

All Out for Washington March To Win Jobs and Freedom!

NEW YORK — All-out support to the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was voted by the delegates to the 20th National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party held here in July.

In a statement authorized by unanimous vote of the delegates, the convention presiding committee declared:

"Right now, the number one job of the party branches across the country is to mobilize all members, supporters and friends to help build the August 28 March on Washington. The Negro people in this country have taken the lead and are making a tremendous contribution to the development of a 'creative crisis' in which a great blow can be struck against the exploitation of man by man.

"For revolutionists it is a question of simple human justice to support this struggle by the Negroes for equality. It is also our duty to help make white workers un-

derstand that the Negroes are doing them a favor in leading this March and that to support it is a matter of bread-and-butter self interest.

"In addition to the vital problem of discrimination, the March is intended to dramatize the problem of unemployment which weighs most heavily on Negro workers. A giant march by those who suffer from these evils will strike fear into their enemies on Capitol Hill. The sponsors of the March have pointed out that the struggle for decent jobs for Negroes is 'inextricably linked with the struggle for decent jobs for all Americans,' and have called for a federal 'massive works program to train and employ all Americans at decent wages and at meaningful and dignified labor.'

"Every unemployed worker, every militant unionist, every revolutionary socialist who can possibly make it

should be in Washington August 28 to back up the Negroes on this March."

The March has been officially called in the name of James Farmer, national director of CORE; Martin Luther King, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; A. Phillip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council; Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP; and Whitney Young, head of the National Urban League.

Special buttons to be worn by the marchers and a booklet of instructions entitled "Organizing Manual No. 1" are now being distributed by various sponsoring organizations. The address of the national headquarters of the March is: March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, 170 West 130 Street, New York 27, N. Y.

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Brooklyn Fight on Job Bias Points Way for Rights Cause

Indiana Jury Re-Indicts Three Young Socialists

By Charles Gardner

Three officers of the Indiana University chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance were re-indicted in Bloomington July 18 on two counts under Indiana's state sedition law which provides a maximum sentence of three years imprisonment on each count.

Ralph Levitt, 25, James Bingham, 25, and Tom Morgan, 22, were charged with assembling on March 25 and May 2 for the purpose — as the indictments put it — "of advocating and teaching the doctrine that the government of the United States and the State of Indiana, should be overthrown by force, violence and any unlawful means, voluntarily participating therein by their presence, aid and instigation."

The two July 18 indictments were identical in wording to the single indictment handed down against the three on May 1. Only the word "or" used in the May 1 indictment was changed to "and" and the May 2 count was added.

The indictment came after the Monroe County grand jury had

been in session over a week and heard some ten witnesses. Much ado was made about this being an exceptionally "independent" grand jury.

Criticism had been levelled at the way the May 1 indictment was arrived at. The jury then had met only briefly and was said to be under undue influence from the witch-hunting prosecutor in the case, Thomas A. Hoadley. Hoadley had devoted his office since he was sworn in last January to the cause of pressuring the IU Administration into withdrawing recognition from the campus YSA.

The March 25 meeting referred to in the first indictment was a public talk on the IU campus by Leroy McRae, national organization secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance, entitled "Black Revolt in America." McRae, who is a Negro, had spoken on this topic at dozens of campuses on a nationwide speaking tour this spring. Hoadley distorted McRae's remarks on Negroes' right to defend themselves against racist attack and made these the basis for the charge of advocating violence against the government.

The May 2 meeting — at which violent overthrow was again allegedly advocated — was, in fact, a private meeting of the defendants and fellow students the purpose of which was to discuss the first steps of the legal defense. This meeting to plan the defense was held one day after the first indictment and took place in the rented basement apartment of some friends of the defendants.

The landlord of the apartment, one Harold Wilkes, told the press — according to a July 19 Indianapolis Star report — that he had taped the May 2 meeting from upstairs through a ventilator. Wilkes, an acquaintance of prosecutor Hoadley, was one of the witnesses heard in the week-long grand jury session.

Hoadley's comments to the press revealed how he hoped to

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Militant photo by Jack Arnold

CHAIN-IN. Cops had a hard time at Downstate Medical Center site in Brooklyn when anti-job-bias demonstrators padlocked themselves to a long chain and sat down at gate to block delivery trucks from entering. Cops had to secure a bolt cutter and then cut each individual loose. Meanwhile sit-downers sipped cool drink brought by fellow demonstrator. Cops weren't offered any.

By Leslie Evans

NEW YORK, Aug. 1 — A new wave of militancy in the fight against job discrimination on construction projects here has resulted in the arrest of more than 650 civil rights demonstrators since July 11. The determination of the demonstrators is being deepened by the callousness of the cops and instances of violence by them. Yesterday, at the demonstration in Brooklyn two teenage girls were injured and removed in ambulances when the cops shoved pickets behind barricades to keep them from barring approaching trucks from the construction site.

These demonstrations are setting an important pattern for the future of the civil rights movement because they hit at the very heart of the Jim Crow system — the denial of decent jobs to people because of the color of their skin.

Demonstrations and arrests are taking place throughout New York: in Queens, the Bronx, Harlem and Manhattan's Lower East

Side. But the center of the fight is taking place at the Downstate Medical Center building site in the heart of Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn's Negro community.

The demonstrations began at this site July 11 as CORE, the NAACP and the Urban League issued a demand for the hiring of more Negroes and Puerto Ricans on the \$25,000,000 state-financed project. The rights groups were joined by Brooklyn's Negro clergy, led by Rev. William A. Jones, Rev. Milton A. Galamison and Rev. Gardner C. Taylor.

Even Mayor Wagner's "action panel" on job equality confirmed the justice of the demonstrators' demands in a July 12 report that stated that a number of unions that "represent several very significant, highly skilled and highly paid trades . . . either have a token number of non-whites or none at all." It said these unions were "reputed to have resisted all attempts to integrate them."

The first large scale arrests came on Monday, July 15, when

42 demonstrators at the Brooklyn site were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct for standing in the path of trucks to prevent them from entering the project. One of those jailed was Reverend Taylor who commented: "Most of the prophets spent time in jail. This is a long tradition. When a government is corrupt, as this one is about discrimination, it must be challenged . . ."

That night an overflow rally of 1,500 at the Bethany Baptist Church heard speeches by the church leaders who had been arrested in the morning.

Representatives of civil rights organizations and the ministers addressed a demand to President

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"Labor with a white skin cannot emancipate itself where labor with a black skin is branded."—Karl Marx

CUBA: Report by a Canadian Journalist

A Miracle of Inventiveness, Baling Wire and Self-Reliance

[This spring Jack Scott, widely-read daily columnist of the *Sun* in Vancouver, Canada, made a second visit to Cuba and wrote eight articles describing what he saw there. After a lengthy Latin American tour the year before, he had written some of the finest articles on South America and Cuba yet to appear in the North American press. His recent series shows that his perspicacity, candor, wit and sympathy for the Cuban Revolution have in no way diminished. We are reprinting the major part of his recent series. Space limitation does not allow us to print it in full.]

By Jack Scott

HAVANA — Funny. Somewhere in the back of my mind I keep hearing those defiant lyrics that dear Eliza sings in *My Fair Lady*: *Without you pulling it, the tide comes in, without you twirling it, the earth can spin, without you pushing them the clouds roll by. If THEY can do it, Ducky, so can I . . .*

The significant result, of course, of the United States' policy of isolation, the mighty elephant's reprisal against the insolent, uncrushable gnat, is Cuba's reliance on its distant friends of the Communist world.

Yet the visitor here, especially if he's Canadian, is inclined to be more fascinated by another reaction, the purely local thumb to the nose which Eliza Cuba displays across the 90 miles of open water that separate it from the glorious land of freedom, the land which has declared that no Amer-

ican can come here to look for himself.

It's less than five years ago that Cuba was almost totally reliant on American hardware and that well-known Yankee "know-how."

There was precious little that ran with moving parts or that contributed to the ease or luxury of living that wasn't imported from State-side. The sugar went out past the Morro Castle in one ship. The goodies from General Motors or General Electric came by in another. As in Canada today, so in pre-revolutionary Cuba — a scant 100 miles from the railheads to Detroit, Pittsburgh and Chicago — life without Uncle Sam was unthinkable.

What has happened, then, in these unthinkable months of Cuba's hemispheric solitary confinement seems very reminiscent of the way Eliza put it: *Without much ado we can all muddle through . . . without you!*

Let there be no mistake about it. This regime could hardly survive without being the *nina adorada*, the pampered child, of the Socialist countries.

To tour the harbor fronts of Havana, Matanzas, Manzanillo, Neuvas, Santiago de Cuba, Cienfuegos and other Cuban ports is to be overwhelmed by the lengths that Moscow, Peking and their subsidiaries are prepared to go to keep Fidel Castro in business.

Especially in heavy industrial machinery, trucks, tractors, earth-movers, factory components and, with maximum security, the ponderous tools for Fidel's formidable armed services, the flow

is as constant as the crude oil shipments in mighty trans-Atlantic tankers flying the hammer-and-sickle. (They go back, now, thanks to a Cuban invention for flushing the tanks free of the last, lingering odor of oil, laden with sugar syrups.)

Almost everything you may do here, from taking a Czechoslovakian aspirin to riding in an Hungarian bus to cooling off under a Chinese electric fan to being preserved with Soviet embalming fluid — is a reminder of how America's policy has thrust Cuba into the embrace of that other ideology.

Yet, spectacular as this may be, it is the way that Cuba muddles through on her own, a miracle of inventiveness, baling wire, improvisation, sticky tape, mend-and-make-do and growing self-reliance, that bemuses the visitor.

He's apt to consider it as more than mere rationalizing when a revolution leader opines that the most lasting result of America's particular "wall" — the good one, you know, not the bad one in Berlin — will be to propel this little old island toward undreamed-of self-sufficiency.

Looking through my crowded notes I find a wide assortment of examples, some meaningful, some trivial, but all of them of interest to a Canadian who, like Chicken Little, might think the sky would fall in if he was left to his own devices.

Item: The pilot plants have been built, some of the first experimental models have been produced and next year, if all goes well,



HARD, NECESSARY WORK. Member of Cuban cooperative cuts henequin which is used in manufacture of hemp.

Cubans will be able to purchase electric irons, electric refrigerators, toasters, radios and television sets entirely made here. Cuban-made gas kitchen stoves are already on the market. In almost all these endeavors you'll find the master touch of the old pros from the socialist countries. At Santiago de las Vegas outside Havana, where they've set up a radio assembly plant putting out a miniature mantel set called the Antilles, first of five models including two with FM, three Polish technicians are in attendance. Their names: Stanislaw Postolski, Zygmunt Margasinski, Zdzislaw Miezjeuski. Their newest model: The Carioca. No wonder this has been called a "surrealist" country.

Item: In his most recent state-of-the-republic message President Oswaldo Dorticos, looking back on the revolution's four years and admitting the "precariousness" of his statistics, conservatively estimated the Gross National Product had increased by more than 30 per cent.

Item: Coca-Cola. Cubans have always been among the world's highest per capita consumers of it. For two years after the bottling companies were "nationalized" the genuine syrup for the pause that refreshes arrived here from Canada. Then the parent company in the United States cut off the supply, offered top jobs States-side to its Cuban executives.

All defected except 37-year-old Charles Rodriguez, a chemist. He set out to break the formula, long a closely guarded secret, made hundreds of tests, even sent batches of the mixture to Czechoslovakia for laboratory analysis.

Today you can't tell the Cuban Coke from the original. It's even in the same, familiar bottle, now manufactured here because counter-revolutionaries made it a practice to break the original bottles.

Item: A \$200 million four-year plan for the modernization and creation of hydro-electric and thermo-electric plants, including ten new generating plants to be provided by Bulgaria, is under way. Sixty-five per cent of the new kilowatts are earmarked for Havana, most of the rest for Oriente's new steel and heavy manufacturing complex now under construction.

Item: The latest six-months' report of the Consolidated Plastics Enterprise notes production, among other items for domestic use, of two-and-a-half million vials for pharmaceutical use, 77 million buttons, more than four million combs, two-and-a-quarter million toothbrushes, 881,000 pairs of plastic heels for women's shoes, 42,000 dolls.

Item: They've opened the first plant in Havana for the manufacture of antibiotics, supplying most of Cuba's domestic needs as well as an advance order of \$2,000,000

for Czechoslovakia, where most of the raw materials originate. The plant is operated entirely by Cuban technicians and pharmacists and, among other products, manufactures aureomycin, streptomycin and penicillin.

Item: Baseball. It's Cuba's national pastime (they beat the U.S. team 13-1 and 3-1 at the Pan-American games at Sao Paulo which helped to even the score for the Bay of Pigs episode).

When the supply of gloves, balls, bats, shoes and uniforms was cut off, the Cubans began manufacturing their own, have equipped tens of thousands of small boys. Drive anywhere on a Sunday and Cuba strikes you as one vast Little League training camp.

Item: Production of nickel at plants in Nicaro and Moa, in the province of Oriente, where Soviet technicians have estimated reserves for 30 to 35 years, is at an all-time high. Most of it goes to Russia, Czechoslovakia, China, Rumania and Hungary.

The inventory is one that might fill all the available pages of this newspaper, yet for the visitor the most interesting manifestation of Cuban do-it-yourself is the vehicular traffic in the streets of Havana.

A year ago when I was here people were speculating on how long the American-built cars and buses, almost all of them models of the 1950s, could be expected to last.

Today the feeling is that they'll go on forever, gradually being transformed by imported and home-made parts until very little of the originals is left. People talk of their "United Nations" cars, an amalgam of the Detroit model with their vital innards replaced by parts from every corner of the Communist world.

The most popular exhibit that's been held here since the revolution began was a show displaying more than 1,400 automotive components that have been designed and manufactured here to graft on to the American cars as they break down or wear out.

In any yellow-painted taxi, for example, you'll find that brake linings, clutch plates, pistons, headlights, fan belts, batteries and fuel-pumps are Cuban-made adaptations, a program so successful that there is now even talk of making a Cuban national car.

The fact is, of course, that Cubans from the top to the bottom, would like nothing better than a return to even token relations with the United States.

Without it, they know, this island will always suffer the penalties of being ostracized from its geographical buddies, however much help comes in, however inventive they may be.

But meanwhile there's a certain delicious satisfaction in muddling through, Ducky, without you.

... Brooklyn Fight Against Job Bias

(Continued from Page 1)

Kennedy, and New York's Governor Rockefeller and Mayor Wagner demanding that all construction in the city supported by public funds be halted unless at least 25 per cent of the jobs were assigned to Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

"Blood may flow in the streets of Brooklyn," Dr. Taylor warned. "And if it does, the streets will be cleansed. If necessary, we will die like heroes."

The heads of the unions involved proved to be even less sensitive to the situation than the Republican and Democratic party politicians. On Wednesday, July 17, the Building and Construction Trades Council rejected the recommendations of Mayor Wagner's "action panel" on ways to open its member unions to more Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

Peter J. Brennan, president of the 122-union council, representing 250,000 construction workers, asserted that the unions would not accept "dictation by any outside group" on whom they should accept as apprentices and journeymen.

The three man panel had proposed, among other steps, that ministers and teachers, instead of only union members, be accepted as sponsors for applicants, and that the U.S. Department of Labor or a similar agency test the qualifications of journeymen.

The week before, the panel's proposals had been rejected by a committee of civil rights organizations on the grounds that they were not strong enough.

The demonstrations began to catch the imagination of the Negro community, and a rally was held in Brooklyn on July 21 that turned out 4,000 people. The following day there were mass arrests at the Downstate project as 211 were jailed for sitting or kneeling in the path of trucks. It was estimated that close to 1,300 people took part in the demonstration. Cops said they believed the arrests were

the highest since 500 people were jailed in the Harlem riot of August 1, 1943 when five people were killed. For the first time, the demonstrators received some union support as Local 485 of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers sent 60 volunteers to join the picket line.

Brennan commented that the demonstrators were trying to "blackjack" the construction unions, and demagogically called for an investigation of "some of the questionable characters on the picket lines."

To his everlasting shame, John J. O'Rourke, president of the Teamsters Joint Council 16, backed up Brennan by ordering Teamster members to drive their trucks through the picket lines and by denouncing the demonstrators as "bomb throwers" and "frustrated malcontents."

Brennan agreed to set up a screening committee with himself at its head to rule on the qualifications of Negro applicants for apprenticeship programs. He refused to speculate on how many openings would be made available to Negroes as a result of the screening plan, but indicated there would not be very many.

Brennan claimed that except for International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 3, all the locals in the council put together took in only 200 apprentices a year. The council is made up of 122 locals which represent 250,000 workers in construction in the area. Significantly, IBEW Local 3 is also the local which fought for and won the 25-hour week last year. As a result of that victory, the local's allowance of apprentices on the job was doubled from 1,000 to 2,000, and a significant number of Negro youth were hired. So far in the present crisis, none of the union leaders have proposed this obvious road to a solution to the problem — the fight for the shorter work week at no reduction in pay.

One sign that is carried on the

picket line in Brooklyn reads: "Unions, yes! — Exclusive clubs, no!" People begin marching on the line at 7 a.m. every morning behind police barricades by the gates to the construction area. Spirits are high, and an average turnout is about 200. Singing "We Shall Not Be Moved" and chanting "Freedom Now!" and "Brennan Must Go!" they are ready to go to jail to win their demands. One of the ministers at a rally last Wednesday night said, "We will give up three people for every truck that goes in, and three people for every truck that comes out." They are doing it.

They carry placards which read: "Hire Negroes and Puerto Ricans," "End Exploitation by New York City," "What Good Are 'Rights' Without Jobs?" "If Black Men Don't Work, No Man Works," "Good Enough for War — Better Yet for Jobs" and "No jobs, No rent!"

Here is a typical scene on the line: A truck approaches the gate where the main line is concentrated. A young white woman and a little Negro girl of about 11 sit down in the driveway in front of the gate. A mass of cops surround them and lift them bodily and carry them to a patrol wagon. The crowd of demonstrators breaks into a chorus of "Freedom! Freedom! Freedom!"

Before the truck can move, a second pair of demonstrators take up their positions in front of the gate. They too are carried away as the crowd cheers them.

As a third couple sit down in front of the gate, the truck pulls off and turns away to enter the job through another gate.

There has been a call for every unemployed Negro in Brooklyn to come down to support the line. At the rally last Wednesday night Dr. Taylor said, "The people who have had more because others have had less are not going to give it up. It is going to have to be snatched from them!" The audience agreed.

TWO MOSCOW CONFERENCES:

The Test-Ban Pact; The Sino-Soviet Rift

By William F. Warde and Joseph Hansen

Two conferences of immense import to the world, both diplomatically and politically, have just been held in Moscow. One, a meeting of representatives of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, is admitted by both sides to have ended in failure. The other, a gathering of diplomats of the United States, Great Britain and the USSR, is hailed by the participants as a notable success.

What is the real meaning of these two conferences? How should they be assessed from the Marxist point of view? What do their outcomes mean to the working people, particularly in the struggle for a world of enduring peace?

The talks of the Chinese-Soviet representatives were marked by bitter exchanges both before, during and after the conference. Although the failure to bridge the differences stopped short of a formal rupture in relations, the whole world is aware that the rift is irreparable. Two centers, Moscow and Peking, are vying for the allegiance of the workers states and the Communist parties throughout the world.

Behind Rift

The rift involves much more than an ideological dispute between the two ruling Communist parties. Moscow, according to Peking, tore up economic agreements and arbitrarily withdrew thousands of technicians. Trade relations have drastically declined. Now the rupture affects the governmental level.

The consummation of the split between Peking and Moscow coincided with the final steps in reaching a partial ban on testing of nuclear weapons which was signed July 25. As China and the Soviet Union — two workers states — drifted farther apart, the Soviet Union and the imperialist Anglo-Saxon powers moved closer together.

The partial test ban treaty is being hailed in Washington as a "historic achievement," in the words of Kennedy "a shaft of light cut into the darkness" and "a victory for mankind." It covers testing in the atmosphere, outer space and under water. Testing underground, however, is permitted.

How little Washington has actually conceded can be judged by the fact that the treaty is the same Eisenhower offered years ago.

The "most persuasive argument" in favor of the treaty advanced by the Kennedy administration in governmental circles, according to the well-informed Max Frankel of the *New York Times* (July 25), is that it is "primarily symbolic, that it provides only for the kind of moratorium that the President had already proclaimed, that it can be undone if ever the need arises and that in the meantime, as an isolated accord, it may even yield some benefits." In brief, Washington may get something for nothing.

Kennedy was so fearful that the vague sentence banning nuclear test explosions might be misinterpreted as a commitment not to use nuclear weapons in an eventual war that in his nationwide broadcast July 26 he underlined how little the treaty meant in this respect: "Nor does this treaty mean an end to the threat of nuclear war. It will not reduce nuclear stockpiles; it will not halt the production of nuclear weapons; it will not restrict their use in time of war."

A significant clause in the treaty states that "each of the parties . . . undertakes furthermore to refrain from causing, encouraging, or in any way participating in, the carrying out of any nuclear weapon test explosion, or any

other nuclear explosion, anywhere" which could cause radioactive fallout in the atmosphere.

Many commentators consider this to be the main point of the treaty. It is simply a device, as French Foreign Minister Maurice Couve de Murville put it, to "crystallize the differences" between the nuclear haves and have-nots.

Peking has attacked the tripartite agreement. In a typical stinging statement July 22, the Chinese radio accused the United States of seeking to prevent China from becoming a nuclear power.

"United States officials," said the broadcast, "have spoken publicly of the need to profit from the present Chinese-Soviet differences to realize the long-cherished United States dream of preventing China from becoming a power capable of countering nuclear blackmail."

In attempted justification of his policy of leaving Peking in the lurch and shifting closer to Washington, Khrushchev has accused the leaders of the Chinese Communist party of preaching that nuclear war is inevitable. Singling out ill-considered statements made in Peking, the Kremlin gives them an invidious interpretation.

For example, in its July 14 reply to the June 14 letter of the Central Committee of the Communist party of China, the Central Committee of the Communist party of the Soviet Union called attention to the following sentence in an anthology approved by Chinese government officials: "On the ruins of destroyed imperialism, the victorious peoples will create with tremendous speed a civilization a thousand times higher than under the capitalist system, will build their really bright future."

A Falsification

This is presented as the "views of the Chinese leadership about the creation of 'a thousand times higher civilization' on the corpses of hundreds of millions of people."

The Chinese Communist party leaders do not hold such views. They can be correctly accused of underestimating the consequences of nuclear war and of making statements that lend themselves to distortion; but they do not advocate nuclear war and they do not consider it to be inevitable. The main line of difference between Moscow and Peking on the question of how to win enduring peace does not lie here.

The real difference in positions is that Khrushchev maintains that nuclear war can be averted by agreements reached between Moscow and Washington without involving the overthrow of imperialism. The Chinese, on the other hand, maintain that the threat of nuclear war cannot be eliminated so long as imperialism endures.

Peking is quite correct in arguing for this position. Its validity in Marxist theory, and the experience of the past half century has confirmed it to the hilt.

Unfortunately the incautious, reckless, even absurd boasts about being able to build a communist society on the radioactive ruins of capitalism are invaluable gifts to the propaganda machines of both Moscow and the imperialist West. They enable Khrushchev, for instance, to play on the thoroughly justified fears of humanity about the incalculable havoc a nuclear war would bring about. The line of collusion with imperialism at the expense of promotion of the class struggle is much more easily defended when the Chinese position can be misinterpreted as offering no realistic alternative but a world of radioactive ruins.

A further error of the Chinese is their rigid resistance up to now to a ban on nuclear testing. Agreement to a ban on the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere does not necessarily

mean abandoning the hope or ambition of becoming a nuclear power. In the case of France, for instance, there have been rather broad hints in the press in the past week that the scientific knowledge to be won through conducting tests could be furnished by the nuclear powers, thus eliminating the need for tests.

The Chinese would be in a much stronger position if they recognized the feelings of all humanity about radioactive contamination of the atmosphere. They could offer to join in banning tests that cause fallout if the nuclear powers would reciprocate by making public the scientific knowledge gained in previous testing.

These faults in the Chinese position, however, do not invalidate the correctness of Peking's recognition that the partial test ban treaty is directed principally against China. As they have noted, the chief aim of American imperialism in this sphere is to exclude China from the "nuclear club."

The Chinese are right in viewing Moscow's participation in this imperialist game as a betrayal of socialist principles and of international working-class solidarity.

One of the causes of the rift between China and the Soviet Union is undoubtedly the Kremlin's policy of not helping the Chinese people to acquire nuclear devices and of working to maintain a Moscow-Washington monopoly of nuclear striking power. From the viewpoint of the socialist interests of the Chinese people, Khrushchev's alignment with the State Department and the Pentagon in denying information and aid to China in constructing nuclear devices is a grosser act of betrayal than Soviet alignment with Nehru in the Chinese-Indian border dispute.

Why has Khrushchev pursued a course so inimical to the long-range interests of the Soviet Union itself? He appears to have three considerations in mind:

(1) He is worried about the threat of Western Germany becoming a nuclear power either through direct assistance from the Pentagon or through collaboration with Gen. de Gaulle. It appears of more immediate importance to Khrushchev to block Adenauer and his successors in their efforts to win a membership card in the nuclear club than to maintain solidarity with revolutionary China.

Cynical View

(2) The Soviet military leaders have no immediate need for any further testing of nuclear weapons. They have just completed an extensive series of tests the results of which must now be digested. Consequently, in the same cynical fashion as the Pentagon, they can assume the virtuous air of "Ban the Test" advocates without giving up anything. Hence a moratorium on tests that contaminate the atmosphere, which is all that has actually been agreed upon, can be utilized for the Kremlin's passing diplomatic needs.

(3) On the chessboard of world diplomacy, Khrushchev views the partial test ban treaty as a gambit worth making in hope of opening up a broad possibility — an overall understanding with American imperialism.

Any such understanding, whatever its final outcome, would signify a relaxation of cold war tensions. This would be of considerable value to Khrushchev as "proof" of the realistic nature of his policy of rejecting the class struggle and favoring "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. A détente would strengthen Khrushchev's political standing as a Soviet leader and open up the possibility of a relative lowering of the military budget and a consequent granting of new concessions to the demands of the Soviet

Castro Steers Own Course

The *New York Times*, the most authoritative voice of American imperialism, observed Cuba's national holiday July 26 with a slap at Castro that was in its way a fine compliment. The head of the small Caribbean nation, said the *Times*, "has proved to be the most formidable foreign enemy our country has faced in this hemisphere since our own Revolution."

The *Times*, of course, has a few things mixed up. In 1776 the American patriots were revolutionists like Castro and his followers today. And the "foreign enemy," Great Britain, was a counterrevolutionary imperialist power such as the U.S. has become. It would have been more accurate to say that not since our own Revolution has this hemisphere seen such a formidable opponent of imperialism as Castro.

On the same day that this extraordinary tribute appeared in the *Times*, Castro spoke in Havana. What he said showed again why American imperialism considers him to be so redoubtable. He held up revolutionary Cuba once more as an example for all of Latin America.

"What has happened in Cuba could happen exactly the same way in many Latin-American countries . . . A million workers and peasants look to Cuba for hope and encouragement." Ideas, he said, cannot be stopped.

Castro denied that Cuba is seeking to "export" its revolution. Revolutions in other Latin-American countries must be led by revolutionists of those lands. He noted that in Venezuela "when patriots needed money and arms they took them away from the soldiers and imperialists."

Castro stressed in particular that Argentina, Peru, Colombia and Guatemala are ripe for revolution.

The independent revolutionary position indicated by Castro's speech was especially significant in view of his recent trip to the Soviet Union where heavy pressure was placed on him to take Moscow's side in the dispute with Peking.

Instead of making a deep factional commitment, as Khrushchev would like, the Cubans, it is clear, are doing their best to maintain their own independent course and to keep up their revolutionary zeal. In Algiers last week, Che Guevara said in an interview that the Chinese-Soviet rift "brings nothing good to the revolutionary movement, but we shall not say who is right in this conflict because we are small."

He added, "We cannot attempt to be arbitrator, judge or to play any other part of this kind."

masses for more and better consumers goods.

To Khrushchev, the over-all price that must be paid — serving as a helper of imperialism in slowing down the rise of revolutionary China — does not seem excessive. In fact, from a narrow factional point of view, Khrushchev no doubt sees the move as strengthening his position in face of Peking's challenge to his leadership.

It requires little probing to discover the reasons for Kennedy's agreement to the partial test ban treaty. The Pentagon has no need at the moment for further tests; thus the State Department is free to wring whatever advantage is to be gained from agreeing to a moratorium. It is to the advantage of U.S. militarism to bar other countries from developing nuclear weapons of their own, above all China which looms potentially as the world's greatest power. Finally, a moratorium on nuclear tests, which appears to make a concession to Khrushchev although it is only a formula presented by Eisenhower and previously rejected by Moscow, offers a splendid opening for exploring the rift between China and the Soviet Union.

Kennedy feels himself to be in such a strong position that he even increased the pressure on Cuba by freezing her dollar accounts while Harriman was negotiating in Moscow for a "relaxation of tensions."

As the victim and aggrieved party, Peking is fully justified in exposing the conspiracy against the interests of the Chinese people and in protesting in the most vigorous terms. The conspiracy between imperialist Washington and the bureaucratic caste in Moscow to bar China's road to possession of nuclear weapons is an extension of the State Department's aim from the beginning to isolate revolutionary China as a pariah among nations.

China's cause, however, will not lack sympathy among the oppressed nations. These feel that China will handle the nuclear devices it will eventually construct more responsibly than has the White House which launched the nuclear age by incinerating Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The partial test ban treaty coupled with the bitter argument between Moscow and Peking over how to win enduring peace have sharply posed for all of humanity

the key problem of our times. After finding the way to tap nuclear energy, how can mankind avoid nuclear destruction and turn the greatest discovery since the making of fire into a means of building a paradise on earth?

Kennedy, of course, offers no program for converting nuclear energy into a great natural resource available to all human beings. He does contend, however, that his administration has peaceful intentions.

The proofs he offers of this are somewhat suspect: the biggest peacetime military budget in history, the intensification of war in the jungles of southeast Asia and a military crisis over Cuba last fall that left it up to Khrushchev whether the world's two mightiest powers would deliver tens of thousands of nuclear weapons to each other's cities.

The record shows clearly enough that neither the Republican nor Democratic political custodians of America's monopolistic profiteers will hesitate in a moment of desperation at pressing the fatal button that will bring modern civilization down in smoking ruins. To trust them is one way of inviting suicide.

Khrushchev, in the struggle for peace, relies exclusively on diplomatic agreements with Kennedy. This, in the final analysis, means accepting Kennedy's peaceful pretensions. It is true that Khrushchev has of late made references to the need for class struggle as the only ultimate way to win enduring peace. Such references, however, appear to be mainly a verbal adjustment to Peking's pressure. Nowhere is there any evidence that these propagandistic concessions have been put into practice.

Since Stalin usurped power in 1924, the Kremlin has always shown its readiness to suspend or curb the class struggle against imperialism or its allies for the sake of a diplomatic combination. The latest horrible example is Iraq where a most promising situation was ruined because the Communist party, in line with Moscow's preferences, followed a line of "peaceful coexistence" with the national bourgeoisie only to end up as victims of a military coup and a savage blood purge.

The Chinese in their statements on the problem of peace correctly stress how wrong and even treacherous it is to curb the

(Continued on Page 6)

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Monday, August 5, 1963

Rail Labor vs. the Profit-Gougers

The current rail labor dispute has served to highlight the most burning problem confronting all sections of the American working class, organized and unorganized, white collar and blue, young and old, white and colored. The problem can be summed up in a single phrase — technological (structural) unemployment!

The inexorable advance of automation and mechanization in the postwar period has thrown millions of workers onto the industrial scrapheap. In addition, each year some three-million young workers enter a shrinking labor market, to swell the ranks of the unemployed. Unemployment among the youth is much higher than the national average and is highest among Negro and other minority workers. And the end is not yet!

In a statement entitled: "Profile on Unemployment," made before the House Education and Labor Committee on June 11, Ewan Clague, U.S. Labor Department Commissioner of Labor Statistics, put his finger on the crux of the problem.

"The rate of unemployment for adult men," he pointed out, "has almost returned to what it was before the 1960 recession. The rate for teenagers, on the other hand, is even higher than during the recession years of 1958 and 1961. Largely because of this, the overall rate (5.9 per cent in May 1963) has not returned to the pre-recession levels prevailing during the spring of 1960. And this marks the third successive increase in so-called 'prosperity' unemployment during the postwar period. That is to say," he concluded, "since 1953 there have been three definite cycles of business activity and in each case the economy emerged from a recession with a higher rate of unemployment during the recovery-expansion phases than during the pre-recession period."

Employment on the railroads in the postwar period has been cut in half, from 1,400,000 to 700,000. In his July 22 special message to Congress on the railroad work-rules dispute, president Kennedy asserted that: "This problem is particularly but not exclusively acute in the railroad industry. Forty percent fewer employees than were employed at the beginning of this decade now handle substantially the same volume of rail traffic."

The same phenomenon is true, with varying degrees, throughout the whole of American industry, agriculture and commerce. Fewer and fewer workers are producing an ever greater quantity of goods and services as labor productivity continues to soar. The end result of "prosperity unemployment" is greater profits for the few with increasing misery for the many.

For years the rail workers have been the prime target in a vitriolic campaign against union "featherbedding." This campaign is intended to sweep aside the last serious obstacle in the drive of Washington and Wall Street to establish the hegemony of U.S. capitalism over its rival competitors through further increasing labor productivity at the expense of the American workers through the untrammelled extension of the process of displacing men by machines.

In the course of their struggle to avoid becoming victims of "prosperity unemployment" the American workers are beginning to learn that the capitalist government serves as an instrument of the profit-gouging employers. Under pressure from the ranks the conservative rail union leaders have opposed compulsory arbitration by Kennedy's stacked tri-partite boards and commissions.

Interviewing "rank and file union members" in New York, a reporter for the *New York Times*, July 23, reports that "they said the President was engaging in 'politics,' was 'playing footsie with the bosses,' and was 'giving us a kick in the pants.'"

"Of 29 workers who expressed an opinion," he adds, "27 were against the legislation that Mr. Kennedy suggested."

Kennedy's labor policy has been a mixture of deception and threats. In pending labor disputes government intervention has been quick and persistent — where the unions involved were in a strong position. Where the employers appear to hold an advantage Kennedy's "mediators" have played their role in low key. When confronted with "recalcitrant" unions, as in the rail labor dispute, the threat of congressional action has invariably been suspended over the heads of the union negotiators.

What a sad commentary on the political policy of the union heads. The Kennedy congress, elected with the aid and support of the labor officialdom, is brandished as a deadly threat to beat down union resistance to capitulation to government proposals drawn in the interests of the employers. Yet the senile union bureaucrats continue to cling tenaciously to Kennedy's coat tails while he busies himself "playing footsie with the bosses."

If the rail union heads were serious about their opposition to the Kennedy plan to have Congress scuttle their working rules they would join in urging all their members and supporters to join the August 28 Freedom March on Washington — one day before the expiration of the 30 day rail truce on Aug. 29 — to let Congress know that the welfare of their members takes precedence over the profits of the railroad tycoons.

Castro Gives Views on Latin America

The Masses Will Bury Imperialism

An interview granted by Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro to the Mexican journalist Victor Rico Galán and published in the popular Mexican magazine *Siempre* last month indicates that regardless of any diplomatic commitments, Cuba continues to firmly advocate a revolutionary solution for Latin America.

The interview, granted shortly after Castro reported to the Cuban people over radio and TV on his recent trip to the Soviet Union, was published by *Siempre* early in July and the publication was reported in the July 9 issue of the Havana newspaper *Revolución*, along with the full text of the interview. *Revolución* gave the story the lead with the headlines: "Socialist Aid to All Latin American People in Revolution. Nothing, but Nothing Will Be Able to Stop the Crisis in Latin America From Resulting in a New Social Revolution."

According to Galán, Castro himself "set the items covered."

In the first part of the interview Castro warmly praised the economic relations between the Soviet Union and Cuba, saying that Cuba got fair prices for its sugar and that when the world market price rose, the Soviet Union on its own initiative raised the price paid to Cuba for sugar previously contracted. He said such fairness had never characterized U.S.-Cuban trade relations.

Alliance a Failure

He declared that the economic situation of Latin-American countries whose economies are under U.S. or Western European control is going to get worse as a result of the creation of economic blocks in Europe and trade restrictions in the U.S., and that the Alliance for Progress is a complete failure.

Castro also said his conversations with Soviet leaders involved "theoretical and practical" discussions on the imbalance existing between the industrialized and the underdeveloped countries and on the role of the various countries in the international division of labor.

The latter part of the interview, which is of particular interest, included the following questions and answers:

Q. "Do you believe, Major, that if the revolution is carried out in another country of Latin America, that country would — like Cuba — have the support of the socialist community?"

A. "Of that I have not the slightest doubt. The peoples who decide to free themselves from the imperialist yoke anywhere in the world, will have the same as we — the determined help of the

Castro Plans Algeria Visit

The Cuban government announced July 24 that Premier Fidel Castro will visit Algeria this year in response to an invitation by Algerian Premier Ahmed Ben Bella, according to a UPI dispatch from Havana.

Meanwhile a July 24 AP dispatch from Tokyo reported that Cuba and the People's Republic of China had signed a cultural cooperation agreement for 1963. Troupes, students, exhibitions, publications, films, phonograph records and reference material will be exchanged.

entire socialist community and, among the countries of the socialist community, the unlimited solidarity of the economic and political power of the Soviet Union. Cuba has been a shining example of this.

"This can be doubted only by the fiercest reactionaries or by those who, calling themselves revolutionaries, lack faith in the ability of our peoples to struggle and free themselves from imperialist oppression by whatever roads the circumstances indicate to them — of this also, Cuba has been a shining example.

"In the Cuban-Soviet joint statement, it is said:

"The United Party of the Socialist Revolution and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union apply the policy of full support to the anti-imperialist national movement of liberation of the peoples struggling for the total and definite elimination of colonialism and neocolonialism in all its forms. Consequently, they hold the positions of proletarian internationalism. Thus they demonstrate fraternal solidarity with all countries and peoples who struggle against oppression and exploitation. They see it as their international duty to support everything new, advanced, progressive that occurs in the world. Considering the export of revolution contrary to Marxism-Leninism, the communists at the same time are resolutely against any exporting of counter-revolutions and they will give every kind of help to the peoples who defend their freedom and independence."

Q. "Doctor Castro — the joint statement also says that 'The declarations of Havana have great historical significance for the na-

tional liberation struggle of the Latin American peoples, and correctly point to the course of events.' Does this mean that both, and particularly the second, are in full force?"

A. "Not only does it mean that they have full force, but that the joint statement strengthens the revolutionary proposals contained in the first and second declarations of Havana and raises the prestige of both documents in the Latin American revolutionary movement. But just as much as this moral support of the International Communist Movement, it is the facts that everybody can see, that reaffirm the full force of the principles contained in the second declaration of Havana. The Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the revolutionary development of Latin America contained in this important statement of principles, is being confirmed more and more every day, by history.

"The profound revolutionary crisis taking place in Latin America can be seen by everybody, including by our imperialist enemies who are trying to cure the social cancer suffered by Latin America with the ludicrous ointment of the Alliance for Progress. This crisis is insurmountable. Nothing or no one will be able to stop its change into authentic social revolutions by the roads that the concrete conditions of each country determine. Its greater or smaller impulse will depend on the audacity, correct vision and decision to struggle of the revolutionary forces.

Laws of History

"The imperialists want to blame us for this revolutionary climate. But at all events, history should be blamed and the laws that make history; the struggle of the exploited classes against the exploiters; the ruthless exploitation by the oligarchy and the imperialists which creates the masses of hungry workers and peasants, who in their just aspiration to a better life which is within their hands, will be in charge of burying the imperialist rule in Latin America. Cuba is not to blame for this.

"The duty of the parties and of the revolutionary leaders is to place themselves at the head of these masses and lead them to victory, now that the new historic conditions favor more than ever before the struggle of the oppressed."

Q. "Do you believe that there is danger of a third World War?"

A. "The danger of war can never be discarded as long as imperialism exists. But I consider that this danger diminishes day by day, in the measure that the correlation of forces changes, and because the Soviet Union follows a policy consequential to peace. And the military might with which it supports this policy is so great, that the imperialists know that if they should attack the socialist camp, they would disappear from the face of the earth."

... 3 Young Socialists Re-Indicted

(Continued from Page 1)

use this "evidence." "We think we have a novel way to successfully prosecute a communist case, and our intent is to prove knowledge and intent on the part of the defendants that this is a part of the total International Communist conspiracy to control the world."

He said he would try to prove the March 25 and May 2 meetings part of the "communist plan of world domination."

Hoadley made a further comment which suggests why the students were re-indicted. The obvious witch-hunt nature of the prosecution had led many to believe the case would be dropped. "It's like having a tiger by the tail," Hoadley told the press, "you can't let go no matter how much it hurts."

The "aspiring young prosecutor" has staked his political career on this case and clearly intends to push it all the way. In the new indictments he has tried to polish

his witch-hunting style to look more respectable.

The July 18 indictments mark a harsh, new phase in the case. The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students is redoubling its efforts to win support for the embattled students. CABS is urging all persons concerned with academic freedom and civil liberties to lend their names in support of the defendants and to aid in publicizing and financing the defense. Send your name, address and contribution to CABS; Paulann Groninger, Secretary; P.O. Box 7797, Chicago, Illinois, 60680.

"The times of that superstition which attributed revolutions to the ill will of a few agitators have long passed away. Everyone knows nowadays that wherever there is a revolutionary convulsion, there must be some social want in the background, which is prevented, by outworn institutions, from satisfying itself." — Friedrich Engels (1820-1895)

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The Attractive Power of Black Nationalism

How Northern Negro Slum Dwellers View 'Integration' and 'Separatism'

By Robert Vernon

The Negro struggle to break free from the bonds of the inferior-caste system in which Negroes are enmeshed a century following "emancipation" takes on two general forms. One of them, described by the term "integration," involves efforts to gain rights, status, or acceptance in the social, economic, and political fabric of the country, if possible without otherwise disturbing the existing society. The alternate form, the extreme of which is known as "nationalism," aims at the building of an independent power base and power machine controlled by Negroes, will not necessarily be contained within the existing society, and articulates an explicit urge to break free from this society altogether.

Integrative efforts predominate in the South, where the struggle focuses on the need to smash the humiliating and oppressive Jim Crow barriers, legal and extra-legal, to jobs, the use of facilities, public conveyances, the voting booth, lunch counters, etc. These efforts aim at eradicating the inferior-status duplication of insulting "separate-but-equal" schools, waiting rooms, toilets, water fountains, bus seats, and the like. The stated goal of the integration-oriented struggles is to arrive at the state of affairs which Negroes "enjoy" in the North.

In the Northern cities, with their sprawling, overcrowded sordid slums, integration of a few more jobs and schools seems relatively meaningless to many slum dwellers. The very nature of the society itself is in question. In March 1962, *Fortune* magazine shuddered: "... impatience is turning into bitterness. The danger is not violence but something much deeper and harder to combat... Negroes of whatever class may come to regard their separation from American society as permanent, and so consider themselves permanently outside the constraints and the allegiances of American society. The Negro district of every large city would come to constitute an American Casbah."

Breakdown of Faith

This complete breakdown of faith or even interest in the prospects of "equality" in a diseased and rotting capitalist society reflects the fact that the "American Way of Life" has nothing worthwhile or wholesome to offer the Negro masses. This rejection of white America is one of the major factors in the rising tide of nationalist and separatist sentiment in the black "Casbahs" of the integrated Northern cities, and one of the major driving forces behind the expansion of the Black Muslims, a separatist mass movement which is "outside the constraints" of white American society if anything is.

On June 19, 1963, Negro integrationist leaders Rev. Martin Luther King, Roy Wilkins (NAACP), James Farmer (CORE), Whitney Young (Urban

League) and others met at New York's Carlyle Hotel, according to the July 1 *National Observer*, at a "secret breakfast" with white financiers. This breakfast, "secret" to the Negro masses, was the "handiwork of Stephen Currier, a young obscure New York multimillionaire." Others present were less obscure: representatives of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, Frederick Warburg of the Kuhn, Loeb and Co. investment banking firm (30 Wall Street), and other well-heeled "friends" of the Negro people. A cool sum of \$850,000 was pledged for the "central function of shoring up the Negro leadership." "What could happen in the future" is the question that "troubles Negro leaders... Mr. King himself is apprehensive about the future course of the movement... Revolutions have a habit of devouring their own children."

Now "Alliance"

Clearly, this \$850,000 "alliance for progress" was launched by the assembled philanthropists to help the conservative Negro leadership keep the turbulent civil rights movement North and South well within the "constraints" of the American Way, and to hold the line against "extremist" integrationists who threaten to break out of the "constraints," as well as against the black nationalists who have long since repudiated white America in toto.

Considering the situation, the paltry sum of \$850,000 to buy off the Negro people is ridiculously stingy. After tens of millions of black people were kidnapped from Africa in chains, the survivors in the U.S. brutally worked in chat-



A PROTEST. Selma Sparks places wreath on doorstep of U.S. Mission to UN in memory of Negro soldiers who died for a government that doesn't protect them. Demonstration was organized by the Harlem Anti-Colonial Committee, one of the organizations expressing the new stage of consciousness and militancy of Negro rights fighters.

tel slavery for two hundred years, the descendants of those slaves humiliated, lynched, and exploited

in another century after the Civil War, these opulent and overgenerous "friends" now propose to buy off the Negro struggle at LESS THAN A NICKEL PER NEGRO!

They are out of their minds.

If they were to double the figure, or even multiply it by ten, they would still be out of their minds. Freedom from the "constraints" is not for sale. It can't be bought. It can't be sold. It can't be given in charity. It has to be fought for and won in struggle, and struggle is one thing Negroes all over are ready and eager for.

Of course, this stingy handout is not intended for the Negro people in the first place, but rather for the coffers of respectable and conservative organizations which, by being sufficiently well financed to remain at the leadership of the Negro revolt, are to keep the apoplecary from being upset.

React With Hysteria

The White Power Structure (or ruling class, as socialists call it) and the conservative layer of Negroes beholden to it react with revulsion, fright, and hysteria to the Negro struggle to the degree that it begins to or threatens to break loose from the constraints. Likewise, many white liberals start to re-evaluate their "friendship" for Negroes when the Negro revolt oversteps certain bounds, or carves out channels outside the framework of the American Way. The hostility and vituperation visited upon the Black Muslims is an expression of this hysteria.

In the July 13 *New York Amsterdam News*, former baseball

star Jackie Robinson offers this insinuation: "It seems to be very odd that the power structure in journalism, television, and radio keeps promoting the Muslims... Could it be that the Muslims are receiving important aid and sponsorship from outside the race? Could it be that individuals or groups, which believe in segregation find the Muslim version of segregation-separation useful to their cause? Where do the Muslims get their money? Who finances them?"

Robinson does not ask why the Black Muslims, for instance, were NOT invited to that "secret breakfast" with part of the white power structure, nor does he comment on the motives of this \$850,000 worth of "aid and sponsorship from outside the race." He simply casts groundless suspicion on the Muslims — whom he is incapable of understanding being out of touch as he is with the Negro masses in the ghettos.

Why do reactionary whites, liberal whites, conservative Negro leaders and even some sectors of the radical movement join in baiting and smearing the Muslims? Essentially because the nationalism which the Muslims articulate so effectively has a profoundly revolutionary and anti-capitalist content. This revolutionary content will give enormous impetus to the struggle for Negro equality and, in the process, make a giant contribution toward the abolition of capitalism and the building of socialism in the U.S. For both reasons, the rise of Black nationalism should be welcomed by all genuine socialists.

(First of a Series)

Communist Party Head Smears Black Muslims

By Fred Halstead

Anyone in this country or abroad who seriously believes that the Communist Party of the United States is a revolutionary organization should read the policy statement on the Negro struggle in the July 7 issue of *The Worker* — voice of the Communist Party.

At the very moment when the struggle is moving in a revolutionary direction and threatens to upset the white power structure carefully nurtured by president Kennedy, *The Worker* strains to dress up the Kennedy image; sides with the more conservative civil rights leaders against the more radical; and launches a campaign of violent slander against the Black Muslims, against Robert Williams, the exiled advocate of Afro-American self-defense and against *The Liberator*, a magazine sympathetic to black nationalist moods.

This is what the article — written by James Jackson, editor of *The Worker* and a leading spokesman for the Communist Party — says about Kennedy's role:

Kennedy "Committed"?

"The President has committed himself and his administration to securing new legislation and invoking administrative measures to bring about the equality of status and opportunity which American Negroes demand. 'No president has ever done this before' noted Walter Lippmann, the columnist.

"This new commitment marks a reversal of form on the part of the President and reveals that he has properly judged the 'temper of the rebellion that has been set aflame' by the mass rising of a people who have unanimously resolved to have their rights NOW."

In the first place it is ridiculous to expect a rich white man raised in the United States — and an arrogant imperialist at that — to "properly judge" the deep well of resentment and pent up demands

this revolutionary movement has begun to tap in the black masses. The measures in Kennedy's civil rights bills represent a concession but cannot even begin to satisfy those demands.

Insofar as Kennedy has understood the movement and taken measures to deal with it, he fears it and his measures are designed to get the movement "out of the streets" and under control of leaders he hopes will be able to contain it before it begins to shatter his administration, his party, and his power structure.

In this attempt, *The Worker* takes Kennedy's side, and launches a campaign of divisive slander against elements in the movement which have opposed the Kennedy administration from the left.

On the Black Muslims, Jackson's July 7 article says: "The Muslim organization in general and Malcolm X in particular, are ultra-reactionary forces operating in the orbit of the Negro people's movement with the strategic assignment to sow ideological confusion, to dissipate the organization energies of the Negro masses, to promote divisionism within the Negro movement, and to alienate the Negro movement from fraternal ties with and support of comparably deprived or democratically inclined white masses."

The Worker further says: "The Muslims represent the single most reactionary and counter-revolutionary force among the organizations in Negro life today." Jackson directly accuses Malcolm X of being "an agent of their [the Negroes] enemies and consequently an opponent of their progress."

On Williams, the leader of the NAACP branch in Monroe, N.C. who was framed up by racist police and forced into exile in Cuba, *The Worker* says: "There are certain other personalities who, in their egotism and ignorance, persist in counterposing their con-

ceited schemes to the primary requirements of the Negro masses... Whatever the merits of their contribution in the past, the role they play in the present situation only brings grist to the mills of the segregationists.

"Such a personality is Robert F. Williams, whose utterly irresponsible attacks upon the personalities of Negro leaders and their allies in the thick of battles here which appear in his broadcasts from Cuba and in his newsletters — *The Crusader*, must be roundly denounced."

Not even the so-called liberals in the civil rights movement — including the leaders who Williams and the Muslims criticize — would make such attacks on the radical wing of the Negro struggle today, nor would they be so unstinting in their praise of Kennedy. The Communist Party now finds itself to the right of the liberals, mouthing Attorney General Robert Kennedy's slanders of

the radical wing of the movement.

The Worker accuses the Muslims of advocating a "mystique of Black racial superiority" which the paper says is as poisonous as white supremacy. This is also a slander. The white racists advocate and carry out exploitation of Negroes by whites. They do this under both segregated and integrated situations. The Muslims, and other black separatists, ask to be left alone, to have a separate base of power, to be equal, not to exploit anyone. And, on the basis of the record, if some of them think Negroes are superior to whites, is that so incredible?

If large numbers of Negroes in the United States have given up hope in any real help from the white working class, it isn't because of Muslim propaganda, but for two other basic reasons: One, the record of the labor movement under the "labor statesmen" who have sold out a revolutionary birth right for a bowl of job-trust porridge. And two, the long record of betrayal of the Communist Party which once had a large following of Negroes but which subordinated the Negro struggle to its foreign policy considerations. A glaring example of this was during World War II when the CP said the Negro struggle had to be subordinated to the war effort on the terms of the white power structure — Jim Crow army and all.

The Communist Party is once again displaying that its concern is not for the Negro, but for its own illusory hope of achieving an alliance with the "liberal" white power structure, and particularly with the Democratic Party.

"The only worthwhile achievements of man are those which are socially useful." — Alfred Adler (1870-1937), Father of individual psychology.



Malcolm X

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Key Points at Socialist Workers Convention:

Civil Rights, Socialist Unity

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK — The recent reunification of the Fourth International and the great upsurge of the Negro people in this country occupied the major attention of the four-day Twentieth National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party held here early in July.

Delegates, members and visitors numbered some three hundred. The predominance of young people reflected the attraction of the SWP for the new generation of revolutionaries.

The number of Negro delegates was the largest since shortly after World War II. They played a leading role in discussing the Negro struggle. Among the visitors observing the convention were interested Negroes from several cities.

The crowded convention agenda included reports and resolutions on the world Trotskyist movement, the new stage in the Negro struggle, the Sino-Soviet dispute and the nature of the workers state in China, and the domestic political situation.

A resolution was adopted greeting with deep satisfaction and fraternal approval the reunification of the Fourth International, which took place in June at a congress in Italy. (See text, this page.) The Socialist Workers Party, prevented by the reactionary Voorhis law from affiliating with any international organization, nevertheless maintains close fraternal interest in the life of the Fourth International. Fraternal greetings from the United Secretariat of the Fourth International were read to the convention.

The report on the world Trotskyist movement, presented by Joseph Hansen, described reunification as a major achievement and a most encouraging victory for revolutionary socialism, coming at a time when the prospects for growth of the enlarged Trotskyist forces are the best in years.

James P. Cannon, the party's national chairman, gave the convention a vivid participant's account of the long years of persistent work that have gone into the building of an effective international movement.

The report by Hansen noted that two tendencies in the world Trotskyist movement oppose reunification, despite its obvious advantages. These are the Posadas tendency in Latin America and the Healy tendency in Great Britain. Both tendencies were fraternally urged to reconsider and bring their forces into the International, where differences are permitted in the tradition of democratic centralism, but the invitation was rejected.

Two minority groupings at the SWP convention opposed the reunification. One grouping was led by Tim Wohlforth and A. Phillips; the other by James Robertson and Shane Mage.

They charged that the forces favoring reunification, including the leadership of the SWP, were in the process of abandoning Marxism. The majority rejected this view. Only three delegates upheld the minority position.

The discussion on the Negro question centered on the evaluation of nationalist currents in the Negro movement. The report by George Breitman and the resolution observed that the new stage was marked by the organization of the masses of the Negro people under independent all-Black leadership. This was considered to be a highly progressive development.

A minority view on this question presented by Richard Kirk held that the present struggle, North and South, is decisively integrationist in character and that many of the currents termed "nationalist" tend to divert the struggle from the revolutionary road. Six delegates voted for this viewpoint.

The lengthy discussion of the Negro struggle was highlighted by contributions by the Negro delegates, who clearly expressed the radical significance of the new nationalist stage of the movement. It was agreed that suggestions on the way socialists should support the struggle and observations on its developing course would be incorporated into the final resolution. With this understanding the majority resolution was adopted.

The report by William F. Warde and the resolution on the Chinese question and on the Sino-Soviet dispute underlined the enormous accomplishments of the Chinese revolution and held that, as against Moscow, Peking's present stand on international issues was generally more progressive and should be supported on that basis by revolutionists everywhere.

At the same time the resolution explained that the lack of workers' democracy within China and the Chinese attacks on de-Stalinization in the Soviet bloc were harmful to the interests of the Chinese workers and peasants and also hampered the efforts to win support for Peking's more militant international policies.

A minority led by Arne Swaback argued that the Chinese Communist Party, under Mao Tse-tung, had broken with Stalinism well before coming to power, that there were no serious bureaucratic deformations in the Chinese state, and that instead of looking toward the ultimate replacement of the



Rose Karsner, pioneer American Communist and one of the founders of the Socialist Workers Party, addressed the closing session of the SWP convention. She commented:

"In the more than 50 years that I've been active in the socialist movement I've attended many conventions . . . I'm not going to say this is the best convention I've ever attended but I will say it's the most fruitful, educational and inspiring."

"For this we owe a big debt to the Negro comrades here and to the youth. I've been in this party from the beginning and used to think I knew everyone in it. What a wonderful feeling it was at this convention to listen to delegates and have to ask, 'Who is that?' It's the best sign that we're growing."

Mao regime by one democratically controlled by the Chinese masses, Trotskyists should give critical political support to his regime. The majority viewpoint was adopted with seven delegates voting for the minority resolution.

The report and resolution on the domestic political situation looked forward to the 1964 elections as an excellent opportunity for broadcasting the socialist message to the American people.

The convention brought to a close a long, thorough, inner-party discussion of the disputed issues. The discussion was marked by strict observance of the party's firmly established democratic procedures, with all minority positions given full opportunity of expression. There were regular discussions and debates in party branches. Discussion bulletins, open to any and all viewpoints held by party members, were published in a record number.

The gathering clearly registered the belief of the great majority that all conflicting views had been fully aired in a democratic manner and that the convention decisions cleared the way for the membership as a whole to concentrate on heightened party-building activity.

completely parallels Khrushchev's policy in India.

Yet a socialist victory in Indonesia could alter the entire relation of forces in southeast Asia to the advantage of all the workers states, especially China, and even start a chain reaction that would sweep through India.

The continued development of the colonial revolution is of immense importance in the struggle for a world of enduring peace, since it frees more and more territory, natural resources, wealth and labor power from capitalist exploitation, thereby progressively weakening imperialism in relation to the workers states.

The colonial revolution alone, however, cannot prove decisive in depriving imperialism of its nuclear war-making capacity. Only the social forces located in the main capitalist centers, above all the United States, can do that.

This means that the threat of nuclear war can finally be dispelled or removed only by the

political victory of a socialist-minded working class over the rulers in the capitalist strongholds. The American workers face a great historic responsibility.

Every partial step toward the disarmament of capitalism is in the interests of the working class, including even such a narrow, limited measure as the partial test ban treaty. But it would be catastrophic to entertain any illusions about the extent or effectiveness of such steps in slowing down or halting the arms race. The disarming of imperialism can be accomplished only by removing the capitalist class from the seats of power.

The victory of socialism is no longer merely a means to a better and more abundant way of life. It represents the only realistic perspective for saving humanity from nuclear annihilation. The economic and social crisis facing mankind has become reduced to the alternative: either a world of socialism or a world of radioactive ashes.

Reunification of 4th Int'l Hailed by SWP Gathering

[The following is the text of the resolution adopted by the Socialist Workers Party on the reunification of the Fourth International.]

The Twentieth Convention of the Socialist Workers Party greets with deep satisfaction the reunification of the major forces of the Fourth International which was achieved at the Reunification Congress held in Italy in June. We approve the intensive efforts made by the great majority of both sides during the preceding year and a half to heal the old wounds, and to reduce still further the remaining differences, all of which are of subordinate importance to the overriding fact of principled reunification of the forces of Trotskyism on a world scale. This work, which was made possible by the fact that the great majority of the world Trotskyist movement have actually held common political views on all major questions for some time, is evidence of the solidarity and goodwill that now prevails among the ranks of the two sides.

The Convention of the Socialist Workers Party is especially appreciative of the fact that the basic document, which received unanimous approval both at the conference of the majority of the sectors adhering to the International Committee and at the World Congress called by the International Executive Committee, was the statement issued by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party, "For Early Reunification of the World Trotskyist Movement." The unanimous adoption of this document, which reaffirms the programmatic foundations of world Trotskyism, is proof of the thoroughly principled character of the unification and a most favorable augury for its durability.

Turning Point

The Convention of the Socialist Workers Party is of the opinion that the ending of the ten-year-old split in the Fourth International constitutes a qualitative turning point in the development of the world Trotskyist movement. Its effects will very quickly be registered in terms of increased prestige and growth as the organization, strengthened and heartened by the unification, moves more intensively into the great openings for revolutionary socialism provided through the rise in the colonial revolution, the processes of de-Stalinization in the Soviet bloc, the shattering of the monolith of Stalinism on a world scale, and the beginnings of renewed militancy among the masses in key imperialist countries.

The Reunification Congress succeeded in closing the major breach that existed among the Trotskyists on a world scale. However, a relatively small minority sought to maintain the split. An ultra-left tendency in Latin America headed by J. Posadas has developed political positions and organizational methods so deviant from the rest of the movement that they refused even to respond to an invitation to send observers to the Reunification Congress and the preceding gatherings. Another ultra-left grouping, centered in Great Britain and headed by Gerry Healy, at first accepted an invitation to send observers then decided at the last moment, without any explanation, to boycott the gatherings.

It is with regret that the Convention of the Socialist Workers Party takes note of the hostile attitudes toward unification of the world Trotskyist movement which have been displayed by Posadas and Healy. To seek to artificially maintain and, if possible, deepen the division, without political justification for such a course, runs counter to the interests of

the world Trotskyist movement. This expression of blind factionalism can only lead to the development of further political differences alien to Trotskyism. We hope that the comrades who adhere to these two tendencies will study the documents adopted by the Reunification Congress and judge them on their merits.

Many radicals and independent socialists throughout the world have long shown friendly interest in the Fourth International and its development. Some who have been attracted by its ideological achievements have deferred joining its ranks because of uncertainty over the reasons for the split and the existence of two rival centers. We have every reason to expect that the unification of the movement will now remove the basis for such doubts and hesitation and will speed their adherence and active participation in the construction of the revolutionary socialist party.

We also address other socialist-minded organizations, especially new ones that have developed under the inspiration of the Cuban Revolution and comparable colonial revolutions elsewhere or struggles like the one for Negro equality in the United States. We look forward to an exchange of views, fraternal discussion and exploration of the possibilities of mutual assistance.

Voorhis Act

The Convention of the Socialist Workers Party reaffirms the following resolution passed at a special convention on Dec. 21, 1940:

"Whereas, federal legislation (the Voorhis Act, etc.) has been adopted by Congress which imposes burdensome requirements on political organizations affiliated to international bodies, including the formal periodic registration of lists of individual members; and

"Whereas, such regulations could be of service only to the enemies of the workers, the Fourth (Special) National Convention of the Socialist Workers Party hereby resolves;

"(1) To formally discontinue its affiliation to the Fourth International as of this date.

"(2) To continue its struggle for socialism as a completely autonomous party.

"(3) While complying with the provisions of the aforesaid legislation, we affirm our opposition to this and any similar measures designed to disrupt the international solidarity of the workers. We assure our co-thinkers in other lands that nothing in this decision of compliance with arbitrary discriminatory legislation alters in any way our ardent sympathy with their own struggles for socialism."

While the Socialist Workers Party thus cannot adhere as an affiliated section to the united Fourth International, we express our ideological solidarity with its socialist aims. In our opinion the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky will prove to be the decisive link in mankind's struggle for the world of socialism that is the only final guarantee against our planet becoming a radioactive graveyard.

Castro Speaks On Unemployment

The text of the speech in which he contrasts Cuba's success in coping with unemployment with the inability of the U.S. to resolve the problem.

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Young Socialist Forum

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... Two Key Moscow Conferences

(Continued from Page 3)

class struggle against imperialism for the sake of passing diplomatic gains. They are right in arguing that effective promotion of the struggle against nuclear war requires the mobilization of the working people in all their massive strength in a life-and-death struggle against the capitalist system itself.

To win enduring peace, the power to make war obviously must be torn from the hands of those who stand to gain economically from war or its preparation, or who are impelled toward war out of economic necessity.

The Chinese are wrong, however, to limit this struggle to the colonial areas of the world and still more wrong in not putting into practice what they preach even there. In Indonesia, for instance, where one of the largest Communist parties in the world exists, they endorse its policy of supporting Sukarno and the nationalist bourgeoisie in a way that

Letters From Our Readers

Ariz. Teachers Need Aid

Tucson, Ariz.
In the state of Goldwater, the fright peddlers have created an atmosphere of hysteria. In March 1961 the Arizona State Legislature passed a "Communist Control Act" which contained a disclaimer loyalty oath. Any state employee not signing is penalized, not by loss of job, but by loss of pay! Four teachers, realizing the injury this type of legislation does to our democratic ideals, did not sign the oath and proceeded to the courts for relief.

Two years later, on May 1, 1963, the state supreme court, "conscious of the principle that courts are not concerned with the wisdom of legislation," ruled the oath constitutional. The majority declared, "The state's interest demands that public employees re-

frain from associations out of which even unconscious corruption may comfort those who seek world domination." (My emphasis).

We are preparing our appeal to the United States Supreme Court. This means that the teachers directly involved can expect to work another two years without pay. A local committee has been raising funds for legal expenses and support for those working without salary. People wishing to give a donation or conditional loan may send their contributions to Richard Gorby — Treasurer, 2648 North Fair Oaks, Tucson, Arizona.

Gerald Dulgov

Request from New Zealand

Christchurch, New Zealand
I receive your paper through the Australian section of the Fourth International and am most appreciative of it. I can assure you that there is a small but staunch group of supporters here in New Zealand and we follow your progress with interest and enthusiasm.

I read in the May 19 *Saturday Evening Post* that you have been "luring more of the youth of the country into the Marxist-Leninist fold" than has been the "holders of the true faith," the Communist Party.

Are you indeed? If so, congratulations!

I wonder if you or some of your readers could assist me in the collection of traditional songs of the labor movement? I am attempting to build a library of the words (either in the original language or in English translations) and music of working class songs from all countries in order to disseminate and popularize them here in New Zealand.

America is particularly rich in such songs. The "Wobblies," among others, have left a valuable heritage to the world in this media. It is rumored (even as far away from the U.S. as New Zealand!) that some such songs exist on gramophone records. If they do, could you provide me with a list of what is available, that I may purchase these. Any assistance you can render me will be most gratefully received.

Paul E. Piesse

[If readers who can help on this will send their material to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y., we will be happy to forward it. EDITOR.]

Killers' Creed

Vancouver, B.C., Canada
I thought you might find the following item of interest. It's from an article, "I Murdered for Money," by Vincent Lucich, a prohibition-day professional killer, in the February 1963 *Climax* magazine. He wrote:

"To me any shooting contract was morally a clear-cut business proposition. If an employer was willing to pay \$10,000 to \$15,000 for a hit, he must have a real, solid grievance. So the gunman simply adopts his employer's hate. Then it becomes easy to pull a trigger.

"I claim this attitude is exactly the same as that of the millions of gunmen in uniform, sent out to protect Uncle Sam's business. There's nothing psycho about it."

K.G.

Mesabi Range Miners

Minneapolis, Minn.

Iron ore from the Mesabi Range has been a source of tremendous wealth to a comparatively few men. This wealth was accrued from the labor of thousands of miners who lived and sometimes died in the pits on the Range in Minnesota. Steel companies owned the iron from its source to the finished product. U.S. Steel, especially, owned the pits, the railroads to transport the ore, the ore boats, the blast furnaces and the finished products.

The lifetimes of many hundreds of thousands of men have been spent in service to U.S. Steel. Fifty years ago men worked in unsafe conditions for as low as 25 cents an hour, lived in and paid rent for homes owned by the company, walked on company streets, attended company churches, and shopped in company stores.

The labor of the Range paid for exploration for iron ore in Canada and South America. In South America, dictatorships helped U.S. Steel to mine ore at lower wages than the wages the miners on the Range were willing to work for.

So U.S. Steel has left the Range and told the workers it won't come back unless tax concessions are given by the state so that profits on the Range will be comparable to those from Venezuela. So after 50 years of service the miners are left with their reward — poverty and deprivation.

Are the workers happy their master has left them? No, they're very unhappy. In fact the town of Two Harbors is collecting \$100,000 from poverty-stricken miners to get another master in the form of a paper mill to come and own the town.

One would think that if Two

Harbors is a good place for a paper mill it would not have to look for another capitalist to bring to it but would be able to build its own. For a change the profits would stay within the town. My proposal is, therefore, a cooperative paper mill.

This would also be my solution for the remainder of the Range. You have the iron ore, taconite and pulpwood — so start developing them and not wait for some master to come again and control you.

Everett Luoma

Super-Duper Race

Dallas, Texas

I hope the Afro and Asian nations keep the gods they have and read the history of the Christian religion and reject it. Christianity meddles in politics and profits. On the TV "noose" here they reported that the Baptist Church owns the building where the local Veteran's Administration is. Churches should be made to pay taxes on their property.

Young people from various countries arrive in Dallas to live with Dallas families one year and learn about Our Way of Life. They live with upper-class families, not in the slums. That way they get to know we're the super, super-duper race.

Thelma Lucio

Dubinsky vs. FOUR

Philadelphia, Pa.

It seems strange to me that a paper like yours which has written so often on civil rights cases, and the democratic struggles within the labor movement, has given no space to the important struggle now taking place within the International Ladies Garment

Workers Union. This is clearly a struggle on the part of the ILGWU staff workers for their legal and civil rights and is clearly a struggle to bring democracy into Dubinsky's union.

Dave Sanders in his "Labor Finds Its Place" (*Contemporary Issues*, June-July, 1963) correctly comments that Dubinsky's campaign against the Federation of Union Representatives has been disgraceful. Sanders writes, "It is not for economic but for organizational reasons that such leaderships as that of the ILGWU and the Textile Workers have fought unionization of their staffs. Dubinsky, whose campaign of firings and intimidation against the Federation of Union Representatives has been so disgraceful as to bring a finding of unfair labor practices by the NLRB, has had the chutzpah [nerve] to advance, as an argument against staff organization, that the Garment Workers Union is not a business — 'but a mission' — headed by a \$28,000-a-year missionary."

The labor movement is continuously yapping about organizing the unorganized (a part of which involves organizing other non-profit "missionary" workers such as teachers, doctors, nurses, social service workers, etc.). But just how the labor movement intends to organize these workers and face the spectacle of a reputed union (ILGWU) developing the legal and philosophical arguments necessary to defeat FOUR in a court battle is more than one can fathom. To date, Dubinsky has filed a petition in the Court of Appeals asking for a review of the NLRB Order to bargain collectively with FOUR, and a cross petition has been filed by the board for enforcement of its Order.

Chuck Lang

It Was Reported in the Press

And Rightly So — "Labor's politicians worry about 1964 repercussions of the railroad dispute. They fear Kennedy's expected compulsory arbitration proposal to Congress will nettle union rank-and-filers; it may be hard to whip up enthusiasm for his re-election." — The July 19 *Wall Street Journal*.

Sounds Right to Us — The following is from the July 19 Chamber of Commerce bulletin, *Washington Report*: "Think Americans understand capitalism? Indianapolis youngsters found out that many do not. High school seniors recently conducted a random survey among adults on the question, 'What is capitalism?' Out of 100 persons queried, only six gave good answers and another six showed a glimmering of understanding of the subject. Some of the answers: Four teachers: 'I don't know.' Store owner: 'Capitalism is only for big business.' Businessman: 'Capitalism is money, that is, only the wealthiest people run the business.' Average worker: 'Capitalism is big business and big money.'"

Boom on Boom Boxes Fades — Manufacturers of steel fallout shelters are now peddling surplus stocks for use as swimming pool cabanas, parking lot offices, etc.

Getting Educated — The July 13 *Louisville Times* reported that

it has been receiving a significant number of letters from summer-jobless teen-agers. Among their beefs, the paper reported, is the idea that college is a must. "If it's a must," wrote one, "why is it a luxury? Is this democracy? I'm fast becoming a socialist. If you have to have college to earn a living then it's the government's duty to see that college is available to all and not just to the elite and the egghead few."

Congressmen at Work — Several months ago newspapers featured a story about House of Representatives clerk Ralph Roberts using his government-owned limousine to get to a Maryland race track. Roberts replied by noting that J. Edgar Hoover goes there all the time. Now it turns out, according to the *Wall Street Journal*, that Roberts had taken

the rap for three Democratic Congressmen from Chicago who had "borrowed" the taxpayers' limousine.

The American Way — Bird lovers can now purchase split-level cages for their canaries and parakeets.

To Each His Own — The July 24 *Wall Street Journal* offers this sad observation: "Paradox: While many Congressmen advocate frill-less frugality in government, there is little demand that Congress abide by the same standards. House budget cutters recently excoriated officials of the U.S. Travel Service for shelling out \$1,800 for a rug for the agency's Tokyo office, but raised not a peep at outlays of \$37,350 for snazzy new drapes for some 50 Capitol windows — a cost of roughly \$700 per window."

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"The workers struggle continues, repressions continue, the Stalinist apparatus is in deep crisis marked by a growing purge, and more evidence of the scope and revolutionary character of the June 17 movement comes to light. This is the essence of the news trickling out of East Germany.

"Despite severe repressions and 300,000 Kremlin troops, the workers refuse to be cowed . . .

"A sitdown strike of 14,000 workers in a synthetic rubber plant at Mersburg has been underway since July 15. The demand of the strikers is the release of those workers arrested after the June 17 uprising.

"A slowdown strike of the Zeiss optical workers has been in force since July 14 . . .

"We want action, not words" is the reply of the workers to the promises of concessions by the bureaucrats . . .

"Walter Ulbricht, secretary of the Socialist Unity (Stalinist) Party . . . rejected the demand for 'unprepared' new union elections. As for the demand for union independence from the government, Ulbricht characterized this as being in the interests of monopoly capitalism." — July 27, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"Five killed, more than 500 injured, more than 500 arrested, property damages exceeding \$5,000,000 — these were the immediate results of the outburst in Harlem last Sunday and Monday.

"It began Sunday night when a white policeman shot and wounded a young Negro soldier who had objected to his maltreatment of a Negro woman he was arresting. The rumor spread that the soldier had been killed and resentment rose high. Groups began roaming the streets, fighting with police, breaking store windows, carrying off merchandise. With the exception of 40 police injured all of the casualties were Negroes.

"What set these thousands of people into motion in this way? The shooting of the soldier was only a chance incident; it could have been precipitated by some other accidental event. The real cause must be sought in the social, economic and political conditions of the Negro people . . .

"Rents are uncontrolled. Prices are higher, the quality of food is generally lower, and food is scarcer than in other parts of the city. Negroes have the worst-paying jobs, despite the manpower shortage. The Negro people suffered the lowest standard of living in the city before the war; today they are even worse off." — Aug. 7, 1943.

Thought for the Week

"News that the U.S. Civil Service Commission has fired some dozen members of the Black Muslims, whose allegiance is allegedly to Islam, poses a question. When will similar action be taken against federal employes who are members of the White Citizens Councils and the Klan, who make no secret of their all-out allegiance to the Confederacy and segregation?" — The July 23 *Baltimore Afro-American*.

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Photo by Jack Arnold

DEMAND FREEDOM FOR HUGO BLANCO: Demonstrators outside Peruvian Consulate at New York's Rockefeller Center July 27. Picket line was called by Young Socialist Alliance and supported by independent socialists, Puerto Rican independence fighters and others. They demanded that Peruvian peasant union leader Blanco be released from prison, given medical attention and allowed to see defense counsel, family and friends. Picket line closed with march to Times Square which received TV coverage.

Dictator Diem Fears Saigon Revolt

Recalls Troops from Front

By Steve Graham

The protest movement of South Vietnamese Buddhists against the U.S.-backed tyrant, Ngo Dinh Diem, is beginning to have an important impact on Diem's and Kennedy's war against peasant guerrillas. Diem's troops recently abandoned an airbase in the heart of guerrilla-dominated territory. It was reported that the troops were withdrawn to help guard the capital, where the religious conflict threatens to break out into insurrection.

Resentment against the discrimination and brutality practiced toward Buddhists by Diem's Catholic officialdom is reported spreading among Vietnamese army men.

Particularly brutal methods have been adopted against Buddhist demonstrations, which resumed after a two-week truce in June. Diem's police surround demonstrating Buddhists with barbed-wire barricades, move in with clubs to beat up demonstrators, including women and children, load them on trucks and cart them off to jail.

In the face of government violence, a younger, more militant group of monks has taken the lead of the protest movement. They are demanding release of all Buddhist prisoners as well as the public naming of officials responsible for the May 8 massacre which touched off the current wave of protests. At that time, government troops in the city of Hue fired on Buddhists demonstrating for the right to fly their religious flag. Diem, a Catholic, has denied them that right.

Buddhist leaders are using new protest tactics, in addition to planning further marches, hunger strikes and public suicides after the model of the monk, Quang Duc, who immolated himself in protest. They called on the public to stop work on July 30 in commemoration of Quang Duc.

NEW YORK — Five peace groups demonstrated here July 25 to protest suppression of Buddhists, U.S. aid to the Diem regime and the use of U.S. troops in the war against guerrilla revolutionaries. Members of the Student Peace Union, General Strike for Peace, Committee for Non-

violent Action, War Resisters League and the Catholic Worker held a two-hour picket line in front of the residence of Vietnam's Permanent Observer to the United Nations.

Lisa Howard, a correspondent for ABC television, interviewed the picketers and filmed their line as they chanted "Tyranny No — Diem Must Go" to the consternation of well-to-do neighbors, one of whom was overheard to ask her doorman, "Do they have to be here?"

Harlem Group Stages UN Sit-In; Hits U.S. Role on South Africa

NEW YORK — The Harlem Committee for the Expulsion of South Africa from the UN staged a two-hour sit-in at the headquarters of the U.S. delegation to the UN July 22. Led by Negro newsman William Worthly, they handed out leaflets predicting that Adlai Stevenson, U.S. ambassador to the UN, would argue "with eloquence and hypocrisy" against expulsion of the murderous racist South African regime from the international body.

After meeting with the demonstrators, Stevenson expressed displeasure at being characterized as hypocritical.

The sit-downers also protested U.S. arms and dollar aid to the Portuguese tyranny for use in holding on to its African colonies by mass extermination measures. Their charge of U.S. support for Portugal was confirmed that same day with the opening of U.S. efforts in the UN to water down a condemnation of Portuguese colonialism as demanded by African delegates.

In his hour-long meeting with the demonstrators, Stevenson expressed the hope that American Negroes would help persuade Africans to be less "extreme." He said he shared their hopes and aspirations. Commented Worthly: "Just Stevenson rhetoric."

The U.S. Attorney General's office showed unusual interest in the demonstration. Although it was not announced in advance,

THE CIVIL-RIGHTS BATTLEFRONT

Report on Terms of Cambridge Settlement

CAMBRIDGE, Md. — Leaders of the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee made public July 23 a five point agreement which ended two years of anti-segregation protests here.

The agreement was signed by CNAC head Gloria Richardson, Reginald Robinson and John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Stanley Branch and Phillip Savage of the NAACP and several city and state officials. It was witnessed by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

Included in the agreement were provisions for integration of Dorchester County schools, appointment of a bi-racial committee by city officials and CNAC leaders, employment of a Negro interviewer in the Cambridge office of the State Department of Employment, adoption of a city charter amendment integrating all places of public accommodation, and building of low-rent public housing "which will materially benefit the Negro community."

CNAC leaders agreed to halt "protests" and "demonstrations" for an indefinite period. All parties signing the agreement indicated a "moral obligation to support the spirit and intention" of the statement.

The agreement followed nearly two years of anti-segregation demonstrations here, since CNAC was founded. Reginald Robinson, the SNCC field secretary who first came to Cambridge in January of 1962 and who returned when full-scale demonstrations resumed in May, 1963, said he was "tired but happy." (CNAC is an affiliate of Atlanta-based SNCC.)

Mrs. Richardson said she was pleased by the agreement since "this is the first time we got anything on paper." She declared further: "It's been a long haul. The agreement is no victory. It's only a first step, and we have a lot to do still, but we have peace and calm in which to see how the agreement works out."

Robinson said two minors, jailed

here on delinquency charges after several civil rights demonstrations, would be released soon.

In Atlanta, SNCC hailed the agreement as a "milestone in the civil rights struggle."

Just a week before the agreement was announced, President John F. Kennedy had declared in a news conference that "They [in Cambridge] have almost lost sight of what the demonstrations are about."

Mrs. Richardson then sent a telegram to Kennedy expressing "deep shock and concern" at the statement. "The demands of the Negro citizens of Cambridge," the telegram said, "have been and will remain desegregation of public and private facilities, merit employment for Negroes, and the release of two juveniles from a juvenile home . . . The only solution to the racial crisis in Cambridge is the achievement of equal rights for the 4,000 Negroes of the community."

Albany Synagogue Bias

ALBANY, Ga. — An interracial group was turned away from Friday evening services at Temple B'nai Israel here July 19. The group consisted of Miriam Cohen, 21, Robert Cover, 20, and Henry Lee Mathis, 19. They were met at the door by an usher who told them: "We don't want any demonstrations." Miss Cohen, from Indianapolis, Ind., and Mr. Cover, from Brookline, Mass., are white and members of the Jewish faith. Both are summer field workers for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

More Virginia Jailings

DANVILLE, Va. — The Rev. L. W. Chase, President of the Danville Christian Progressive Association, was arrested about 4 a.m. July 29 when police kicked in the door of his home, seized him, and took him to jail bare-foot and only in a bathrobe.

His arrest was part of the aftermath of heightened anti-segregation activity July 28 when 80 persons were arrested here.

On the same day 24 Negroes were arrested for trying to worship in a white church in Farmville, Prince Edward County. This is the county that closed its public schools four years ago rather than desegregate.

Commenting on the renewed Virginia protests, SNCC executive committee member Avon Rollins said: "Those who are violent are beginning to outnumber those of us of a nonviolent persuasion, and it is evident that unless the white power structure of Virginia and Danville begins to respond with justice to the fair demands made by its citizens there will be blood flowing in the streets."

"We are tired of the pious pronouncements of the Kennedy administration," Rollins added, "and more and more people will begin to take things in their own hands."

Members of SNCC have announced the beginning of a "massive drive to collect food and clothing" for Negroes in Danville who have been victimized because of civil rights activities. The Rev. L. G. Campbell, Executive Secretary of the Danville Christian Progressive Association, said the packages should be sent to the DCPA at 226 North Union Street, Danville, Va.

Protest Detroit Killer-Cops

The second mass protest within a week against Detroit trigger-happy cops occurred July 15. The first protest had been organized by militant Negro groups and

turned out a crowd of over a thousand Negroes in front of police headquarters July 13 protesting the shooting by officer Theodore Spicher, a white policeman, of Cynthia Scott, a Negro. Miss Scott was shot once in the back and once in the stomach when she walked away from police who accused her of being a prostitute. Her death was ruled "justifiable homicide" by the Wayne county prosecutor.

The second demonstration was in protest over the killing of Kenneth Evans, an 18-year-old white youth shot in the back by police who said he had been driving a stolen car. The demonstration began after the youth's funeral and was organized by Kirby Brown, a 32-year-old Negro who had himself been shot and wounded by a policeman last May, and by Evans' two brothers, Ronald, 20, and James, 17. Some 60 persons, mostly youth from the neighborhood — which is a mixed one — began picketing the Vernor police station in the afternoon. In the evening the crowd swelled to 300, about 25 per cent Negroes.

Demonstrators carried signs reading: "Please shoot me in the back," "Who do you think you are, God?" and "Killer Cops Must Go." Persons standing across the street from the demonstrators began throwing bricks and bottles at police and the special police commando squad attacked the demonstration with clubs, dispersing the crowd. Sporadic street fighting continued for about two hours more, with small groups forming to heckle the white-helmeted commandos and to throw stones at patrol cars.

Six persons, including two young girls, were arrested, and several others were treated for injuries. The next day Mayor Cavanagh attacked the demonstration, saying that "this mob fury . . . will not be tolerated in this city." The two officers who killed Evans — Paul Funk and Charles Archibald — had been exonerated by the county prosecutor.

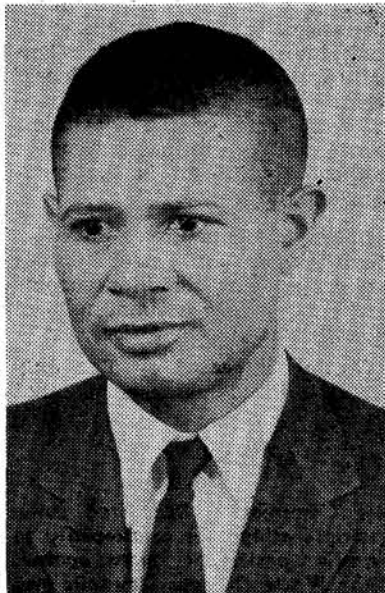
Muslims Fired By Government For 'Disloyalty'

A new low has been reached by the government in its persecution of the Black Muslims. The Civil Service Commission has added to the pattern of police brutality and local and state victimization of the Muslims by announcing that a dozen Muslims have been fired from government jobs because of their adherence to this religion.

The commission admitted it had no authority to fire government employees simply because they are Muslims, but based its action on the Muslims demand for a separate nation. The call for a "State of Islam" is an article of the Muslims religious faith, but the commission saw it differently. It claimed that loyalty to this as yet non-existent "foreign power" proved that the Muslims had "mental reservations" in taking the oath of allegiance to the U.S. Constitution.

The commission said that investigators asked employees who were Muslims whether they would support "Islam" or the United States should a conflict arise. The dozen employees who were fired reportedly answered that they would support "Islam."

It was also revealed that other Muslims had been dropped from Federal employment during their first year, which is a probationary period.



William Worthly