in public consciousness."

Something for Something — The murderous Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti is looking for a new \$100 million aid handout from the U.S. Duvalier's foreign minister told newsmen why they thought it should be granted: "We supported the United States on the Hungarian question in the UN, we have voted against the admission of Red China, we voted with the U.S. at the recent OAS meeting and we have respected American private investments in Haiti."

Squeeze Play — New York State Senator Seymour Thaler charges that an "unholy alliance" exists between Blue Cross and its

member hospitals in New York and that this is with the "knowledge and consent" of the state insurance superintendent. Seeking court reversal of a recent 32.92 per cent Blue Cross rate hike, Thaler said the state insurance superintendent had authorized the rate boost without auditing the books of either Blue Cross or the hospitals. He said the Blue Cross formula for reimbursing hospitals on a cost-plus basis breeds waste and dishonesty and that the "cozy and sometimes clandestine relations" between Blue Cross and the hospitals should be probed.

Free Enterpriser — World's Fair boss Robert Moses told newsmen he's not disturbed by low attendance figures at the fair or by the poor attendance at amusement shows. Commenting on the folding of two short-lived musicals, Moses said with a shrug: "If you lose at a horse race, nobody pays you back."

New View — Roy Cohn, aide to Senator Joseph McCarthy during the period when the Senator's smear publicity ruined reputations and destroyed livelihoods of thousands, had these words to say on his July 16 acquittal on charges of perjury: "I thank God for the United States of America, where no matter who in high places moves against you there is a recourse to a jury of 12 Americans."

Sharing the Work — When hundreds of Cuban counter-revolutionaries were transported to Washington last month to demonstrate at the OAS meeting we quite naturally assumed it was a straight CIA operation. But this time, apparently, other federal agencies were let in on the deal. The *Miami News* reported that one of the organizers of the demonstration had disclosed that the action "was cleared with a Secret Service agent sent down [to Miami] by the White House."

20 YEARS AGO

"IN A DESPERATE MOVE TO SMASH THE CIO TRANSPORT WORKERS Union, the Philadelphia Transportation Company, acting in collusion with leaders of the former company union, last week inspired a six-day municipal transportation stoppage against the training of eight Negro workers for operating jobs on streetcars and busses.

"Using the time-worn device of 'divide-and-rule,' the company and its agents provoked this anti-labor race-hate action with the aim of splitting the ranks of the CIO union, which a few months ago won a collective-bargaining election against the company-sponsored PRT (Phila. Rapid Transit) Employees Union. This company outfit for years had upheld the PTC's flagrant Jim-Crow policies and had campaigned against the TWU with the slogan, 'A vote for the CIO is a vote for Niggers on the job.'

"Following the election victory of the CIO, the former company union leaders intensified their open Jim-Crow agitation. This agitation was conducted on company property with the tacit consent of the union-hating bosses. The pretext for the action was provided when the company, after months of protest, was compelled to abide by an FEPC order to hire and train Negroes for operators' jobs. The CIO supported the FEPC order." — August 12, 1944.

Thought for the Week

"Race leaders [in Rochester] declare this was not a race riot because poor whites were working side by side with colored as the opportunities for pillage were opened up and all shared and shared alike. It was the have-nots of both races hitting the haves." — Ralph Matthews, Sr., in the Aug. 8 *Afro-American*.

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Boston Negro Runs Against Major Parties for Congress

Noel Day, Negro civil-rights leader in Boston, is running as an independent candidate against the Democrats and Republicans for Congressman from the Ninth Massachusetts District. Day is challenging the Democratic incumbent John W. McCormack, Speaker of the House. The Ninth District includes about 59 per cent of all the Negroes in Massachusetts and a large part of Boston.

Day is co-chairman of the Massachusetts Freedom Movement which sponsored the school boycott in Boston some months ago. He has been a teacher and social worker, and is presently the executive director of St. Mark's Social Center, a settlement house in the Roxbury section of Boston. Thirty-one years old, Day is a graduate of Dartmouth College.

Signatures Needed

To qualify for a place on the ballot an independent candidate must collect 4,797 signatures of registered voters. The Noel Day-for-Congress Committee collected 12,400 signatures. Over 6,000 of these, validated by City Hall, were filed with election authorities.

Commenting on his candidacy at the time of filing in the election office, Day said: "Peace, human rights and civil rights are the burning issues of the day on which I intend to focus in a new style of campaign... I run as an Independent because these issues are too important to bury in a primary, because I want all voters, regardless of party affiliation, to be free to consider them, and because I challenge the entrenched political power in Congress for its failure to deal creatively with the problems of poverty."

On July 19 he charged that President Johnson's policy in Mississippi would increase violence. "The Johnson Administration's present policy in Mississippi might provoke further racist violence there by assuring the segregationists



Patricia L. Hollander

Noel Day

and the extreme right that the federal government will not interfere with local police operations. There is plenty of evidence that local Southern police are often involved in racial violence themselves," Day stated. "The Administration's profession of faith in them is not at all different from Senator Goldwater's belief in states' rights and a dependence on local authorities for civil-rights enforcement."

The Massachusetts Socialist Workers Party has announced that it will support the campaign of Noel Day, in keeping with the long-standing SWP policy of supporting candidates of the Negro people and other minorities running truly independent campaigns against the Democrats and Republicans.

While the SWP does not agree with a number of Day's political views, and reserves the right to criticize his program, it urges all in his district to vote for him. A vote for Day is a vote against the system of inequality and segregation maintained by the Democrats and Republicans.

Congress Readies Equal-Time Curb

By Carolyn Kerry

It never fails! Every time an election campaign rolls around the pill-peddling tycoons who have monopolized the national TV networks begin to clamor for the repeal of the so-called equal-time provision (Section 315) of the Federal Communications Act. Under Section 315 the Federal Communications Commission requires that all candidates be given "equal time" on public-service programs broadcast over the airwaves which, presumably, belong to "the people."

The Letters-to-the-Editor column of the Aug. 1 *New York Times*, for example, carries a frantic message from CBS president, Frank Stanton, prodding Congress to hurry up and enact legislation setting aside Section 315 for the period of the 1964 presidential campaign.

The pretext is that unless this is done there will be no Johnson-Goldwater TV debates such as took place between Kennedy and Nixon in 1960. That there will be none anyway is beside the point. As a matter of fact, such legislation has already been enacted by both Houses of Congress. "But," and this disturbs Stanton no end, "there was a slight variation between the House and Senate versions — one providing that the suspension would be effective beginning 60 days before Election Day, the other providing for 75 days." Such are the conflicts over questions of "fundamental principle" that give zest to our body politic.

"After considerable delay," Stanton complains bitterly, "a conference committee resolved this difference. But the conference committee bill has not yet been reported out or voted on by the Senate and the House."

Our virtuous democrats, in and out of Congress, have no objection to the "equal-time" provision so long as it is rendered null and void during election campaigns — that is, during precisely those periods for which it was devised to protect the rights of minority candidates.

SWP to Run Richard David For Michigan Legislature

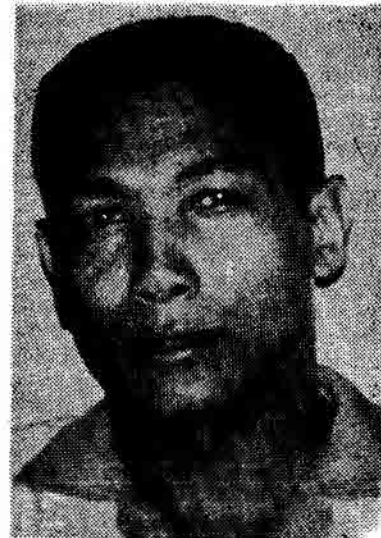
DETROIT — The Socialist Workers Party has nominated Richard David, a Detroit unionist, for state legislator from Michigan's 23rd District. This area lies within the city's Negro ghetto and the socialist candidate is presenting a militant program to combat police brutality, slum landlords, second-class educational facilities and unemployment.

Richard David was born 31 years ago in Athens, Alabama, and was raised on a farm. He was graduated from an Alabama high school, where he had been a star football player, and then attended trade school in Detroit. During his two years in the army he was stationed in Korea and Germany. In discussing his army experiences David said, "I learned to operate a cannon with a range of 22 miles — to blow up the Korean enemy, I was told. But I was raised in Alabama and I know the enemy is not on the other side of the world. For the Negro, the enemy is right here at home. Those people in Korea were not my enemy. They never treated me like I was treated in Alabama — or in Michigan either!"

After receiving an honorable discharge from the army, David returned to Detroit. He has been a construction worker, welder, gas-station attendant, auto worker and long-time active unionist. This is the first time he has run for public office.

The candidate and his supporters have been engaged in an intensive door-to-door campaign, speaking to thousands of Negroes about the need for independent political action and distributing literature to introduce a socialist program to the most exploited sections of Detroit's population.

David explains in his campaign leaflet that if he were elected, "The first thing I would do is start an uncompromising fight against police brutality and police-state tactics. I would help and encourage communities to organize resistance to the crooked and criminal practices of the police,



Richard David

who daily abuse and violate the rights of hundreds of people. If the cops know they are watched by people organized and trained to act in defense of their rights, there will be less brutality and fewer of our people shot down by killer cops."

Montana Parley Endorses DeBerry

PLENTYWOOD, Mont. — At a nominating convention here July 18 the Montana Socialist Workers Party nominated Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw for President and Vice-President, respectively. Their names will appear on the state's general election ballot in November.

John Boulds of Plentywood was elected permanent chairman of the convention and Everett Luoma, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota, was the keynote speaker.

Clifton DeBerry is the first Negro candidate for President in the history of the United States. He was born and raised in Mississippi. He now works as a house painter and resides in Brooklyn. Shaw, a printer, lives in Manhattan.

A message from DeBerry and Shaw, read to the convention, stated that "the Negroes have placed themselves in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle of tomorrow."

The message also charged the two major parties with planning to court the anti-Negro vote this year. "This makes it very important," it said, "that an alternative program be presented to the farmers and workers in Montana. Only the Socialist Workers Party wholeheartedly supports the Negro's struggle for basic rights and has a program that will combat the racism that dominates the two capitalist parties."

Negro Registration Gains in South

There were 1,937,982 Negroes registered to vote in the eleven Southern states as of April 1, according to a tabulation by the Southern Regional Conference. This represents an increase of a half million this year and "good-sized increases" can be expected before November due to the steady and often dangerous work of voter-registration campaigners. However, the present total, still represents only 38.6 per cent of the number of Southern Negroes who should be eligible to vote.

JUDGE CRACKS DOWN ON RIGHTS FIGHTERS

Harsh Sentences Rouse San Francisco

By Gordon Bailey

SAN FRANCISCO — Grimly determined to punish every single demonstrator who dared to infringe on the alleged rights of private property, San Francisco prosecutors have pressed for convictions of more than 500 demonstrators arrested in three civil-rights sit-ins.

For over seven weeks the local courts have been sitting five days a week, trying civil-rights defendants in batches of ten to 15. Six or seven trials have been proceeding simultaneously, as every San Francisco judge has been pressed into service and others have been imported from as far away as Los Angeles.

While the first trials sometimes resulted in acquittals and hung juries, a pattern of convictions is now being set. Some defendants have had to endure two trials ending in hung juries, only to be convicted in a third trial.

As though to punish the defendants for the "trouble" they are causing by refusing to plead guilty, judges are imposing unusually harsh sentences. Penalties of 30, 60, and even 90 days in jail are being imposed, plus fines of up to \$200. Fines must be worked out in jail at the rate of \$5 a day if they are not paid. Most judges are offering probation but about half the defendants are refusing it, feeling that to accept

it would be to admit guilt. Furthermore, probation would bar continued meaningful activity in the civil-rights fight. Even those who accept probation are being forced by some judges to spend at least a few days in jail and to pay fines of \$25 to \$50.

The pattern of imported judges and vindictive sentences came to a head when Dr. Thomas N. Burbridge, local head of the NAACP, appeared before Judge David D. French, a municipal judge from Santa Ana, near Los Angeles. Dr. Burbridge, a professor of Pharmacology at the University of California, was convicted of trespass, refusal to disperse, unlawful assembly, and disturbing the peace in connection with the recent Auto Row sit-ins. Most defendants have been convicted of two or more of such charges. Whereas the heaviest sentence imposed had been 90 days for all four charges, Judge French sentenced Dr. Burbridge to the maximum penalty on each count — for a total of nine months in prison.

This savage sentence has brought a widespread reaction. The *San Francisco Chronicle* editorially condemned the sit-ins but declared that Dr. Burbridge's severe sentence "supports the suspicion he is being punished for the office he holds, for doing his best to lead the civil-rights move-

ment and to appease his own conscience."

Brent Abel, president of the San Francisco Bar Association, said he hoped Dr. Burbridge would exhaust all avenues of appeal. "I know Dr. Burbridge to be a sincere man and a person of stature in this community. He is dedicated to the promotion of equal citizenship, a goal which men of good will of all races share with him," the Bar Association head declared.

Mayor Shelley also condemned the sentence and said he hoped the State Judicial Council would "pay a little more attention to the judges they assign."

What concerns many San Franciscans who do not sympathize with the demonstrators, is that Judge French comes from Orange County, long a center of Birchite and ultra-conservative thought and activity. Judge French himself claimed he was not aware of the furor his sentence had aroused since, he said, he had not read any papers. "I am only a farmer boy from Orange County," he declared.

After sentencing nine demonstrators to 50 days in jail, and a tenth to 70 days, Judge French returned home. The tenth was June White, an official of the NAACP. Her heavier sentence continues the pattern of imposing harsher penalties on Negro leaders of the NAACP, CORE and

the Ad Hoc Committee than on the white defendants.

The Mayor's Interim Committee on Human Relations expressed the fears of many San Franciscans when they wrote to Shelley that "many leaders, including Negroes," believe peaceful and orderly solutions to racial problems may be more difficult as a result of the sentence imposed on the local NAACP president.

The local NAACP has urged Mayor Shelley to help bring an end to the interminable process of trials, sentences, and appeals. They propose that Shelley demand that Governor Brown pardon Dr. Burbridge and all those already under sentence; and that the city prosecutors drop all charges against the nearly 200 demonstrators still awaiting trial.

Mayor Shelley has not responded to this plea and Governor Brown has not indicated any willingness to issue blanket pardons. However mounting concern over the course of the trials is causing much soul-searching in numerous quarters for a way out of the long drawn-out dilemma.

The San Francisco civil-rights movement has been temporarily set back by the trials and sentences; but the inevitable reaction will be a new wave of protests of an even more militant character. This is what disturbs many officials in City Hall.