

THE MILITANT

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5,000 in March on Albany For \$1.50 Minimum Wage

By Adam Knox

ALBANY, N.Y. March 10—"I've heard double-talk, crooked talk, round talk and straight talk; today I heard Rockefeller talk." This was Harlem rent-strike leader Jesse Gray telling the participants in today's March on Albany about the interviews with the governor, state officials, state senators and assemblymen.

"Rockefeller promised we'd be studied, X-rayed and examined," Gray continued, but no tangible benefits for New York's slum dwellers could be got from the millionaire governor whose mind is preoccupied at present with White House dreams. However, the estimated 5,000 Negroes, Puerto Ricans and unionists who came up here at least saw that they could force the state's top politicians to sit and listen if only they came in sufficient numbers.

For some the day began on New York City's Lower East Side, waiting in the drizzling rain for the buses. Piling into them, members of the Lower East Side Rent Strike, the Council of Puerto Rican Organizations of Lower Manhattan, the Negro Action Group and others began the several hours journey up to Albany.

Upstate the rain became snow and the blizzard slowed the car-

van but did not stop it—except in the case of those who had planned to leave from Ithaca.

The demonstrators marched through Albany's three-inch deep slush to the armory where they gathered to receive instructions about the March on the Capitol.

In mid-afternoon the March began. Carrying signs with their demands printed on them and waving the banners of the various groups before them, the demonstrators filed four-by-four through the streets. A bit of good-natured in-fighting — an NAACP contingent cut in front of a bannerless Harlem group and thus "added" the group's size to their original number, at least for photographic purposes — did not break the unity of the line.

Plans to crowd the thousands of marchers onto the Capitol steps were discarded because of the slipperiness there. Instead, the March heads gathered on the steps and the people stood in the snow. A. Philip Randolph, inspirer of the March on Washington, read the

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Malcolm X Maps Campaign To Build Black Nationalism

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK—Malcolm X, whose reported split with the Muslims was headlined across the country, today told *The Militant* he will remain a Muslim minister but will also engage in independent activity to develop black nationalism as a political force and that he will actively support the civil-rights struggle.

He further told *The Militant* he would become minister of a new Muslim mosque in Harlem "to have a religious base within the community and to be free of outside dictation."

Regarding the report that he was launching a "black nationalist party," he said, "I will try to establish an organizational structure whose nature yet remains to be defined."

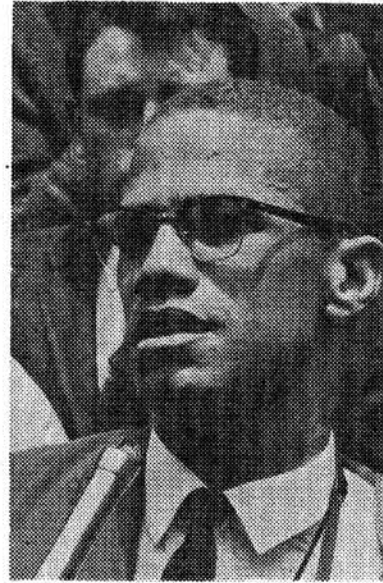
"From the viewpoint of religion," he explained, "I remain a Muslim."

"But," he added, "my personal political, social and economic philosophy is that of black nationalism."

While he has no concrete political plans as yet, he said, "No Negro can be politically blind. It will be our intention to make all politicians — white and black — well aware that we are present."

Indicating his concept of black nationalism, Malcolm X said he considered it to mean political, social and economic control by Negroes within their communities. "Politically," he said, "I mean the Negro must take political control of his community."

"By economic control I mean gain control of the jobs and busi-



Malcolm X

nesses of his community — not necessarily to push others out — but to make the Negro job-conscious, business-conscious.

"My social philosophy is that instead of trying to force themselves into other areas where they aren't wanted, that Negroes must act to check the ills within their own community — ills that are destroying the moral fiber of the community."

Affirming that he would support civil-rights actions, the dynamic Muslim minister said he had been invited to Plaquemine, La., by two rights leaders there and that he would speak in Plaquemine this spring.

"I will speak anywhere I am invited," he added. "North, South, East or West."

He said that inquiries regarding speaking engagements could be addressed to him at his home: 23-11 87th St., East Elmhurst, L.I., New York. (In an earlier statement he said he would particularly welcome campus speaking engagements.)

In explaining his future plans, Malcolm X emphasized that what he is doing does not represent a split in the Muslim movement. "There are already enough splits and divisions among Negroes," he said.

In other press statements, the widely popular Negro leader supported the right of Negroes to self-defense, affirmed the value of fighting for specific goals and scored the officialdom of the civil-rights movement as ineffectual.

"I am prepared," he was reported as saying, "to cooperate in local civil-rights actions in the South and elsewhere . . . every campaign for specific objectives can only heighten the political consciousness of the Negroes and intensify their identification against white society."

"Good education, housing and jobs are imperatives for Negroes," he said, "and I shall support them in their fight to win these objectives. But I shall tell the Negroes that while these are necessary they cannot solve the main Negro problem."

"I shall also tell them that what has been called the 'Negro Revolution' in the United States is a deception practiced upon them, because they have only to examine the failure of this so-called revolution to produce any positive results in the past year."

"I shall tell them," he continued, "what a real revolution means — the French Revolution, the American Revolution, Algeria, to name a few. There can be no revolution without bloodshed, and it is nonsense to describe the civil-rights movement in America as a revolution."

"The white power structure," he said, "is hopeful that the civil-rights leaders will channel the demands and the bitterness of the Negroes into a token painless compromise."

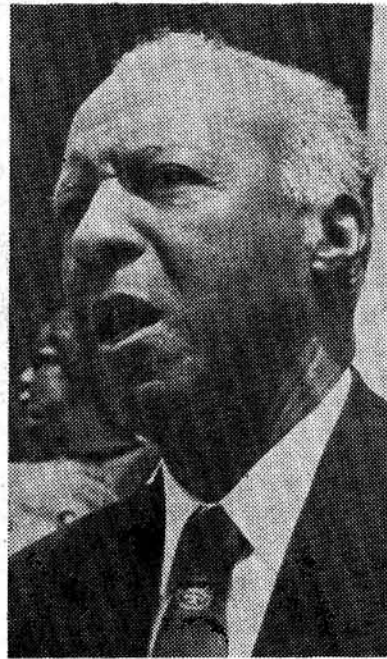
"Another thing. The Negroes still don't understand the power of the ballot in the North. We must make them understand that the Negro voters have it in their power to decide next November whether Johnson should stay in the White House or go back to his Texas cotton patches."

DeBerry Lauds Malcolm X's Stand

NEW YORK, March 10 — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, today lauded the declaration by Malcolm X that he would seek to develop black nationalist political strength and would actively support the civil-rights struggle.

"I heartily agree with Malcolm X," DeBerry declared, "that every militant civil-rights struggle helps the Negroes understand the need for black political power."

"And I certainly welcome his declaration that Negroes have the right and duty to defend themselves against racist violence," DeBerry added. "I will do all I can in this campaign to rally support for these views. I am confident Malcolm X's stand will add new power to the drive for Freedom Now."



A. Philip Randolph

JOHNSON'S TAX CUT

Caviar for Rich — Peanuts for Workers

By Jay Garnett

When President Johnson signed the tax-reduction bill on Feb. 26, he proclaimed it "the single most important step we have taken to strengthen our economy since World War II."

The average worker doesn't appear to be that impressed, however, with the tax cut. It isn't because the mechanics of high finance are so incomprehensible to him. Nor is it because he doesn't like the reduction. He does — as far as it goes. But, figuring out how it will affect his own paycheck, he finds it doesn't go very far and so he fails to see how it can accomplish all the wonders that Johnson claims for it.

If a worker's annual wage is \$2,000, the tax reduction will save him an average of \$1.20 a week this year and \$1.60 next year. A married couple with two dependents which earns a total of \$5,000 a year will benefit by an average of \$1 a week this year and \$1.60

next year. A single man making \$15,000 will save an average of \$8.70 a week this year and \$13.30 next. A married couple with two dependents and an income of \$15,000 will save \$4.70 a week this year and \$7.30 next.

But if you and your wife make \$50,000 a year and have two dependents, you'll save \$30.80 per week this year and \$46.20 next year.

The average American wage-earner regards his gain as "negligible, just a little extra pocket money or budget cash; most intend to spend the money," reports McCandlish Phillips in the Feb. 27 *New York Times*. He quotes a receiving clerk at Pier 19 on the North River: "It doesn't make no difference whatsoever. You can't even buy a good piece of roasting meat with it . . . Costs a couple of dollars a week to feed a cat. I'll spend the money immediately, but if the politicians would give us a 25 per cent cut or 50 per cent

they'd be doing something."

On another income level, a CBS vice president said, "Frankly I think it's great. It's the difference between Amagansett [Long Island] and Scotland for my family this summer."

For those earning \$3,000 a year, the tax cut will mean about two per cent more in spending power; but those earning \$200,000 will have 16 per cent more to spend.

Russell Baker writes humorously in his *N.Y. Times* column from Washington: "What irritates the rich man is that the bill has saddled him with a much bigger tax cut than the labor-union man. A bricklayer will be able to discharge his obligation to the country by spending only three or four dollars more each week, but people in the upper brackets will have to spend ten or 20 times as much in added income."

"The problem, as the rich man explained, is that he already has

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DRESS REHEARSAL IN WASHINGTON

Southern Senators Begin Filibuster of Civil-Rights Bill

By George Lavan

MARCH 11 — The House-passed civil-rights bill has not yet reached the floor of the Senate but the Southern wing of the Democratic Party on March 9 began a filibuster against it. The racist senators are filibustering not the bill itself but a motion to take it up. This may go on for as long as ten days and then the bill might be sent to Senator Eastland's Judiciary Committee. When it finally emerged from that torture chamber onto the Senate floor then the real filibuster would begin.

Does this pre-filibuster mean that the civil-rights bill is so strong that the Dixiecrats are de-

termined to stop it at all costs? Not at all. The bill is mild and its teeth non-existent or rubbery, but the Southern white-supremacists are firm believers in opposing anything that strengthens the rights of the Negro people, no matter how little.

Pressure Needed

Consequently, whether the bill is passed or not, or whether it is passed in a strengthened or weakened form, depends directly on how much pressure civil-rights forces in the country exert on Washington. The administration and the Northern senators can smash a Southern filibuster if they want to. Whether they want to or

not depends on how much fear of the consequences of their failing to do so has been put into them by the civil-rights forces.

The present civil-rights bill is the product of President Kennedy's decision last summer that he had to placate the Negro people. This decision was a reaction to Negro demonstrations throughout the country and the call for a March on Washington. But the leaders of the March on Washington proved to be so amenable to the administration's sweet talk, that pressure for quick passage of the bill eased off.

It is President Johnson's desire to take the curse of being a Southern Democrat off himself

which mainly accounts for the administration decision to bring up civil-rights legislation now. Johnson wants something labeled a civil-rights bill passed with his backing so that he can appeal for Negro and labor votes in the coming election.

Not long ago Johnson did his bit to preserve the "right" to filibuster. As vice president, presiding over the Senate, he made a ruling which favored the retention of Senate Rule 22, the rule permitting filibusters. This ruling was the direct opposite of the ruling previously made by Vice President Nixon which had given an advantage to those trying to abolish Rule 22.

'Stop-and-Frisk' Law Blasted By Speakers at Harlem Rally

NEW YORK, March 8 — A rally against two police-state bills signed by Gov. Rockefeller was held in Harlem today. The rally against the "stop-and-frisk" and the "no-knock" bills had been called for by the local branch of the NAACP and was sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee for Fair Police Practice. Harlem community leaders, a number of Puerto Rican leaders from East Harlem and some local Democratic politicians spoke against the bills.

The Negro and Puerto Rican speakers emphasized that the bills would be used to legalize police harassment of Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

"These bills are just as discriminatory as anything you'll find in Alabama, Mississippi or Georgia," said civil-rights attorney Paul Zuber. "Don't kid yourself. They will be used against integration. If you're black you'd better not get caught on Park or Fifth Avenues after 10 o'clock, and if you're white you'd better not get caught in Harlem," he said.

Jesse Gray, leader of the Harlem rent strike, described "New York's finest" as "one of the most corrupt, race-ridden police departments in the country." "It's time to get these white policemen out of Harlem," he declared. He called for a May 30th mass demonstration in Harlem to tell the politicians not to "come here any more."

The speakers, aside from the Democratic politicians, repeatedly made the point that Democratic Mayor Wagner, who had called for the speedy passage of the bills, was just as responsible for them as the Republican governor. "Mayor Wagner is no more innocent in this stuff than Gov. Rockefeller," said Zuber.

Puerto Rican spokesmen, including Ted Velez, leader of the East Harlem rent strike, pointed out that the Puerto Ricans had awakened and would join the Negroes in the struggle for civil rights from now on. They spoke of the three recent police killings of young Puerto Ricans that have greatly incensed the Puerto Rican community.

The "stop-and-frisk" bill gives cops the right to stop, search,



Paul Zuber

question and detain anyone on suspicion of intent to commit a crime. The "no-knock" bill gives them the right to break into a person's home unannounced with a warrant. A committee of attorneys, the Emergency Committee for Public Safety, is preparing a federal civil-rights suit to prevent these bills from being put into effect.

Open Rights Drive In North Carolina

NEW ORLEANS — A major integration drive is shaping up in rigidly segregated counties of northeastern North Carolina — one of the most repressive areas in the South. This section of North Carolina wields a powerful reactionary influence over the entire state through its virtual control of the state legislature.

The focus of the campaign will be Halifax County, where some militant civil-rights activity has been carried on in the past. John R. Salter, Jr., field organizer of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, has spent several weeks there helping people to organize.

Salter reports: "Racism is as deeply entrenched in Halifax County and in the surrounding counties as it is in the Deep South. Discrimination in employment is widespread. All public facilities are totally segregated, and those that exist for Negroes are drastically inadequate.

"White-owned public accommodations are closed to Negroes. Housing for Negroes is appallingly poor. No Negro law-enforcement officers are hired anywhere in the area. Nonviolent civil-rights demonstrations are met by extreme police and vigilante brutality, as in Enfield last summer. At that time hundreds of peaceful demonstrators were subjected to massive clubbings, fire-hosing, and large-scale arrests.

"Economic and other reprisals have been systematically instituted against local civil-rights leaders. Crosses have been burned in the region and death threats from groups such as the KKK have been frequent."

One of the major thrusts of the integration campaign will be a systematic and large-scale voter-education and registration campaign. Civil-rights leaders are organizing Halifax County, with regard to voting and other activities, right down to each city block and country road.

You can help as an individual or through your trade-union, church, civic group, or civil-rights organizations by sending 1) money to buy food for the needy and to help defray the campaign costs; 2) clothing; and 3) books of any kind for the voter-education classes. These should be sent to: Mr. A. Reed Johnson and Mrs. Lillie C. Smith, Halifax Movement, 408 S. Dixie, Enfield, N.C.

Ashton Jones Wins Freedom From Ga. Jail

ATLANTA — A 67-year-old white minister, held in jail here since Aug. 28, 1963, was released March 3 on a \$5,000 property bond.

The minister, Rev. Ashton Jones of San Gabriel, California, was arrested here July 1 when he and two Negroes tried to worship at all-white First Baptist Church. Jones was sentenced to 12 months in the common jail, six months at hard labor and a \$1,000 fine and had been in jail since then. His bail was originally set at \$20,000 but Georgia's Supreme Court ordered it lowered. The time Rev. Jones spent behind bars since August — 188 days — is "dead time" and does not count against his sentence.

Rev. Jones is one of three white people given maximum terms in racial cases by Fulton County Superior Court Judge Durwood T. Pye. An 18-year-old Connecticut College For Women student, Mardon Walker of East Greenwich, Rhode Island, was released from jail only last week under a \$15,000 property bond Judge Pye imposed on her after she was found guilty in a lunch counter sit-in case.

Judge Pye was appointed to the bench in 1955 by segregationist Governor Marvin Griffin. Shortly after his appointment, he imposed a \$25,000 fine on the Atlanta branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, because of the group's refusal to comply with a request for its financial records from the Georgia Revenue Department.

In July, 1963, he instructed a Fulton County grand jury that the state's anti-tresspass law — used to arrest sit-in demonstrators — had been "flouted, defied and violated." He ordered, and obtained, indictments against 101 persons arrested in racial demonstrations dating back to 1961. During the summer, he tried two cases, both involving white persons. One was Rev. Jones. The other, Thomas Taylor Tolg, a youth who worked for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was also found guilty and is free on an appeal bond.

Judge Pye had refused to accept \$5,000 cash bond offered to free Rev. Jones.

Socialist Forum in Detroit Will Hear Southern Rights Fighter Carl Braden

Carl Braden, a veteran fighter for civil rights and equality in the South and a field representative of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), will speak at the Friday Night Socialist Forum in Detroit, 3737 Woodward, Friday, March 20. His subject will be "State and Federal Repression in the South."

SCEF, a South-wide interracial organization combating segregation and discrimination, is currently under attack. Two of its officers and a law partner of one were indicted Jan. 29 under Louisiana's subversive activities and communist control law. These charges came after a series of attacks and harassment culminating in the seizure of SCEF records in a raid last Oct. 4. The records have since found their way into the hands of Sen. Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee. Their removal was brought about while a case was pending in the federal district court to have the records returned to SCEF.

Carl Braden was convicted in the infamous Louisville Sedition case in 1954 when he and his wife Anne assisted in a young Negro veteran's purchase of a home outside the ghetto.

Braden spent eight months in prison before the exorbitant bail of \$40,000 could be raised. His conviction was finally reversed on June 22, 1956, in compliance with



On Feb. 26 the Chicago Board of Education recognized the Chicago Teachers Union, Local 1 of the American Federation of Teachers, as collective-bargaining agent for its membership. The union had sought recognition for several years, but was repeatedly refused. The Board of Education did not act favorably until the day the union threatened to issue strike vote ballots.

However, a number of union members do not consider this agreement a complete victory, because the union was not recognized as the sole bargaining agent. According to the agreement, the union is only the agent for its 12,000 members among the 21,000 teachers in the public-school system. Gerald R. Adler, a member of the Tuley High School Collective Bargaining Committee of the CTU, charged that CTU President John Fewkes had made a deal with school officials to "water down" the form of the collective-bargaining agreement. He contends that since the union is in a position of strength with a membership consisting of the majority of Chicago teachers, it should have been recognized as the sole bargaining agent.

The approved agreement leaves the Board of Education free to make agreements with various other groups representing the minority of teachers who are non-union members. Board President Clair Roddewig, indicating that this was his intention, told Board members that they would have a "moral obligation" to grant similar recognition to the Illinois Education Association, which has been conducting a bitter fight against the CTU's drive for collective bargaining, claiming that such an agreement is unprofessional.

Further, Roddewig stated that if an agreement is not made between the Board of Education and the IEA at the next meeting, March 11, he would urge the members to reconsider the pact with the teachers union. In response to this statement, CTU President Fewkes said that the union would postpone its strike until the March

11 meeting, at which time, if the Board did reconsider the decision to recognize the union, a strike vote would be taken immediately.

Three weeks before the collective-bargaining decision was reached, the CTU sponsored a mass meeting in support of collective bargaining which 3,000 enthusiastic teachers attended. The audience cheered for a strike, if necessary, to attain collective bargaining and applauded Walter Reuther's promise of full AFL-CIO support. Reuther pointed out that government statistics show \$6,400 as the minimum income on which an average family can live, but that the average Chicago teacher made only \$6,098. He spoke about the need for united action and cited the New York City teachers who in recent contract negotiations gained average increases of \$3,500 over a three-year period, smaller classes, duty-free lunch periods, and a reduction in clerical work.

The Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers bargaining policy committee for petroleum is recommending that the union negotiate for double-time-and-a-half for overtime. The object is to discourage companies from working overtime except in actual emergencies. The union estimates that if overtime were eliminated in the oil and chemical industries and the work now done on overtime assigned to new workers, 40,000 new jobs would result.

Local 28 of the AFL-CIO Sheet Metal Workers International Association of Greater New York was found guilty March 4 of systematically excluding Negroes throughout its 75-year history. The New York State Commission on Human Rights held off till later an order for the union to "cease and desist" discriminatory practices. Such an order can be enforced by the state courts. The 3,300-member union, which never had a Negro member and which until 1946 had a clause against admitting any, was a prime target of construction-site demonstrators last summer.

Frank Donner to Speak At Forum in New York

NEW YORK — Frank J. Donner, author of the much-acclaimed book, *The Un-Americans*, will speak at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place at 8:30 p.m. Friday, March 20. His topic will be: "An Intelligent Student's Guide to Political Surveillance and Informing."

Donner's work in civil-liberties cases began in the early 1950s when he defended a group of UN staff members who were being dismissed for having availed themselves of their rights under the Fifth Amendment before a witch-hunting grand jury. He has appeared as counsel before the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and the Supreme Court.

Donner's book, *The Un-Americans*, had its origin in research for cases being taken to the U.S. Supreme Court and also in his years of experience in dealing with the House Un-American Committee. Subsequently he himself was subpoenaed as a witness before the Committee.

In addition to being a constitutional lawyer, Donner has served for many years as a union attorney.

Money is like muck, not good unless it be spread.
Francis Bacon. English essayist. (1561-1626)

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

THE TIME, THE PLACE, AND THE MAN — The Direction of Civil Rights in the Current Negro Revolt. Speaker, Nahaz Rogers. Fri., March 20, 8 p.m. Debs Hall 210, 302 South Canal St. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

CARL BRADEN, field representative, Southern Conference Educational Fund, speaks on State and Federal Repression in the South. Fri., March 20, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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

LOS ANGELES

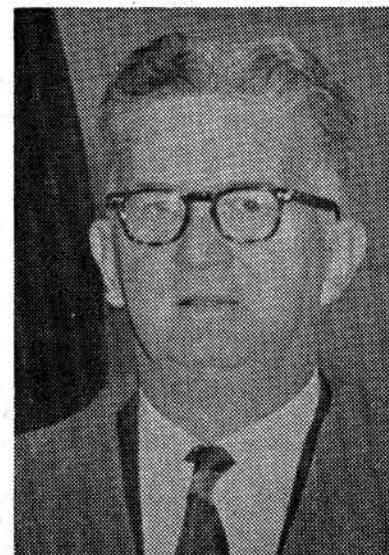
WILLIAM F. WARDE, noted Marxist author and lecturer, discusses *The Trials and Troubles of the Johnson Administration*. Fri., March 20, 8:30 p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 1702 E. 4th St.

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

NEW YORK

FRANK DONNER, attorney and author of *The Un-Americans*, will give *An Intelligent Student's Guide to Political Surveillance and Informing*. Fri., March 20, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

MARCH 27 — Murray Forbes, contributor to *International Socialist Review*, on *Fromm's Analysis of Marx and Freud*.



Carl Braden

Sifting Through the Commercial Press

Some Truth About Cuba Slips Through



MUSIC TO GROW BY. Revolutionary Cuba's school system provides children with opportunity for healthy, rounded development.

By Art Preis

MARCH 3 — In mining diamonds, you have to sift through a huge quantity of dirt and gravel to find one precious stone. To find a bit of precious truth about Cuba in the U.S. newspapers and magazines, you have to sift through mountains of lies, distortions and fabrications. But if you are persistent enough and read everything carefully you will be rewarded occasionally by a gleaming truth.

"Nonstop Day"

Such a truth shines forth in one paragraph of a two-page report with pictures headlined, "Nonstop Day with Castro," in the March 2 *Newsweek* magazine. The article is based on photographs and story by photographer Elliott Erwitt and ABC-TV reporter Lisa Howard. The paragraph which leaped to my eyes with such a bright luster, read:

"On one trip which Erwitt made with Castro and an ABC camera crew, the first stop was a skyscraper housing estate in East Havana. Most of the residents are Negroes, who make up about a third of the population. Obviously adoring, they rushed to surround Fidel, giving him warm *abrazos* [embraces]. Security was minimal, and Fidel's guards were pushed back. He would have been an easy target for assassination."

They Like Fidel

Can you imagine any white U.S. president surrounded by "adoring" Negroes in Harlem and being physically embraced by them without any fear on their part that they might be gunned down by Secret Service agents? Just that one little item in *Newsweek* tells more real truth about Cuba today and its revolution than the hundreds of thousands of diatribes that have poured forth from U.S. press and broadcasts in the five years since the Castro regime ousted the murderous Batista dictatorship and its U.S. financiers, allies and accomplices.

This *Newsweek* report on Cuba recalled to my mind an editorial

entitled, "Five Years of Revolution," in the Dec. 31, 1963, *New York Times*. I clipped it out at the time and intended to quote it and comment on it but I never got around to it. It contains another of those "diamonds of truth" it is still possible to sift from some of the U.S. big-business press. Read this from a newspaper that has been carrying viciously slanted articles about Castro's Cuba every day for years:

"The Cuban revolution will have completed five years tonight. The Castro regime is strong and possibly stronger than ever." This has happened in spite of the fact that the *Times* finds the Cuban government "hateful, because it is Communistic" and has brought "the Russian presence into the Western Hemisphere" and "is a danger to the United States and Latin America." In fact, Cuba's "list of sins and errors has been detailed for years. Its leader, Fidel Castro, has been portrayed as evil, stupid, foolish, ridiculous and mad."

What Is Explanation?

"Yet," the editorial reluctantly concedes, "the existence and strength of the Cuban revolution after five years demand an explanation. So does the fact that there is no apparent weakening of Premier Castro's appeal inside Cuba or of his stature as a world figure."

The "sins and errors" that the capitalist press have "detailed daily for years," admits this mouthpiece of U.S. big business, are "not all" that have been happening in Cuba. The *Times* then hands us this precious stone:

"... All children are getting some education; the great bulk are being well fed and taken care of, however poor their parents. The Negro and mulatto population — a third to a quarter — is getting genuine equality. The Government leaders are untainted by any fiscal scandals. These features are new in the history of Cuba."

Poverty in U.S.

They would be new if by some miracle they existed in the United States, the richest and most powerful capitalist nation on earth. Just today, the *Times* carried the report of John D. Pomfret from Sumter, S.C., detailing the ghastly poverty conditions he witnessed. A federal official told Pomfret these are not just "pockets of poverty" in the rural South but poverty that "infects the entire polity." Pomfret tells of the "ema-

ciation" that "hollowed" the faces he saw, "the hunted look in their eyes." And there are more than a million impoverished people right in New York City among whom you will find the same emaciated faces and hunted look.

Right out of the mouth of a bitterly hostile leading U.S. newspaper comes the admission that just five years after the Cuban Revolution has ended centuries-old foreign oppression and exploitation, Cuba has accomplished more than the rich United States. Revolutionary Cuba has virtually ended child hunger, provided universal and equal education, eliminated corruption in government and — proudest achievement of all — wiped out racial inequality and discrimination.

If we in the United States could claim even half as much it would indeed be our finest hour.

Midnight Arrest

Harassment in a Small Town

James N. Snavelly, a resident of Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, has been receiving threatening phone calls.

A farmer has refused to sell him milk for his children.

He was sent a newspaper photo of himself with his eyes gouged out.

He is often cursed when he walks the street.

Several weeks ago he was hauled out of bed in the middle of the night by a state trooper, a state dog enforcement officer and a local cop. He was taken to a justice of the peace where he was ordered to pay a \$53 fine or go to jail. The charge was failure to buy licenses for his dogs. Snavelly insisted that the dogs were not his, but strays that had wandered onto his property. The case had been pending for nearly two years, and he had posted bond of \$436.

Snavelly said that during the hearing, conducted after midnight in the kitchen of her home, Justice of the Peace Mrs. Mary Spallone, said to him, "You know this is not my doing... the pressure on us is terrific."

A complaint to the county district attorney about the post-midnight police harassment resulted in the following statement by the district attorney after an investigation:

"Any time a minor judiciary officer sends three police officers to remove a citizen from his home at night on a charge that had been pending for nearly two years — a charge of minor nature — when

The 'Slave-Market' In Minneapolis

By Everett E. Luoma

Every day in Minneapolis there is a group of men standing on the east curb of 1st Avenue North near Washington Avenue, waiting for possible jobs for the day. They are generally dressed in blue denim or khaki work clothes. In below-zero weather one sees them stamping their feet in an effort to keep warm.

Most of these men are over 50 years old. They hope to get day jobs in an economy which considers them too old for regular employment. The society which does not want their labor, however, isn't willing to provide them with the basic subsistence to survive without working.

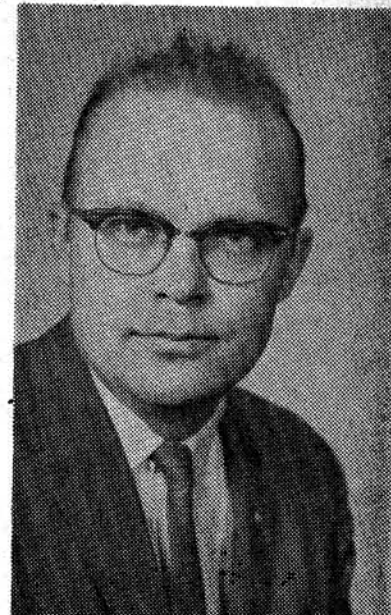
No Expert Salesmen

These men have no expert salesmen to merchandise their labor power to potential employers. They have to sell it themselves. Through experience they have learned to wait for the price that is the maximum they can expect at any particular time. Needless to say, their conversation is mostly about work.

A furniture van comes along and stops at the curb. Through a rolled-down window the driver yells, "buck and a quarter." The men on the curb calculate mentally whether they should accept that rate or if there is a good prospect for a higher one later in the day.

"Maybe this afternoon," one calls back, "but not for that pay now." The driver in turn calculates what might be the lowest rate they would accept. He decides to up his offer to \$1.50 an hour. The men decide to reject this also. The driver does not desire to set a precedent of paying the workers anywhere near the full value for their labor, so he drives off.

One man says that he has been standing there since sunrise. However, he does not want to set a precedent of selling his labor too cheaply until later in the day when he will be forced to make



Everett E. Luoma
Minn. SWP Candidate
for U.S. Senator

some money just to subsist to the next day. He explains, "This time of day we should get \$2 to \$3 an hour; late in the day our price may drop to \$1.25 an hour."

What is the labor of these men worth? The man speaking had worked 16 years as a railroad inspector in Duluth until he was laid off last year. His labor certainly should be worth more than the \$1.25 an hour the van driver offered. He can hardly be blamed for refusing to work for less than \$3 an hour especially when there are no fringe benefits whatever involved. Merely having to work at a job far beneath his skills is degrading for him. A strong argument could be made that he should get an even higher rate simply because he is being asked to degrade himself.

Skid Row Section

Most of these men live in the developing skid row sections of Minneapolis near Seven Corners, 13th and Nicollet, and 13th and Chicago. They used to live on Washington Ave. until the low-cost hotels there were demolished in the redevelopment project. This made cheap living space even scarcer than before. The proposed luxury apartments along Washington Ave. and the completed Sheraton-Ritz Hotel merely increase the already overabundant supply of high-rent apartments these workers cannot afford.

Because there are property owners who desire cheap labor on a day-to-day basis, the state operates a Casual Labor and Farm Office at 1309 Washington Ave. South. The office used to be near where the employers traditionally picked up their day laborers but was moved — probably to make it less competitive with the many private employment agencies.

Serves Employers

Ray C. Olson, head of the Casual Labor Office, reflects the attitude towards these men of the employers whom he serves. Regarding statements by many of the men that they are married and have children, "Not true," Olson is quoted as telling the *Minneapolis Star*. He surveys the smoke-filled office where about 50 men are waiting for jobs and opines: "Almost without exception day-workers are not married but most of them have women." What happens to the older unemployed men who are married is not explained by him.

Olson then tells the reporters that the men try to "have it made" at the end of the day with \$2 in their pockets — enough for a "flop," a jug of wine, and "maybe some food."

With a "friend" like that, who needs enemies?

FIDEL CASTRO

on

Marxism-Leninism

(Speech of Dec. 2, 1961)

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Monday, March 16, 1964

A World Conflict Over Vietnam?

Official talk in Washington of attacking North Vietnam has subsided while Defense Secretary McNamara sorts out the "facts" in South Vietnam where the U.S. puppet regime is tottering. But plans for such an attack have not been forgotten.

The Pentagon has been considering such an attack ever since Kennedy sent American GIs into combat in South Vietnam's civil war early in 1962. At that time the *Wall Street Journal* (March 26, 1962) revealed the Pentagon's strategy in case the Diem government kept losing to the peasant guerrillas and the U.S. public began to be "disturbed" by the mounting GI casualty lists.

"The first move would likely be an ultimatum to Ho Chi Minh [President of North Vietnam]," the *Wall Street Journal* reported. "If this went unheeded, U.S. bombers would in fact go to work on the airfields, ports and rail lines of North Vietnam. If army divisions were poured in, they'd be thrown into North Vietnam not South Vietnam."

Last month *Business Week* (Feb. 8) described the attack plans in almost exactly the same terms. And this act of aggression which would risk bringing China and the Soviet Union into an all-out nuclear war with the U.S., is calmly presented by the magazine as a magic solution to all of U.S. imperialism's world problems:

"It would pacify Vietnam on our terms. It would block Chinese expansion elsewhere in Asia. It would force [Indonesian President] Sukarno to pull in his horns. It would give Castro pause before exporting more arms and terrorists to Latin America. It would answer de Gaulle's challenge to U.S. leadership around the world."

Columnist Joseph Alsop has similar grandiose visions of the benefits an attack on North Vietnam would bring to U.S. imperialism, hard pressed and frustrated by popular uprisings. In his syndicated column of March 2 he compares the situation in South Vietnam to the October 1962 crisis over Cuba faced by Kennedy. "If President Johnson," he writes, "makes the right turn with success, just as President Kennedy did, we shall not only avoid . . . dire consequences . . . We shall also be rewarded with a second immense improvement of the world outlook, comparable to the post-Cuba improvement."

In other words, if the U.S. can bring the world to the brink of nuclear war, as in October 1962, and again be lucky enough not to actually start it, it will have so frightened its opponents that it can have things its own way for some time to come.

There is evidence, the trigger-happy columnist cheerfully writes, "that President Johnson means to take any necessary action, if stern action is recommended by McNamara on his return." *Business Week* also feels that Johnson's "impatient and basically optimistic temperament would incline him to go for broke."

James Reston, Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, considers the possibility of Johnson taking this course real enough to urge him (March 4) to line up Congressional approval beforehand. He ominously recalls the Korean War, into which Truman sent U.S. troops without consulting Congress, leaving himself open later to the Republican charge that that extremely unpopular war was "Truman's war."

In fact, right now the war in Vietnam is "Kennedy's" and "Johnson's." As Reston points out, "Congress is already financing a conflict it has not formally approved." And he notes worriedly, "In an election year, this could easily get the whole operation involved in politics." In other words, American voters might come to think that they should have a say on whether or not the American boys should be killing and dying in a civil war in South Vietnam and whether U.S. leaders should be threatening invasions and nuclear war.

Hoffa's Conviction

In getting a conviction of James R. Hoffa, president of the Teamsters union, in the recent jury-tampering trial, the federal apparatus was mobilized to an unprecedented extent. Police harassment and surveillance of all those connected with the defense was apparently more massive and intensive than anything ever before seen in U.S. legal history. It is unlikely that under such conditions the defendant had the full benefit of his right to counsel or his right to privileged (i.e. secret) consultation with his lawyers. For, in addition to all else, the prosecution planted stool-pigeons or provocateurs in Hoffa's retinue.

These facts bear out Hoffa's claim that he is the target of a vendetta on the part of Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Without in any way belittling Robert Kennedy's reputation for personal vindictiveness, we should like to point out that even his personal vendettas are socially determined. It was no accident that the millionaire attorney general chose the head of the country's biggest union as his vendetta target.

Nor was it accidental that Attorney General Kennedy showed himself to be extremely forgiving with Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett and Alabama Governor George Wallace when they defied school integration orders. Against Hoffa, Kennedy displayed ingenuity in multiplying prosecutions, with the Negro-hating Southern Democratic politicians he displayed ingenuity in finding reasons not to prosecute.

March in Ky. For Strong Rights Law

By George Coleman

FRANKFORT, March 5 — The Negro liberation movement came to Kentucky in a big way today as an estimated 20,000 marchers jammed the streets of Kentucky's capital to demonstrate support for a bill outlawing racial discrimination in public accommodations which is now before the state legislature.

The crowd, gathered before the capitol, had braved raw, windy weather, with temperatures in the upper 30s, to hear Rev. Martin Luther King praise the tactic of mass, non-violent demonstrations such as that in Washington last August and this in Frankfort today. King emphasized that "now is the time" to eliminate the "sinful" pattern of human relations known as segregation. He expressed support of the idea of extending non-violence to international relations, to disarmament, for example.

Other Speakers

Also heard by the marchers were ex-baseball star Jackie Robinson and folksingers Peter, Paul and Mary.

Frank Stanley, Jr., general chairman of the Allied Organizations for Civil Rights in Kentucky (AOCR), which sponsored the march, praised the demonstrators for turning out in such large numbers, despite the unfavorable weather. Only 5,000 had been expected to march after tornadoes and heavy rains struck Kentucky yesterday.

The Blume bill, which is supported by the AOCR, is actually a stronger public-accommodations measure than the civil-rights bill now before the U.S. Senate. Whether it is passed or watered down in this session of the legislature, the Negro liberation movement of this state gives every sign of continuing to press forward on this front and moving inevitably into the area of jobs and housing. Indeed, new allies for this coming struggle were to be seen among the marchers in a delegation of 18 coal miners and their families from Hazard, in the Southeastern part of the state. Their signs proclaimed: "FREEDOM, JOBS AND JUSTICE NOW."

The good of man must be the end of the science of politics.

Aristotle, Greek philosopher (384-322 B.C.)

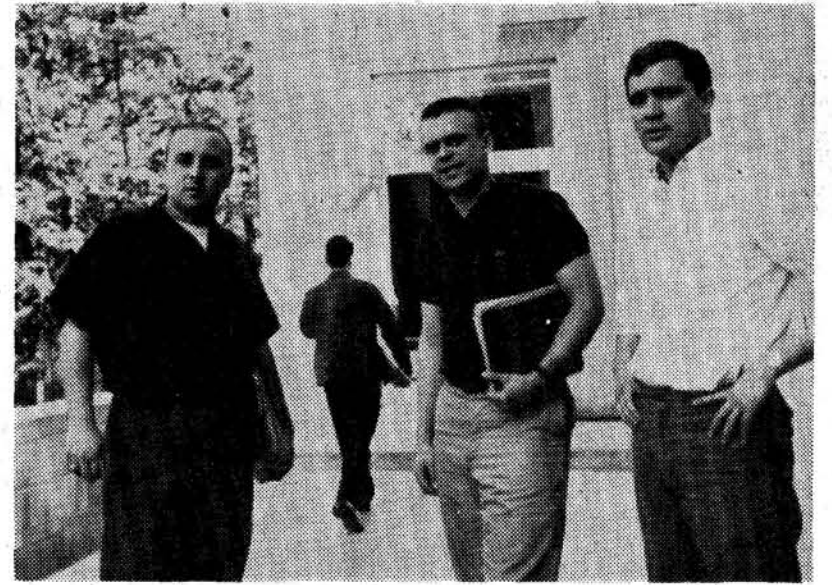
Jesse Gray Given Jail Term in N.Y.

NEW YORK — Jesse Gray, leader of the Harlem rent strike, was found guilty of having interfered with a cop during the eviction of a Harlem rent striker. Gray said he would appeal the Feb. 28 decision of the three-judge court. If the appeal is denied he would be liable to a year in prison or a \$500 fine.

The rent-strike leader made clear that the conviction would not lessen his activities in the rent strike but would rather serve to increase them.

A similar charge against Donald Charles, a free-lance photographer, who was arrested with Gray was dismissed. Both were arrested Feb. 7 by cops who were sent to help city marshals evict a rent striker. The legality of the rent strike has been upheld in the courts, which made this eviction illegal.

Carleton Students Skip Meal To Aid Indiana Defendants



BLOOMINGTON DEFENDANTS. From left to right, Ralph Levitt, 25, James Bingham, 25, and Tom Morgan, 22, on the Indiana University campus. They face up to six years in prison for their political beliefs.

Over 500 students at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, observed a "sacrificial dinner" i.e., they ate nothing March 6. The money they would have spent on the meal was donated instead to the defense of the three socialist students at Indiana University who face imprisonment for their political views and campus activities. The Carleton students who united in defense of academic freedom for all range on the political spectrum all the way from socialist to Goldwater supporters.

This unusual venture in fundraising was organized by the Carleton chapter of the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students. Chairman of the local CABS is Carolyn Lund, secretary is Corinne Guntzel and treasurer is Tanis Walters. There are 1,500 students at Carleton College.

A Boost

The amount raised is an important boost to the efforts of the national Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students to raise the funds for the trial expenses, which are estimated between \$5,000 and \$10,000. Pre-trial hearings will open March 20 and, if the case is not then ended, the trial will start soon after.

Donations and inquiries for more information may be sent to CABS, P.O. Box 213, Cooper Sta-

tion, New York, N. Y. 10003.

The Bloomington student defendants are continuing to present the issues in their case on campuses across the country.

Unitarians Sponsor

Ralph Levitt spoke at Maryland campuses at the end of February. More than 75 students attended his talk at the University of Maryland in College Park, sponsored by a campus Unitarian group. So great was interest in the case that the question period was extended for an hour. A local CABS group was formed by students active in the local CORE and Students for a Democratic Society.

Levitt also spoke at Goucher College in Towson, Md.; at the Maryland Institute in Baltimore; and before a class at Baltimore Junior College.

He then went on to Yale University in New Haven where his March 4 talk was sponsored by the recently-formed Yale Socialist Union, first socialist group on that campus since before World War I. The meeting was opened and ended by Prof. Thomas Emerson of Yale Law School, a sponsor of CABS, who reviewed the history of witchhunting in America. Levitt also held a very successful meeting with some 50 interested students at City College in New York City March 5.

Why Did They Endorse a Bigot?

By George Breitman

DETROIT — At the tail end of last month's meeting of the Wayne County AFL-CIO Council, a delegate from a teachers' union local brought up an embarrassing question.

The AFL-CIO has endorsed and supported Democratic Congressman John Lesinski since year one, and his father of the same name before that — as a great liberal and all that.

But this great liberal voted against the civil-rights bill in the House of Representatives.

So the teachers' delegate introduced a motion for the AFL-CIO Council to condemn Lesinski's vote as "un-American and undemocratic."

Delegate Objects

A UAW delegate got up to object to including the term "un-American" in the motion.

Some other delegates spoke, including Council president Al Barbour, who said Lesinski's action was "intolerant, prejudiced and bigoted" and urged the teachers' delegate to delete "un-American" from his motion.

The word was deleted and the motion was passed unanimously.

Intolerance, prejudice and bigotry aren't un-American, according to the AFL-CIO delegates.

Many of us would agree that they have a point there, considering the history of this country, North and South.

It was an educational discussion. Maybe some day the Council will have another one, on why the AFL-CIO supports people like Lesinski in the first place.

Jack Scott

Vancouver Sun Columnist

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Critical Support for Whom?

Where 4th Int'l Stands on Sino-Soviet Rift

By Joseph Hansen

A seventh long article replying to the July 14 "open letter" of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union appeared in the *Peking Review* of Feb. 7. Like the previous six, the polemical piece was prepared by the joint editorial departments of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi*. It is titled "The Leaders of the CPSU Are the Greatest Splitters of Our Times."

This is an important installment in the series, as it bears down heavily on the responsibility of Khrushchev for the deepening division between Peking and Moscow and its repercussions among Communist parties throughout the world. We hope to provide a close analysis of its arguments and its meaning in the near future. For the time being we call attention to a peculiarity that has appeared in previous articles in the same series. Many of the arguments echo charges made by the Trotskyists against the heads of the Soviet bureaucracy for decades, but they are advanced in guise of defending — Stalin!

Applaud Revisionism?

We call special attention to the following contention:

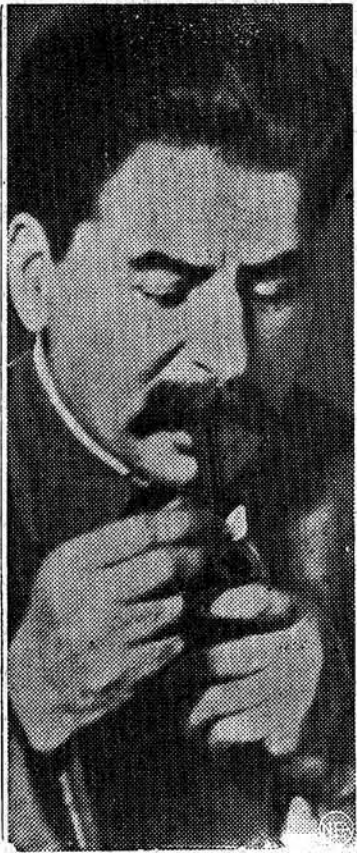
"The Trotskyites, who have long been politically bankrupt, are among those applauding the leaders of the CPSU. The former actively support the latter on such fundamental issues as the attitude one should take towards Stalin, towards U.S. imperialism and towards the Yugoslav revisionists. They say, 'The situation created by the 20th Congress of the CPSU and still more by the 22nd Congress is eminently favourable for the revival of our movement in the workers' states themselves.' 'We have prepared for this for more than 25 years. Now we must move in, and move energetically.' 'In relation to the Khrushchev tendency, we will give a critical support to its struggle for de-Stalinization against the more conservative tendencies . . .'

"Just consider! All the enemies of revolution support the leaders of the CPSU with alacrity. The reason is that they have found a common language with the leaders of the CPSU in their approach to Marxism-Leninism and world revolution, and that the revisionist and divisive line of the leaders of the CPSU meets the counter-revolutionary needs of U.S. imperialism."

Out of Context

The three quotations cited by the authors appear to read in logical continuity. But as the authors indicate, they are taken from a 1956 document of the Socialist Workers Party of the USA, a document written five years later by the International Secretariat of the Fourth International, and a 1963 document of the Reunification Congress of the Fourth International.

We will not stop here to put



Stalin

these quotations into context. The amount of reading which the authors had to undertake to find them is proof enough that they are aware of the true position of the world Trotskyist movement and that they deliberately sought to falsify it. This, we agree, is in the tradition of Stalin, but not in the tradition of either Marxism, Leninism, or the simple truth. The fact is that the Trotskyist movement, from the beginning, has offered critical support — not to the Khrushchevists — but to the Chinese.

Position Well Known

This is well known throughout the radical movement and far beyond. When the Khrushchevists call attention to it, they are not lying, although few people in this world, as the Chinese should well know by now, are more given to lies and slander. [See the attacks on the Trotskyists by *Izvestia*, reported in *The Militant* Oct. 28, 1963.]

Nevertheless, there is a grain of truth in the conviction of the editorial boards of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* that Khrushchev enjoys critical support from the Trotskyist

quarter. For their next installment we offer them the following sentences for quotation, saving them the drudgery of combing through Trotskyist publications for the past eight years in search of something juicier:

"The Trotskyists have hailed the process of de-Stalinization in the Soviet Union and other workers states; their main complaint is that it has not gone fast enough or far enough and that this confirms Trotsky's position that it will require a political revolution to restore the program of Leninism in the first workers' state."

With Quotes

And here is another juicy sentence with the quotation marks likewise already provided: "As against those who seek to restore the worst totalitarian practices of the dark days of Stalin, the Trotskyists have repeatedly declared they stand for critical support to Khrushchev."

We hope that in return for our willingness to provide such perfect quotations, that our friends responsible for *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* will use them in their next article.

But we would also appreciate it if they would explain to their audience why it is that on a world scale, in the Sino-Soviet conflict, the Trotskyists consider the Chinese side the more progressive. Here are a few sentences offered for this purpose, with the quotation marks again provided to save the editors of *Renmin Ribao* and *Hongqi* time and effort:

"The Trotskyists consider it a slander to say that Yugoslavia is a capitalist country. They also think it is absurd and unworthy of revolutionists to grovel before the shade of the hated dictator Stalin. They sharply disagree with the Chinese on these two points as well as on a number of others. But in reaffirming the primacy of the international class struggle, the importance of the colonial revolution, the need to discard illusions about 'parliamentary' road to a socialist victory, the need after coming to power to establish socialist political and economic forms, the advisability of having no confidence in the class enemy, and the necessity to oppose American imperialism as enemy No. 1, as well as on other points, the Trotskyists think the Chinese have done the international revolutionary Marxist movement a great service and in this they offer them critical support."

... Johnson's Tax-Cut Law

(Continued from Page 1)

everything. Last Christmas no one could think of anything to give him that he really needed . . . Some people think the solution would be to buy practical things and give them to the poor. The rich man agrees that this would be the cheap way out, but he refuses to take it. He knows too well that poverty builds character . . ."

One thing is sure, this tax cut is not being underwritten by big business. Proposed tax reforms which would bring in \$3.3 billion a year by plugging loopholes, taxing such items as overseas oil premiums and repealing the unlimited-charitable-deductions gimmick, were ground to pieces in the Congressional committees.

Although such reform was a major plank in the platform of the Democratic Party, neither Kennedy nor Johnson put up much of a fight to put it into effect.

The tax-cut may be offset now by a reduction in the meager welfare expenditures of the federal government in which case the poor would be the hardest hit.

In his address on the tax-cut measure, Johnson predicted that

the money put into circulation by it will raise demand for consumers' goods several times the amount of the tax cut. "The same is true of the more than \$2 billion which businesses will no longer pay in taxes," he asserted. He assumed that most of the money saved by business would be reinvested rather than saved.

Finance Automation

"They will use much of this money to buy new machinery, for new construction, for goods of all kinds, and most importantly, for the creation of new jobs."

But Johnson is not telling the whole story. Business wants funds right now to drastically revamp production methods, to carry through automation as thoroughly as it can, so that it can lay off workers, produce goods with low labor costs, and sell for increased profits on the world and domestic markets. But the new jobs which are created will be few and when the period of innovation is over, they will be gone.

This period, with all its contradictions, may be recalled as the time of quiet before the storm.

Lane Denies Oswald Guilt Before Warren Commission

Mark Lane testified before the Warren Commission for over three hours at that body's first public hearing on March 4. The testimony was given publicly at Lane's request.

The only part of his testimony he declined to give publicly was the identity of the third person who allegedly met with J. D. Tippitt, the Dallas patrolman killed the day of the Kennedy's assassination, and Bernard Weissman, the right-winger who placed an anti-Kennedy advertisement in a Dallas paper for the same day.

This meeting took place at Jack Ruby's Carousel Club on Nov. 14 according to Lane. He said that the three persons spent more than two hours conferring, but that he didn't know what they talked about. Bernard Weissman denied being at any such meeting.

Justice Warren denied Lane's request to serve as Oswald's attorney before the commission, with the right to cross-examine witnesses and to have access to commission documents.

Lane said that he had proved that the photographs of Lee Harvey Oswald recently printed on the cover of *Life* magazine and in many newspapers had been doctored.

Three different versions of the photograph of Oswald holding a rifle in one hand and one or two newspapers in the other have been published so far. According to Lane, a different rifle is held by Oswald in each of the three versions. Moreover, Lane says it is impossible to identify the newspaper in the photos.

Much of the rest of Lane's tes-



Mrs. Marguerite Oswald

timony was a presentation of evidence to show that the shot that killed Kennedy came from a grassy knoll rather than from the building in which Oswald worked. He cited testimony by eyewitnesses to this effect.

Mrs. Marguerite Oswald, who hoped to find some clue as to the innocence of her son at the trial of Jack Ruby, was barred from the courtroom. The device used by the prosecution to do this was to subpoena her as a witness. A subpoenaed witness is not permitted to sit in the courtroom and hear the testimony of other witnesses or to discuss the case with the press.

It is not expected, however, that the prosecution will call her to the stand.

... 5,000 March on Albany

(Continued from Page 1)

demands which, it was announced, March leaders were presenting to the governor at that very moment.

New York's impoverished minorities did not ask, they demanded: 1) a statewide minimum wage of \$1.50 an hour; 2) a state law legalizing rent strikes where housing does not meet basic decency standards; 3) the extension of collective-bargaining rights to employees of voluntary hospitals throughout the state and coverage of all such workers by state unemployment-insurance and anti-discrimination laws.

Other demands included elimination of the present literacy test for voting; a massive program of public housing at rents working people can afford to pay; prohibition of discrimination in apprenticeship training; establishment of a permanent executive agency on automation including representatives of the labor and civil-rights movements; and tuition-free education in all state-supported colleges.

Randolph's statement also denounced the bills recently signed into law granting the police powers infringing on the constitutional guarantees against unreasonable search and seizure.

The marchers made their way back to the armory in a less than orderly fashion, partly because the police did not permit them to walk in the streets, partly because many were taking advantage of their first trip to Albany to do some looking around: "I want to go in here so I can say I've been there," one Negro woman told a friend as she went in the side door of the Capitol.

While the marchers were gathering back at the armory to wait for the reports of the various groups who had visited the governor and the majority and minority leaders of both houses of the legislature, someone announced on behalf of a little boy that his mother was lost. A group of Negro youths sang some Freedom Songs

and some 50 Puerto Ricans crowded onto the platform to lead the Puerto Rican anthem.

Eugene T. Reed, president of the New York State Conference of the NAACP, chaired the meeting. Other NAACP spokesmen reported dolefully on the meeting with the governor: Rockefeller hadn't promised them anything, but all hope in the legislature, they said, was not lost. Leon Davis, head of a large contingent from Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Workers, noted that the governor at least had been forced to admit that poverty did exist in his state.

CORE spokesman Norman Hill singled out the "no-knock" law for particular denunciation. Puerto Rican leader Gilberto Gerena-Valentin also was vehement in condemning this recently-passed law which authorizes police to smash in the doors of houses without first knocking or ringing the bell.

David Livingston, president of District 65 of the AFL-CIO Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, over 600 of whose members were on the March, said that last year Rockefeller had promised action on the \$1.50 minimum-wage bill "next year." "Now he says 'next year' again," Livingston pointed out. "What he told us was a definite No."

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The Coming Congress of the FLN

Algerians Face Problem of Bureaucracy

By L. Couturier

(World Outlook) — The congress of the FLN (National Liberation Front) is scheduled to be held in about two months. The Algerian press is publishing articles and letters from readers on the future congress. The Dec. 13 issue of *Le Peuple* featured the "Program of Work for the Preparatory Commission of the Congress of the FLN." In September President Ben Bella promulgated a constitution in which article 23 reads: "The FLN is the sole vanguard party in Algeria." Article 24 specifies: "The National Liberation Front defines the policy of the nation and inspires the action of the state. It controls the action of the National Assembly and the Government." There is really no need to search through Algerian texts; the three letters "FLN" crossed the borders of Algeria many years ago to win the hearts of the exploited throughout the world.

Yet it is necessary to recognize the facts — the FLN defined by the Algerian constitution, which the militants are discussing — this FLN does not exist.

What actually exists under this name is a narrow organization composed of militants whose links with the masses vary according to place but which are generally thin. For example, among the 300 workers of the Laimèche Ali co-operative of Tizi-Rached, in Kabylie, there are four party members although this is a "pilot" co-operative requiring a militant background for those who work there.

To say that the FLN, a vanguard revolutionary party, does not exist, is admitted, moreover, by most Algerian militants. They speak

about "creating the party of tomorrow," about a "new FLN," in brief, of upsetting what exists while retaining the respected name.

The reasons that brought about the liquidation of the Front are multiple. They were analyzed with great depth and lucidity in the Tripoli program. The leaders were unable to pass beyond the immediate stage of the armed struggle and diplomatic battle. While the peasant, in the course of combat, progressed rapidly on the political level and presented more and more revolutionary demands, the leadership remained prisoner to military-bureaucratic concepts and did not arm the militants ideologically. Thus came into operation the fusion, calamitous for all revolutions, between the political organization and the state apparatus — it took the form of the disappearance of the FLN in the GPRA (Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic) and its various extensions abroad and in the ALN (National Liberation Army) at home.

With the winning of independence, the diplomatic and military tasks were displaced by the pressing need to construct a new state and a new society. Political militants were needed, united by a common ideology in the framework of a dynamic organization. The Tripoli program bitterly observed: "The sole reason for the existence of a party is its ideology. It ceases to exist as soon as it comes to lack one."

The penalty was the crisis of the summer of 1962 and the confusion of many militants.

The pressure of the peasant masses was such that the wing most closely linked to them

triumphed. Ben Bella took leadership of the country and began a socialist policy by reinforcing and "legalizing" the management committees which appeared spontaneously after the departure of the Europeans.

But the difficulties remained enormous whether they concerned the smooth functioning of self-management, the problem of unemployment, the development of industry or sabotage by the bourgeois elements or *pieds noirs* (the French born in Algeria). The Kabyle crisis was an indication although it remained quite isolated; the demonstrations in Oran were another quite worrisome indication, showing that elements opposed to the present course could find a certain climate for growth.

In such a situation, a revolutionary power can grow stronger only by advancing, by paralyzing those in the opposition who have deep social roots. Thus the reply to the "Kabyle rebellion" was the nationalization of wide areas of land. Such measures, however, should not be decreed empirically, under the direct pressure of passing events. What is necessary is a short and long-range plan in order to determine priorities and so that the masses can participate in a conscious way in constructing a new society.

To carry out a plan integrated in the Algerian reality, to be able to draw the peasants and the workers into undertaking it, a party linked to them is needed. Thus the great importance of the coming congress of the FLN, and above all its preparation.

Little is known at the moment about the documents to be submitted to the delegates, but from the program of work for the pre-



WAR ON POVERTY. Algerian Premier Ben Bella addresses shoe-shine boys whose poverty and menial status had symbolized subjugation of Algerians by French colonists. New regime is making real effort to wipe out poverty in war-ravaged country.

paratory commission, there is every reason to believe that they have a resolute socialist outlook.

Whatever its formulation may be, the program defends a socialist line. But then in Algeria to have any audience you have to be socialist. That is why everything definitively depends on the way in which it will be applied; that is, the structure, the composition of the FLN assumes great importance. The best resolutions can be sabotaged by defective or provocative application. But the only guarantee that the line defined by the congress will be actually applied resides in the organization of a party democratically linked to the masses, drawing from them its strength and dynamism.

The big danger faced by the Algerian Revolution comes less from the big bourgeoisie, whose weakness is well known, than from the bureaucracy which every victorious revolution necessarily secretes. All the more so in a country of low economic level where there exists a not inconsiderable layer of small merchants, employees, intellectuals, aspiring to play a more important role than under the French occupation.

Even those who are not of petty-bourgeois social origin can change insofar as leadership posts entrusted to them by the revolution go to their heads. They acquire a taste for power, for the commodities that become available, and they cut themselves off from the people. They become bureaucrats.

These bureaucrats exist in great number in Algeria and the struggle at the congress will be conducted against them. That is, if they are unable to "manipulate" the congress by the methods well known in the countries of Europe and if the voices of the genuine militants ring out.

This means that it is necessary to attach great importance to the way in which the delegates are selected. In the Algerian press, many letters from readers demand that the delegates be elected by their fellow workers or by the inhabitants of the village and that the two criteria should be actual participation in the war for freedom and their attitude toward self-management and the present socialist line. This way of proceeding seems eminently desirable to us and could even be extended to designate those who are to be

members of the FLN before they proceed to elect their leaders.

We have not insisted on a certain number of ideas which appear still insufficiently elaborated in the Algerian documents dealing with the party. How democratic will the internal life of the single party be? How can those be heard who have other ideas on the problems of tactics or strategy? How can the construction of a socialist society be reconciled with the desire to achieve a new unity among "all the people," "like during the war?" How to assure close ties between the party, the poor peasants and the workers?

All these questions are posed and will certainly be discussed at the congress. The latest issues of *Révolution Africaine* show that the Algerian militants have already begun to study them and that the struggle against the bureaucratic degeneration of the party and the state remains one of their major concerns.

We do not believe that the congress will have a magic effect and that from the present void will spring a party ideologically solid and linked to the masses. The party will be built day by day in the course of socialist construction, winning little by little the best militants who are now scattered. But in the same way that a successful birth can augur favorably for the development of an infant, so a democratic, representative congress will assure a good send-off for the revolutionary vanguard party of the new Algeria.

World Events

Poison Sprays in Vietnam?

North Vietnamese Foreign Minister Xuan Thuy in a recent note to the co-chairmen of the 1954 Geneva conference, charged that U.S. forces in cooperation with the South Vietnamese military had once again used poisonous chemicals in the Vietnam war.

They named specific areas where, he charged, toxic chemicals were sprayed by air. According to first reports, he said, 948 persons including over 554 children had been seriously affected.

"Many had vomiting or bloody evacuations, their sight was weakened, their limbs were paralyzed, others lost consciousness. Fruit trees and vegetables were destroyed in an area of over 250 hectares. Cattle and other domestic animals perished or suffered from various diseases as a result of the action of the chemicals."

There has been considerable protest by prominent individuals against the use of chemical

poisons in South Vietnam. For example, Lord Bertrand Russell protested in a letter to the *New York Times* of April 16, 1963 and a group of U.S. clergymen, including Reinhold Niebuhr, in a June 1963 statement joined by over 17,000 clergymen, protested "the immoral spraying of parts of South Vietnam with crop-destroying chemicals."

New Party in Chile

A new revolutionary party was formed in Chile Feb. 1 with the merging of three groups—the Movimiento Revolucionario Comunista, the grouping associated around the publication *Polemica*, and the Trotskyist Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR). The new organization decided to continue under the MRC label.

The original MRC group was composed of young students and workers who formerly belonged to the Chilean Communist party. With the development of the Chinese-Soviet conflict, they began to form a pro-China tendency about a year ago.

At the end of 1963, the MRC joined another pro-Chinese group, Espartaco [Spartacus], and the two groups staged a pro-Chinese meeting which was supported by the Trotskyist POR.

The MRC broke with the Espartaco group because it turned out to be pro-Stalinist and dominated by old bureaucrats unable to build a revolutionary party. At the beginning of the year, MRC called for the unification of all revolutionary groups. The POR and *Polemica* accepted.

The *Polemica* group was made up of members who had left the organized Trotskyist movement for one reason or another and of others who had left the Communist and Socialist parties.

The POR was a Trotskyist group, linked to the working class, whose trade-union and political

leaders are well known for their activities in defense of the Cuban Revolution. For this they have suffered police persecution in recent years.

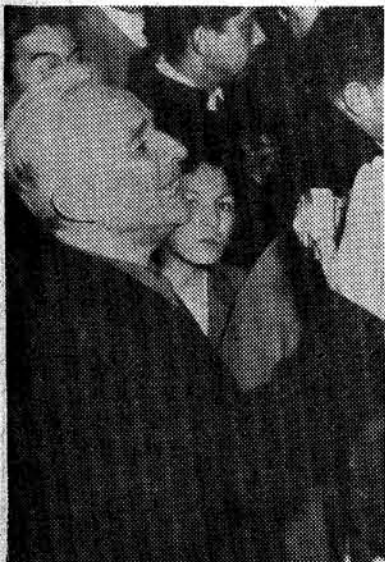
The new party has been joined by Clotario Blest and his group. This is of great significance. Blest is the outstanding leader of the Chilean working class. He was president of the Chilean confederation of trade unions for nine years, has been hauled into court many times for demonstrating in behalf of the Cuban Revolution, and often joined in common actions with the POR.

Indian CP Looks to Gandhi

Leaders of the Communist-controlled AITUC [All-India Trade Union Confederation] conducted a three-day "mass fasting," beginning Feb. 20, in important cities and towns "to press their demands which include reduction of prices of essential commodities by at least 25 per cent, further revision of the cost-of-living index, nationalization of banking and state trading in food grains." Several hundred leaders of the AITUC all over India, including its president S. S. Mirajkar in Bombay, were among the "hunger strikers."

This "new" strategy of the pro-Khrushchev leadership of the Indian Communist Party came as a big surprise to the left movement. In reality it is a resort to the old Gandhian technique of putting "moral pressure" on the capitalist bosses and state machine by "self-suffering." It abandons the classical labor weapons of class struggle such as demonstrations and strikes.

A section of the capitalist newspapers saw a "welcome change" in the "red tactics of class war" in favor of more "peaceful and constitutional" methods, although some of them discovered as usual a "sinister" game behind the "strategy."



Clotario Blest

If You Want to Know More About the Political Views of the Algerian Leaders

Read

The Tripoli Program

Adopted by the National Liberation Front at a conference in Tripoli in June 1962 just prior to taking the reins of government.

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters under 400 words. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

The Vietnam War

New York, N.Y.

As it becomes evident, even to the hardest-nosed Hawk in the Pentagon, that U.S. military effort cannot bring "victory" in Vietnam, many misinformed citizens must be asking themselves, "Why not?" Why cannot the most powerful nation on earth put down a revolutionary movement which threatens to overthrow the corrupt ruling oligarchy of a tiny, disunited, un-

derdeveloped country on the south-east Asian peninsula?

An illuminating answer may be found in Mao Tse-tung's philosophy of the interaction of military and political factors in revolutionary war. This pragmatic technique which the great Chinese Communist leader developed and applied in his own successful revolution is brilliantly capsuled by Howard L. Boorman in the current issue of the English "China Quarterly." The pertinent paragraph follows:

"Since Mao's goal was the seizure of power" (as it is also the objective of the Vietnam National Liberation Front) "his analyses were necessarily based on understanding of the fact that, in the long run, political mobilization of the population was as important as annihilation of the enemy's will to resist. Civil-military relations were thus of the greatest importance. Mao saw the civil war in China as ultimately a political conflict" (a concept utterly beyond the limited comprehension of the Pentagon) "different from conventional contests between rival armies conducted according to orthodox principles of strategy, either Napoleonic or classical Chinese; different also from the far more complex Twentieth Century conflict which had become above all economic warfare in which the side with access to the fullest economic resources was virtually bound to win. In Mao's war, military conflict was a function of politics; military victory, only a preliminary step to radical transformation of society; the army, only one instrument in the hands of the surgeons of the Political Bureau. Like Clausewitz, Mao viewed war as an aspect of politics; as a human activity involving power relations and psychological factors, both rational and emotional."

Few in the United States have even yet learned that it was the application of this simple principle that brought victory to the Chinese Communists. Fewer still have any idea that this is why the Vietnamese National Liberation Front has grown to unbeatable strength. The people of this country have never been informed, except in the columns of *The Militant* and other radical "opposition" papers of meager circulation, that the Vietcong is not just a rabble of half-starved guerrillas, hiding in the swamps and jungles, but well-organized army units of a powerful coalition of three political parties and over 20 professional, social, industrial and religious organizations and representatives of minority nationalities.

For years, it has had a program, a flag and a far-flung network of committees that keeps in as constant and as close contact with the people as any Tammany political club. As far back as February, 1961, it held its first national convention. This congress was attended by over 100 representatives from regional groups throughout Vietnam. Today, the NLF exercises an effective and increasingly visible political control over three-fourths of the country. It operates through local governments, democratically elected, which collect taxes, maintain order, establish schools, hospitals and operate a simple industrial complex. It is well-established in the cities where workers are organized to call crippling strikes, intellectuals united within the party, newspapers printed and wholesale defections arranged from the deteriorating forces of the Saigon government. It is carrying out widespread land

reform and defends the liberated areas with locally recruited "peoples' armies" which constantly whip their opponents by superior morale. This is the "political mobilization" of the people which Mao applied and which the Vietnamese people are now operating with such amazing results. It is the answer to the question, "Why can't the all-powerful United States win military victory in Vietnam?"

Taylor Adams

Lomax in Baltimore

Baltimore, Md.

Author Louis Lomax spoke to an audience of 700 at the Baltimore Jewish Community Center on March 1.

He said, "We Negroes are not superhuman. In some ways we are like you white folks. If pressed hard enough we will fight back."

To the question, what can labor unions do to help the civil-rights struggle, Lomax answered in one word — "Integrate."

He reported that at the New York World's Fair every building is being constructed by lily-white unions. He said "90 per cent of the heavy construction workers are not even citizens. Most of them were shooting at you in World War II. You see why I'm angry. I carry a bullet around from World War II. Now I carry a picket sign and the man who shot me is operating the crane."

A.R.K.

New Rights Technique

Berkeley, Calif.

Please renew our subscription for a year. In doing so, we wish to call your attention to an interesting technique in the civil-rights movement that has been developed here in California — that of shopping in, whereby one loads up a

shopping cart with groceries, brings it to the counter, lets the checker tally it up, and then walks out. This soon results in complete chaos at the check stand and is very effective. Another technique is to rearrange the goods on grocery shelves. Both of these techniques have been developed to be effective where picket lines do not work.

As expected, the good liberal voices claim that they cannot go along with such "violent" methods. Nevertheless, in the short space of two weeks, the discriminating grocery store was forced to sign an agreement to hire more Negroes.

G.W.T.
R.N.

Open Letter to ACLU

New York, N.Y.

The following is the text of a March 2 open letter I have addressed to the American Civil Liberties Union.

In your recently published Annual Report you outline the important civil liberties issues of the year and the role played by the ACLU in the continuing defense of the rights of all Americans. It is with wonderment then that I find that in the section devoted to the "Right of Movement" that you fail to mention the fact that three of the students who traveled to Cuba this past summer have been indicted for their travel and now face imprisonment of 15 years and fines of \$20,000 each for their action.

Admittedly you do mention the fact that the government has "temporarily" withdrawn the passports of us who traveled to Cuba but you fail to note then that this order has now become "final" and that our passports have now been

withdrawn permanently. But, of course, the far more important or at least dramatic turn in the government's action is its attempt to send three of us, including myself, to jail for simply traveling where we want, when we want. The vigorous action taken by the ACLU in condemning the government for its attempt to withdraw our passports should be followed by an equally strong action regarding the indictments.

Your section devoted to the House Un-Americans in the Annual Report is indeed at error when it contends that the students involved in the HUAC hearings regarding travel to Cuba created the demonstrations that disrupted the hearings. Any violence that took place at these hearings did so on the explicit instructions of HUAC and the capital police in an attempt to create riot conditions so that they could carry on their paranoid illusion of the "menace." Robert Zellner, field secretary of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) noted at the time that he had not seen such police brutality in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia or Virginia.

There is no proof whatsoever that the "riots" were instigated by the students "in the gallery." We were not there for trouble but let me assure you that had we been the heads that were split would not have been ours. It is to be hoped that the ACLU in its endeavor to protect civil liberties will concern itself with setting the record straight in this matter and will show the way in making the truth known about the "riots" in Washington.

Phillip Abbott Luce
for the Executive Board,
of The Student Committee
for Travel to Cuba

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"A bitter editorial denouncing Sen. McCarthy for killing the good name of Annie Lee Moss appeared in the March 6 *Afro-American*, influential Negro paper:

"The good name of Annie Lee Moss was quietly put to death Tuesday . . .

"An attractive woman sat before the McCarthy committee and a battery of newsreel and TV cameras and charged that Mrs. Moss at one time was a dues-paying member of the Communist Party.

"The woman who made the charge admitted that she did not know Annie Lee Moss. She confessed she would be unable to recognize her if she saw her.

"The only evidence she had was a Communist Party card which showed that someone named Annie Moss had at one time paid dues to the Communist Party.

"But undisturbed by such evidence Senator McCarthy immediately branded Annie Lee Moss a Communist . . .

"And the good name of Annie Lee Moss brutally was put to death without Annie Lee Moss being allowed to utter one word in defense of that name.

"That is McCarthyism." — March 15, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"Britain's ruling class stands panic-stricken as over 100,000 striking coal miners enter the second week of their militant struggle, the greatest demonstration of British working-class power since the 1926 General Strike. The majority of the South Wales miners, who represent the heart of the strike movement, at rank-and-file pit head meetings today rejected the demands of their treacherous leaders that they resume work. These leaders over the week-end sought to drum up a back-to-work vote with frantic patriotic appeals and glib promises that all the miners' demands will be granted after they return to work. But the labor bureaucrats have, for the time being, lost all control of the situation. The rank-and-file members are fighting mad.

"The strike was launched early last week by 85,000 workers in the key South Wales collieries and quickly spread with thousands of other miners walking out all over England and Scotland. The conflagratory sweep of this struggle in Britain's most vital industry immediately evoked hysterical and fear-ridden agitation by the entire capitalist press.

"The immediate provocation of the strike was the refusal of the Churchill government to redress the grievances of the miners arising out of the [miserly minimum wage granted by the government.] . . ." — March 18, 1944.

It Was Reported in the Press

Propaganda Tale — Radio Liberty, which beams cold-war propaganda into the USSR sent out a special news release announcing it has reached the Russian people with the news that Cassius Clay had beaten Sonny Liston. In addition, it reported: "The broadcasts made the point that in the United States the descendant of a slave can rise to the championship ranks." This should prove interesting to Clay, a strong supporter of the Muslim view that the black people are still enslaved in the U.S.

Tax Beneficiary — A March 4 Wall Street Journal article offered this description of one American couple: "Joe and Agnes Katz like to live it up. And with an income of over \$300,000 a year, they can afford to. This winter they basked in the sun at Acapulco, Mexico. They have an imposing brick home in Pittsburgh, staffed with two servants. In New York, they maintain a six-room apartment in the Hotel Pierre . . . Joe Katz sports \$275 suits and puffs fine cigars from his private stock at Dunhill's in New York. His wife wears Paris originals and glitters with jewels . . . Mr. Katz . . . figures the recently designed tax-cut measure will increase his spendable income ten per cent." How much did it increase yours?

American Definition — The *New Yorker* magazine reports that a newsstand in a Savarin Restaurant

on the Connecticut Turnpike displays a sign declaring: "This is an honor box. Anyone taking papers without paying will be prosecuted."

The Budget-Balancers — Stop worrying about the billions spent on armaments and what they do to your tax dollar. The government is taking steps to curb spending. All Washington agencies have been ordered to douse unnecessary light at night.

The Treasury Department also issued a directive to close Venetian blinds at night. This, an administrative circular explained, would be an "aid to avoiding public criticism where it is necessary that certain lights be burned at night."

Where They Miss — Pollster George Gallup says most of the mistakes made by ad men and politicians can be traced to the same source: They underestimate

the intelligence of the American people.

The Corner Grocery — Supermarkets are eliminating small groceries at a rapid clip. "Mom and Pop" stores — that is, those with sales of \$150,000 or less a year — were responsible for ten per cent of grocery sales in 1962 as against 34 per cent in 1947.

Birchers Spark Exodus — Eighteen of 33 public school teachers in Pleasantville, Iowa, have resigned as a result of what they charge is undue interference in school affairs by John Birchers. The remaining 15 teachers have been offered raises to stay on. A junior high school teacher had been reprimanded for discussing menstruation in a mixed psychology class. Another teacher was told it was all right to read about communism out of a textbook but not to discuss it.

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Thought for the Week

"The problem of poverty is vast. Of the 9,000,000 poor families [those with annual incomes of less than \$3,000], 7,000,000 have no member for whom a job could be found at present that would provide the family with a minimum standard of living." — The March 8 *New York Times*.

Social Workers Union Near Strike Settlement in N.Y.

By David Herman

NEW YORK — The Community and Social Agency Employees Union, a section of the AFL-CIO State, County and Municipal Employees union, and the six social work agencies struck by it here have resumed negotiations. Toward the end of an 18-hour bargaining session in the early morning of March 10, union negotiators offered to have the unresolved issues settled by arbitration. Management refused the offer.

The strike of social workers and non-professional employees of the casework agencies has been attacked in the local press ever since it began Feb. 20. One such attack, an editorial in the March 4 *New York Post*, claims that a factional conflict within Local 1707

"appears largely responsible for prolonging the union's strike." Strikers say the charge is baseless, and point to the union's lowering of demands and offers to submit issues to arbitration.

A union spokesman pointed out that though union elections every two years coincide with the end of the contract, factions have dropped politicking during the strike.

An advertisement by the union in the March 6 *New York Post* made the following points:

"... Management is proposing clauses the effect of which would be to weaken the union. It is also proposing new provisions which would considerably worsen conditions for many employees. An example is a management demand for a 7 a.m. to 12 midnight split-shift for child care workers.

"We have been in negotiations and mediation for close to three months. We have revised our demands downward several times. We have repeatedly stated that we are ready to negotiate further, but management refuses to move from its last 'take it or leave it' pre-strike proposal."

The cast of *East Side, West Side*, a television program about a social worker, joined the picket line.

The United Federation of Teachers urged its members working in institutions struck by the social workers not to do any work usually done by the strikers. It also urged teachers to contribute to the strike-relief fund and to help maintain picket lines after working hours.

Social work schools have threatened to remove their students from the agencies if they do not settle the strike very soon. The agencies are partially staffed by social-work graduate students and recruit many of their social workers from amongst these students.

Shuttlesworth Wins Two Legal Battles

Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, courageous civil-rights leader of Birmingham, figured in two legal victories in the U.S. Supreme Court's March 9 rulings.

First, the high court reversed the Negro leader's conviction for interfering with the Birmingham police during the 1961 Freedom Rides. At that time Shuttlesworth was sentenced to 180 days and \$100 fine. Alabama's appeals and supreme courts had upheld his conviction.

Shuttlesworth and 18 others had been at Birmingham's Greyhound Bus terminal on May 17, 1961. They were trying to take a bus to Montgomery to protest segregation in bus terminals. When the cops began to arrest the Freedom Riders, Shuttlesworth asked to be taken too. For this he was charged with interfering with the police.

The second decision of the Supreme Court concerned a case in which Shuttlesworth, three other Negro ministers and the *New York Times* had been found guilty by Alabama courts of libeling a Montgomery city commissioner. The alleged libel was in an advertisement in the *Times* signed by the Negro ministers which described the anti-Negro actions of the Montgomery police. The city commissioner claimed the ad reflected on him and was libelous.

Setting an important precedent, the high court ruled that criticism of a public official for his official conduct could not be considered libel unless deliberate malice could be proved. Otherwise libel suits, the justices said, would endanger the freedom to comment about official conduct which is protected by the guarantees of free speech and free press in the First Amendment.



Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth

San Francisco Hotels Give In

Sit-Ins Win Jobs for Negroes

By Harold Verb

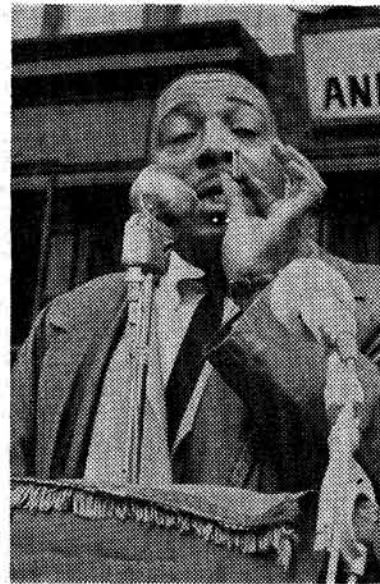
SAN FRANCISCO, March 8 — There was an air of jubilation in San Francisco this weekend as civil-rights forces celebrated a major breakthrough in the fight to end job discrimination.

The victory was the settlement between the Hotel Employers Association and the embattled civil-rights groups at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel which had become the scene of mass demonstrations, sit-ins and mass arrests.

The settlement won by the civil-rights fighters binds 33 San Francisco hotels to a non-discriminatory hiring pact calling for a two-year policy of hiring "in all job categories" on a basis of qualification "without reference to race or color." It also requires the hotels to furnish a statistical analysis within 60 days, and at regular intervals thereafter, showing the number of employees who are of minority racial groups (defined as:

"Negroes, other non-whites and persons of Mexican or Latin American descent"). This information is to be given to all civil-rights representatives signing the pact. The pact also sets forth the objective of employment of members of minority groups reaching a level of 15 to 20 per cent of total employment by July 20, 1964. The hotels further agreed not to bring any suits against any of those who had demonstrated and to request dismissal of charges by police against those demonstrators who had been arrested.

The pickets who originally came out to the Sheraton-Palace Hotel with signs reading: "The Sheraton Is Not an Equality Palace," "Evers was Murdered For Freedom Now," and "Ain't Gonna Let No One Turn Me Around," were responding to a call by a number of civil-rights groups among which the Ad Hoc Committee to End Dis-



Dick Gregory
"You can't put truth in jail"

crimination and the United Freedom Movement of San Francisco were the prime movers.

Sparked by Tracy Sims, an 18-year-old girl who leads the Ad Hoc Committee and who is already a veteran in the struggle, the civil-rights forces staged a show of strength after negotiations with the hotel's management had broken down. A total of 167 were arrested after they had defied a court order limiting the picketing to 100. Some 1,500 people had shown up to defy the ban. At one point the mass arrests became so burdensome for the police that they had to ask some of the 32 girls already arrested to assist them in typing up the entry records for those still being booked.

The demonstration began Sunday, March 1, when several hundred people staged a sit-in at the hotel and 120 were hauled off by

the cops. The Ad Hoc group then announced it would continue the demonstrations despite a restraining order which had been issued limiting the picketing. It predicted that marchers at the next demonstration the next weekend would outnumber those at any previous demonstration in the city.

When this happened, the lobby of the Sheraton-Palace Hotel became the scene of a 20-hour battle. Finally the Hotel Employers Association of San Francisco gave in and signed an agreement with the various civil-rights organizations involved. But this was not accomplished before the "city fathers" entered the picture.

This took the form of a secret luncheon meeting between Mayor John F. Shelley, Human Relations Co-ordinator James Mitchell (Eisenhower's Secretary of Labor), other city and state officials, and attorneys for both sides to the dispute.

Shelley later told how he had listened to a lawyer for the Sheraton-Palace explain why the hotel would not agree to the basis for settlement discussed at the luncheon. "I hope you know what you're doing because I don't think your objections are as valid as you may think," Shelley claims to have said.

"Irresponsible"

Earlier Shelley had questioned whether "responsible" groups or individuals were involved in the picketing. William Bradley, chairman of San Francisco CORE, to offset that remark and others like it, replied: "We're sick of management calling pickets irresponsible... If 'irresponsible' means against prejudicial hiring, then we are all irresponsible."

Dick Gregory flew in especially to take part in the demonstrations. He was arrested March 1. In the arguments which raged over whether to obey the law and court orders, he had said: "Any law that is a bad law shouldn't be respected... You can't put truth in jail."

When Tracy Sims raced through the lobby of the Sheraton-Palace holding the signed pact high, she was greeted with mighty cheers from the civil-rights fighters. "We have won for unborn kids," cried out Dick Gregory.

Tracy Sims, exhausted by nearly 50 hours without sleep, exulted: "We came in here to deal with the Sheraton-Palace and we got an agreement with 33 hotels." She was carried out on the shoulders of jubilant demonstrators.

St. Louis Rights Fighters Stand Tough

Released from Jail; Return to Picketing

Militant members of the St. Louis Congress of Racial Equality — including five just freed on bond by a federal appeals court — renewed the fight against the Jefferson Bank and Trust Company by picketing its offices March 2.

This was the most recent development in the struggle which began here last fall. A successful campaign by CORE and NAACP members in East St. Louis against discriminatory hiring practices in banks there inspired similar demonstrations in St. Louis. These, however, were met from the start by police retaliation and a split in the Negro leadership.

Nineteen were arrested during demonstrations at the Jefferson Bank in October. Fifteen of these were convicted of criminal contempt of court for supposedly violating a restraining order prohibiting interference with the bank's business. One of the 15, Negro Alderman William Clay, was fined \$1,000 and was serving a 270-day sentence. The others received sentences ranging from 60 days to a year.

The decision was appealed first to the Missouri Appeals Court and then to the state's Supreme Court. It was upheld in both these cases. Petitions for writs of habeas corpus were filed with the U.S. district court in St. Louis on Feb. 7. These too were denied.

At the federal appellate level, however, a three-judge panel authorized the release on bond of the 15. Five of them — Lucian Richards, present St. Louis CORE chairman; Robert Curtis, former St. Louis CORE chairman; Roberta Tournour, wife of a CORE field

representative; and James Peake and Taylor Jones, who were leaders of the East St. Louis demonstrations last summer — immediately joined picketers at the bank.

St. Louis CORE provoked considerable reaction among the city's "respectable" Negro leadership when it announced plans to picket while President Johnson was in town on Feb. 14. CORE Field Representative Eugene Tournour said that some action would be taken to "publicly acknowledge" the existence of civil-rights problems in the city. He said that picketing or a sit-in at the hotel where Johnson was staying was possible.

Picketing Johnson

Negro State Representative Hugh J. White said he would picket the president's arrival all alone if necessary. (White had been arrested in connection with the bank demonstrations and had been convicted of disturbing the peace.)

The picketing proposal was called a "crackpot idea" by David A. Grant, Negro legislative research director for the Board of Aldermen. Heading a supposedly "responsible" Negro leadership, Grant declared, "We do not intend to stand by and see this President of ours blemished by irresponsible people." Supporting Grant were Ernest Calloway, president of the Negro American Labor Council, and Rev. John J. Hicks, Negro president of the St. Louis School Board.

Representative White wrote Johnson an "open letter" on Feb. 10 in which he announced his intention to picket, adding, "I feel you have not been fully appraised

of the social chaos which is prevalent in St. Louis."

He urged that Johnson visit the 15 CORE members then in the city jail for their demonstrations at the Jefferson Bank.

On Feb. 13 Rep. White and CORE announced cancellation of plans to demonstrate during the visit of President Johnson. CORE spokesman Tournour charged that Municipal Judge Rodney Weiss had told him and several other CORE members that if they sought to petition the President, "whether by placard, by leaflet, or word of mouth," they would be immediately arrested.

Weiss denied the statement or the intention.

CORE then revived its plans for the demonstration, saying that "the circumstances are pretty much altered," as the result of the judge's denial.

The city's hypocrisy was revealed when 84 demonstrators marched toward the Chase-Park Plaza Hotel, where Johnson was speaking, on the evening of Feb. 14. All were taken into custody about four blocks from the hotel and "questioned" by the police. They were released about the time Johnson left the hotel.

Charles Oldham, a lawyer and former national chairman of CORE, said protests would be made to President Johnson and Missouri's Governor John M. Dalton.

"It is a traditional technique of a police state to arrest persons and hold them without charge to prevent them from doing things you don't want them to do," Oldham pointed out.

Negro Democrats Quit in San Diego

One of the largest Democratic clubs in San Diego, California, a predominantly Negro club, has decided to split from the Democratic Party.

"We are dissatisfied with the representatives we play a major part in sending to Washington and Sacramento," the president of the club, Ted Patrick, said. "We feel these representatives are using civil rights as a racket."

The decision was made by a 99-to-1 vote of the members.

The organization's new name will be the Chollas Community Civic Organization. Its program will include a voter-registration drive and demonstrations against stores, restaurants and shopping centers that practice racial discrimination.