

# THE MILITANT

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## President Is "Patient" With Alabama Racist

By George Lavan

With the ending of Governor Wallace's defiance of federal authorities, token school desegregation arrived in Birmingham and three other Alabama cities.

Administration publicists are praising Kennedy for having "outmaneuvered" Gov. Wallace. This "outmaneuvering" consisted in Kennedy's refraining from sending federal marshals or troops to enforce the court-ordered integration which Wallace delayed for a week.

Though Northern Democrats are touting this as Kennedy's clever strategy to avoid "playing into Wallace's hands," Southern Democrats are praising it as proof of Kennedy's distaste for using federal forces to enforce Negro rights in the South.

Neither of the above explanations, however, correspond wholly to the truth. His "monumental forbearance," as the *New York Times* describes it, in the face of Wallace's provocations, was dictated by Kennedy's policy of wooing the white-supremacist Southern Democrats for the coming presidential elections, but doing it cleverly enough not to alienate the Negro vote in the pivotal Northern states.

### Disservice to Negroes

Yet Kennedy's "forbearance" or expediency in not sending federal troops or marshals to Birmingham is a disservice to the Negro children who have been "integrated" there. He is gambling with their lives when he leaves them without federal protection. Perhaps nothing will happen to them — but their lives and limbs are being risked in the pre-election campaign maneuvering.

It should not be forgotten that it was in Alabama that William Moore, the Baltimore postman, was murdered for carrying a pro-integration sign. His murderer has yet to be tried. Furthermore, Birmingham has a longer record of "unsolved" racist bombings than any other city in the country.

The total effect of Kennedy's "forbearance" policy is to embolden the KKK, White Citizens Councils and assorted racist groups and individuals. Wallace's defiance — though unsuccessful — goes unpunished. (Kennedy, the Northern Democrats tell us, doesn't want to "fall into the trap" of making a martyr of him by sending him to jail as he deserves and for which

sufficient legal grounds exist.) Doesn't that mean that others defying federal laws and court rulings upholding Negroes' rights will also go unpunished?

The Kennedy administration has given more positive proofs of its good will towards the Southern white supremacists than the "forbearance" policy. These are the only two federal prosecutions in the South in cases connected with civil rights which are confidently expected to end in convictions and stiff sentences.

Both prosecutions are of Negroes and integrationists. The first is the case of a Birmingham Negro who testified he saw police plant a bomb. He was pressured into retracting the story. Then Attorney General Kennedy ordered him prosecuted for perjury. The second case is against nine leaders and members of the embattled Albany Movement. Attorney General Kennedy ordered them indicted for conspiring to influence a federal juror and for perjury. This frame-up claims the Albany Movement picketed a white grocer because he had voted against a Negro in a civil-rights suit rather than for the same reasons it was picketing other storekeepers — refusal to hire Negroes.

The token integration of schools in four Alabama cities comes in the tenth school year after the Supreme Court's ruling that school segregation was unconstitutional. It also foretells the almost certain triumph of token desegregation in the South. The only holdout now is Mississippi — and James Meredith's completion of his one-year term at the state university there is the handwriting on the wall.

### Symbolic Victory

But the achievement of token desegregation is merely a symbolic victory for the Negro people and does not materially affect the position of over 99 per cent of the Negro schoolchildren in the South. While 20 Negro children in Alabama now are in "integrated" schools, some 280,000 remain in Jim Crow schools. In South Carolina the figures are eleven "integrated" and some 265,000 still segregated; in Georgia 172 and 325,000; in Louisiana 337 and 325,000.

Limited and symbolic as this token integration is, its spurt this year — about 140 districts in Border States, the Middle and Upper South as well as in the Deep South — is dramatic. The decline of even token school desegregation had been so drastic in the early years of Kennedy's administration that observers wondered whether it would come to a complete halt. In 1961 and 1962 the number of school districts initiating any desegregation had dropped to 31 and 46, whereas in 1956 the figure had stood at over 200. (It must be kept in mind that the "integration" of even one Negro child is sufficient to get a whole school district declared "desegregated.")

Since only a few dozen of the districts initiating token integration this year are being compelled by court orders, it is apparent that this spurt is a byproduct of the nationwide demonstrations by Negroes which culminated in the March on Washington and has not abated since.

## Kennedy OKs CIA Financing Of Vietnam Storm Troopers

By Steve Graham

The elite troops that raided pagodas and crushed the Buddhist movement of protest against the Catholic-dominated Ngo Dinh Diem regime's religious oppression were and still are secretly financed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency with the full knowledge of the Kennedy administration. That was the burden of a revelation that recently reached the press.

The Special Forces of Col. Le Quang Tung, close confidant of President Diem and right-hand man of secret police chief, Ngo Dinh Nhu, are supported by "di-

rect, under-the-table aid" amounting to \$3 million a year, according to the reports. Their salary and upkeep are covered by payments via the CIA of \$250,000 at the beginning of each month.

Although Kennedy, in a hypocritical gesture, publicly disavowed the Diem government's attacks on the Buddhists and called for changes "in policy and perhaps in personnel" in South Vietnam, secret payments to the temple-wreckers were continued by the CIA for the current month.

The way this revelation reached the press is as significant as the

revelation itself. It is typical of the high degree of secrecy around the Vietnamese war in general — the only war in which the U.S. has been engaged which has not received detailed coverage while it was going on.

According to the reports, CIA officials in Saigon met on Sept. 2 and agreed nearly unanimously that payments to Col. Tung's storm troopers should cease. Coming from those most closely associated with the creation and development of these forces, such a recommendation would presumably carry great weight. But it was rejected in Washington. That Kennedy approved this rejection was made clear in his subsequent statement on TV that the CIA "co-ordinates its efforts with the State Department and the Defense Department."

### Story Leaked

But revulsion at the deeds of Col. Tung's Special Forces was apparently so great even among the arch-reactionary members of the CIA that someone in Saigon leaked the story to the press. The story was sent from Manila since the tight censorship in South Vietnam is used to keep such news from the American public.

Had not dissension broken out in the secret inner circles, the American people would never have learned about the secret payments. How much more is there about this "dirty" war which the American people are not being told?

Kennedy tells us that aid must continue to the Diem dictatorship or else the "Communists" will take over. The peasant guerrillas in South Vietnam seem to have a lot of popular support. An army of over 250,000 aided by the world's greatest military power cannot suppress them. While Diem, as the huge demonstrations by Buddhists have shown, has no popular support but is kept in power only by brute military force — armed, trained and paid by the U.S. and reinforced by U.S. troops.

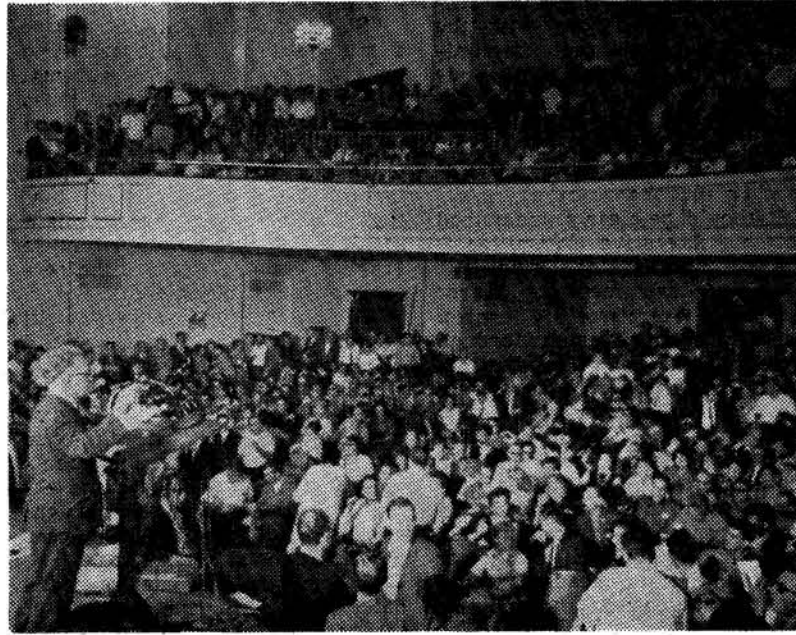
Is it "Communists" that Kennedy fears or the Vietnamese people, who might take over their country for themselves and kick out U.S. influence?

Kennedy says he will continue to "press for reforms" of the Diem despotism, but that, meanwhile, "we must be patient." How can you "press for reforms" when you pay the upkeep for Gestapo-like storm troopers? That would be like financing Gov. Wallace's state police by secret payments to Col. Lingo, while calling for "equal rights in Alabama" and telling Negroes there to "cool off."

Kennedy's professed hope that the Diem regime will reform itself is in the same class with Eisenhower's lies about the U-2 incident and Stevenson's denials in the UN that the U.S. had any part in the April 1961 invasion of Cuba.

The latest news from Vietnam tells of Col. Tung's U.S.-paid storm troopers and secret police

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THEY WERE SET TO STRIKE. New York delegates' assembly of United Federation of Teachers hears union president Charles Cogen a few hours before city granted concessions that averted strike.

## Fighting Stand by Teachers Brings Gains in New York

By Tom Leonard

NEW YORK — Ever since negotiations began last April for a new contract affecting more than 40,000 school teachers, the AFL-CIO United Federation of Teachers confronted a hostile N.Y. School Board which ultimately forced the union to the brink of a city-wide strike.

Aided by the daily press, radio and TV, the school board, headed by Superintendent Dr. Calvin E. Gross, attempted to whip up anti-union hysteria against the teachers. The majority of New Yorkers, however, remained sympathetic to the teachers' cause and the board relied increasingly on injunctions and anti-labor laws to threaten and intimidate the UFT.

The most vicious law at their disposal is the Condon-Wadlin Act which prohibits strikes by public employes and calls for immediate firing — without right of appeal — of all violators. In addition, teachers would have been subject to a fine of two days' pay for every day on strike — up to 30 days.

The courts had also issued injunctions barring the right to strike; the right to picket; and, the right to "advocate" the union's program of "No Contract — No Work."

As the strike deadline — set for the opening of school on Sept. 9 — drew near, more pressure was put on the teachers. The press reported that plans were being discussed to hire unlicensed "teachers" to be used as scabs. Parents were instructed how to get their children to school despite picket lines. Even former President Harry Truman was dragged out of mothballs for

a snarling anti-union smear of the teachers.

Despite these attacks, the UFT stuck to its demands. In addition to salary increases, these included an overall improvement of conditions in this city's notoriously overcrowded, outmoded and understaffed schools. They won wide support from parents as the result of a union educational campaign that linked the teachers' demands to improved education. Most important of all, the union stuck to its policy of "No Contract — No Work," adopted last March, and which made any agreement between the school board and union negotiators subject to a vote of the rank and file.

On Sept. 5, the teachers turned down the school board's final offer by a vote of 5,219 to 758 and a meeting of more than 1,000

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Kennedy

## A Special Offer to New Readers

The recent March on Washington registered a high-water mark in the Negro struggle for Freedom and Jobs. Leaders of the march all agreed that it was a *beginning* not an end to the Freedom Now campaign.

*The Militant* has actively participated in support of the Freedom Now movement and has given major coverage to its actions. It will continue to do so in the future. Reports will be combined with analysis as the movement marches forward to conquer its freedom objective.

To reach an ever-widening section of supporters and participants *The Militant* is now offering a special introductory subscription of four months for 50 cents. All readers of *The Militant* are urged to help expand our circulation by introducing our paper through the special subscription to friends and supporters of the Freedom Now struggle.



## Plain Talk by New Haven Negro Candidate

## Blasts 'Political Scabbery' of Union Tops

The following excerpts are the highlights of a speech by Raymond H. Paige, independent Negro candidate for mayor of New Haven, Conn. The speech is of special interest for socialists and for activists in the labor and civil-rights movements. It pinpoints the bureaucratic role of the modern trade-union "leader," indifferent to the needs of the mass of lower-paid workers, to the Negroes who suffer discrimination, indifferent to the demand for shorter hours and for a political party of the workers.

Paige's speech, given on Aug. 10, came in response to the action of the executive committee of the New Haven Central Labor Council, endorsing Mayor Richard C. Lee for re-election. Paige expressed his intention of appearing before the council's political action committee (COPE) to seek endorsement despite the executive committee's action.

"The group which endorsed Lee was designated as '22 Executive Committee members and trustees.' . . .

"Who are the members of the Executive Committee? Some of them don't have any connection with labor — e.g., salaried officials of various social agencies like the United Fund, or CPI. Several others have salaried jobs with the very craft unions that discriminate against Negroes. Only one Negro is on the board. This Executive Board is the spokesman only for a thin stratum of highly-paid white workers, living in middle-class suburban comfort. . . .

"It should be clearly understood that this Executive Committee is an instrument of the Democratic Party, an instrument of Mayor Lee, who exercises his control over the 'labor movement' through Vincent Sirabella [President of the CLC], whose role as an errand boy for Lee was most clearly seen in the attempt of the firefighters to obtain a 42-hour week. Sirabella tried to stall a CLC endorsement of their demand, in direct response to a request from Lee, who is opposed to shorter hours for firemen because it would mean an increase in the tax rate of one mill.

"My party would enthusiastically support the demands of the firefighters, who have indicated that 90-100 new firefighters would be hired, and we would press for a substantial number of those new jobs going to Negroes. In fact, we urge the unions to press for the shorter work week (with no reduction in pay!) in order to create more jobs for all, but especially for Negroes, whose unemployment rate is twice that of whites. . . .

"What is the role of the Central Labor Council, and specifically Mr. Sirabella, in civil rights? True, there is a Civil Rights Committee in the CLC — but it rarely functions. Last year this committee asked all locals to set up Civil-Rights Committees in their locals — only one local responded. . . . Meetings of the CLC are distinguished for the sea of white

faces — there are very few black delegates.

"What was Sirabella's role at the employment sessions of the New Haven Civil-Rights Committee? He tried to prove that there was 'very little discrimination' in employment in New Haven. . . .

"Sirabella denied discrimination by unions, and tried to shift union responsibility to the employers, who of course, are primarily responsible. He attempted to dissuade Negroes from trying to get jobs in the building trades, because 'there are no openings.' The fact that there are practically no Negro plumbers, electricians, carpenters, etc., etc., seemed to escape Sirabella as proof of discrimination over a long period of years."

"Sirabella (and his Executive Committee) should be ashamed to endorse Lee after Lee's abysmal failure on the fair housing votes last year. If the Negro people have learned anything from this experience it is that neither major party is their friend, but rather that these parties are docile and pliant servitors of the power structure (the real-estate interests, the corporations, the big merchants). . . .

"No, neither major party will solve the problem of poverty and degradation. Tokenism is not enough! Nor should the poorest people, the oppressed, the frustrated, black and white alike, be taken in by phony endorsements of either party by stooges and errand boys who have been bought off by \$10,000- and \$20,000-a-year jobs with social agencies.

"I firmly believe that my candidacy speaks for the majority of the people of New Haven — certainly for the 85 per cent of Negro families with incomes under \$4,000; for the oppressed families forced into the stigma of becoming welfare 'clients'; for the victims of unemployment; for the victims of 'slum-landlordism'; for the victims of unfair job discrimination that compels the Negro worker to do the toughest and dirtiest work in this city, producing enrichment and comfort for a parasitic class of wealthy landlords and businessmen.

"I regard the union movement as a basic historic mechanism for equality in this country. My protest is not directed against the labor movement, but only against those smug 'leaders' who have 'got it made.' What I am protesting is political scabbery, and this is what I call support of either party."

## Big Jamaican Demonstration Backed March on Washington

Thousands of Jamaicans marched in solidarity with the March on Washington on Aug. 28 in their capital city of Kingston. The march covered a three-mile route, ending at 6 p.m. with a rally in George VI Memorial Park.

Organizations taking part were the Political Academy and the Council for Afro-Jamaican affairs, planners of the march, the Afro-West Indian League, the West Indian University Guild of Under-Graduates, the Rastafarian movement, and the Unemployed Workers Council.

Some slogans raised in the march were "Down with White Supremacy," "Equal Justice for All," "Down with Jimcrowism," "Down with Imperialism," "Up Comes Socialism — Liberation for Negro Peoples Throughout the World," and "Jamaican Youth March Side by Side With American Youth."

The marchers expressed a militant mood. Some objected to the U.S. flag being carried in the front of the procession and tore it down. Moderate speakers at

the closing rally found themselves out of tune with the crowd. A speaker who had elicited cheers for the marchers in Washington and for Marcus Garvey, encountered heavy booing after he called for cheers for President Kennedy.

The meeting in the park passed a resolution constituting itself into the Civil Rights Committee of Jamaica, and another demanding that several commercial and industrial firms employ at least 50 per cent black persons.

A statement by the Unemployed Workers Council at the march read in part: "Our Brothers and Sisters of the United States: The 'Unemployed Workers Council' and the whole Jamaican people sincerely support you in your just struggle for economic and social freedom. Your struggle undoubtedly reflects new strength in the struggle of the black people the world over, held in bondage for centuries and denied of their equal place in civilization by colonial powers, the main culprit today being the imperialist government of the United States, against which you are now struggling."



Berman Gibson, a leader of dissident rank-and-file United Mine Worker members in Hazard, Kentucky, has announced plans to send a bus cavalcade of 3,000 unemployed miners and their wives to Washington D.C. He said they would wait until the effect of the Aug. 28 march for Jobs and Freedom had settled down, "Then we'll hit them with another one." Gibson recently led a series of strikes against small mine operators who are undercutting union wages and conditions in Eastern Kentucky. He also led a protest against officials of the miner's welfare-and-pension fund who withdrew hospital benefits when some mine owners stopped paying the full 40-cents-a-ton royalty into the fund. The protest resulted in many miners having their benefits restored

The Trappe Frozen Food Co. is using migratory workers as scabs in an attempt to break a United Packinghouse Workers strike in Trappe, Maryland. Seventeen pickets, some of whom participated in this summer's civil-rights demonstrations in nearby Cambridge, have been arrested. They are charged with injuring 12 scabs the company was trying to herd through the picket line. All are out on bail and must face trial in November. Prior to the strike, the UPW workers were making \$1.15 an hour. Their main demand is a 20-cent hourly increase.

About 3.3 million women belonged to labor unions in 1960, according to the 1962 Handbook on Woman Workers just published by the Women's Bureau in Washington. They constitute one out of every six union members and belonged to 136 of the 184 unions participating in the Woman's Bureau survey.

Several hundred laid-off workers attended a meeting in Chicago at which United Packinghouse Workers President Ralph Helstein called for an organization of the unemployed. He said such an organization was needed to provide a voice for the jobless and to "work for the expansion of public works programs and public services, for better administration of unemployment compensation, for decent relief allowances, for the shorter work week and other goals."

Prior to the meeting held in "CIO Corner" of the Chicago stockyards, 20 UPWA local leaders laid a wreath at the intersection of 43rd St. at Parker "in memory of 20,000 lost jobs" in plant that had closed or moved away.

Between 1956 and 1962, 37,000 packinghouse workers lost their jobs to automation. The Armour Co. alone closed down at least one plant a year, resulting in the loss of 30,000 jobs.

The United Electrical Workers (Ind.), which was expelled from the CIO in 1949 on charges of leftist domination, opened its 28th annual convention in New York City on Sept. 9. UEW President Albert Fitzgerald opened the first session of the 160,000-member union's convention with an attack on the top leadership of the AFL-CIO. He accused them of failing to meet the needs of the rank and file and of losing their "energy in the fight for unionism."

Grand Central Terminal in N.Y. was tied up for several hours Sept. 4 as a result of a "wildcat" strike by car inspectors. The strikers are members of Lodge 1085 of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen. They were protesting the posting

of a notice by railroad officials announcing that 36 of their members were being laid off because they were "duplicating" other workers.

The non-operating carmen are not affected by the recently passed Railroad Labor Bill which has temporarily outlawed strikes by operating railroad workers who constitute the train crews. But company spokesmen recently announced plans to lay off thousands of non-operating workers.

Strikebreaking activities by the Continental Rubber Company in Erie, Pa. were temporarily halted on Aug. 30 by 200 militant pickets who prevented 60 scabs from entering the plant.

County Sheriff John Coates later read the strikers a court order which limited the number of pickets to 24. When they refused to move, deputies arrested 22. They were charged with violating a court order prohibiting mass picketing. The rubber workers have been on strike there since July 1.

500 of the biggest corporations in the U.S. made an average profit of over \$1,500 from the labor of each one of 9.6 million workers. General Motors was one of ten giant corporations to lead the list with an average \$2,300 profit from each of its employees.

## ...N.Y. Teachers

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picket captains was convened to plan last-minute details for the strike. In addition the union publicly reaffirmed its intention to strike in defiance of the Condon-Wadlin Act and union-busting court orders.

Confronted with this militant stand, Mayor Robert Wagner appointed a three-man mediation panel. Within 36 hours, the panel raised the school board's final, total, financial offer of \$9 million to more than \$20 million over a two-year period and acceded to other union demands. The new offer was accepted by a rank-and-file vote of 5,265 to 181 a few hours before the strike deadline.

When the new offer was read to this meeting sections dealing with improved conditions received the most applause. These included 1) The right of teachers to hold union meetings in schools. 2) Limitation of the size of classes in elementary, junior high and high schools. 3) A reduction in the hours teachers are required to instruct in "difficult" classes. 4) Hiring of more non-instructional school aides 5) Restrictions on taking class-preparation time away from teachers for other duties. 6) A provision for monthly meetings between the UFT and the school superintendent to discuss school problems. It also establishes the right of chairmen of union chapters to meet monthly with school principals.

The latter two gains have far-reaching implications since they grant teachers, who are closest to students, some voice in improving their education. For example, if factory workers were granted the same right they would be able to sit down with plant managers to discuss and plan working conditions and production norms.

Although the new UFT contract fell short of the original goals, the teachers won major concessions because of rank-and-file solidarity against a protracted anti-union campaign. But most important of all was the readiness of the UFT leaders and ranks to risk jail and fines to win improvements for themselves and the school children of New York City.

## Weekly Calendar

**DETROIT**  
REPORT FROM CUBA. Hear Pat Sopiak, U. of Michigan student, who went to Cuba last month in defiance of travel ban. Fri., Sept. 20, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**LOS ANGELES**  
Theodore Edwards of the Socialist Workers Party presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly commentary, Fri., Sept. 20, 6:45 p.m. KPFK-FM, 90.7 on your dial.

**NEW YORK**  
The Truth About the CIA Role in Vietnam. Speaker: George Saunders, Militant staff writer. Fri., Sept. 20 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). A usp. Militant Labor Forum.



**A Marcher's View of Washington**

**'Soldiers of Freedom Army' What 'Back to Africa' Means in Harlem**

By Robert Franklin

For someone entering Washington for the first time and expecting to see the streets filled with people, a busy metropolis of fine buildings, it may have been a little disappointing.

When you enter Washington from Maryland you come face to face with the plight of the nation, the Negro community, the ghetto — with its tenements, its bars and churches, its people, the dark-skinned people with the faraway look in sad eyes. The working people, the unemployed, the destitute.

As your bus moves down Pennsylvania Avenue, there is no hustle and bustle of the big city on a work day. There hangs in the air a strange silence. The people are there, sitting on the stoops, standing in the yards and a few on the streets. They wave and smile as the buses pass, but you can't help noticing something unnatural, something in the eyes — perhaps hope?

The day is August 28, 1963, the day of the March on Washington, the day over 200,000 battle-weary soldiers came into the camp of the enemy, proud of the uniform they wear — their black skin.

This gathering of over 200,000 black people from all over the country has been described since in many different ways by the newspaper writers. They described it as "an invasion," "a mob," "a mass meeting," "a Sunday school picnic," and "a gathering of middle-class Negroes."

The March on Washington was none of these things. They came not to sightsee, but to demand the democratic rights due to all people, to demand to share equally in the product of their labor, to walk in the dignity of a citizen. But most of all, they came as soldiers of the freedom army, disciplined by 300 years of struggle against slavery and another 100 years of fighting for the rights due all free men.

August 28 was a day of truce, not of surrender. The fighters for freedom marched into the enemy's stronghold, not to do battle, but to present the terms, the only terms by which we can have peace.

**Armed Camp**

As you move closer to the place of assembly, you see Washington is an armed camp. You become more aware of the reason for the reserve of the natives. Everywhere there are police. Troopers in their bright-colored helmets and stormtrooper boots. Young men ready for their first taste of violence. Old policemen ready for retirement, hating you because they have to work on their day off. Soldiers in jeeps and army trucks, soldiers marching to and fro in groups. Washington is a city under siege.

But as you move into the line of march down Constitution Avenue, you feel for the first time, with the full impact, the power of the people. As far as you can see is the sea of black, interspersed here and there with white, as the cap of an incoming wave.

"Freedom . . . Freedom . . ." they sing, a few at first, somewhere up ahead. (Up on a pole the TV cameras turn, looking down on the mass of black faces, the all-seeing eye casting these movements to all parts of the country.) The rhythm and words are picked up by the other marchers. The sound seems to roll over head, never becoming a shout but more of a rumble and murmur, like water breaking against a restraining wall, like silent thunder.

You leave the line of march and walk through the park to reach the speakers' stand. You pause and look around and it looks like people on a picnic. You ask yourself, "Did these people come here for a picnic?"

You stop and listen to their con-

versation and look at their faces and you learn the meaning of the March. For they are talking about how they have not slept all night, how they have traveled from California and other far places, how they have to get to work tomorrow.

You hear applause and look around to see a group of people that has walked from Brooklyn and you hear more applause and there is a group that has marched from Canada on its way to Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, peace marchers who stopped by in support of Freedom Now!

**Mass of Humanity**

You try to get near enough to see the speakers and for 15 minutes you push your way forward through the mass of black and white humanity. You pause to listen to the speaker. There is nothing new in what is said and the people do not expect anything new. They are there to show they are ready for action, ready to take the next step. Their leaders have called them to Washington and they have responded. Their question was not "Why am I here?" Their only question seemed to be, "What's next? Where do we go from here?"

On the bus as you leave the city there are more people on the streets of the ghetto. As the bus passes they wave and smile. This time their smiles seem broader, friendlier and you realize that although they might not have been there in person, they were marching with you nonetheless.

As you relax for the first time in a long day, you think what everyone else must be thinking: You have made it to Washington in the fight for Freedom; and you have accomplished a minor victory. But the question persists: "What next? Where do we go from here?"

By Robert Vernon

NEW YORK — On July 13, 1963, 5,000 Harlemites attending a Black Muslim rally on Lenox Avenue gave an apparently solid vote in favor of going "back home," i.e., "back" to Africa, if freedom and justice prove to be unattainable in these United States.

In response to a call for a show of hands on how many were ready to "cut out, leave this place, head for home," 8,000 black hands shot high up in the air. (Some of us cats put both hands up.) ". . . And if the white man won't let us go back home, we'll make Harlem into Africa!" continued Malcolm X, to the Harlem crowd's roaring approval.

Obviously, none of the 5,000 who raised their hands so readily and gleefully that hot Saturday afternoon actually plan to "cut out" for Africa in the near future. It is a safe bet that none of us present phoned the steamship lines first thing on getting home, to book passage on the next boat leaving for Africa.

Then why the enthusiasm for the idea? What does it mean? What purpose would it serve to talk about "going home" and why should that idea strike such a positive response in people who have never been in Africa and have no expectation of getting there in all seriousness?

Most white "friends" of the Negro and most Negro integrationists, who are out of contact with the masses in slums like Harlem, will dismiss this response of the Harlem crowd as a susceptibility to low-level demagoguery, or as "not what they really mean." They will hasten to reassure themselves that the people "really don't mean it." They will scoff or sneer at people who think of separating from this glorious land and going off to Africa as cowards who are withdrawing from the "real" struggle.



**COPS DIDN'T GET SECOND CHANCE.** Robert Franklin, author of article above about March on Washington, was among those jailed by D.C. cops last Jan. 31 when they tried to picket Anti-Defamation League dinner which gave "Democratic Legacy" award to President Kennedy. Pickets wanted to know what was "democratic" about prosecution of newsman William Worthy for returning from Cuba to his native U.S. without passport.

**At a Black Muslim Rally**

"Why, those people wouldn't even know what to do in Africa, they've never been there, and the Africans wouldn't want their kind anyway," etc., etc.

The Harlemites with hands raised on high in favor of "cutting out" have never been in Africa — that's true enough. But we have been in America, all our lives, and we are unimpeachable authorities on this country. That fact is what makes our verdict on the U.S., on American society, our repudiation of the decadent American Way of Life, so devastating and authoritative. The fact that these 5,000 Harlemites were passing their experienced and well-founded judgment on America for what it really is, constitutes the most important single point to be learned from their response.

**Revolutionary Implications**

The revolutionary implications of this response completely elude the understanding of white liberals and radicals, and of those Negroes who are insensitive to the thinking and feeling of the masses in Harlem or other Harlems in cities throughout the integrated North and West.

A child raised in a ghetto like Harlem often feels — up till about the age of ten or so — that he is living in a country of black people, with a few whites running things from a distance. In every direction for blocks and blocks around — uptown, downtown, and crosstown — there are nothing but black faces everywhere. Thousands upon thousands of black, brown, tan, and high-yellow faces. Not a white to be seen anywhere, except for cops, racketeers, some teachers in the run-down schools, and store-owners.

For the child raised in that slum, his slum is the worst place in the entire world to live in. Because it's the one he has to live in. High rents and high prices, low wages or relief checks, peeling walls, leaking toilets, rats and roaches, stinking hallways, overcrowding. No trees, no heat in winter, no shade or grass in summer. No decent schools. No future. No hope.

Growing up beyond the age of ten, the slum-raised child will certainly discover sooner or later that the majority of people in the city and in the country are actually white, that these foreign people own and run the country as a whole, and his Harlem too. But that childhood feeling that his Harlem is a country of black folks will remain with him somewhere, subconsciously.

**Southern Fight**

"Down home," way down South, according to what he hears or reads, there are black people fighting, sacrificing, and turning the other cheek for something called "integration," i.e., the right to go to the same schools, use the same water fountains and waiting rooms and lunch counters, as the white folks. Well, we Northern Negroes can do all that right here in New York (Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, etc.), without getting arrested or being jumped by police dogs, and what's so hot about that? Integration is already here, and it's still hell.

The feeling is in the air that you can't just go on "living" this way. People on every block in the slums feel it. Some changes have to be made. Some big changes, something bigger than a little dab of "integration" here and another dab there. The only people who are ready to make any of those changes are black people.

The black nationalist agitators or Black Muslims around the neighborhood don't have all the answers, but to people with the background described above they make more sense than anybody else. The idea of a black nation fits in with the way the Harlemite felt as a kid. These nationalists come from the same slum back-

ground. They talk sense, Harlem sense. If they don't sound like they're talking sense to someone else, who doesn't share that slum background, what does that matter? That someone else never makes much sense to slum-dwelling Negroes in the North.

The nationalists never felt themselves to be part of America, of the white man's society, are not interested in becoming part of it, and say the whole country stinks anyway. And that agrees with the life experience of most Harlemites.

What does "Africa" mean, then, to people of this background? "Africa" is where white folks don't run things and have no say, where black people call the tune. "Africa" is a place where a black child can grow up knowing the future is his — where he can study to become something to help his own people, and not just to make money for himself.

"Africa" is a place where it's natural to look black, feel black, think black. "Africa" is where "we" feel at home, and "they" are foreigners. Whatever Africa is, in emotional terms, it's not this American cesspool here.

The 5,000 Harlemites who raised their two hands on high were saying: "To hell with this America, this filthy pigsty of a society, this social jungle! We want, we deserve, and we're going to bring about something different from and something better than the society we're living in now. If we can't go somewhere else to find this 'Africa,' then we'll make up some of this Africa right here in Harlem, in the U.S.! We'll change things around here to make this place a fit place for black people to live in."

**Not Alone**

The Harlemites who raised their thousands of black hands in favor of a new society and in repudiation of this rotten and degenerate American Way of Life are not the only ones who feel that way. The Negroes in Birmingham and Jackson, Danville and Cambridge, Md., who stand up to hoses, tear gas, four-legged dogs and economic harassment are also intuitively fighting for a new and decent society, one fit to live in, and not just the same now existing putrid class society doctored up with some patchwork of "integration."

The approach is different, the language and slogans are different. The reaction to the word "integration" is different. But the urge to change things fundamentally in struggle is a common denominator.

Outside the U.S., hundreds of millions of people the world over — in China, Indonesia, Vietnam, Algeria, Angola — have been fighting and shedding blood to make some fundamental changes and make their own part of the world fit for their poor and down-trodden to live in. In neighboring Cuba, seven million people put an end to American domination and proceeded to build their own Afro-Cuban society the way they see fit.

The black revolt in the United States — "up South" and down South, integrationist and nationalist alike, is part of this same world-wide revolutionary process. Before long the black revolt will stir into action tens of millions of white workers and farmers, unemployed, youth and students, even poor Southern whites, to make some far-reaching changes in the status quo, and to create an "Africa" for all the working people right here in the United States.

"If it (the hydrogen bomb) is successful, radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere and hence annihilation of any life on earth has been brought within the range of technical possibilities." — Albert Einstein (1879-1955)



# THE MILITANT

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## Kennedy's Attack on Students Who Defied Cuba Travel Ban

In ominous fashion a federal grand jury has begun an inquiry into the recent student trip to Cuba. A Brooklyn grand jury — having jurisdiction over New York's Idlewild Airport, from which the students left for Cuba — subpoenaed several members and leaders of the Progressive Labor Movement, an independent socialist organization, to appear at hearings starting Sept. 10. The trip to Cuba was sponsored by the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

Most of those subpoenaed by the federal grand jury were not members of the student committee. Still they were officially and unreasonably "commanded" to bring with them the records of that committee!

Simultaneously, five students who had travelled to Cuba were subpoenaed to appear before the House Un-American Activities Committee in Washington Sept. 12. Four of these five were also members of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), although the great majority of the 58 students who saw Cuba for themselves had no political affiliations.

Those subpoenaed by the federal jury include Fred Jerome, editor of the monthly magazine, *Progressive Labor*, Milton Rosen, chairman of the PLM, and Mort Scheer, PLM vice-chairman.

The hand of the Kennedy Administration stands clearly revealed in this action. Kennedy intends to launch a red-baiting attack in which the real issues of freedom to travel will be obscured.

He indicated such intentions in a statement at his Aug. 8 press conference that "Communists" among the student travelers might be prosecuted.

The HUAC hearings, which usually serve no legislative purpose but from which testimony may be used by courts, will probably reinforce this administration effort to convince the public that the Cuba trip was a "Communist-engineered plot."

The Kennedys do not want to look like they are persecuting a group of students who insisted on seeing Cuba. There might be too much sympathy for such students. So they are going to try to drag in the leaders of Progressive Labor. The Kennedys — enforcers of the McCarran Act — want to make a record for themselves, it seems, that will keep them in good with the worst of the witch-hunters.

The Kennedys don't want to fight out the issue of freedom to travel in the courts on its own merits. There is too strong a civil-liberties tradition still in this country for government control of travel to be a very popular cause.

That's why, when Robert Kennedy initiated the prosecution of *Afro-American* newsman William Worthy, he concentrated on the technicality that Worthy had returned to this country "without a valid passport," not that Worthy had been in Cuba and had reported favorably on the revolution — which is the real gripe the Kennedys have against him.

The Kennedys seem bent on smear and scandal to becloud the real issue in the case of the students who visited Cuba.

We denounce this needless harassment of persons who asserted their right to travel and to gather information.

We denounce the subpoenaing of persons not connected with the sponsoring committee as a transparent smear technique.

Let no one be misled by red-baiting. This case should become a rallying point for every civil libertarian and believer in the rights of the common man. It should be fought to the hilt and establish for good and all the right of Americans of all political persuasions to go where they wish and to inform themselves on whatever concerns them.

## Local Directory

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

**CHICAGO.** Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

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

**DENVER.** Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California.

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

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

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## BOOK REVIEW

# A Quarter-Century of Un-Americana



This Militant cartoon by the late Laura Gray, published in 1949 when the then HUAC head J. Parnell Thomas, was convicted of conspiring to defraud the government, is reproduced in *A Quarter Century of Un-Americana*.

**A QUARTER-CENTURY OF UN-AMERICANICA — 1938-1963.** A Tragic-Comical Memorabilia of HUAC. Edited by Charlotte Pomerantz. New York: Marzani & Munsell, 127 pp. \$2.50.

After 25 years, a quarter century, two generations and millions of words later, what is there new to be said about the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)? That it is an aid and abettor of reaction and coercive conformism has been well documented. Yet here is a book that has a wonderfully fresh approach, a piercing pin of laughter to explode the malicious HUAC bubble, a broadside of vinegar-sweet vignettes, quotes, cartoons, quips and rogues' gallery of star inquisitors. A quarter-century of Un-Americana — or the expositors, exposed.

In his foreword, H. H. Wilson, professor of politics at Princeton University, distills the essence of HUAC: Individuals are humiliated and punished extra-legally by the arbitrary action of Congress. Areas of ideas and communications are invaded and a beachhead established for the right wing.

Professor Wilson makes the cogent point, "If Congress really wished to reform its own investigating procedure it need only pass a statute which would establish procedures to protect both the witness and the legitimate interest of Congress in obtaining information pertinent to its legislative function."

In the *Envoi*, with which the book closes, James Baldwin writes: "We are living through the most crucial moment of our history, the moment which will result in a new life for us, or a new death. When I say a new life, I mean a new vision of America, a vision which will allow us to face, and begin to change, the facts of American life; and when I say death, I mean Carthage. This seems a grim view to take of our situation, but it is scarcely grimmer than the facts. Our honesty and our courage in facing these facts is all that can save us from disaster. And one of these facts is that there has always been a segment of American life, and a powerful segment, too, which equated virtue with mindlessness.

In this connection, The House Un-American Activities Committee is one of the most sinister facts of the national life."

Cartoons as functional records of history and its foibles, reach, I think, a high point from the 1930s to a ripe maturity today. A work could well be written about this medium that spotlights and lends an urgency to the considered moment. The many cartoons selected for this book are enlightening and skillfully patterned for maximum effort. It is gratifying to find among them two by the late, beloved cartoonist for *The Militant*, Laura Gray.

Let's try a few random quotes from the book:

**Martin Dies:** "Never participate in anything in the future without consulting the American Legion or your local Chamber of Commerce."

**Harold H. Velde:** "The basis of communism is education of the people."

**John S. Wood:** "The threats and intimidations of the Klan are an old American custom like illegal whiskey making."

**Cartoon Caption:** Asked of a teacher being third-degreed, "Have you ever taught or openly advocated freedom of thought in your classroom?"

Nowhere does this book suggest the standoffish attitude of an observer, taking in, but not committing oneself. The book takes us from Martin Dies (HUAC's first chairman), through McCarthyism, to "Black Friday" in San Francisco (scene of student resistance to HUAC hearing); to the recent attack on Women Strike for Peace. From start to finish the book is a demonstration of reaction vs. awareness. As stated by the representative from WSP: "We submit that it is not we women who should be 'investigated' but those who, with the cool logic of madness, attempt to reconcile us to complete destruction."

The advertisement against "calling" 35 leading Los Angeles musicians before HUAC is another example. Here is an excerpt:

"Are you now or have you ever been guilty of Fortissimo? Do you believe in Allegro, bent notes or blues in the night? Do you dig bop? How about force and violins? *The song of McCarthy may be*

*ended, but the malady lingers on.*"

Editor Charlotte Pomerantz points to an older generation with a past of vigorous protest that gave way to the acceptance and conformism of the 1950s. To her this book is a letter of protest that was finally written. A letter that says, "The 60s may close with more of a bang than a whisper." It says, here's what this insanity is all about. Please add your name to this letter.

—Lee Forrest

## Jail Colo. Pacifist For Tax Refusal

For 20 years, Dr. Arthur Evans, a member of the Society of Friends [Quakers] in Colorado, has refused to pay that part of his income tax which corresponds to the percentage of the national budget used for military expenditures. In the past the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) has subtracted from his bank account the amount he refused to pay. This year, however, the IRS insisted that he pay the full amount. Dr. Evans refused. He also refused to produce his financial records when ordered to do so by District Court Judge Alfred A. Arraj. On Aug. 14, he was ordered jailed for 90 days for contempt of court.

Last January, when the IRS was still pressuring him to produce his financial records, Dr. Evans replied: "I have not changed my mind in regard to my previously stated position that it is wrong for me to cooperate consciously and voluntarily with the state when it takes the fruits of man's labor and uses over half of it to prepare man's destruction."

Dr. Evans is still refusing to cooperate, and has chosen instead to serve his 90 day contempt sentence in the Denver County Jail.

"The ideology called 'dialectical materialism,' regardless of the propriety of its title, has taken hold of the imaginations of men as perhaps no doctrine has been able to do since the time of Christ."—Henry D. Aiken (b.1912), Professor of philosophy, Harvard.



WHAT A U.S. PRIEST SAW IN CUBA

# "This, to Me, Is Christianity in Practice"

[The average U.S. citizen has been so brainwashed about Cuba by the Kennedy administration and the big-business-controlled news media that he believes there is no religious freedom there and, indeed, that no one but a Marxist could find anything about the Castro regime to praise. This makes the following testimony by a Catholic priest from the U.S., who has traveled extensively in Cuba, all the more valuable and newsworthy. The interview with Rev. Felix MacGowan, reproduced in full below, took place on Radio Havana's English-language program on Aug. 29, 1963.]

**Announcer:** We have the pleasure of having with us today a Catholic missionary priest from the United States, Father Felix MacGowan. To start with, can you tell us something about yourself, Father?

**Answer:** Right. I'll be very glad to. First, I want to thank you for inviting me to comment here on Radio Havana about my visit to Cuba.

As you fellows know, I am a member of Maryknoll, the Catholic foreign society of America. I was born in New York and I was ordained there in 1950 at Maryknoll, and then sent to the mission in Bolivia. Our mission there is in the jungle area at the headwaters of the Amazon River.

The region is given the name of Green Hell, but I spent ten years there, ten very happy years, mostly working on co-operatives and in labor unions with the rubber workers. Since then I have been recruiting for Maryknoll in the States, and also had the opportunity to start a program called Operation Good Neighbor, where college students sign up for their summer vacations to do volunteer work in poor pueblos or barrios south of the border in Mexico, Peru and other countries.

**Question:** What interest brought you to Cuba, Father?

**A:** Well, my main interest was to see what the recent changes in Cuba had done to help the poor people. I had been in touch with Dorothy Day of the *Catholic Worker* in New York. She had encouraged me to come because of her own recent trip to Cuba. She was interested and thought I might write some articles on religious liberty in Cuba today.

**Q:** Did your superiors okay this trip, Father?

**A:** Yes, our bishop-general of Maryknoll gave me permission and an official leave of absence for three months to visit various dioceses in Latin America. And at the same time the U.S. State Department validated my passport to visit Cuba. And the Cuban Government okayed my petition for a visa.

**Q:** How long have you been in Cuba now, Father?

**A:** It has been almost two months now, and it has been a tremendous trip for me. I have had the opportunity, thanks to the Cubans, to visit all the provinces on the island. And, traveling like this, not once did I have any dif-

distributed and had been wonderfully received here.

**Q:** Pardon me, Father, but were there any sermons being preached in the churches you visited?

**A:** Yes, there were, and not only at mass but also at novenas and different services. The most encouraging work, though, for me to see was that there were classes of Christian doctrine being held everywhere at the churches for both youngsters and older people alike, with many lay teachers helping expand their very necessary training.

**Q:** Is there anything else you would like to add, Father, from your observation? Do you have any criticisms to make?

**A:** Yes, there is, because for me this has been a great experience and one that I will not soon forget. Here in Cuba, today, with the new social changes, one finds a tremendous spirit of brotherhood and also a willingness to sacrifice for the common good.

One finds the poor people with good steady jobs and security. One finds the young people being offered tremendous opportunities in education — as never before. There is medical care and aid for everyone, and all under a system of equality without any privileged groups.

And this, to me, is Christianity in practice — something we used to dream about in our college days. Gone are the vices of gambling, dope and prostitution. Now one finds a tremendous spirit of work — often on a voluntary basis — to continue this progress.

**NEXT WEEK:**

Our next issue will feature the text of an important, far-ranging political interview with "Che" Guevara which appeared in *El Moudjahid*, central organ of Algeria's governing National Liberation Front. The Cuban leader granted the interview during his recent visit to Algeria.

faculty, either as a Catholic priest or as an American. I visited a lot of priests and bishops, and I visited a lot of churches all over the island. I even had the opportunity of celebrating mass at the national shrine of the Virgin of Charity in Cobre, Oriente. And I must say that being able to speak a bit of Spanish helped a lot, because I could talk to young and old alike everywhere I went — on state farms, co-operatives, schools and universities, factories, and large sugar mills.

**Q:** Well, we are very happy that you have enjoyed your trip so far, Father. And I am sure our listeners will be most interested in your findings regarding the Catholic Church in Cuba. What can you tell us about this, Father?

**A:** Well, to start with, contrary to the news we receive in the United States, I found that all the churches here in Cuba were open and that people were freely practicing their religion. However, there is a great shortage of priests. It seems that besides the 120 priests who were exiled, some 400 other priests left Cuba on their own because of the changes. But the priests who remained are working very hard. They celebrate two masses a day and on Sundays they celebrate four masses each.

**Q:** Much has been written against Cuba, Father, as you well know, and we would like to ask you: Have you found any priests in jail, or any type of persecution of those who practice their faith here in Cuba?

**A:** No, I found there were no priests in jail. In fact, I found out that the Minister of Culture in Cuba had even taken stern measures to insure freedom of worship for all religions. And he has been strong in condemning the attacks of the more fanatical anti-religious elements. And I think it is because of this that at present the relations between the Vatican and Cuba are quite good.

**Q:** Is the church allowed to publish pamphlets and literature in Cuba?

**A:** I was very happy to see that they are. They tell me that there are more parish bulletins now than ever before. And also in the Havana papers, you can find Catholic editorials and even feature articles. And I was very happy to find out that thousands of copies of Pope John's encyclical *Peace on Earth* had been printed and

## Graham Greene on Cuba

Graham Greene, the British author, arrived in Mexico City Aug. 8 after visiting Cuba. A UPI dispatch the next day quoted Greene, who is a Catholic, as saying that "Cubans live better than in the day of Batista" and that "there is no religious persecution and anyone can hear mass whenever he wishes." He also said, "There is plenty of work in Cuba today for everyone, the students are serious, well-behaved, and I felt that the Cuban people are happier than before."

This was Greene's second visit to Cuba since the Revolution. Before leaving Havana, he told reporters, "What to me is most charming about Cuba is the poetic direction in which the Revolution continues." He praised the free atmosphere enjoyed by Cuba's creative artists, writers, painters and architects as well as the growing public interest in and appreciation of cultural subjects.

The Catholic novelist deplored the fact that in the U.S. even bishops had been parties to the false campaign about "religious persecution" in Cuba.

He also made known his displeasure with the U.S. movie version of his novel, *Our Man in Havana*, whose setting was Cuba in the last period of the Batista dictatorship.

And the poor people are shaping their own destiny. It is hard for me to criticize the few things that might not have seemed to me the best, because I saw so much good here.

And I will be leaving Cuba just hoping that these social changes that I found in Cuba could be brought quickly to the millions and millions of poor suffering people in other countries of Latin America. And that will be my job in the years to come.

I would only ask that all Christians be more open in their judgment of Cuba, because I think we are closer to God when we can be honest and recognize good wherever we find it or see it, or by whomsoever it is done, knowing that this is what gives praise and honor and glory to God.

**Announcer:** We too share that hope, Father MacGowan, and we want to thank you on behalf of Radio Havana for your words. Thank you very much.

**A SNCC Worker's Story:**

## Alabama Cops Inflict a Brutal Beating

The heroic young men and women who are leading the freedom fight in the South are in constant danger of being killed or beaten. A typical encounter with the police is described below by Landy McNair, a field secretary of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee.

On July 15 McNair and SNCC workers Patricia McElderry and Edward Thomas were riding from Gadsden to East Gadsden, Alabama, in an auto driven by Marvin Robinson, a CORE field secretary. Here is McNair's statement of what happened:

"We got about one-and-a-half miles, and as we turned off the boulevard . . . we were stopped by a patrol car. A policeman got out of the patrol car, and at this time three other patrol cars and a white '63 Oldsmobile came up also.

"The officer from the first car came out of the car, and came up to the car we were in and asked Marvin for his driver's license, which Marvin showed him. Marvin has a Louisiana license, and the officer asked was Marvin working in Alabama.

"Marvin said he was a field secretary of CORE. So the policeman said his license was no good for Alabama. The policeman went to the car and asked over the intercom: 'We have this nigger Robinson and what should we do with him?' And the voice over the intercom replied, 'Put him in jail.' The officer came back over to the car. He knew who we were, and said Marvin was under arrest.

"Marvin got out and said I should drive the car. I slid under the driver's seat, and the officer asked to see my license. He said a Mississippi license was no good for Alabama, and was there anyone in the car with an Alabama license. There wasn't.

"I was lighting a cigarette, and another officer said take the cigarette out of my mouth. He asked

where did I work, and I said I was a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee. He continued to ask questions, and I was answering, 'Yes and no.'

"Another officer from the rear said, 'Wait a minute, Boy, can't you say, Yes, Sir?' I didn't respond. He asked me again, and I didn't respond.

"Al Lingo [notorious anti-Negro sadist who heads the state police], who had come over, leaned into the window and said to Patricia and Thomas, 'What are you damn niggers doing in Alabama, anyhow?' No one said anything.

**Started Walking**

"One officer asked what should be done with the car. The reply was to put it in storage. One of the troopers climbed under the driver's seat. Pat still sat in back, Thomas in the right front. The officer said if Pat wanted to ride downtown, she had to get in front. So Pat and Thomas got out of the car. Pat and Edward started to walk down the Boulevard in the direction of Pat's house.

"And about that time, Lingo said, I don't remember exactly what, but he said, 'I'll teach you damn niggers . . . something,' and went to the back of his white '63 and pulled out one of those prodgers — they call them cow shockers. It was wrapped in black tape, and he came towards me with this thing and attempted to put it on me, and I grabbed it with my left hand.

"He asked me to turn it loose, which I didn't do. When I didn't, ten officers approached. One officer ran behind me and pulled my hand up over my head.

"I remember being hit up side my face and in the stomach. I know he bounced my head up alongside the car about ten or 15 times.

"I remember him telling me to get up. I was trying to get up. He

still had my hand pinned up behind my head. I don't know too much until I was in the car.

"There were two officers in the front, and one in the back with me. He had a little electric hand-prodder. He kept jabbing it into my arm all over. He asked the officer sitting in the front right to hand him a gun and take the bullets out. He handed the gun to me. I refused to take it.

"He said to the other officer, 'I want an excuse so I can kill this damn nigger right here.' And he told me as soon as I get out of jail if I don't leave the State of Alabama he would kill me. And I didn't respond.

"He continued to talk all the way down. About two blocks from jail he asked me, if I was from Mississippi, how come . . . I didn't understand what he said, and I said I didn't understand, and he hit me across the face with his hand. And I said I still didn't understand, and he hit me again.

"That's all that happened until we got to the jail. I was booked on breach of the peace, provocation, and resisting arrest."

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## N.Y. Times Doesn't Care for Idea of Freedom Now Party

# Cites Labor Chiefs' Dependency on Major Parties as 'Wise' Example

By Tom Kerry

As spokesman and defender of the capitalist two-party system, the *New York Times* of August 26, casts a jaundiced editorial eye upon the proposal for the organization of a Freedom Now Party. Such a party, it avers, would isolate the Negro minority from their "allies," the "whites of goodwill" who in their great majority are to be found in one or another of the two major parties.

To bolster this argument the *Times* points to the labor movement as an example of the kind of political wisdom the Negroes should emulate in their fight for freedom and jobs. "The labor movement in this country," it says, "long ago realized that a labor political party would be self-defeating because it would isolate union members politically from the majority of the population." It adds: "The same consideration applies even more strongly to the idea of organizing an all-Negro party."

So, for the good of both "minorities," the *Times* counsels a continuation of the policy of relying upon the Democratic and Republican "whites of goodwill" to look after their welfare. The political pundits on the *Times* editorial staff could not have chosen a worse example.

### Labor's Decline

It is universally acknowledged that never, since the rise of the CIO in the 1930s, has the political influence and prestige of the union officialdom been at a lower point than in the year 1963. Never, in American labor history, has the political policy of a union leadership proven so bankrupt. This view is not unique with this writer. It is shared by a variety of commentators and students including the former labor specialist and now member of the *Times* editorial board, A. H. Raskin.

Writing in the July issue of the liberal magazine, *Commentary*, Raskin highlights the issues and problems confronting the union movement today: automation-unemployment, growth of the labor force, color discrimination, political action. All of these problems extend far beyond the limits imposed by the policy of pure-and-simple trade unionism as practiced by the labor leaders today.

After documenting an expanding list of such problems with which the current policy of the labor leaders is unable to cope, Raskin adds: "All of the above problems — the demise of the strike; increased mechanization of bargaining; increased bureaucratization of the work process itself; automation and unemployment — will require for even their proximate solution a degree of political commitment American labor has never shown. They demand that politics become a principal business of unions, not a haphazard adjunct of their narrowly economic purposes."

Although Raskin doesn't say so, for politics to become a "principal business of unions" would require a decisive break with the current

policy of political subordination of the labor movement to the Democratic Party. It would require that the unions take the initiative in organizing their own party, running their own candidates on a program that would represent the interests of the working people — who, despite the tendentious political arithmetic of the *N.Y. Times*, represent along with their natural allies, an overwhelming majority of the American people.

But, as Raskin points out, the politics of the union leaders "lack conviction and direction." "Their programs for securing the public weal," he adds, "are as lackluster, and offered as perfunctorily, as those that the administration keeps shoveling into the Congressional hoppers: looking forward to all the right things, but with no real expectation that anyone will pay attention."

### "Stock Refrain"

Summing up the essence of the political policy of the top labor brass, Raskin comments: "Labor's stock refrain is that it is for everything the President wants in order to stimulate the economy, only that the President's bills don't go far enough."

The organized labor movement in this country numbers some 18 million members. Numerically, it is the largest union movement in the capitalist world. Potentially, it is the most powerful political force in the nation. Yet, through an unfortunate quirk of historical irony, there stands at the head of this massive army a general staff afflicted with hardening of the political arteries. That is the fatal flaw.

Toward any manifestation of militant opposition in the ranks they react like ferocious tigers; toward those they consider their superiors, they fawn like drooling lickspittles. Consider this revealing scene drawn by Raskin of the leaders of American labor on one of their ritualistic visits to the White House:

"When union leaders come to the White House," he observes, "they are docile guests. I asked one labor participant in a recent presidential luncheon whether any of the unionists had told Mr. Kennedy he was not doing enough about the unemployed. 'Oh, we didn't tell him,' was the bland reply. 'He told us. He said the real problem in America was not balancing the fiscal budget but balancing the human budget.' [Sounds like a Reutherism, doesn't it? — T.K.]

### White House Tour

"And," Raskin concludes, "with that problem tidily wrapped up, everybody went on a personally guided tour of the White House upstairs. They all left confirmed in their opinion that the United States had a great President."

That Kennedy even deigns to invite them to visit the White House is considered a great honor. A pat on the head, a meaningless generality that passes as the last word in political wisdom, a guided tour of the White House "upstairs," and they go padding out the door supremely satisfied that they have fully discharged their responsibilities to the working people of America.

Is it any wonder that people who are sympathetic to the needs and aspirations of the workers are becoming more and more discouraged and pessimistic about the future of the union movement? In a recent pamphlet, published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, staff director Paul Jacobs of the Center's Study of the Trade Union, concludes that "unions must move on from the simple economic level" upon which they have been operating.

"In Israel, in the Scandinavian

countries, in England, and in many other foreign lands," he adds, "unions are an integral part of the political system, not onlookers as they are in America where the simplistic AFL tradition of rewarding friends and punishing enemies is still dominant. The tragedy of American unions is that they who did so much to create the old collective bargaining system are taking so minor and unimportant a role in developing a new one. It may mean their death."

The directors of the Center go even further in a more recent study, recording a conversation between ten unidentified leaders of the UAW and Paul Jacobs and W. H. Ferry, vice president of the Center and former director of public relations for the CIO Political Action Committee. They declare: "At the Center, studies have concluded that, far from growing stronger, the trade unions are consistently declining in power and support and that, in fact, we may be witnessing the beginning of the end of the trade-union movement."

To predict the early demise and burial of so lively a corpse is somewhat premature. Changes are today taking place which will have a profound effect upon the consciousness of all sections of American society and — more specifically — upon the American workers. The greatest of these being the Freedom Now revolt of the Negro people, comparable in its social impact to the CIO movement of the 1930s.

### Future of Mankind

If the future of the union movement depended solely upon initiative of the fossilized union tops, the prophets of doom would have a good case. But it would be a bad mistake to write off the American working class. Once before, in the prolonged boom of the 1920s, liberals and many radicals viewed the prospect of toppling the open-shop empires of the industrial monopolists as hopeless. But when the American workers began to move in the early 1930s they moved massively.

The movement for industrial organization rolled over the palsied union timeservers who sought to restrict and contain it within the framework of the AFL craft union structure. It evoked a split in the AFL tops in response to the radical upsurge from below to establish, for the first time on American soil, a genuine trade-union movement encompassing the decisive section of the workers in the mass production industries.

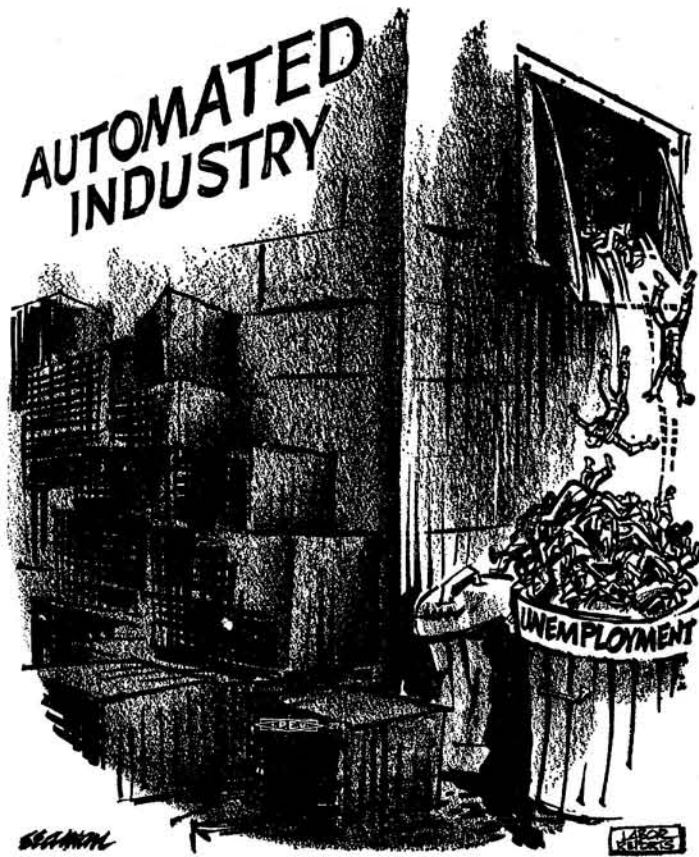
It is true that the situation today is much different. The extension of union organization to include a few more hundreds of thousands or even several million workers would make no qualitative difference. Experience has demonstrated that numbers alone don't count for very much. The fact of the merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955 did not stem the decline of union influence nor did it solve any of the fundamental problems of the American workers. In fact the process was accelerated.

### Problems Are Political

All of the important problems confronting the working people today are essentially political. They cannot be solved through the medium of collective bargaining between individual unions and the employers. Even here, in what is presumed to be the essential function of the unions, we find the government constantly intervening to impose one or another form of compulsory arbitration. This is especially true since the election of the Kennedy administration.

More and more the top union leaders are adapting themselves to the surrender of union indepen-

"Without Regard to Race, Color or Creed . . ."



dence on the economic field. Combine this with the political policy of subordinating the labor movement to the Democratic Party and the workers are disarmed in the face of increasing onslaughts by the employers and their political representatives in Washington and the various states. The end result is that the unions are more and more beginning to resemble the job trusts of the pre-CIO days.

It is small wonder then that the millions of youth who enter the labor market each year become easy prey to the anti-union propaganda of the employers and the kept press. And less wonder that the Negro people, who in their vast majority are workers, begin to view the unions as obstacles and barriers to their struggle to break down job discrimination in industry.

### Need Radical Change

The unions cannot survive as defenders of the status quo. To the Negroes, the youth, the growing army of unemployed, the status quo becomes intolerable. They will respond only to a program of radical change. To be considered seriously, such a program must be given organizational form through a new political party. For labor such a party must be independent of the two major capitalist parties and based on the organized trade-union movement.

At various times in the past, especially at times of acute conflict with the political representatives of big business in Washington, the union brass has warned that continued anti-labor legislation, imposing more onerous restrictions and repressions on the unions, could lead to the formation of a labor party. Some have gone further and, when pressed, avowed they were for a labor party, but — "now is not the time."

If the labor leaders feel they can afford to wait for a more propitious time, the militant freedom fighters are convinced that the Negroes can't. As against the filibustering "now-is-not-the-time" view they advance the slogan: For a Freedom NOW Party.

They recognize the essentially political nature of the struggle for freedom and jobs. Their initiative can serve to crystallize sentiment among the trade-union ranks and lower rungs of the union leadership to emulate their action. The realization of a Freedom Now Party would shatter the monstrous Labor-Negro-Demo-

cratic coalition and compel the union leaders to move in the direction of labor's independent political action or risk the fate of the mossbacks who ruled the AFL in the pre-CIO days.

Such a development could clear the ground for a genuine alliance between equal partners in a political movement for the emancipation of the Negro people from the Jim Crow system and the white workers from the system of capitalist wage slavery. That is the perspective. The white workers owe the militant Negro freedom fighters an eternal debt of gratitude for their initiative in directing a body blow at the pernicious political policy which has led the union movement into a dead end.

The lesson to be learned from all this is not the one the *N.Y. Times* tries to teach — that the Negroes should follow in the wake of the labor leaders to avoid "isolation," but the contrary: Unless the Freedom Now movement breaks with the coalition policy of subordination to the boss-controlled Democratic and Republican parties, it will inevitably go down the same road of political perdition that threatens to engulf the union movement in a quagmire of frustration and despair.

## ...South Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

rounding up high-school girls and boys, hauling them to concentration camps in trucks bearing "clasped hands" emblems of the U.S. aid mission. It tells of students shouting slogans condemning U.S. aid to Diem and crying, "President Kennedy will not help us." One sign the students raised must surely strike a response from Americans fighting for their rights in this country. It read: "We Want Freedom."

How long can the American people allow this to go on? How long will our tax dollars be funneled behind our backs specifically to the torturers, executioners and storm troopers of an utterly discredited tyranny? How long will American GIs have to fight and die in jungles and rice paddies to keep a corrupt police regime in power? How long before the American people tell Kennedy in no uncertain terms: Withdraw all U.S. troops from Vietnam! Stop all aid to the Diem dictatorship!

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# Letters From Our Readers

## From a Veteran Socialist

Santa Cruz, Calif.  
 Just a note of appreciation to the people who have stuck to their beliefs and had the faith and courage to suffer many hardships, arrests, beatings and isolation of a reactionary period coupled with vicious abuse by Stalinism.  
 It's been a hard drag that became almost intolerable to some who fell by the wayside. But much political thinking (world-wide)

has at last brought a little light that could be the end of the dark 30-year-long tunnel.

The report in *The Militant*, and others I've heard, on the Socialist Workers Party convention were really encouraging. I hope to see a new "leap forward" in money, membership, activity, etc., that may warrant — look out — a tear or two of joy. Let's get wet!

H.C.B.

## Dim View of Daily Press

San Jose, Calif.  
 Allow me to thank you for your patience and confidence in me as your subscriber. Your publication is an excellent and fascinating piece of work. I look forward to your coverage and interpretations of world events.

The pornography which passes for news in the commercial press becomes filthier and more criminal with each passing year. Yet the vast complex crisis which we face grows apace. Apathy is the answer of capitalist "democracy"!

All power to your fine work.

J.R.

## From a Solid Supporter

Detroit, Mich.  
 Just a few lines to let you know I would like to have my subscription continued for one year. Enclosed is a money order for \$5 — \$3 is for a one-year subscription and \$2 is a contribution. Later I will contribute to your fund campaign through Debs Hall here.

A.K.

## 'Disgusted and Nauseated'

Mahanoy City, Pa.  
 Please cancel my subscription to *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*. I am just fed up and disgusted with your publications. You are nothing but a bunch of "One-Eyed Jacks." I have read *The Militant* for a year. It has been one year too much.

*The Militant's* handling of the racial problem is a typical example. How many people have lost their lives because of racial demonstrations last year? Five, ten, how many? I do not know. I do know that *The Militant* has persisted in exploiting this problem at every opportunity. Yet not one word has been written about the Berlin Wall. Every day people risk their lives trying to cross over to the West — refugees who flee from political oppression have been shot down almost every day. Murdered by your socialist heroes.

What about Castro's Cuba? Last month 20 or more refugees were abducted from an English island. *The Militant* did not mention anything about this.

It seems to me as if everyone is trying to leave the socialist workers paradise *The Militant* advocates.

Aside from this hypocrisy, *The Militant* has the gall to criticize the capitalist press.

I can cite numerous other examples of your hypocrisy, but I do not wish to waste any more of my time writing.

I am disgusted and nauseated with your publication.

F.S.

[F.S.'s letter is an example of thinking that has been successfully molded by the reactionary propagandists of this land. He wrings his hands over the strife allegedly caused by the Negro de-

mand for freedom and he centers his concern for human freedom not in the USA but in such target areas of the capitalist propagandists as Cuba and East Germany.

We too don't know the exact number that have died as the result of what F.S. — with conscious or unconscious bias — chooses to term "the result of racial demonstrations." But we do know that the responsibility for such deaths rests squarely on the shoulders of the racists who resist by force the morally and legally justified and peaceably presented demands of the Negro people. We aren't sure what is meant by the charge that we exploit this problem. We openly and unambiguously welcome and support the Freedom Now struggle. We also explain to those seeking a fundamental solution to the problem that in our view such a solution lies in the abolition of the capitalist system of the exploitation of man by man from which the evil of discrimination stems.

*The Militant* did not comment on the alleged refugees reported captured by the Cuban government on a British-owned key off the Cuban coast because there has not been sufficient verifiable facts available. But on the basis of the

whole past record we would venture to predict that on becoming available such facts would discredit not the Cuban government, but the U.S. government which has violated international law by using these keys as bases for CIA-backed counter-revolutionary infiltrators and saboteurs.

Regarding the Berlin Wall, if F.S. did read *The Militant* for a year he would know that we oppose denials of human freedom wherever they occur, including East Germany. But in opposing the bureaucratic evils of Ulbricht-Khrushchev we do not intend to give any aid to Kennedy's cold warriors who hypocritically point to curbs on freedom in places like East Germany while supporting such ruthless dictatorships as those in Vietnam and Mississippi. [EDITOR.]

## Thanks We're Doing Good

Bowling Green, Ky.  
 After a summer absence of three months I am quite eager to re-subscribe to your courageous paper. It is difficult to read the capitalist-oriented regional and local papers for long without realizing the need for a good working-class paper to correct the lies,

distortions and omitted news.

I especially appreciate the clear, factual information available in *The Militant* about the continuing Negro struggle, the peace movement, and the excellent coverage of Cuba.

Down here in Kentucky few students in the high schools, colleges and universities are aware of any alternative to the capitalism they have always known. They have heard of some fiendish import from Moscow that they would rather die than submit to, but that is all. *The Militant* is a useful aid to the conversion of these people. Keep up your good work.

R.P.

## Wants to Catch Up

Sarasota, Fla.  
 Sorry it took me so long to renew my subscription, but have been out of work and in this part of the country \$2 is a lot of money.

Thank you for keeping me on the list as long as you did. Would you start this from where I left off and send along copies of *The Militant* from Aug. 19 on as I hate to miss a copy.

G.A.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**TV Screeners** — The American Broadcasting Company has made the signing of a "loyalty" oath the prerequisite for the appearance of Pete Seeger on its TV show, "Hootenanny." ABC advised Seeger, the nation's most popular folk singer, that it would "consider" using him on the program if he would furnish "a sworn affidavit as to his past and present affiliations." Seeger, a defender of civil liberties, refused. In 1955 he defied HUAC efforts to pry into the political beliefs of himself and fellow entertainers. He was convicted of contempt of Congress but the Court of Appeals reversed this last year.

**No Scabbing Allowed** — A Brooklyn man was held on \$2,000 bail on charges of impersonating an officer and extorting 25 cents from two Coney Island shoe-shine boys. The youngsters said he identified himself as a cop, asked if they had licenses to shine shoes and demanded a quarter when they said no. Probably suspicious of the modest bite he put on them, the boys pointed him out to another cop who promptly jailed the man.

**Sensitive** — "NEW CANAAN, Conn. — Unlike many other commuters, about 60 business and professional men who live in this fashionable suburb look forward to their daily trip to New York. That's because they ride in a private railroad car with carpets on the floor, drapes on the windows and an attendant to serve rolls and coffee. 'It's a little embarrassing,' confesses one member of the exclusive group. 'We pull the shades down before we leave the station so other commuters, rushing by outside to other cars to scramble for seats, won't see us lolling about inside with our feet stretched out.'" — The Sept. 6 *Wall Street Journal*.

**Preparing for Life of Crime?** — The first prison chapter of the Junior Chamber of Commerce has been organized. A charter is being issued to a group of prisoners at the State Correctional Institution in Salem, Oregon.

**The Good Old Days** — The Sept. 6 *Washington Report* of the Chamber of Commerce explains that in the "early days of American capitalism," people were induced to produce more "by means of the carrot and the stick. Greater financial rewards (and rewards of prestige and status) were offered to those who supplied the needed human resources, and those who did not suffer material deprivation and were denied status." The bulletin recalls nostalgically, "This early system was phenomenally effective because it generated tremendous anxiety."

**We Thought They Already Had** — Commenting on the fact that General Motors currently has on hand a whopping \$2.3 billion in cash and liquid assets, the *Wall Street Journal* says: "A joke currently going the rounds in Detroit is that General Motors is saving up to buy the federal government."

**Why Not Leave It to Uncle Sam?** — Daisy Manufacturing Co., makers of BB air rifles is spending more than \$75,000 a year on "educational programs" about guns for children. In conjunction with the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the company is also helping to organize air-rifle classes and competitive teams. Says company vice president John Powers: "We are trying to do for shooting what the Little Leagues did for baseball."

**Slice of Culture** — A Dugan Brothers Bakery press release says it got the idea for its new round loaf of bread with "circular slices" from the "theater-in-the-round movement." And some people thought they were just cutting corners on the dough.

**All Well in Free World** — The Agriculture Department is still trying to track down the \$24 million in U.S. grain that vanished en route to Austria. The Kennedy administration has so far kept pigeon-holed a demand by Republicans for an investigation. Meanwhile, according to the Sept. 9 *National Observer*, "Government sleuths now say they're satisfied none of the grain was diverted to Communist countries, but they still don't know where in the Free World it went."

**It Figures** — The American Chamber of Commerce in Japan has notified members it is dropping a cost-of-living survey because the cost of the survey has risen too high.

**Better Less But Better?** — The *Wall Street Journal* glumly reports a drop in membership of businessmen's private clubs. However, there's a bright side. Says the *Journal*: "But some clubs are unworried: 'We got rid of the shoe clerks — the guys who were not really developing our business,' says one club manager."

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## Thought for the Week

"Birmingham is a nice place to picket, but I wouldn't want to live there." — Civil-rights fighter and comedian Dick Gregory.

## 10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"The Department of Justice is laying the basis for a refusal to indict and prosecute Senator Joseph McCarthy for fraud, bribery, election-law violations, income-tax evasion and other charges raised in the semi-suppressed report of the Senate Privileges and Elections subcommittee on Jan. 2.

Attorneys for the Justice Department . . . have made a seven-month study of McCarthy's tangled and obscure financial dealings as disclosed in the Senate report. The Senate subcommittee had uncovered documents very damaging to McCarthy and raised the question of whether he had used his position for personal gain, "peddled" his influence, violated election laws and misappropriated for his own use cash he had solicited for his "anti-Communist" activities.

The administration lawyers, in their report, do not dispute the accuracy of the Senate subcommittee's factual findings. They do not deny the shady nature of his financial manipulations. They merely contend there is no legal basis for indicting the Wisconsin witch-hunter. According to their claim, McCarthy has carefully remained within the technical requirements of the law." — Sept. 14, 1953.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"When a Workers' and Farmers' Government is established in this country, we will probably have our first opportunity to learn the full story of how the Negro soldiers were Jim Crowed in World War II and how the soldiers fought back against it. There is good reason to believe that the full account is much longer (and bloodier) than most people suspect. Meanwhile, however, we have to depend primarily on what the Negro press is able to discover, of which the following is a typical example:

Six Southern Negro soldiers from Camp McCain, Miss., have been found guilty of firing shots from Garand rifles at the town of Duck Hill on July 5. They have already been sent to Federal prison at Fort Leavenworth, to serve sentences from 10 to 15 years at hard labor. Court-martials of seven other soldiers facing the same charges were scheduled to be held last week.

The basic cause? The resentment of the soldiers against the Jim Crow treatment of the local civilians and the segregated set-up in the army.

But the War Department stands pat on army segregation. Acting War Secretary John J. McCloy informed the NAACP last week that the oft-made request for the formation of a mixed unit in the Army has again been rejected as "inadvisable."

And the WAC, despite repeated protests by Negro and labor organizations, has set up an all-Negro battalion at Fort Des Moines, Ia." — Sept. 18, 1943.



## Muslim, Socialist, Nationalist, SNCC Views Heard in Chicago

By Jay Garnett

CHICAGO — An evaluation of the March on Washington by a panel including spokesmen from various sections of the Freedom Now movement drew a large audience — as well as newspaper reporters and TV news cameramen — to the Friday Night Socialist Forum on Sept. 6.

Discussing "The March on Washington — What Next?" were John Ali, national secretary of the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims), Lawrence Guyot, a Mississippi field secretary of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, John Bracey of the National Afro-American Organization, and Roger Sheppard of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The discussion was opened by John Bracey, who said: "I had misgivings about speaking here tonight on the March on Washington because, frankly, I had misgivings about the March. I'm all for solidarity of Freedom Fighters, but Roy Wilkins was trying to make a picnic out of the demonstration . . . I would much have preferred a mass march on the Capitol. Let them try to arrest 200,000 people . . . The only thing I got out of the March was the feeling: We've got an awful lot of power on our side."

### Need to Organize

Explaining the National Afro-American Organization's aims, Bracey said: "We must organize people where they are . . . We must organize on the local level, politically. It's a waste of time trying to develop middle-class goals by middle-class methods . . .

Tell the man in the ghetto why he is without a job. He's under the same colonialism they're under in Africa . . . Support anybody that stands for black. Call the phonies, phonies. People know the politicians downtown are phonies."

Referring to Rev. Martin Luther King's speech at the March, Bracey declared, "Rev. King's attitude is a little bit unrealistic. He kept saying: 'I have a dream, — I have a dream —.' It's time black people stop dreaming and sleeping and wake up!"

SNCC Field Representative Lawrence Guyot said a "sociological disease" pervaded the government, the press, the labor leadership, the church and even the leadership of the civil-rights movement.

Referring to the censorship of SNCC Chairman John Lewis' speech at the March on Washington, Guyot said, "You've got to appease certain political authorities and ecclesiastical officials before you are allowed to say anything . . . We've got government of the few, by the few to monopolize and control the many . . . How can you attack a problem when you can't even disseminate the facts? The Democratic Party and the Republican Party have been running not on issues, not on philosophies, but on personalities . . ."

The third speaker was Roger Sheppard of the Young Socialist Alliance, an activist in the desegregation struggle in Maryland. He excoriated the AFL-CIO Executive Council for having refused even to indorse the March. Moreover, he asserted that those top union officials, Walter Reuther and A. Philip Randolph, in the leadership of the March "played the key role in censoring John Lewis' speech."

Hailing the call for the formation of a Freedom Now Party, Sheppard remarked, "The press of the white power structure calls this social dynamite. They don't realize what they're saying, because that's exactly what it is."

The final speaker, John Ali, national secretary of the Muslims,

## How Malcolm X Viewed March

Encountering Malcolm X in Washington, D. C., the evening of the Aug. 28 March, a *Militant* reporter asked him for a statement.

Of the March itself, the Black Muslim leader said, "It was a good show — like the Rose Bowl."

He remarked that the present Negro leadership was talking about a "civil-rights revolution." But revolution is not a half-way process, he added. "You are either free or not free." There was, he said, a revolutionary tradition in this country — from George Washington to the Abolitionists. Because the Muslims are independent of the white power structure, they are, he declared, in the tradition of these revolutionaries. "That is why we are the most slandered organization in the U. S."

said, "A March is a military term, a certain type of maneuver for a definite purpose. What you saw happening in Washington was not a march, but a parade."

"We can't get freedom, justice and equality from the white man by asking," he asserted. "We must separate; let us go for ourselves. We must be equal owners and sharers in the government. We are not interested so much in civil rights as in human rights . . ."

Regarding criticism and ridicule of the Muslim demand for separation, Ali said: "That is no more an unjust demand than that of white America in the Declaration of Independence."

## Penna. Racists Fail to Dislodge Negro Family from New Home

By Jack Arnold

FOLCROFT, Pa. — The day after the March on Washington, a jeering, egg-and-rock throwing mob here tried to prevent Mr. and Mrs. Horace Baker, a young Negro couple, from moving into a home they had purchased. Folcroft is just outside Philadelphia and Delmar Village, where the Bakers bought their home, was previously a lily-white housing development.

Continuing almost unabated for two days, the riot was an illustration of the virulence of racism in the North and how deeply imbedded it is in the local and state police. In the course of conversations with Mrs. Baker and NAACP officials and members, who had rallied to aid her and her husband, and at a protest meeting at the Mt. Zion AME Church in Darby, a neighboring township, the following facts were learned.

The Bakers had made two attempts on Aug. 29 to move into their newly purchased home. Each time the Folcroft police tried to discourage them from doing so. When they persisted, the police made no real attempt to give them protection. Asked why they had attempted to move in without first making sure of adequate police protection, Mrs. Baker replied: "I didn't foresee any problem. I felt we'd be ignored for a long time but I didn't feel there would be any great physical problem."

Mr. and Mrs. Baker, who are respectively an electronics laboratory technician and a nurse and who have a two-and-a-half year old child, obtained the house through listings maintained by the Friends [Quakers] Suburban Housing Committee. It had been put up for sale by the Veterans Administration. The young couple



Militant photo by J.A.

**FIGHTERS AGAINST HOUSING BIAS. Mr. and Mrs. Horace Baker at door of their new home in Folcroft, Pa., where they have stood fast against the attacks of racist mobs seeking to force them out of the previously all-white housing development of Delmar Village.**

made no attempt to get aid in moving in because they had been assured by a representative of the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, who had visited the

area and talked to people there, that there would be no violence.

When news of the rioting reached NAACP officials in the general area, they immediately went to the scene and tried to get adequate police protection for the endangered couple. The president of the Darby NAACP branch was stoned by the mob while he was trying in vain to persuade the Folcroft chief of police to disperse it.

In answer to the riot call sent out to neighboring townships, three policemen and the chief arrived from Darby. All were Negro. The Folcroft police chief ordered them out of the area.

The first state police arrived around 7 p. m. They cordoned off the house but made no attempt to disperse the crowd. Occasionally they would grab the thrower of a rock or an egg.

The next day, under protection of state troopers, the Bakers finally managed to get moved into their house. But at dusk, most of the state police were sent elsewhere. This emboldened the waiting mob.

In the course of all this, Phillip Savage, Tri-State field director for the NAACP, phoned from the besieged house to Gov. Scranton's secretary in an attempt to convince him that the police protection was inadequate. He was told that state police reports were that the situation was under control. After five more phone calls he managed to convince the Pennsylvania attorney general and around midnight a new commanding officer for the state police was sent in. He cleared the mob from the area in ten minutes.

In the two days of rioting every pane of glass in the Bakers' house had been smashed. The plumbing and utilities had been ripped out. Autos belonging to people who came to aid the Bakers were wrecked. A number of reporters were attacked by the mob.

But despite all the damage and threats about the future, the courageous young couple have gone about cleaning up the debris and making the house into a home.

### Push Fight on Detroit Police Brutality

## Citizens' Control of Cops Demanded

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — "This case should have died a long time ago. Instead of dying, it just keeps getting bigger and bigger," the Rev. Albert Cleage told an audience of 700 who had come to an Aug. 19 meeting organized by GOAL (Group on Advanced Leadership).

They were meeting to protest the July 5 killing of a young Negro woman, Cynthia Scott, shot in the back by a white police officer for resisting arrest. Each new official whitewash of this murder has added fuel to the flames of protest against police brutality.

Police Commissioner Edwards, who had been in Europe at the time of the killing, appeared on TV and radio Aug. 7 to support the actions of the police and all the state and city officials who called this killing "justifiable homicide." They refused to punish the officer who has a bad record of brutality against Negroes and workers. Edwards, who had been the liberals' darling, was immediately denounced by leading civil-rights and civil-liberties groups.

One week later, spokesmen from the Detroit Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild, GOAL, Detroit Council for Human Rights, American Civil Liberties Union and NAACP shared a half-hour program to criticize Edwards' handling of the Scott case.

He has been slated for a federal appeals court judgeship but now the Wolverine Bar Association, a Negro lawyers group, and GOAL have urged President Kennedy and Michigan senators to block this appointment. Edwards is unfit to be a judge, they insist.

Uhuru, a group of Negro college students, has now staged three highly successful street meetings which have attracted from 100-300 persons. These street meetings with sound equipment are strictly illegal in Detroit. But police have not dared as yet to stop them or punish the organizers.

One of the main points of discussion aroused by this case is the right of a citizen to resist illegal arrest. Commissioner Edwards insists a citizen must submit to arrest even if it is unjustified and illegal. GOAL attorneys insist that Michigan law states the contrary. In the \$5 million damage suit they have filed against the city on behalf of the slain woman's mother, they cite many cases upholding a citizen's right to resist illegal arrest even if it means killing the arresting officer in self-defense.

In a statement issued by the Detroit branch of the Socialist Workers Party, the first demand is for organized self-defense of the Negro community against the illegal acts of the police. "Neighborhood organizations should be formed to mobilize resistance to arbitrary arrests, to demand that warrants be shown before arrests and searches, and to protect individuals from police brutality . . . Individuals DO have the right to resist illegal arrest! But individual actions can never work like organized, collective resistance by large numbers of people."

The demand which has gained the widest support is for a citizens' review board to police the police department. On Aug. 9 a meeting of 150 representatives

from labor, religious, civil-liberties and civil-rights groups agreed to form an unofficial citizens' committee to investigate police brutality.

Negro councilman, William Patrick, plans to reintroduce an ordinance amendment, defeated in 1961, empowering the city's Commission on Community Relations to review police activities.

The SWP statement says: "We want a police review board, directly elected by the people, where brutality victims can go for JUSTICE."

The statement also calls for disarming the police. This has been loudly approved when voiced at Uhuru street meetings. Another point that received a very enthusiastic reception was put forward by the local organizer of the Freedom Now Party. He called on Negroes to organize their own political party and elect their own representatives to office.

The SWP statement concludes: "Many Negro militants are talking about the idea of a Freedom Now political party. We support this proposal, just as we support the idea of an independent Labor Party based on the union movement."

"The Freedom Now party could be the political arm of the struggle for things that Negroes really need — better housing and schools, jobs and an end to police brutality . . . It is necessary to begin NOW to prepare for independent political action in the 1965 city elections. It is up to the labor and Negro movements to break with the capitalist political machines and try to get something for themselves."