

THE MILITANT

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SOME LESSONS FOR WHITES ON THE NEGRO STRUGGLE TODAY

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SWP's TV ANSWER TO KENNEDY

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Fear of World-Wide Protests Forces Kennedy to Delay Assault on Cubans

Coast-to-Coast Demonstrations Hit War Moves

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, Oct. 29 — Record-breaking demonstrations here over the weekend protested Kennedy's blockade of Cuba. On Saturday, Oct. 27, 2,000 persons picketed in Hammerskjold Plaza, near the United Nations, in defense of Cuba against this attack. Called by

several organizations, including the impromptu Committee to Halt World War III and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the picket-line was the biggest ever held at the UN in defense of the Cuban Revolution.

The following day, some 10,000 persons demonstrated in the same place in opposition to the war threat. This peace walk and rally, called by a number of peace groups, was the largest demonstration ever held at the UN.

Protests began in New York City immediately following Kennedy's Oct. 22 speech announcing the blockade. They were sponsored by a variety of peace, radical and impromptu groups and culminated in the record-breaking demonstrations on the weekend.

Several groups originally called for a demonstration in Times Square, a much more effective place than the UN plaza where demonstrations are common and passersby few. Leaflets were distributed for the Times Square rally and support was lent to the call over statewide radio and TV Oct. 23 by Carl Feingold, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator. Next day the New York police commissioner arbitrarily proclaimed a ban on all Times Square demonstrations "for the duration of the Cuban crisis." Spot announcements of this illegal decree were broadcast on radio and TV throughout the day.

Some of the original sponsors of the call, however, decided not to risk police brutality by exercising the right to demonstrate in Times Square and, in the interests of a united demonstration, all the other groups involved decided to support the picketline at the UN. "Hands Off Cuba!"; "Respect Cuban Sovereignty!"; and "One Line Against the War!" were

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SWP Opens Fund Drive For \$15,000

By Marvel Scholl

The Socialist Workers Party is conducting a \$15,000 Socialist Education Fund campaign to run until Dec. 15, 1962.

There never has been a time when the need for more basic socialist education was so evident. During the past ten days of horrifying tension, this need has been demonstrated over and over again — in our mail, over the telephone, and in the many protest demonstrations taking place all over the country.

Forthright Stand

Socialist Workers Party candidates in California, Colorado, Minnesota, New Jersey, Wisconsin and in New York are going on radio and TV to state unequivocal support of the Cuban Revolution, opposition to Kennedy's naval blockade, and all the rest of the American capitalist government's attempts to destroy that social revolution. This forthright stand has brought increased mail, supporting the SWP stand, asking what socialism is, how it can stop war and threats of war, what the

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PART OF THE CROWD of some 10,000 who marched to a rally at the UN on Sun., Oct. 28, to demand an end to the danger of war over Cuba.

But He Still Threatens to Attack Island

By Art Preis

OCT. 30 — Fear of world-wide repercussions has been a significant factor in temporarily staying the Kennedy administration from launching a U.S. invasion of revolutionary Cuba.

The horror aroused in the vast majority of mankind by President Kennedy's Oct. 22 proclamation of his act-of-war blockade of Cuba was reflected indirectly by actions and declarations emanating from high world councils, including the United Nations and the Vatican. Direct opposition to Washington's brink-of-nuclear-war moves has been shown by mass actions of workers and students both in this country and in many countries of Latin America, Europe and Asia.

So far, these have sufficed merely to give Washington pause in carrying out immediately its avowed intention of wiping out the first workers' state in the Western Hemisphere. The threat awaits only a more favorable moment for its attempted fulfillment. For it is not any alleged missile bases on Cuba which the U.S. ruling class fears and cannot tolerate. It is a weapon far more awesome to the U.S. bankers and industrialists than any H-bomb. It is a world-shaking idea — the idea that the workers and peasants, the oppressed and miserable of this earth, can take political power into their own hands and run society for their own benefit minus the capitalist bosses and parasites.

The Kennedy administration is already laying the propaganda basis for violation of any no-invasion promise. The Scripps-Howard newspapers on Oct. 30 published a Washington dispatch by Richard Boyce, stating: "President Kennedy's assurances that the United States won't invade Cuba... does not mean this country has pledged away the

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Cuba And the Road to Peace

An Editorial

The Cuban Revolution remains in grave danger. Kennedy's objective is still the destruction of the Cuban Revolution.

It was not "offensive Soviet weapons" which started U.S. imperialism on its drive to strangle and crush the Castro government but the example which Cuba affords to the oppressed millions of the rest of Latin America. Cuba is living proof that by dumping U.S. corporations off their backs, these peoples can conquer illiteracy, wipe out racial discrimination and provide adequate food for all their children, however humble their birth.

Washington's drive to crush the Cuban Revolution began long before Cuba was forced to get arms from the Soviet Union. The removal of a few weapons from Cuba is not going to satisfy Wall Street or the Pentagon or Kennedy.

Kennedy has demanded the removal from Cuba of what he deems to be offensive weapons. The attacker demands the right to say how his intended victim shall be armed. Is there any doubt that for Kennedy all arms capable of effectively staving off an attack are to be defined as "offensive"?

Kennedy, in effect, demands the disarming of Cuba in return for a vague promise not to invade — at least not right now. Khrushchev's action under pressure of Kennedy's nuclear-war threat still leaves posed the question of the reliability of Ken-

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New Yorkers:

Vote Socialist Workers — Vote Row D

For Peace, Security, Equality

.. Demonstrations in U.S. Hit War Moves

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popular slogans on Saturday's picketline.

The last slogan was not on placards but was invented for the occasion and shouted. A meeting sponsored by the N.Y. Student Peace Union, under the slogan "U.S. — U.S.S.R. — No War Over Cuba," was just ending when the "Hands-Off-Cuba" line began. The shouted slogan for unity brought the bulk of the students onto the picketline despite objections of a few peace-group officials about association with persons supporting the Cuban Revolution.

The line was further swelled by a group which had marched downtown from an outdoor rally in Harlem sponsored by the Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee. When the picketing ended after two hours, a column of about 300 persons marched toward Times Square until stopped by police.

Sunday's demonstration was called after the Saturday one had been announced. Its official slogans were designed to exclude "taking sides" with Cuba, but they did oppose the blockade. The mood of the great bulk of the crowd, however, was far more critical of the Kennedy administration than were the official placards. When speakers made points scoring Kennedy's policy they received loud applause. Speakers included representatives of the Women's Strike for Peace, SANE, the Committee for Non Violent Action and the Student Peace Union.

Julian Beck, of the General Strike for Peace committee, received a rousing cheer when he said: "Don't vote for anyone who supports the cold war." He called for a "strike against the war machine." Pacifist leader A. J. Muste called for the dismantling of the U.S. base at Guantanamo and re-

establishment of normal relations with Cuba.

WASHINGTON, D.C., Oct. 27 — Over 1,000 people, under the auspices of the Student Peace Union and Women's Strike for Peace, picketed the White House today demanding an end to President Kennedy's blockade of Cuba. Several right-wing groups, carrying signs supporting Kennedy in his attacks against Cuba, also showed up but all told they numbered less than 150.

In the evening the anti-blockade pickets went to a rally where they heard I.F. Stone and Edward Shiller, chairman of Concern, the Student Peace Union affiliate at Johns Hopkins University. Shiller said militant student leadership was needed now more than ever and pointed out that many "peace" candidates kept quiet or supported Kennedy's action when the crisis came. I.F. Stone, the noted independent journalist, said there was immediate danger of an invasion of

Cuba and that both Republicans and Democrats supported the aggression.

By Harold Verb

SAN FRANCISCO, Oct. 27 — Some 3,000 to 3,500 people opposing President Kennedy's blockade of Cuba today turned out for a mass protest rally in Civic Center Plaza. A counter-demonstration, estimated at 550, met at the opposite end of the Plaza.

The protest rally was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee Against the Blockade of Cuba, a group that came into existence a few hours after Kennedy's infamous Monday decision to impose the warlike blockade on Cuba.

The Ad Hoc Committee was comprised of representatives from as many as 20 different peace and political groupings, united on a program calling for an end to the blockade and immediate negotiations. Its theme was British philosopher Bertrand Russell's impassioned plea at the height of the Cuban crisis: "Anyone who loves life should now get on his feet and demonstrate and demand to live and let live." A special message from Russell was read to the audience.

The rally's highlight was the appearance of Sterling Hayden, movie actor, who declared that the "prime concern" of President Kennedy was to "liquidate the social revolution in this hemisphere" and that "the American mind has been emasculated by those who would control the world for the few — namely, big business."

Other speakers at the demonstration, which was co-chaired by author Alexander Saxton and Mike Miller, former teaching assistant at the University of California, included Lawrence Ferlinghetti, poet; John Howard, graduate student at Stanford; Rev. William S. Shirley; and Robert Shear, co-author (with Maurice Zeitlin) of a forthcoming book on Cuba.

A note of grim humor was added to the dramatic and moving demonstration by the appearance of a student dressed in a man-from-Mars suit (colored green from head to foot). In a letter distributed by him and addressed to the People of Earth, the "Grand Council of the Greater Galactic Federation of Free Planets" applauded the "courageous decision of the human race to commit suicide because our absence would then 'go far toward perpetuating the status of peace and brotherly co-operation which has hitherto characterized the relations of the sentient beings of this galaxy.'"

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 26 — A picketline planned weeks ago by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee for President Kennedy's campaign appearance at the Sports Arena was carried through tonight as scheduled, with Stop-the-Blockade protests added, even though Ken-

nedy remained in Washington building up the war hysteria.

Some 75 pickets, shouting "Hands Off Cuba," carried placards proclaiming: "Blockade Is an Act of War," "No War Over Cuba," "Stop the Embargo," "Gall-up Says 63% Against Invasion," and "Co-Existence or Co-Destruction."

At a brief rally following the demonstration, Martin Hall of FPCC said: "This is the most serious situation we have faced in all known human history." He called for wide unity with FPCC against war with Cuba.

In another demonstration today called by the Women's Strike for Peace movement some 500 people gathered in Pershing Square. They called for settlement of the crisis in the UN.

Two days after Kennedy's announcement, some 500 students at the University of California at Los Angeles heard a heated debate over the blockade of Cuba. About one fourth of the audience sided with speakers against Kennedy's warlike act.

Speaking in defense of Cuba were Michael Goldman and Leslie Evans of the Young Socialist Alliance. Marvin Treiger of Youth for Peace and Socialism and Ana Ofman of the Young People's Socialist League, also spoke out against the blockade.

Public debates on the subject continued for the next two days. An overflow crowd of 700 at a meeting held by the International Students Association, a group of foreign students, heard Leslie Evans and Marvin Treiger support Cuba's independence against two Cuban counter-revolutionaries, one a San Pedro College professor and the other a member of Alpha 66. By the end of the two hour debate about half the audience supported those opposing the blockade.

Today the defense of Cuba on the campus was continued by Oscar G. Coover, Socialist Workers Party write-in candidate for Governor, who spoke at the fourth of a series of meetings held by the Young Socialist Alliance.

Coover and his running mate, Frances James, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator, are making opposition to Kennedy's brinkmanship the principal issue at their meetings and radio and television appearances.

Typical of the many other protests across the country were the following. Twenty pickets from the Peace Information Center marched in front of San Diego's downtown post office. The capitol in Columbus, Ohio, was picketed by 75 students from Antioch College in Yellow Springs. In Philadelphia, 500 marched around city hall with the slogan, "No War Over Cuba." At Indiana University in Bloomington 15 demonstrators from the Fair Play for Cuba Committee had to take refuge in a library from a large crowd.



(Photo by Jack Arnold)

A SECTION OF THE PICKETLINE demanding "Hands off Cuba" at the UN on Sat., Oct. 27. Marching are Sylvia Weinstein, SWP candidate for Lieut. Governor; Richard Garza, candidate for Governor; Allen Taplin, for Comptroller; and Carl Feingold, for U.S. Senator. The fifth candidate, LeRoy McRae, for Attorney General, was speaking at an open-air rally in Harlem and later marched downtown with members of the audience to join the line.

... World Protest Stays Kennedy

(Continued from Page 1)

possibility of invasion in other circumstances at another time."

"Administration sources," Boyce added, "said that for the present it had been diplomatically decided to let Khrushchev contend he secured a U.S. 'promise' not to invade, if the Soviet premier felt it necessary to make that claim for home consumption. But that does not bind the United States and it was expected the administration soon would issue a statement that U.S. policy toward Castro himself had not changed."

A hint as to the reason why Kennedy has not taken the final fatal step which the governing clique in Washington has been seriously contemplating, is given by Washington correspondent Max Frankel in today's *New York Times*. He writes:

"Administration officials, looking back today on the fateful choice [an act-of-war blockade rather than a sudden invasion] recalled that the final decision was made for moral as well as tactical reasons. Grave questions were raised in the President's inner

circle about the blot that an assault on Cuba would place on the United States record and repercussions it would have around the world."

William McGaffin, a Washington correspondent, put it more bluntly in the Oct. 26 *New York Post*. He wrote:

"Bombing of the missile sites was decided against on the ground that the U.S. did not want to put itself in the position of committing a 'Pearl Harbor.'"

Moreover, the regime of Fidel Castro and the Cuban people in arms gave no indication of buckling at the first U.S. blast. The U.S. military would not be able to walk into Cuba and grab it on the cheap.

In spite of formal approval by the Organization of American States (OAS) of a resolution apparently backing the blockade of Cuba, Tad Szulc, Latin-American specialist of the *New York Times*, observed in an Oct. 28 article that throughout Latin America "strong political attitudes... still reject the notion that the Castro regime is a real threat to the Americas"

and that "many Latin Americans agree with Dr. Castro that, indeed, he has every reason to arm himself the best he can to defend his revolution." And they point to the U.S.-backed Bay of Pigs invasion of April 1961 to show why.

Latin American Protests

A wave of pro-Cuba demonstrations last week throughout Latin America gave some open indications of the sentiment pervading most of the 200,000,000 people of Latin America. The *United Press International* reported on Oct. 26 a violent demonstration of some 3,000 unionists in La Paz, Bolivia, before the U.S. embassy. In Caracas, Buenos Aires, Rio de Janeiro, the Ecuadorean port of Guayaquil, in Montevideo, Mexico City, Santo Domingo, Bogota and Managua, demonstrations and other protest actions took place. In Venezuela, one-sixth of the rich oilfields, most of them owned by Standard Oil of New Jersey, were put out of operation.

A series of strikes swept Italy that same day all the way from Milan to Brindisi, where alone 10,000 chemical workers walked out to protest the U.S. blockade of Cuba. In London on Oct. 27, thousands of peace marchers battled the police in Trafalgar Square, shouting, "Hands off Cuba!" In Colombo, Ceylon, the Harbor and Dock Workers Union resolved on Oct. 28 not to handle the cargo of any United States ships in Ceylon harbors. The *New York Times* reported from Colombo that the "Communist and Trotskyist parties said they would protest jointly" against a police attack on pro-Cuba demonstrators, several of whom, including Senators and Representatives, were hospitalized.

In China, a vast Peking rally on Oct. 29 sent a pledge of support to Fidel Castro and the Cuban people. It pointedly said the Chinese "will always share weal and woe with the Cuban people."

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SWP Stand on War Crisis as Told on TV

Speech of Carl Feingold, N.Y. Candidate for Senate

[The following are major excerpts from a speech delivered by Carl Feingold, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from N.Y., on Tuesday evening, Oct. 23, over New York City's television channel 2 (WPIX) and radio station WNYC.]

Last night, President Kennedy, acting on his own authority, announced to the American people that he was in the process of taking military actions against Cuba. His speech created the greatest crisis since World War II. The steps he outlined, aimed also at the Soviet Union, are steps which bring the world to the brink of World War III — a nuclear war.

He announced that ships of other nations would be stopped and searched on the high seas, ostensibly to find out if they are carrying offensive weapons to Cuba. He said that there would be a continuation and an increase of surveillance of Cuba. That means U.S. planes flying over Cuban territory and American ships patrolling its coastal waters. He announced that he had ordered a reinforcement of Guantanamo, the U.S. military base in Cuba.

Perhaps as an afterthought, Kennedy said that the United States would take up the question of Cuba in the United Nations and in the Organization of American States. In the meantime, the troops are pouring into Guantanamo and the American fleet is taking up positions in the Caribbean so that they can begin stopping ships of other nations.

Who decided to send American boys into such warlike actions? Just a week ago, the president spoke out against those armchair generals and admirals who would send other people's sons to war. Today he tells us, and I quote his speech, "this is a difficult and dangerous effort on which we have set out. No one can foresee precisely what course it will take or what costs or casualties will be incurred."

I repeat, who made this decision? This decision to send other people's sons to war!

Were You Consulted?

Did you decide? Were you consulted about going to war? No! Kennedy acted on his own authority to initiate steps leading toward nuclear war. Backed by the military brass, big business and his bi-partisan Democratic and Republican supporters in Congress — Kennedy decided. He knows that the recent Gallup poll shows that 63 per cent of the American people do not want to take military actions against Cuba. He knows this, but he went ahead anyway. Kennedy had already set the steps in motion before he even told you or me about it.

In his speech last night, the President told us, and I quote, "the path we have chosen is full of hazards . . ." When did we decide? . . .

Cuba is armed today. But why is she armed? Would Cuba be willing to disarm? There is no mystery on these matters. On October 8, Dr. Dorticós, President of Cuba, addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations on these questions. This is in part

what he said. His speech was not printed in the daily press for you to read. I quote:

"We can say that Cuba has armed itself. We have the right to arm ourselves, to defend ourselves, and the question that must be asked is, Why has Cuba armed itself? It is undeniable that we would have preferred to have channeled all those human and material resources, and all the energies that we have had to expend in the strengthening of our military defense, towards the development of our economy and the growth of our culture."

"We have armed ourselves against our will, against our better nature, because we were forced to . . . what would have happened, had we not strengthened our military defenses, when a division armed and trained by the United States government invaded our country . . . That is why we armed. We still hope that we shall be able to throw all these weapons overboard. We are a peace-loving nation; we want peace; we do not want war . . ."

"Were the United States able to give us proof, by word and deed, that it would not carry out aggression against our country, then, we declare solemnly before you here and now, our weapons would be unnecessary and our army redundant. We believe ourselves able to create peace."

The Cuban President then declared that Cuba is willing to negotiate all its differences with the United States. This important speech, not printed in the daily press, has been published in its entirety by the weekly newspaper which supports the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party — *The Militant*.

In effect, Kennedy has taken us on the first steps leading to a full-scale war. Even if such a war should not become a full-scale holocaust, but is limited to the sending of American troops into Cuba, why should American youth — and Cuban — die on the beaches of Cuba as the invaders backed by the U.S. died last year in their unsuccessful invasion of that island? Experts claim that a quarter of a million American troops would die in such an invasion attempt. Why should we have another Korean tragedy? Who will profit from such a deadly course?

Only the rich corporations and Wall Street banks will profit. Big business, operating for private profit, wants to expand overseas to exploit cheap labor, cheap raw materials and to corner markets. For example, the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, founded by the Rockefeller dynasty, gets two-thirds of its profits abroad. While Standard nets slightly under six per cent on its domestic assets, it makes over 15 per cent in Latin America.

Even those U.S. companies which have no significant investments abroad, have a crucial interest in the control of foreign markets and raw materials and in the lopsided development of underdeveloped countries like Cuba. This economic imperialism has given us two world wars and numerous smaller conflicts. It is the cause of the cold war, the

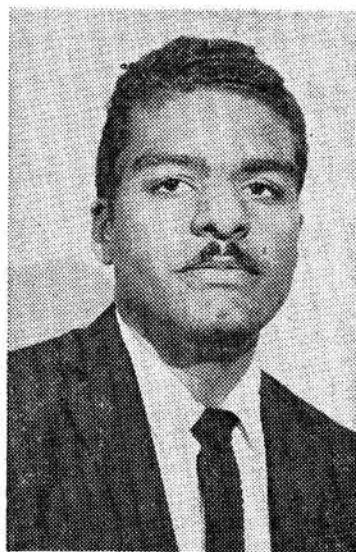
Warns of UN in Cuba: 'Remember the Congo'

Speaking in Harlem Oct. 27 at a street meeting called to protest Kennedy's blockade of Cuba, Leroy McRae, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Attorney General of New York state said:

"Nobody in his right mind wants to see atomic missiles flying around and we're all relieved that Kennedy and Khrushchev are sending letters instead of missiles back and forth. But what I'm worried about is why all the talk at the UN is about sending inspection teams to dismantle weapons in Cuba, instead of first disarming the aggressor in this situation. Kennedy is out to destroy the Cuban Revolution by hook or crook — he makes no bones about that."

"Remember Lumumba. Remember when the UN was invited into the Congo in 1960 to get the Belgian invaders out. But instead it disarmed Lumumba's troops while it never seemed to be able to disarm anybody else. At least not until Lumumba was kicked out and handed over to the counter-revolutionaries and murdered and the country's freedom gone and the rich white man's corporations had their investments secured."

"Is that what they've got in



Leroy McRae

mind for Cuba? I know that is what Kennedy and Stevenson have in mind. They hope to get the UN to cover for disarming the Cuban Revolution — not just a few weapons, but the revolution, the spirit that fights the exploitation of man by man, the spirit that gives hope to us, to the black, to the poor, to the oppressed everywhere. That's why we've got to stand up for Cuban sovereignty and stick to the slogan 'Hands Off Cuba!'"

hysteria against Cuba and the threat of nuclear World War III.

Why should we be dragged into a war to defend anybody's profits, either in Cuba, Asia or any other place in the world?

The U.S. Government speaks about its concern for freedom, but the war preparations and the cold-war pressures of Washington only hinder the process of demo-

cratization. And, as a matter of fact, that is one of the objects of these pressures. It is one of the purposes of the campaign against Cuba — a tiny country of seven million — whose people dared to do away with the U.S.-backed, dictatorial Batista regime, who dared to expropriate U.S. and other exploiting capital and who dared to proceed toward socialism.

Kennedy and the American capitalists don't want democracy and socialism to succeed in Cuba. They embargo, harass, organize armed attacks, promote sabotage and invasion — and then they scream that Cuba hasn't had an election or that Cuba is taking food and arms from the Soviet Union.

Kennedy's declaration of war must be stopped! What steps can be taken to end the present war danger?

1) We should demand that all U.S. troops be brought home from overseas and that American military bases in foreign countries including Guantanamo, be given up.

2) We must demand that there be no more Koreas, no more Hiroshimas and no war over Cuba!

3) We should demand an end to the cold war, an end to nuclear testing that continues to poison our air and endangers future generations yet unborn.

4) We should demand that major policy questions of war or peace be decided by a national referendum, just as we vote to elect a president. No one man should have the authority to decide whether we live or die.

5) In addition, I urge you to cast your vote for the Socialist Workers Party in this election as a way to express your opposition to the present bi-partisan war policy and cast a vote for a foreign policy of peace. Vote Socialist Workers Party — Row D — the only party that stands for peace and equality in this election.

6) And finally, don't wait for election day to take action. Americans in New York are already taking steps to counter the war menace. Let Kennedy know that we do not want war! Plans are being made for a giant protest demonstration in Times Square this coming Saturday afternoon at 2 P.M. An impromptu organization, the Committee to Halt World War III, has issued a call to all organizations and individuals to come to a united protest against Kennedy's war action. I hope that I will see you there, 2 P.M. this Saturday, at Times Square.

World Events

Raids on China Coast

Nationalist Chinese raiders have carried out several attacks on the mainland during the last two weeks, according to reports published in Hong Kong Oct. 25. One unit, which failed to reach its destination, landed on a small island near Hong Kong. Wearing uniforms similar to those of the Chinese Red Army, 44 men landed from four motorized rubber boats. They were armed with submachine guns and hand grenades. On the same day, Chinese Nationalist paratroopers and a U.S. battle group stationed in Okinawa concluded airborne exercises in Taiwan. The exercise was designed to train American and Nationalist troops to "work together and to improve their anti-guerrilla tactics."

Taiwan Backs China Claim

The Formosa government of Chiang Kai-shek has commented on the current border dispute between India and China. While attacking the Chinese Communist government, Taiwan gave little aid to imperialist claims that the dispute represented a "communist offensive" on Indian territory. The statement backed Chinese claims to the area and stated that India had no right to it.

Arrest CP Leader

Maximo Lopez Molina, a Dominican Republic Communist Party leader, was arrested with four of his aides on Oct. 28. Lopez, the object of a search for several months, was wanted on charges of sedition and suspicion of having

committed other "crimes" against the dictatorial regime.

Restore Eisenstein Films

Two films of Sergei M. Eisenstein are to be restored and edited this year in Moscow. The plan to issue *October* and *Que Viva Mexico* was announced on Oct. 28 by Grigory V. Aleksandrov, co-director with Eisenstein of these and other films. Aleksandrov said that Stalin had appeared in the cutting room a few hours before the film *October* was to be shown for the first time in 1927 and demanded that more than 3,000 feet be cut. "When Eisenstein and I asked why the cuts had to be made, Stalin said evasively, 'you don't know what is going on. This is not the right time for Lenin's liberalism,'" the director recounted.

African Underground

South African police are engaged in a hunt for an African underground organization calling itself "The Spear of the Nation." The organization, in letters to newspapers, has called for the stepping up of a campaign "to oust the nationalist Government and white rule in South Africa."

**In New Jersey's 12th Congressional District
Vote for SWP Nominee Ruth Shiminsky**

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

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Cuba and the Road to Peace

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nedey's word — a badly tarnished item where invasion of Cuba is concerned.

The Cubans, fully aware of this — and from their record, not the kind of leaders to panic in a tight spot — have pointed out that "the guarantees of which President Kennedy speaks against invasion of Cuba will not exist without the elimination also of the naval blockade . . . and adoption, among others, of the following measures:"

- 1) The end of attempts to strangle Cuba economically.
- 2) The end of espionage, sabotage and counter-revolution organized by the U.S.
- 3) The end of pirate attacks.
- 4) The end of violations of Cuban air space and coastal waters.
- 5) Withdrawal by U.S. forces from the base at Guantanamo.

These are minimum points and most reasonable. Kennedy advances the argument that "Soviet weapons" in Cuba are a threat to the U.S. By his own logic then, how much greater is the threat to Cuba of U.S. weapons at Guantanamo? That base is the first thing that should be removed and no United Nations inspection team is required to accomplish that task. The U.S. should just leave and let the Cubans have their own territory back.

In addition, the U.S. should restore normal diplomatic relations with Cuba. It should agree to negotiate directly with the Cubans on all outstanding differences. It should restore normal trade and restore the right of U.S. citizens to travel to Cuba. It should provide economic aid to Cuba to help her in the building of her economy and raising the living standards of her people.

Cuba has never been a military threat to the U.S. and it has armed itself only because the U.S. government organized continuous, overt, military acts of aggression in an attempt to crush the revolution. A friendly policy by the U.S. government toward Cuba would automatically eliminate any possibility of military confrontation. That is the only solution to the "Cuban crisis."

The manner in which President Kennedy brought the U.S. people to the brink of nuclear war was frightening and criminal. Kennedy took a gambler's chance of precipitating nuclear war and he did so on his own.

As James Reston said in the Oct. 26 *New York Times*: "The President did not assemble the National Security Council or the Cabinet into formal session to debate the selective blockade of Cuba. He discussed personally with some members of his Cabinet and staff, made up his mind, and then called them into formal session to tell them what he had decided to do." Reston points out that Kennedy did not consult with Congressional leaders or with the ambassadors of the government's military allies before making the decision.

He did it on his own. There was no check on his power to risk nuclear holocaust against the sentiment of the majority of the American people as shown in numerous polls published shortly before Kennedy made his decision. The bi-partisan Congress, before it adjourned, gave Kennedy a blank check to do just that.

This points up the need to take the power to make war out of the hands of these irresponsible politicians who are blinded by their desire to defend the profit system. Let the people vote on war! A national referendum should be required before this country's military forces can be committed to any act of war or on any foreign battlefield.

As long as U.S. politics is monopolized by parties controlled by big business, which is adamant on defending the profit system anywhere and at all costs, the American people will risk being dragged into war and nuclear destruction at the whim of such people as Kennedy.

Only independent political action by the working class, the social force whose interests are not tied to the profit system, can eliminate this terrible threat. The road to peace is independent labor political action. Support for the Democratic or Republican parties is not only political scabbery, it is courting nuclear suicide.

Don't They Trust Kennedy?

One of the most frantic protests received by President Kennedy last week in the wake of his military moves against Cuba was a telegram sent from Miami on Oct. 25 by Col. Jose Pineiro Paez in the name of Cuban counter-revolutionaries.

Col. Pineiro's telegram naturally did not object to an invasion of Cuba by the mightiest imperialist power in the world and the possible slaughter of millions of Cubans by Wall Street's armed forces. He declared rather that the organizations for which he spoke would not accept any government "imposed" by the U.S.

That's a mighty peculiar stand for these Cuban counter-revolutionaries to take. Don't they trust the avowed noble aims of the U.S. imperialists? Don't they believe that Kennedy wants to crush the Cuban Revolution to bring the blessings of freedom and democracy to the Cuban people?

Or are they still smarting from the memory of how Kennedy's CIA "detained" the leaders of the Cuban refugees during the April 1961 attempted invasion of Cuba and imposed henchmen of the deposed Batista dictatorship over the invasion force?

Making Negroes' Votes Count

By Robert Franklin

NEW YORK — I think it is about time the so-called Negro here in the North stood up to be counted.

For many years now he has sat here in the "liberal" North with its hypocritical freedom and criticized his so-called backward brothers of the South. How long must we sit still while our brothers are being murdered, maimed and persecuted, while they are denied every fundamental right, not only as citizens, but as human beings who are treated little better than serfs on the lord's land?

How can we ask and expect to get our complete freedom as a people without first demanding the right of all our people to vote as citizens, to have a say in the way we live, in our own destiny?

Two-Faced

We have sat here in the North with our false sense of freedom and listened to the two-faced lies and promises of both Democrats and Republicans. And their lies are always the same, that they — the Republicans and Democrats — are the true friends of the black man, and they will make things much better for him in the years to come. If I have been witnessing what our "friends" can do for us, God help us from our enemies!

But anyone with eyes can see that things are not getting better, but worse. For example, the slums that we are forced to live in, because of a combination of *de facto* segregation and low pay, are continuously deteriorating for lack of sufficient laws and/or the enforcement of laws, to make the landlord keep them in living condition.

Slumlords and Banks

It is no accident that these slums are a great source of profits for the slumlords and their partners in crime, the banks.

Another example was the hospital strikes. Here all that the workers were asking for was to be recognized as workers and human beings! But instead of getting recognition, these underpaid workers — who are mainly Negro and Puerto Rican — were arrested on the picket lines and their union president was jailed. Isn't this similar to what is happening in the South — a basic denial of human rights?

Are we by any chance under the illusion that what is happening in Albany, Ga., Oxford, Miss., and other parts of the South cannot happen here in the "liberal" North? We have an example of what can happen to peaceful Negroes in the so-called liberal states when six Black Muslims coming out of their church in Los Angeles were shot down in cold blood. Isn't this at least as bad a

A Consoling Thought

By Evelyn Sell

Some sentences achieve immortality: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." "Remember the Alamo!" "Diamonds are a girl's best friends." I'd like to offer one for the immortal honor roll of words.

Gov. Swainson of Michigan has recently announced that he has bought the \$68,500 home, he has been occupying in a lush subdivision. He is paying on a \$35,000 mortgage for 20 years at 5½ per cent interest and his house payments run \$250 a month. He decided it would be more economical to buy the house than to continue paying rent. "I found that even a governor with a \$27,500 salary has to figure to make ends meet," he explained. Then he added — now, get this! — "We're just like any other family making house payments once a month."

Doesn't that get you right here? Isn't that a thought to remember as you make *your* monthly payments?

crime as burning down Southern Negroes' churches?

And let us not forget that the reason the racists burn churches is not because they are against Negroes praying, but because they are using their churches as centers for organizing to exercise the right to vote. Yes, the shooting of Black Muslims only proves that while oppression in the North is generally more subtle than in the South, it is not always so.

What is the answer? It is to continue and go further in attempts at political action. But it seems that "our friends" whom we elect in the North are "helpless" to defend us. The Southern bigots depend on these "friends" and the fake labor leaders to keep the Negro tied harmlessly to the Democratic Party.

And the Republicans — they point to the crimes of the Democrats, and then vote with them against civil rights! In short the Democrats and Republicans are simply playing the shell game on 20,000,000 Negroes.

But we can't forget that the only times the Negro is counted is in the census — to see how fast he is multiplying; and at the polls — to see who got his vote.

How to Be Counted

Then if the Negroes do not vote Democrat or Republican, how will they be counted? How can they let the powers-that-be know that they are standing with their brothers in the South? The time is long overdue for a third party, a party of the working people, a labor party. Such a party would give the working people the opportunity really to show the two parties of big business that Negroes do not like the way things are being done in this country.

There is another need: an independent political organization of

the Negro people. Negroes could choose from this organization their true representatives to run for office in opposition to the so-called Negro representatives, hand-picked by the big business parties, whose only function is to protect the profits of big business by maintaining the *status quo*, by telling the Negro people they are doing all they can and to wait. But they are not waiting in the South and we can't wait.

Complete Freedom

In the meantime there is no labor party nor Negro people's party. How then can the Negro's vote be counted? How can we let the rulers of this country know that we black people demand complete freedom not only in the South but throughout the whole country?

We can do this by voting for the only party running in genuine opposition to the Democrats and Republicans — the Socialist Workers Party.

Independent Action

The Socialist Workers Party does not claim to represent the Negro people, for only the Negroes themselves can do this. But it does represent the feeling and needs of the working people of which the Negro is part. Their real interests make Negroes and workers natural allies in the struggle for freedom, equality and a better way of life.

By voting for the Socialist Workers Party the Negro can do two things. 1) He can let the Democrats and Republicans know that he is tired of being used as a pawn in big-business politics. 2) He can tell the Negro leaders, North and South, that the Negro people are ready to take the road to independent Negro political action.

... SWP Opens Fund Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

writers can do to help in the present situation.

It is vital, right now, to respond to this appeal for educational material. *The Militant* is, of course, the main vehicle through which immediate material can be published and distributed. But there is a great deal of basic information which cannot be supplied in its limited columns — basic works on Marxism, pamphlets and books which answer the questions raised and point the way toward a socialist tomorrow.

To respond to this need more pamphlets on current problems must be printed. Fundamental

works now out of print must be republished.

A new financial obstacle has arisen which must be overcome. The printer has just raised his prices. And congress has passed an increased postal-rate bill.

All these factors make it urgent that our friends and supporters contribute as generously as possible to the fund. Every dollar received will be used to spread the message of socialism and its promise of a better world for tomorrow. Every dollar will be a Truth Dollar in the real sense of the word. Send your contributions to 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y. It will be the best investment you ever made.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Per cent
St. Louis	\$ 75	\$ 46	61
San Diego	250	145	58
San Francisco	560	305	55
Detroit	625	332	53
Seattle	475	176	37
The General	300	104	34
Milwaukee	225	74	33
Chicago	700	225	32
New York	4,300	1,388	32
Twin Cities	850	255	30
Newark	125	37	29
Connecticut	150	40	27
Allentown	115	30	26
Cleveland	500	123	25
Oakland-Berkeley	525	112	21
Boston	600	117	20
Philadelphia	225	43	19
Los Angeles	4,300	750	18
Denver	100	00	00
Totals through Oct. 29	\$ 15,000	\$ 4,302	28%

Letters on the SWP Election Campaign

[The following are some of the letters received in response to radio and television broadcasts in Buffalo and New York City by and on behalf of the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.]

High School Student

Bronx, N. Y.
I would highly appreciate it if you would please send me a copy of your paper, *The Militant*. I agree with the views of your party and I am interested in finding out more about it. I am presently a high school student.

S.R.

Wants Dorticos Speech

Toronto, Canada
I listened with very much interest to your programs tonight. It did not surprise me one bit about the press not publishing all of the speech of the President of Cuba in the UN. I would be very grateful if you would send me the brochure on the Socialist Workers

Party and *The Militant* which published the speech of the President of Cuba in full. Would you have any extra copies of the speech? I would like a half dozen to give to some people I know.

L.D.

Willing to Consider

Glen Oaks, N. Y.
I saw your candidate for the United States Senate on WPIX last Tuesday and found, rather reluctantly, that I am in partial agreement with many of the things he said.

I would like to find out more about your party and its paper, *The Militant*.

R.K.

"Pleasant Surprise"

Red Bank, N. J.
I am writing to you mainly as a reaction to Carl Feingold's excellent speech on television station WPIX. I did not think that any political candidate would have the nerve to expose the U.S. criminal policy in regards to Cuba. However, I was in for a pleasant surprise. I at least thought that Stephen Emery of the Socialist Labor Party would mention Cuba, but he didn't. It is extremely pleasing to hear at least one sane person trying to block the mass hysteria that Mr. Kennedy has started.

As a student I'm naturally interested in socialism. It doesn't take much intelligence to reach a conclusion about outmoded capitalism. Presently I'm familiar with the program of the other socialist party, the Socialist Labor Party. Therefore I would deeply appreciate it if you would send me a copy of your newspaper, *The Militant*, and other material explaining the program of the Socialist Workers Party. Again, I wish to convey my congratulations to Mr. Feingold for his excellent speech.

B.D.

The Cuba Issue

Warren, Pa.
I am not familiar with your party or its workings and did not agree with what you had to say

while on television this evening, but would like to read the literature you have available concerning the quarantine on Cuba.

C.C.

"For a Better Life"

Bronx, N. Y.
I have seen and heard you on TV. I am interested in the Socialist Workers Party and a better

A Vote for Sanity

Long Island City, N. Y.
A brief item in the Oct. 24 *New York Times* stated that Station WPIX had received many protests over Mr. Carl Feingold's criticism of President Kennedy's action on Cuba.

Although I did not hear Mr. Feingold's talk, if what the *Times* reports is accurate, then I wish to commend Mr. Feingold for bringing some sanity into our political thinking. I also intend to write WPIX in praise of Mr. Feingold.

Although I cannot accept much of the platform of the Socialist Workers Party, I intend to vote for Mr. Feingold as an anti-war candidate.

C.E.

America and life for everyone. Please send me the paper, *The Militant*.

H.D.

Forgets Travel Ban

Olean, N. Y.
I couldn't help but hear part of your speech on television last night. I would like to say if you don't like this country and have so much sympathy for Cuba why not go there and help Castro?

(Unsigned)

"Interested and Delighted"

Oshawa, Ontario, Canada
I should greatly like a sample or so of your paper, *The Militant*, with a view to subscribing if it is as good as I hope.

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

Farrell Dobbs, SWP Candidate for President, declared, "We got into the Korean war by a presidential order — another presidential order can get us out just as fast. But Eisenhower has no intention of issuing such an order. The generals and the Wall Street politicians can get us into these wars, but only an aroused and indignant working people can get us out. You won't bring an end to the Korean war by voting for Eisenhower. And you won't end it by voting for Stevenson either. "Stevenson justifies, defends, and glorifies the Korean war which he calls mankind's war. What part of mankind is he talking about? Certainly not the millions of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America who are in full revolt against imperialism. Not the working people of Europe, nor the working people of the United States... "It is for that wealthy minority, dominated by the Wall Street bankers, that American boys are bleeding and dying in Korea... "The real danger facing America comes from within our country, from the two war parties of Big Business, Republicans and Democrats, from their mad bipartisan foreign policy of world domination. So long as they remain in control, there will be one Korea after another which will inevitably lead us into a Third World War." — Nov. 3, 1952.

20 YEARS AGO

That the billion people of Asia are no longer satisfied to live under the ruthless imperialist domination of their democratic as well as their fascist colonial masters runs like a red thread through the report given last week by Wendell Willkie...

"Oppressed peoples look upon the U.S. with respect and hope, even with affection, says Willkie. No doubt they would like to enjoy the kind of freedom which they believe Americans have. This was true even of the Russian masses who looked to the U.S., after the October Revolution, to help them defeat the attempted Czarist restoration. But the 'liberal' government of Wilson replied by sending an army of occupation to Siberia. The English, prodded by the present Prime Minister Churchill, did likewise. The Russians had to learn through bitter experience that they could depend only upon the working class in the imperialist countries, and that imperialist policies are not the products of men's minds but are the necessary results of the decay of capitalism." — Nov. 7, 1942.

Gov't Uses Draft Law as Club To Jail N.Y. Pacifist Editor

Jack A. Smith, editor of the *CNVA Bulletin*, organ of the Committee for Non-Violent Action, was sentenced to 9 months in prison on Sept. 27 for refusing to report for induction into the armed forces. He is now serving his time at Allenwood (Pa.) Prison Farm — a camp which was originally intended as a political detention camp under the provisions of the McCarran Act. Smith has been a participant in numerous anti-war activities, including the Nashville-to-Washington peace march this spring and last year's march from New England to New York.

The 28-year-old pacifist had returned his draft card to the Selective Service System in August, 1961. He stated that he took this action in response to Kennedy's willingness to risk the "extinction of civilization because of the contrived diplomatic issue of Berlin." Shortly thereafter he was ordered to report for induction, despite the fact that he had been previously classified 3-A and considered not subject to induction at the present time.

The government's use of induction as a punitive measure is further illustrated by the fact that Smith would be unable even to enlist in the armed forces since he is a father and above the usual age limit of 26.

In a statement prepared for his trial, Smith told the court, "It is my belief that the crime of the United States government or any



(Photo by Robert Joyce)

Jack Smith

government which prepares for the nuclear annihilation of mankind is so enormous that it transcends the legal 'guilt' of a human being who will not be a party to such inhumanity."

Two other CNVA supporters were sentenced last June on similar charges. Paul Sanstrom, 21, of Rock Island, Ill., is presently serving a three-year sentence for refusing to report for induction. The other, Paul Kiger, a 24-year-old former medical student at Northwestern University, is serving a prison term of two years. Both had returned their draft cards before being ordered to report.

I happened to hear your broadcast over WBEN-TV tonight and was greatly interested and delighted.

F.W.

Wants to Further Cause

Fredonia, N. Y.
I saw Richard Garza on television and am interested in your socialist party. Please send me the free booklet and advise me of any local contacts I can make to further the cause.

F.L.

"Frightening"

Levittown, N. Y.
What with scarcity of socialist news in the media of communications, I was most pleased to see and hear Mr. Feingold's speech on WPIX tonight.

The current tragedy of U.S.-Cuban relations and the potential disasters resulting from Mr. Kennedy's blunders are so frightening to me that I ask you to rush all future copies of *The Militant* to me. (Can you spare any back copies?)

I pledge my vote to Mr. Feingold and all other socialist candidates.

Thank you, thank you, thank you.

B.P.

"Informative"

Buffalo, N. Y.
Please send me literature on the Socialist Workers Party. My attention was called to your cause by a very informative television program on WBEN-TV in this city. I hope that you are successful in your campaign.

L.M.

Northern Neighbor

Woodbridge, Ontario, Canada
Would you please send me a copy of *The Militant*. Enjoyed your speech on TV Oct. 25. Hope that

E.M.

Mailing List

Rochester, N. Y.
Please send me information on your candidates and place my name and address on your mailing list for future material.

A.H.

An Invite

Hicksville, N. Y.
Why don't you go to Russia and see how they treat the Jews there! You Communists are welcome to leave the U.S. and move to Russia or Cuba.

(Unsigned)

Similar Views

Ship Bottom, N. J.
Many of your thoughts are similar to my own so I am requesting a copy of your newspaper and any other information you would have available for me.

R.K.

A Volunteer

New York, N. Y.
Since I am not yet of voting age but will be in a few months, I cannot vote in the forthcoming election but would very much like to.

I cannot contribute much because I am a laborer who is not making much, just about enough to "make it" on. I am more than willing to volunteer for any fundraising drive or for that matter any campaign activity which will further the cause of socialism.

A.M.

Passing It On

Buffalo, N. Y.
I heard your wonderful campaign speech on TV. Please send a copy of *The Militant* to the three people listed below.

E.L.

Thought for the Week

"WASHINGTON, Oct. 25 — What could surviving citizens on the home front expect in case of all-out nuclear war? Planners here assume many of our large cities including the national capital and New York would be bombed — and wiped out — immediately." — Scripps-Howard correspondent William Stief.



Twin Cities is the top sub getter for this week with 22 new subscribers to *The Militant*. Most of these subs were the result of their election rally and social. They assure us that we could expect a real increase in their score in the next few weeks.

Our long time supporter from Plentywood, Montana, John Boulds sent in subs for two more new readers and money for an extra bundle of *The Militant*.

Special thanks to H.C. of Ohio who sent in six new subs and to the new young group in Madison, Wisconsin, who are now taking a bundle of 40 papers a week. Throughout this campaign to get 1,000 new Militant readers we have received aid from many friends like those mentioned above.

New Yorkers have taken a leap forward in their subscription drive this week. They have gotten 16 new readers through their active election-campaign work. In the past week they have received 150 requests for copies of *The Militant* because of radio and television broadcasts of the SWP candidates.

With only four more weeks to go in our drive for 1,000 new readers we are becoming alarmed at the number of cities on the scoreboard which are still below the 50 per cent mark. We realize

that many of these cities have been involved in a struggle to get socialist candidates on the ballot. But we feel that one of the main points of the election campaign should be *The Militant* subscription drive. After the election campaign is over it will be this paper that will bring the ideas of socialism into the homes of readers all year through.

City	Quota	Subs	%
Indiana	10	20	200
Detroit	100	118	118
Baltimore	10	9	90
Connecticut	30	25	83
Newark	15	9	60
Boston	25	15	60
Milwaukee	25	14	56
San Diego	30	17	56
Oakland-			
Berkeley	75	37	49
Twin Cities	100	47	47
Philadelphia	75	24	32
New York	150	49	32
Chicago	90	20	22
St. Louis	10	2	20
Akron-			
Cleveland	75	13	17
Los Angeles	150	24	16
San Francisco	75	10	13
Seattle	75	9	12
Denver	50	0	0
General	30	36	120
Total	1,200	498	41

(through Oct. 30)

Lessons for Whites on the Negro Struggle

By George Breitman

There are white people in the South who really believe that Negroes are satisfied with segregation, or like segregation, or prefer segregation. It seems incredible, but apparently many Southern whites actually believe this, just as their grandfathers believed that the slaves liked slavery.

Unfortunately, most Northern whites are not much better informed. Oh, they know that Negroes don't like segregation and discrimination and insult, but not much more about what Negroes think, feel and want.

I am not talking only about "average" Northern whites; I am also talking about the minority of Northern whites who are liberal or progressive, and, I am sorry to say, some radicals too. That is, whites who dislike Jim Crow and want to do something about it.

An Example

Here is an example, taken from the *National Guardian* last January. Reviewing a novel (*Night Song* by John A. Williams), Phillip Abbott Luce said it helps to point out the problem that "whites often cannot face the fact that, as James Baldwin has said, 'Negroes hate white people.'"

A reader in Brooklyn sent in a letter unhappily complaining about this remark. He denied that Baldwin's statement was a "fact" and called on both logic and emotion to argue that it was "simply not true" and "unfair." His main point was that not all whites victimize Negroes and that not all Negroes think all whites victimize them, and therefore it couldn't be true that all Negroes hate all whites.

This sort of reasoning evidently gave the letter-writer some psychological satisfaction, but it was really a quibble. Of course not all Negroes hate all whites, for various reasons, nor do they hate them all the time. But when such statements are used to deny the truth in the general proposition made by Baldwin — in general, Negroes hate whites, despite exceptions — then they only serve to underline and prove that "whites often cannot face the fact" that Negroes hate whites, and will go through all kinds of contortions to close their eyes to this fact.

Minority of a Minority

I hope I will not be misunderstood. The Brooklyn letter-writer is correct in saying that not all whites are responsible for racial oppression. It is correct to make a distinction among the whites who are responsible for maintaining racism, and the whites who support or accept racism, and the whites who tolerate or do nothing against racism, and the whites who oppose racism. I agree that such distinctions are valid and necessary, and that the Negro people in the course of their struggle for equality will sooner or later reach this conclusion too.

But it is exceedingly difficult for the members of an oppressed and degraded minority to reach such a conclusion at the present time. (Some do, but they are a minority of a minority.) The average Negro, looking at the average white, feels, "He is my oppressor." If he knows something about the division among whites on racial issues, he may add, "Or else he benefits in certain ways from my oppression and is not doing anything to end my oppression."

And if you say to him, "No, that particular white is different — he hates Jim Crow and has even taken certain actions against it," then this average Negro may say (or may think if he does not say it out loud): "Maybe, maybe. But I haven't seen proof of this myself. And if you show me proof, I will examine it a long time because I have had plenty of experience with whites who claimed to be my friend but stabbed me in



Nelson Jack Edwards

the back or ran out on me when I needed help. And even if I accept your proof, after testing it carefully, I still will mistrust whites as a group because the liberal or progressive white is, so far, too timid or too weak to help me much. At best, he is only the exception to the rule, and I cannot afford to base my tactics on the exception but must go by the rule."

Is such an attitude unreasonable or unjustified, considering the history of this country? I say it is not, and that white progressives must learn, however painfully, that it is not if they hope to play a serious part in the struggle for equality.

And I say further that, whether you think it's reasonable or not, this attitude of mistrust and suspicion exists, and has been growing in recent years. It is a fact, and it is going to remain a fact until Negroes, through their own experience with whites, find good reasons to replace this attitude with another.

Radical whites as well as liberals have got to face up to this fact and understand why it exists if they want to help change it. Whining self-pity about "unfairness" will get you nowhere. The first step is to recognize the fact; the second is to understand why it is a fact; the third is to seek those forms of action that will change things.

The rest of this article will be devoted to discussing some situations that should be approached with understanding and imagination by white people who sympathize with the struggle for racial equality.

(1) Blockbusting

Blockbusting works like this: Here is a lily-white block. A real estate broker or agent sells or rents a house on it to a Negro family. Then he goes to work panicking the white families. The presence of Negroes, he tells the whites by phone, mail and face to face, will cause the neighborhood to "deteriorate" and the value of their property to fall. Already, he says, it has fallen \$1,000; next month it will be worth another \$1,000 less; the longer they wait before selling out, the less they will get.

Sometimes the whites refuse to move, and try to frighten the Negro family away or to buy out its new home. More frequently, they sell and run to or toward the all-white suburbs. They sell for \$13,000 or \$14,000 where previously they would have demanded \$15,000; the real estate broker sells the property to Negroes for \$18,000 to \$20,000. Soon the block is all-Negro. Segregated housing has not been reduced. The panicked white homeowner has sold at a loss; the new Negro homeowner has been grossly overcharged; the real estate shark has cleaned up.

Now if there is one thing that Negroes and sympathetic whites should agree on, you would think

it would be the evil of blockbusting and the need to curb it. And yet . . . and yet there are disagreements here too.

Detroit's city council is now considering an anti-blockbusting ordinance introduced by a conservative councilman who lives in a white neighborhood into which a Negro family recently moved. It would prohibit real estate agents from referring to race, religion or nationality in advertising or sales talks with the intention of spreading fears that a neighborhood is about to undergo changes. Liberal councilmen have offered amendments favoring "open" (mixed) housing sales and rental practices.

Most Negro leaders and organizations endorse the proposal as a step forward. But not all of them.

The *Illustrated News*, a small paper published by militant Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr. and his family, takes a generally suspicious and hostile attitude to the ordinance. It questions the motives of the sponsor because he has never before shown any concern for Negro welfare. It urges Negroes to remember "the danger of the white man's laws." But its main points are these:

"The Negro must have homes . . . It is a broker's job to find homes for prospective buyers. Any law against this, no matter how honeyed the tone, is a move to contain the Negro in certain neglected and poorly zoned districts . . .

"If a Negro is to find a decent home, someone has got to move out of one because the brand new subdivisions [in the suburbs] are not available to us . . .

"Here We Come!"

"Let's face it, blockbusting is based upon the knowledge that white people will move out when we move in.

"Any law to end blockbusting must therefore have as its intent to either stop white folks from moving out or to prevent Negroes from moving in . . .

"The end result could (be) . . . some sort of subterfuge to keep brokers from selling a Negro a home outside the ghetto.

"We are opposed to any law that is in any way related to restricting the free movements of people or their efforts to buy homes. We regret that blockbusting is possible — that white people fear us. We know that a law is not going to change this — so move out! Here we come!"

Half-sardonically, *Illustrated News* adds in another article: "Blockbusting has helped us to enlarge the ghetto . . . Blockbusting is as necessary as FEPC."

This is a viewpoint that would hardly occur to most white liberals. But it occurs to many Negroes because they are forced by the grim reality of Jim Crow America to consider all issues from the standpoint of an oppressed minority. For expressing it, Cleage and *Illustrated News* are denounced as "nationalist" and other



David Dubinsky

names, but I think Cleage's attitude is shared by most rank-and-file Negroes. White radicals who fail to perceive the truths imbedded in Cleage's provocative remarks, or to realize how widespread his attitude is, can hardly play much of a role in the struggle for equality.

(2) Union representation

White Americans are a minority in the world, but they rarely stop to think how they would feel about certain questions if they were a discriminated-against minority in this country. If they weren't subjected to racist brainwashing 24 hours a day and would stop to think about it, they would understand how important the question of representation is to most Negroes.

When a Negro looks at an organization, one thing he inevitably notices is: Are there any Negroes in its leadership and if so, how many? His attitude to the organization is strongly influenced or even governed by the answers to this question.

That's not "racism," as is frequently charged; it is an absolutely inevitable and justified reaction by any race in a society where all of its conditions of life, from the cradle to the grave, and even its dreams and aspirations are profoundly affected by prevailing racial prejudices. (Whites would react the same way if they were victims of racial discrimination.)

For some 25 years the Negro people have been strongly pro-labor; more so, I think, than any other section of the population. Ever since the CIO was formed and opened its doors to Negroes and thus helped them get a foothold in industry, Negroes have supported the union movement and placed high hopes in it.

But many of these hopes did not materialize and enthusiasm for the unions waned, especially when Negroes found themselves to be the first and worst victims of unemployment resulting from automation. Today the feeling among Negroes is strong and growing that a union should be judged, not so much by what it says about civil rights, and not at all by the pious platitudes of its leaders, but above all by what it does about granting representation in its leadership to Negroes.

Something Wrong

If a union has Negro members, but no Negroes in its leadership, then there's something wrong with that union, and it doesn't deserve to be trusted by Negroes in or out of the union. And if a union has a large Negro membership, but only one Negro on its executive board of 25, there's something rotten there too.

Is this attitude warranted? It might not be in a society free of race prejudice, where everyone was judged on his own merits and opportunity was equal to all. But it is completely warranted in the kind of society we live in today, where most white people are prejudiced against Negroes, and where a Negro rarely can get elected against a white for that reason, no matter how qualified the Negro may be or how unqualified the white may be.

David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, recently appeared before a House Labor subcommittee investigating charges of racial discrimination, among other things, in the garment industry and the ILGWU. (The charges of racial bias can be found, amply documented, in NAACP labor secretary Herbert Hill's article in the current *New Politics*.)

Now Dubinsky is one of the nation's outstanding liberals. Confronted with damning evidence that 100,000 or more Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the ILGWU are discriminated against because of their color or nationality, are confined to the worst and lowest-



Walter Reuther

paid jobs in the industry and lack representatives of their own in the ILGWU leadership, Dubinsky roared in liberal anger:

"There is no discrimination in membership, initiation fees, dues, wages. There is no Class A membership, no Class B membership. Our members eat together, meet together, dance together, celebrate together and fight together . . .

"Eighty per cent of our members are women, but we have only one woman vice president. Can we be charged with discrimination against women? No! . . .

"I'll be damned if I will support the idea of the professional Negro, the professional Jew, the professional Italian, that a man should be a union officer because of his race, color or creed. He should be an officer on his merits, ability, character."

Representation

What this means, of course, is that there are no Negro officers in the ILGWU because Negroes lack "merits, ability, character." That's the way Negroes hear such a statement — and that's the way the Dubinskys mean it too (even when they don't express it so crudely).

Walter Reuther, another noted liberal, long had the same approach. In the early 1940's he and his caucus in the UAW led a fight against putting a Negro on the executive board on the ground that it is "racism" and "Jim Crow in reverse" to elect a man "because of his race, color or creed" rather than his "merits, ability, character."

But Reuther is slicker than Dubinsky. Seeing how hot the issue of representation was among Negro members, he conceded at last year's UAW convention and finally permitted the first Negro, Nelson Jack Edwards, to be elected to the executive board. Of course he selected a "safe" man, one who "wouldn't get out of line," rather than a militant. But Reuther is mistaken if he thinks he fooled anybody or disposed of the issue. Negroes feel that "token integration" is better than nothing, but they also know the difference between tokens and the real thing.

Most white radicals understand that the Dubinsky-Reuther line on representation is wrong and anti-union as well as anti-Negro. But not enough of them, I am afraid, know how to answer effectively the false arguments of the labor bureaucrats. Radical unionists should pay more attention to what representation means to Negroes, should learn better how to explain to their white fellow-workers that the Negro demand for representation is progressive, and should take the initiative and meet their Negro brothers halfway in the fight over this issue, rather than leaving the whole job to Negroes.

If white radicals want the trust
(Continued on page 7)

Are Militant Negroes 'Racists in Reverse'?

(Continued from page 6)
of Negroes, they have to earn it. This is one of the ways they can.

(3) Representation in government

The standard that Negroes apply to unions they also apply to government. They cannot feel any government body is theirs when it is lily white. And they are not deceived by token integration here either. They know why in Detroit, for example, there is only one Negro among nine councilmen although Negroes are 30 per cent of the population. They know that if our country were free of prejudice there would be, as a matter of course, 50 or so Negroes in Congress, rather than four or five. They are fighting to get those 50 seats, and will keep fighting for them until they can see for themselves that race has ceased to be a factor in elections.

The strength of this feeling was illustrated by a fight that took place in the recent Democratic primary election in Detroit. Six members of the U.S. House of Representatives are elected from Detroit and its suburbs, and the Democratic nomination usually inures election.

Negroes Majority

It so happens that Negroes are a majority of the population in three of these six congressional districts (the 1st, 13th and 15th). It was not planned this way; it happened because Negroes coming to Detroit were mainly confined to these districts and many whites moved out during the last ten years. Attempts were started this year, by the leaders of both major parties, and may be completed next year, to "reapportion" the borders of these districts so that Negroes will be a majority only in the 13th district.

The 13th has been represented for eight years by a Negro Democrat, Charles C. Diggs Jr. The 1st and 15th are represented by white liberal Democrats, who are long on talk and short on pro-civil rights action, like the rest of their party.

Both these white congressmen were opposed in the recent primary by Negro Democrats. The labor leaders and liberals endorsed the three incumbents.

At this point Rev. Cleage and *Illustrated News* stepped into the picture, calling on the Negro community, and whites who believe in democracy, to elect the three Negro candidates in the primary. The uproar that followed is still echoing in Detroit.

This is a summary of Cleage's reasoning:

(A) Negroes are a majority in these three districts; why shouldn't we elect people of our own race to represent us here? Negroes certainly aren't going to be elected in districts where they are a minority, and we all know why that is.

(B) The Negro candidates are just as qualified as the white incumbents in experience, training, etc. No white man, however well-meaning, can represent us as well as people of our own race because they simply don't know what it feels like to be a Negro. The present white incumbents certainly don't fight for us.

(C) We are not asking too much when we seek to elect three out of six in Detroit. We happen to be in a favorable position and can partially compensate for all those areas in the South where Negroes can't even vote, let alone get elected. We owe it to our people nationally to elect these three so that they can give representation to the millions altogether denied it elsewhere in the country.

"Racism"

"Black nationalism! This is racism, just as evil as white racism! No man should be chosen, or rejected, merely because of his color! A terrible blow to the cause of better race relations!"

So thundered the daily newspapers, radio commentators and the union leaders. To their discredit, the leaders of the Trade Union Leadership Council, local affiliate of the Negro American Labor Council, joined the chorus (thus contradicting everything they had said in the fight for Negro representation inside the UAW). Leaders of most Negro organizations also condemned Cleage's approach. And on the eve of the primary, the Michigan Fair Campaign Practices Commission, a body appointed by the governor, formally cited and denounced *Illustrated News* for injecting "racism" into the campaign. As a result of all this, the 1st and 15th Negro candidates were defeated, while Diggs was renominated.

It was to be expected that the white liberals would take sides against the "Elect Three" campaign. Many of them have close ties with the white incumbent congressmen and with Solidarity House, which they didn't want to endanger, and they said Cleage was rocking the boat or "this is not the time."

But what about the white radicals? With one exception, they were all silent. The Socialist Work-

ers Party alone spoke out publicly against the concerted assault on Cleage and his associates. Its statement is worth quoting in part:

"As socialists we don't involve ourselves in the inner politics of the Democratic Party. Experience has shown us that the Democrats, like the Republicans, express the policies of big business and oppose the interests of Negroes and working people in general.

"We reject, however, the characterization of those who campaigned for Negro representation as 'racist.' As long as racial discrimination lasts, the demand by its victims for some measure of protection through direct representation remains a legitimate one. The proposal to 'Elect Three' is a reaction to the racism of whites, not a manifestation of racism by Negroes.

Defend Representation

"Despite our disagreement with the ideas that Negroes can achieve progress through the Democratic Party, we express our complete solidarity with the principle involved in the 'Elect Three' campaign."

If radicals hope to achieve a meaningful alliance with Negroes, they must learn to recognize that the Negro demand for representation in government is thoroughly progressive as well as legitimate. Carried out to its conclusion, as it will be, the fight for this demand will necessarily lead the civil rights movement to break with both capitalist parties, because no capitalist party will grant adequate and effective representation. This in turn will help create the conditions for an independent labor party, the political instrument needed to settle accounts with the racists and capitalists.

The fight for Negro representation must be defended and supported. Until this simple fact is grasped, it is useless to talk about more complicated questions.

(4) Pro-Negro "discrimination"

Some of the sentiments and ways of looking at things that I have tried to describe here are new, or, if they existed before, have be-

come clearer and more pronounced. New moods have appeared in the Negro community during the last few years — greater militancy and impatience with gradualism, stronger dissatisfaction with white-controlled society as a whole, less confidence in whites, increasing criticism of the old-line moderate Negro leadership, more bitter rejection of paternalism in any form.

These new moods have produced new organizations and tendencies, and have forced old organizations to talk in new terms. One such change worth noting, as a sign of pressure from the Negro ranks, is in the National Urban League. Never a militant group, it is really a social service agency rather than an organization aspiring to represent the Negro masses. Yet it too has been speaking in new tones during the last year (since Whitney M. Young Jr. became executive director).

The Urban League, according to the *New York Times* of Sept. 12, is now calling "for a decade of discrimination in favor of Negro youth to help close the gap left by '300 years of deprivation.'"

Correct Idea

No respectable and moderate Negro organizations has ever before advocated pro-Negro "discrimination." Such groups previously always insisted they were against discrimination of any kind — all they asked for the Negro was "equal opportunity."

But Young now says that inequities facing Negro youth "make a farce out of the concept of equality of opportunity." There can be no real equality with whites when Negroes are not equipped to compete with them "in the segregated schools of the South or the segregated slums of the North," he said.

Therefore, says the Urban League, if you really want to achieve equality of opportunity, you must first, for at least a decade, "discriminate in favor of Negro youth" through a program that will compensate for past dis-

advantages still burdening the Negro.

The achievement of Negro equality through pro-Negro "discrimination" — this is a correct idea, boldly stated. (Also the kind of thing Karl Marx might have called a dialectical concept.) The idea is not new, but it is new for the Urban League, and shows that its leaders are aware of the sentiments developing in the Negro community.

Idea Will Spread

I can see many liberals shaking their heads over such a concept, rejecting it either as wrong or tactically unwise. I can also foresee its spread to other areas of the Negro struggle. Why can't it be applied, for example, to Negro workers who are laid off first because they are at the bottom of the seniority list and who are at the bottom of that list because for decades the plants wouldn't hire them at all?

If this idea of pro-Negro discrimination shocks you, you must be a white. And you had better prepare yourself for greater shocks, because they are coming. You'd better hurry up and find out what's going on if you don't want to be left far behind in the march of events.

This article has been written in the belief that equality for the Negro people and emancipation of the working class as a whole can be achieved only through their common action to take power away from the capitalist ruling class. I believe that this is as true today as it was 20 years ago, but that, mainly because of the labor movement's default in the civil rights struggle, the task of uniting white workers and Negroes in common struggle has become more complicated and difficult. It behooves serious white workers and Negroes, especially radicals, to learn why this is so, and what they can do about it.

I hope white and Negro readers will express their viewpoints in letters or articles on these and related issues.

Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

"Ten Days That Shook the World" — Eisenstein's classic film recreation of the Russian Revolution. Fri., Nov. 9. Showings at 7 p.m. and 9:15 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Contrib. \$1, students 75c. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

The U.S.-Cuban Crisis — An analysis by Farrell Dobbs, National Secretary Socialist Workers Party, Fri., Nov. 9, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 75c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Local Directory

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

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044. If no answer, call HU 6-7025.

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

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California. Main 3-0992. For labor and socialist books, International Book Exchange, 1227 1/2 California. Open 5:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Mon. through Fri.

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

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

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

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

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

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

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

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 p.m., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum. Temporarily c/o Oakland-Berkeley (see above).

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-2869. Ask for Dick Clarke.

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

SEATTLE. 1412 15th Ave., EA 5-0191. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays.

It Was Reported in the Press

Brought City to Verge of Panic — At the height of the Cuban crisis a New York radio station announced that in view of the gravity of the situation it would provide its listeners with crucial news bulletins even if it meant interrupting a commercial.

184 Reasons to Vote Socialist — A New York slumlord was fined \$895 on charges of 184 housing-code violations in seven tenements. That's an average of \$4.86 per violation. The buildings bring in an annual rental of \$57,883.

Hear, Hear! — The following appeared in the "public notices" column of the Oct. 27 *New York Times*: "I, PETER HOPKINS, Citizen of the USA, residence 36 Horatio St., NYC, denounce, repudiate & disavow all present lawless acts provocative of international war committed by my government, including piracy."

Shop Early for Xmas — Tiffany's is offering crystal champagne goblets for \$282 a dozen.

The Silver Lining — "Leaders of the tourist industry now believe that Key West will have a new allure, and that many sightseers may arrive who had no thought before of visiting the city. 'Visitors to Europe all want to go to Berlin and see the wall, don't they?' a local businessman said; 'Well, I think we will have a lot of sightseers who will want to see the city that is only 90 miles from Havana.'" — A dispatch in the Oct. 30 *New York Times*.

It's a PIP — "How do you make cost-cutting seem more glamorous?"

Call it something else. So, at least say some companies which are anxious to slash expenses but think 'cost-cutting' has a 'negative' sound. Textron, Inc., now is pushing a 'profit-improvement' program. Feeling the need to accelerate cost-cutting, Standard Oil (Indiana) has changed its PIP (for 'profitability-improvement program' to PIIP ('profitability-improvement intensification program'). — The Oct. 15 *Wall Street Journal*.

But They Already Got a Book — "LOCCUM, Germany, Oct. 19 (P) — American clergymen don't read enough, but the reason may be that there are so many inferior books coming out in the United States, an official told an international conference of Lutheran publishers here."

Sound Familiar? — "The glut of fresh salmon in Great Britain has been so tremendous this year that merchants have been feeding it to dogs and putting large amounts in cold storage to keep the price up. They're paying fishermen 28 cents a pound, selling the same salmon to the public for \$1.32 a pound." — The *Dallas Herald*.

Watch Out, Mr. Scharff — "Durham Co., a New York auto parts wholesaler, is an example of a firm for which business life insurance has paid off in more than one way. Last year Durham received a \$300,000 life insurance settlement on the death of Richard Durham, its president and principal stockholder. The money helped the company buy his share of the business. Now Durham has

a similar policy on the life of its new president, William Scharff." — The Oct. 16 *Wall Street Journal*.

Children's "Death Pact" — At a New York meeting of peace groups following Kennedy's war moves against Cuba, Mrs. Dagmar Wilson, founder of Women's Strike for Peace, told of children making death pacts with their schoolmates with whom they planned "to die holding hands."

A-Test Box Score — According to figures submitted to the UN by Adlai Stevenson, the U.S. is still way ahead of the Soviet Union in nuclear bomb tests: U.S., 239; USSR, 121.

Fidel Castro Denounces Bureaucracy And Sectarianism

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

40 pp. — 35c

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

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New York 3, N. Y.

Feingold Hits Donovan and Javits on TV

On Sunday, Oct. 28, Carl Feingold, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. senator in New York, appeared on WNBC-TV, on the same program with Democratic and Republican candidates James B. Donovan and Jacob K. Javits. Also participating were Stephen Emery and Kieran O'Doherty, candidates of the Socialist Labor Party and Conservative Party respectively.

In sharp contrast to the cynical anti-Cuban stands taken by both Javits and Donovan, the SWP candidate declared, "Neither President Kennedy nor Premier Khrushchev has a right to make a deal over Cuba without the Cubans being directly involved. The U.S. should negotiate directly with the Cubans on any differences as the Cubans have suggested. Cuba is not anybody's pawn."

"I am opposed to the UN going into Cuba because I am against turning Cuba into another Congo. If the UN must go anywhere, let it go to Guantanamo and supervise the dismantling of that base."

Later in the program Feingold said: "In the Senate I would propose a reversal of our foreign policy, an end to the war drive. Bring U.S. troops back from overseas, including Guantanamo; end nuclear testing. I would propose a policy of peace; transform our armaments budget into a budget of building homes, schools, hospitals. I would propose that the American people be the ones who decide the question of war and peace by a referendum vote."

"I opposed the dropping of atomic bombs that killed and crippled hundreds of thousands in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. I opposed the Korean war and now I'm opposed to the insane war drive and blockade against Cuba."

"Sen. Javits and Democrat-Liberal Donovan are willing to send other people's son to war. I suggest they volunteer for front-line duty since they are willing to endanger all humanity on a path that could lead to world-wide nuclear destruction."

In a statement for presentation over radio station WDOE in Dunkirk, N.Y., Richard Garza, SWP candidate for governor, declared: "Peace is not closer since the president sent American boys to fight in the undeclared war on South Vietnam or established a blockade against Cuba . . . The blights of Jim Crow, unemployment, inadequate housing, poor schooling and medical care have not improved since we moved into the new frontier."

"Today the policies of our government are tailored to suit the needs of big business, not the needs of the working people. If you want to vote for peace, full employment, and justice, vote Socialist Workers Party on Row D."



Richard Garza



SOME OF THE DEMONSTRATORS who picketed Atty. Gen. Robert Kennedy at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York on Oct. 28. The line, called by Americans for the Right to Travel, protested the Justice Department's persecution of journalist William Worthy.

Picket R. F. Kennedy in N.Y. On Behalf of William Worthy

NEW YORK, Oct. 28 — A spirited picketline of some 200 persons marched in front of the Waldorf-Astoria hotel today to protest the presentation of an award by the American Jewish Committee to Attorney General Robert Kennedy "for advancing human freedom."

The picketline was called by Americans for the Right to Travel, a committee which has been active on behalf of William Worthy, foreign correspondent for the Baltimore Afro-American who is under a three-month federal sentence for the "crime" of coming home to his native land without a passport.

Many of the guests attending the \$100-a-plate banquet knew nothing of the Attorney General's indictment and persecution of the Boston-born newsman, and

stopped to question the pickets.

Placards carried by the protesters bore such slogans as "Free Travel to Cuba"; "Free William Worthy"; "Kennedy Is Not Worthy — He Tramples Bill of Rights"; and "Kennedy Lies — Worthy Tells the Truth."

Many of the pickets had come from the peace demonstration held at the UN earlier in the day, where the Waldorf protest had been announced from the speakers' stand by Bayard Rustin.

The Kennedy pickets did not disband at the close of their protest but marched in a body to Grand Central Station eight blocks away. This was a measure of self-protection against anti-Castro hoodlums who earlier had attacked some isolated peace demonstrators on their way home from the meeting at the UN.

SWP Candidates In Nat'l Campaign To Defend Cuba

In opposition to President Kennedy's warlike actions, Socialist Workers Party candidates around the country spoke out on radio, television, and in the press, putting their full energies in the final stretch of their campaigns into defense of the Cuban Revolution.

Joseph Johnson, SWP candidate for Congress in the fifth district in Minneapolis, issued a statement reading, in part, "Both [Walter] Judd and [Donald M.] Fraser, Republican and Democratic politicians running for representative from the fifth Congressional District, are in agreement in approving the aggressive action of Kennedy . . . I am for the right of the self-determination of the colonial peoples . . . for the American people having the right to vote on actions that may lead to war."

The SWP candidate for U.S. Senator in Wisconsin, Wayne Leverenz, challenged all Democratic and Republican candidates for senator and congressman to a debate on Cuba. Leverenz urged them to appear at an Oct. 30 rally at the University of Wisconsin where he spoke on his position: "Hands off Cuba!"

In Newark, N. J., an election rally was scheduled for Friday, Nov. 2. Ruth Shiminsky, SWP candidate for Congress from the 12th district was to speak on "The Stake of American Labor in the Cuban Revolution."

Shortly after Kennedy's TV speech in which he first informed the American people of the aggressive and dangerous actions he had undertaken, Oscar G. Coover, SWP write-in candidate for Governor of California, wired the White House in protest: "Recent polls indicate that the majority of the American people oppose war moves against Cuba. We say: Hands off Cuba! Let the people

vote on the issue of war and peace."

The Oct. 23 Denver Post reported statements by Colorado candidates on Kennedy's actions. The only candidate to oppose Kennedy was Tom Leonard, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator. "I will do all in my power to oppose this blockade and demand that we establish a peaceful policy toward Cuba and the world," he said, "I urge the voters of Colorado to join me in the protest."

CAMD Gets Monroe Lad Out on Bail

NEW YORK — The Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants has secured the release on \$10,000 bail of Jayvan Covington, 19-year-old Negro youth, CAMD Secretary Berta Green announced.

Young Covington is a particular target of Monroe's racists because of his conspicuous role in efforts to integrate the municipally owned swimming pool.

Following the racial strife on Aug. 27, 1961, when a mob of thousands of white-supremacists, with police encouragement, attacked anti-segregation pickets, Covington was arrested on framed-up charges. The nature of the charges was not even known to the Negro community until the youngster had been in the Union County jail for 20 days. Then he was shot and wounded inside the jail by a guard who alleged that he had assaulted him.

It then was revealed that Covington was charged with breaking and entering, larceny, resisting arrest and trying to escape. In a typical Union County trial, at which the whole courtroom and officials displayed open hostility to the defense attorneys, Hal Witt and Richard Scupi of Washington, D.C., the young civil-rights fighter was sentenced to seven to ten years.

An appeal was filed and the CAMD undertook to raise the large bail in cash or negotiable securities since local bondsmen will not handle cases stemming from the civil-rights struggle. The CAMD had previously arranged the posting of cash bail totaling \$17,200 for three young defendants in the framed-up "kidnap" case and for a defendant in a related case.

Covington's appeal was argued before the North Carolina Supreme Court in Raleigh Oct. 30. A decision is expected within a month. A principal point in the brief of Attorneys Witt and Scupi for reversal of the conviction is Union County's intentional discrimination in jury selection and systematic exclusion of Negroes. Their inspection of the grand jury list showed the designation "col." alongside the names of colored persons.

Yevtushenko's Poem on Cuba

CUBAN MOTHER

At Playa Girón stands an army field tent, and in that tent a campesina lives, and every night, resembling a phantom, she comes out, slowly to the sea she moves. Why don't you sleep, Señora Amelia? Fog has overlaid the Caribbean Sea. Why do you look that way, where America is, through the close-gathering mists? And she replies:

"His name was Pablo. When I was a young woman still, I'd hang his cradle on a palmtree branch, and beside him pound coffee in a stone. Touk-touk, my wooden pole would ring out like a voice of sufferings, tortures and hopes, and the most earthly of lullabies was the even and steady touk-touk! My husband would take our silly baby into his rough, clumsy hands and say, 'Do you know what, Amelia, — he'll be happier than you and me!' He wanted his son to live, unbowed, like the mountains, majestic and plain, to seize hold of life, always smiling, like you do a pineapple's green tail! Our Pablo grew like the cane in the valley and for his sake in a certain attack my husband fell near Pinar del Río with an ancient musket going for a tank. But Pablo grew . . . and when in March his seventeenth year knocked at last, he said to me, 'Madre, you'll understand me — I should be a soldier like dad.' Without weeping or quarreling I understood but all mothers' hearts feel deeply, and people coming from there, from the sea, killed him, killed him, like his dad."

He fell here, my Pablo, Pablito. I had stored up a razor for him, but he never once shaved as it happened — I brought it down to him too late. I did not see his eyes go dim, nor him, bloodied over, sand-strewn, lying with his face toward America, covered with its youthful down. I came to Pablo at his grave. Misfortune dried up my tears. I fell on his granite stone speechless and knew then that I'd never leave. Already I've lived here over a year At first I slept, just like that, on the ground Now I spend nights in the field tent the soldiers gave me as a present. We're three — the sea, the grave and myself. I cannot forget anything. The sea — I remember — I loved it before. I have only hate for it now! There it is roaring and rolling — the sea, dies out in foam — just five feet away. The sea — from there the murderers come! I know — they can come back again!"

Like a carved figure of anger and pain she looks out with all her power and over the darkened and muttering surf whips the white surf of her hair. The sea drums and thunders, rolls over and over but draws back from her again. Fortunate mothers of America do you see this Cuban mother?

Cuba, October 1962

(This is the first English translation of the complete poem, *Cuban Mother*, by the courageous and talented young Russian poet, Yevgeny Yevtushenko. The poem appeared in the Oct. 14 issue of *Pravda*. The translation was done for *The Militant* by George Saunders.)

New York SWP Radio-TV Time

Sun., Nov. 4, 11 a.m.-12 noon, Ch. 4, Richard Garza.
Sun., Nov. 4, 2-3 p.m., Ch. 4, Richard Garza.
Sun., Nov. 4, 8-8:30 p.m. WABC Radio (770), Carl Feingold.