

# THE MILITANT

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## Four Indicted in Test Of Cuba Travel Ban

The federal grand jury in Brooklyn which for a month has been investigating the recent trip to Cuba by 58 American students, handed down four indictments on Sept. 27. The charges are "conspiring to recruit and arrange for the trip."

The announcement of the indictment was made in Washington by Attorney General Robert Kennedy and by the federal prosecutor's office in Brooklyn.

Three of those indicted — Levi Laub, 24, Phillip Abbott Luce, 26, and Stefan Martinot, 24, had gone on the trip to Cuba. The fourth defendant, Anatole Schlosser, 26, did not go.

Two others, Salvatore Cucchiari, 19, and Ellin Irene Shallit, 29, were named as co-conspirators but were not indicted.

The indictment alleged 31 overt acts of conspiracy, such as organizing a committee to promote the trip, meetings in New York and Buffalo, distribution of application forms, etc.

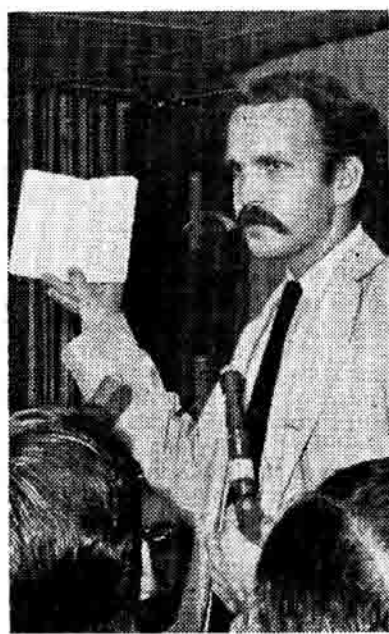
There is no law forbidding travel to Cuba, merely a State Department edict. Thus the prosecution had to base the indictment on the supposed existence of a "national emergency" empowering the State Department to forbid such travel. Prosecutor Joseph P. Hoey told the court that "a period of national emergency" was now in effect, in regard to Cuba, at least.

### Permanent 'Emergency'

A state of national emergency was proclaimed in 1950 when President Truman plunged the U.S. into the "police action" in Korea. It has been continued ever since.

On Sept. 30 all four defendants appeared voluntarily and were arraigned before Judge Joseph C. Zavatt. Defense Attorney Leonard Boudin told the court that he was representing a client in Hartford, Conn. who is suing the State Department for denying him the right to travel to Cuba. Since that trial, slated for Nov. 18, could have a bearing on the students' case, he requested and was granted a postponement till Dec. 2.

All defendants pleaded not guilty. Boudin asked that they be released in their lawyers' custody (Schlosser is represented by Isl-



**HOLDING ON TO IT.** Phillip Abbott Luce holds aloft his passport on return from Cuba. Government says it's invalid because he went there and that he should be jailed for going.

dore Englander). The prosecutor demanded that each be placed under \$5,000 bail, arguing that the fact that they had gone to Cuba indicated that they were untrustworthy and could not be depended on otherwise to show up for trial.

Boudin pointed out that all were residents of New York, that they had appeared voluntarily and had, indeed, returned from Cuba to test the constitutionality of the travel ban.

The judge released them in their lawyers' custody but restricted their movements to New York City and Long Island.

### AN IMPORTANT SPEECH BY CASTRO

## Affirms Cuba's Independent Foreign Policy

In an important policy speech Sept. 28, Fidel Castro made it clear that Cuba would continue its policy of revolutionary opposition to U.S. efforts to crush his government. He said that while Cuba welcomed the current easing of world tensions, it could not accept a situation where at the very same time the U.S. was increasing its efforts to "tighten the noose" around Cuba.

"Clearly this situation determines our conduct," he told a gathering at the Plaza of the Revolution in Havana celebrating the third anniversary of the founding of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution. Organized to combat the counter-revolutionaries on a block-by-block basis, the rank-and-file committees also play a major role in administering the country's rationing system and in generally spurring the revolution forward. The rally was also attended by delegates to the congress of the International Union of Architects meeting in Havana.

"We will not accept a situation," Castro declared, "in which tensions decrease while they increase for us. We do not want tensions

## What the Algerian Government Stands For

— See special article page 5 —

## Can Negroes Win Freedom Now Through Democrats?

— See page 3 —

## Civil Rights Forces Seek New Ways to Press Fight

By William Bundy

OCT. 2 — A serious crisis among civil-rights leaders has developed and a great debate has opened in the movement since the Birmingham murders of Negro children. The Birmingham events, and the Kennedy administration's inaction in the face of them, have made it apparent that the movement led by Martin Luther King, Jr. has reached a blind alley and a search is on for new roads.

The debate involves the questions of non-violence versus self-defense, political action, the approach to Congress and Kennedy's civil-rights bill, and tactics of civil disobedience.

The doctrine of non-violence-under-all-circumstances is now being widely challenged even by church leaders. For example, Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker, of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church declared in Louisville that the Birmingham events have shattered the hope that law and order would be maintained in the Deep South in the face of integration moves and added:

"The Ghandi philosophy of non-violence in situations of this kind seems impotent and ineffective. As one of the presiding bishops of a church with a constituency of one million — 70,000 of whom reside in Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi — I call upon our membership in these states here and now to arm themselves to repel any illegal intrusions upon their persons, the privacy of their homes, or the sacredness of their institutions. The same admonition applies to our constituency in Kentucky."

The Rev. Gardner C. Taylor, a leading figure in Brooklyn's Bedford Stuyvesant area — the second largest Negro ghetto in the coun-



**HOW LONG?** Members of the Albany, Ga. Movement sang as they were being jailed during demonstrations last year. But despite willingness of 1,200 of them to choose jail, and despite valiant efforts of Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, movement was stymied by lack of effective leadership on part of King-Wilkins officialdom.

try — has also supported the right of self-defense, as have authors John O. Killens and Louis Lomax. (See statements page 2.)

The seventh congress of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, held in Richmond last week, witnessed an almost frantic search for new tactics and an atmosphere of disillusionment with the Kennedy administration. A detailed plan for civil disobedience was circulated there, authored by Diane Nash Bevel, a

field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee. The plan recommended refusal to pay state and local taxes, a general work stoppage, tying up telephone lines by harassing central switchboards with calls, and blocking of communications between Birmingham and Montgomery by sitdowns on highways, railroads and airfields. The plan was not adopted, but elements of it were mentioned as possibilities by Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, SCLC staff director.

SCLC President Martin Luther King, said the organization would call for a boycott of Christmas-gift buying, a measure being pushed by author James Baldwin and the newly-formed Artists and Writers Committee for Justice. The SCLC also approved a civil-rights march on Alabama's capital, Montgomery, and a massive, direct-action campaign in Danville, Va.

White liberals have also entered the debate with plenty of free advice. For example, *New York Post* editor James Wechsler declared Sept. 30: "It would be a calamity if a call for 'civil disobedience' became the battle-cry of this hour." This, says Wechsler, would only "provide new ammunition for the do-nothings and know-nothings in Congress," and hurt the chances of the civil-rights bill.

The crisis in the civil-rights leadership has been precipitated, not simply by the shock of the first loss of life in Birmingham after 52 unsolved bombings since 1946, but by the cool reaction of the Kennedy administration to the murders and the Negro leaders' realization that Kennedy is more interested in appeasing the Southern Democrats for the 1964 elections than in defending Negroes.

Kennedy's appointment of ex-football coach Earl Blaik and ex-general Kenneth C. Royall to in-

(Continued on Page 6)

### New York Forum To Hear Luce

**NEW YORK**—Phillip Luce, spokesman for the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba just indicted for defying the travel ban, will speak at the Militant Labor Forum Friday, Oct. 11, on the fight against the travel ban and about his trip to Cuba.

Sharing the platform will be Albert Maher, another of the students who went to Cuba. While there Maher gave special attention to the status of Cuban artists.

The meeting will be held at 8:30 p.m. at the Militant Labor Forum hall, 116 University Place.

### Full Castro Speech In Our Next Issue

Our next issue will feature the complete text of the Sept. 28 speech by Fidel Castro which is reported on in this issue.



## 2 Differing Views on Freedom Now Struggle

## James Baldwin and Bayard Rustin

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK — Author James Baldwin told a Sept. 25 meeting that he favored the formation of a new third party to further the Negro revolution because neither the Democratic nor Republican parties "can move on this question, both are useless in this revolution."

Baldwin made the statement at Community Church in what had originally been scheduled as a meeting to discuss "what next" after the March on Washington. He spoke along with Bayard Rustin, a pacifist leader and deputy director of the March. The meeting, however, became another in the series of mass gatherings which have been taking place here since the Birmingham murders. In these the whole of American society and ideology, and the strategy and tactics of the Negro revolution have been subjected to a very profound criticism.

The Baldwin-Rustin discussion was attended by some 1,400 people, with another 1,000 unable to get inside the church. The meeting was sponsored by several pacifist groups and the Socialist Party, with which Rustin is associated.

## Economic Roots

Baldwin, who explained that he was speaking for himself and not for any organization, said the Negro revolution must challenge the economic system because the lack of equality for Negroes is rooted in economic exploitation. He declared: "A few days ago it was suggested by some of us that there be no Christmas-gift buying in order to bring pressure to bear where the battle is, where the money is . . . If one serves notice on the economy, ultimately on the banks, we'll begin to see some notion of our potential power . . . We're not begging for our freedom. It is up to us to take our freedom."

Baldwin told the audience, composed mostly of young people — about three-fourths of them white, that the entire country is in a serious moral crisis whether whites realized it or not. He said: "The only thing worse these days than being a black man in America is being a white man in America . . . There is not one square inch of American soil in which a black man can be free, including New York City. A vast complex of interests make an awful lot of money on segregation in New York."

"I know Harlem. I know what rents you pay for what you get. I know what you pay for the poorest meat. I know what you pay for shoddy clothing, for fire insurance, for theft insurance, if you can get it . . . Isn't it worth considering what one might be able to do if, instead of paying the rent, one refused to pay rent? And when they tell you it is illegal, the answer is it's immoral to pay rent for this."

"We have been in the streets for a long time. There is something

## On the Right of Self-Defense

The bomb-murders of Negro children in Birmingham "forces a re-examination by serious Christians of the entire doctrine of non-violence except as a tactical approach in selected situations . . . [whites who congratulate Negroes on their non-violence] have never advocated it for themselves in the face of provocation . . . nor for the nation in the 'righteous wars' we have waged to 'make the world free.'" — Rev. Gardner C. Taylor, pastor of Concord Baptist Church in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area of Brooklyn.

"The American Negro is the victim of many myths . . . that he is lazy, shiftless, that the Negro man is something of a sexual superman, that he smells differently, that he wants only Cadillacs. The new myth is that he is non-violent. We are completely in favor of non-violence as a tactic, but the perpetration of the myth that the Negro is non-violent is immoral . . . Raised to a principle, nonviolence aids and abets the oppressor. If a white man comes into my home to assault and attack, I will shoot him . . . The time of open season on Negroes is over. The right of self-defense is more important to Negroes than the vote." — Author Louis Lomax at a New York press conference of the newly-formed Artists and Writers Committee for Justice.

dangerous about having so many Negro boys and girls in the streets for so long. The country has admired these people, but has done nothing whatever to help them. What is more, the country intends to keep on admiring them — and sending them to jail. It is years now that some of these kids have been going into the streets to be beaten and arrested. They are being beaten by the power structure, ladies and gentlemen, not by some isolated policeman. Policemen know whom they are working for."

On integration, Baldwin said: "It is not simply a question of equality. It is impossible for any Negro in this country to be fitted into the social structure as it is. The structure must be changed, made more human, more humane . . . We are not interested in the offers to become part of what is . . . to be just like Eisenhower . . . We don't want to become yet another blank mediocrity . . ."

"Look at the myths white America has about me, about Negroes. These myths are a symptom. A symptom of the most extreme emotional, sexual and spiritual poverty and panic of the American people . . . When this white society can produce children who can do what those black children in Birmingham did, then we may be able to talk about equality . . ."

## Whites Afraid to Speak

"We can win. We can turn this country into something a little less difficult for a man to be a human being in . . . Whites are afraid to speak, to act on conscience, to act like men . . . It is not important to be safe. It is not important to get that new car. It is not important to 'make it.' It is important to become a man. It is important to say: 'I will not choose between a lesser of two evils, between these two political machines with their Nixon, Goldwater, Kennedy and the rest of a long and dreary line.'"

On political action, Baldwin said: "We are not, are we, at the mercy of our political institutions? Can't we change them? . . . Must we support the party of Eastland? Must we go along with the administration and its cynical, I repeat, cynical appointment of an ex-football player and an ex-general to investigate Birmingham?"

The meeting was chaired by David Livingston, president of District 65 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, AFL-CIO, who had just returned from Birmingham. He declared: "It is out of this world to talk of mediating between white and black in Birmingham . . . That is like talking about mediating between Hitler and the Jews on the problems of Jewish people in Germany . . . Personally, I am convinced it will take an occupation by federal troops . . . with a healthy sprinkling of Negro soldiers in the units."

Bayard Rustin, however, opposed the idea of calling for federal troops to Birmingham. "I am tired of being on the defensive about non-violence," he declared. The next stage in the revolution, he said, should be a massive campaign of civil disobedience. He was inconsistent in this complete pacifism, however, when he said an object of this campaign would be to force the government to appoint judges who would bring racist criminals to justice. This, of course, would involve police, who — like federal troops — carry guns and clubs and whose effectiveness likewise springs directly from their capacity to exercise force and violence.

## Fake Argument

Rustin did not simply declare that, out of pacifist principles, he personally could not agree to tactics of self-defense. Instead, he argued that the only alternative to complete non-violence is aggressive and illegal violence. Such talk is irresponsible as well as false. It undermines the Southern Negroes who are now taking practical self-defense measures in their neighborhoods and who need to have their constitutional rights of self-defense defended as widely as possible, especially by civil-rights leaders.

Rustin also declined to break with the idea of supporting Democrats or Republicans. Instead, he advocated the position known as "re-alignment" whereby people are supposed to go on voting for "liberal" Democrats or Republicans while they hope that all the reactionaries will join one party and all the liberals will join the other. This pipe-dream position is advocated by such groups as the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, which are oriented toward attempting to gain their aims within the white power structure. It is simply a window-dressing excuse for continued support to the Democratic Party.

Despite all this, however, Rustin reflected the new militancy. He discussed such tactics as rent strikes and said the movement should develop "in each community a bunch of angelic troublemakers, to make things unworkable through non-violent civil disobedience."

At one point in the meeting, a member of the audience asked Baldwin if there aren't any good Democrats. Baldwin replied: "Suppose a radical Democrat got elected. He would be window dressing for the old machine. That is what has already happened . . . The liberal Democrats are in the window, and the Dixiecrats are in positions of power. The point is simply that neither party can move on this question. Both are useless in this revolution. It is not that I wish to insult any of the noble souls which may be trapped within either party."



Automation and other technological changes are the main reason for an increase in productivity (output per man-hour), which is eliminating at least 200,000 factory jobs a year. Along with this decline, the labor force is expected to increase 17% (12,500,000) between 1960-70, compared to a 13% increase in the period 1950-60.

These figures, released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, include a survey of 200 manufacturing industries for the period 1957-61 revealing that output per man-hour increased 17.7% while production of goods increased only 7.8%. The companies being surveyed closed the gap between increased individual productivity and overall production by eliminating or laying off 1,094,000 workers.

Workers who are laid off because of automation will get little satisfaction from the speech by President Kennedy in Whiskeytown, Calif. Speaking of the problems that will face Americans 40 years from now, he raised the possibility of a shorter work week for then. This pie-in-the-sky for current unemployed victims of automation is reminiscent of a speech not so long ago by Attorney General Robert Kennedy. Speaking on the Negro struggle, he raised the possibility that this country might have a Negro president — in 40 years.

According to the Kennedy brothers, all things come to those who wait. Okay. Let them both wait in Whiskeytown for 40 years while the Negro people and labor act to solve their problems now.

The Valachi revelations are a publicity gimmick and a hoax, says the Sept. 20 *Missouri Teamster*, official organ of Teamster Joint Council 13 in St. Louis. The labor paper cites the following evidence: 1) The *Philadelphia Bulletin* reported Sept. 14 that a psychiatrist found Valachi to be "suffering from a paranoid state" just a week before the feds put him under special guard as a canary. 2) A Sept. 15 *UPI* report stated that Justice Department officials admitted that Valachi was a low-ranking thug, had "good" and "bad" days, and didn't tell them anything they didn't already know.

"Why then the inordinate ballyhoo?" asks the *Missouri Teamster*. The paper answers: "Those who know Attorney General Robert Kennedy know that this is his kind of meat. It is the kind of story that conditions those citizens who don't bother to analyze what they read . . . It is the kind of story that builds a climate for two of Kennedy's pet projects — a wiretap bill and Hoffa's scalp."

A hidden camera in the men's washroom of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company in New York incensed union members and brought strike authorization for Local 1150 of the Communications Workers of America. The strike threat was ended when the camera, purportedly installed to catch someone who was defacing walls with obscene drawings, was removed.

Before its removal the union recorded a statement which could be heard by anyone telephoning JU 2-1818 in New York. The statement condemned the use of hidden cameras while it also expressed an interest in apprehending the washroom culprit.

In addition to the embarrassment caused by the hidden camera, workers were probably angered that a detective agency installed the device during contract negotiations with the company. Reports

on these negotiations can be heard by dialing the above phone number. This is a far better use of technology than hidden cameras.

The United Mine Workers Journal devoted its Sept. 15 editorial page to an article describing the Aug. 28 March on Washington. Written by editor Justin McCarthy, a participant in the March, the article concludes, "I join with them, as a white American, in saying 'We shall overcome.'"

8,000 Textile Workers Union members went on strike against 250 dyeing and finishing plants in New York and New Jersey on Sept. 30. Earlier they had rejected a three-year contract despite the fact that the union's negotiating committee had recommended its acceptance.

A spokesman for Local 1733 in Paterson, N.J., which has 4,500 members, said they disliked the contract's vacation plan which left vacation dates to the discretion of management. The spokesman added, "we also want more money."

The cost of living rose five-tenths percent in July raising the index to 107.1 or 1.5 percent higher than a year ago. Increase in food, medical-care and housing costs helped account for the new rise.

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. (Signed) Carolyn Kerry, Business Manager.

## Weekly Calendar

## CHICAGO

The Nuclear Test-Ban — Is It a Real Step Toward Peace? Speaker, Frank Lovell, Detroit unionist. Fri., Oct. 11, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, Room 210, 302 South Canal St. Contrib. 50c (students, 25c). Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

## NEW YORK

PHILLIP LUCE, indicted Student Committee for Travel to Cuba spokesman, speaks on the fight against the travel ban and on his trip to Cuba. Also, ALBERT MAHER, Harvard student who made trip and gave special attention to status of Cuban artists. Fri., Oct. 11, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.



## THE TWO-PARTY TRAP

## Labor's Failure Is Proof Negroes Can't Gain from Democrats

By Tom Kerry

The Negro Freedom Now struggle is today undergoing the agonizing pangs of a leadership crisis. Conservative spokesmen, who have until now placed upon the movement their stamp of massive, passive, non-violent resistance, are in a mood of questioning uncertainty.

The frightful toll exacted by the racist hooligans for the inching progress made in breaching the Jim Crow barriers; the growing conviction that the Kennedy administration has no serious intention of using the federal power to defend the rights of Negro citizens; the emotional letdown following the Aug. 28 March on Washington, have given rise to a feeling of frustration, indecision and disillusionment.

Writing from Richmond, Virginia, in the Sept. 29 *New York Times*, reporter M. S. Handler observes: "Delegates to the seventh annual convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference departed for their homes today uncertain about the future course of the civil-rights campaign."

Disappointment that the high hopes raised by the Washington march had failed to materialize was the prevalent feeling among the delegates. "It was generally assumed by the Negro people," says Handler, "after the march that the walls of segregation would come crumbling down as did the walls of Jericho."

"The walls are still standing," he adds, "and the Negroes are wondering why."

It would be more precise to pinpoint these illusions as being characteristic of the conservative

leaders rather than of the Negro people. The objective of the march, as defined by the prime movers, was to put pressure on Congress to enact the Kennedy administration's civil-rights measures. With the march restricted within this framework, Kennedy was permitted to evade his responsibility as executive head of government, to curb the racist hate-mongers.

The prospects of civil-rights legislation, weak and inadequate as the Kennedy measures are, seems more remote now than before the march. With the pressure deflected from Kennedy to the less vulnerable Congress, the head of the Democratic Party can continue to play politics-as-usual with the civil-rights issue. To offset the feeling among the delegates at the SCLC convention that Congress will again prove to be the graveyard of civil-rights legislation, Handler reports that Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "sought to reassure the delegates," that "contrary to gloomy forecasts a strong bill would emerge from Congress."

Some illusions die hard. Especially when deeply imbedded in a "leader" who has lost touch with reality. A man in a much better position to know the workings of Congress, Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr. of Manhattan, dismissed the Wilkins statement as so much wishful thinking. Powell, says Handler, "assured the convention that Congress would not pass President Kennedy's bill this year and that the white man has already given everything he ever intended to give to the Negroes."

## Inevitable Result

"From now on out," Powell added, "the Negroes must themselves fight for anything they can get." What is true of "from now on out," has been equally true of the past. Reliance upon the Kennedy brothers along with their band of liberal supporters, followers and hangers-on, has led to one disheartening compromise after another. An inevitable result of such demoralizing compromises is to lead the Freedom Now movement into a blind alley.

"The delegates' gloom," reports Handler, "was deepened during the convention by repeated assertions that the Negro people 'have been betrayed by Democrats and Republicans,' and that 'we have been duped or have duped ourselves' in believing that the chains of segregation have been broken."

Therein lies the nub of the problem. The Freedom Now movement is, in its essence, a political struggle. In the South it involves a bitter struggle to win the elementary democratic right of the Negro to vote. In the North, where Negroes have acquired the nominal right, it involves the question of how best to use this weapon to

advance the fight for Negro equality.

This much is certain — so long as the conservative leaders remain at the head of the movement and are able to impose their policy of looking for salvation to the white liberals of the Democratic and Republican parties, the long and dismal record of betrayal will be repeated without end.

## Poor Example

One need only look at the dreary result of the almost identical course pursued by the American labor leaders. Their policy of "rewarding friends and punishing enemies," which lies at the root of their coalition with the Democratic Party, has led to political impotence. Like the conservative civil-rights leaders, the union heads are rewarded with an occasional visit to the White House for a friendly "chat" where they are charmed into another rotten compromise at the expense of the people they represent.

The so-called two-party system is the greatest political hoax ever perpetrated upon the people of this country. Both capitalist parties are controlled from top to bottom by the monied interests. The sham battles in which they are periodically engaged are so much dust to blind the people to their real character as representative of the capitalist ruling class. That is the class whose privileges, power and profits, rest on the exploitation of labor, white and black; who fathered the Jim Crow system and profit by its continuation; who rule as a minority through force and deception and who find the two-party system perfectly tailored to serve their needs.

For the Negro people and the white working class the two-party system has proven to be a cemetery of blighted expectations. Upon its grisly gate should appear the warning inscription: Abandon All Hope, Ye Who Enter Here! The Negro-Labor Democratic Party coalition, which embraces millionaire and wage slave, Negro and Dixiecrat, labor and capital, is a grotesque product of the two-party system.

So grotesque in fact, that those who stand determined to maintain the jerry-built structure, are fearful for its continued existence. I refer here, not to its capitalist beneficiaries, but to those who presume to speak for the duped masses and who quake in fright at the revolutionary consequences attendant upon the collapse of the coalition — the labor officialdom, the conservative Negro leaders, and yes, some who even call themselves "socialists."

All these, and more, have rallied to assault the advocates of a Freedom Now Party who call for a break with the coalition monstrosity and an end to the two-party swindle. As against the Freedom Now Party and an independent labor party they advance the prospect of "reforming" the two-party system. That is, to work for the creation of a genuine two-party system, with all the "liberals" in one party and the "conservatives" in another.

## Political Quackery

This has become known as the policy of realignment! As one might expect, this slick piece of political quackery was conceived in the fertile brain of labor's foremost windbag, Walter Reuther. It was subsequently taken up and adopted by the political pundits of the Norman Thomas Socialist Party. The August 31 issue of the SP paper, *New America*, devotes a full page to the subject entitled: "Socialists and Civil Rights," written by Michael Harrington.

The only solution in the fight for Negro equality, says Harrington, "must be a political realignment in America." "We have a two-party system," he adds, "but no real party alternative, no party



**DETERMINED PARTNERS.** Kennedy and Eastland may express differing views on some issues but they are equally dedicated to advancement of the party that is the source of political power for both of them.

a civil-rights fighter can wholeheartedly support. If there were a realignment, if Negroes and whites with the same urgent need for social change pooled their resources in a single movement which was uncompromisingly for civil rights and housing, and education, and a decent wage, then there could be real progress in the land."

Harrington is purposefully vague about the real character of his proposed genuine "second party." This is characteristic of all advocates of "realignment." When forced to be more specific they are compelled to admit that what they have in mind is a second "liberal" party of capitalism within the framework of the American two-party system. The two-party system itself is considered a sacrosanct and inviolable aspect of American political life.

The idea seems so neat and simple. The only hitch is that the liberals have no intention of joining any such movement. As practical politicians they are primarily concerned with the arithmetic of political power. The coalition suits them perfectly.

## Kennedy's Ilk

The Kennedy's and their ilk find it advantageous to balance the conflicting elements of the coalition against one another in order to subordinate the whole to the interests of the ruling capitalist clique. The present arrangement suits them fine.

As for the Dixiecrats, the one-party South gives them tremendous power in Congress when the Democrats are in control and a balance-of-power role under the Republicans. With the exception of a few lunatic-fringe mavericks they show no desire to surrender their favored position.

As a result, Kennedy clings to the Dixiecrats, the liberals cling to Kennedy, the union officials cling to the liberals, the conservative Negro leaders cling to the union heads and the liberals, with the Norman Thomas-Michael Harrington "socialist" little red wagon tagging on behind.

In essence, what the so-called policy of realignment amounts to, is the admonition that the Negroes wait until the liberals and labor statesmen are ready to move; to go slow and not upset the coalition appcart.

## How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers  
116 University Place  
New York 3, N. Y.

But the Negro Freedom Now fighters are learning through bitter experience that they will have to upset more than one appcart before they achieve their goal of full and complete political, economic and social equality.

The great merit of the Freedom Now Party is that its success will mean the shattering of the reactionary coalition alliance that serves as a prop for the whole Jim Crow system.

It provides a way out of the blind alley into which the civil-rights struggle is being led by the conservative Negro leadership.

It gives proper perspective to the struggle for Freedom Now.

Above all, it can clear the road for a genuine alliance between the exploited working class and the Negro people, both of whom confront a common enemy — the white power structure, otherwise known as the American capitalist ruling class.

The argument that the Negroes, as a minority of the population, are therefore unable to take the initiative in the formation of their own political party is perniciously false and downright dishonest. What benefits have been brought the Negro people by being included in the majority Democratic Party coalition? What benefits has it brought the white working man and woman? What, if any, to other minorities?

By boldly striking out on their own, the Negro masses can spark a political revolution in this country, capable of lighting the way for a genuine alliance of equals between a Freedom Now Party, led and controlled by Negroes and an independent labor party, based on the trade unions. That is the only realignment revolutionary socialists find worthy of fighting for.

*Jack Scott*

Vancouver Sun Columnist

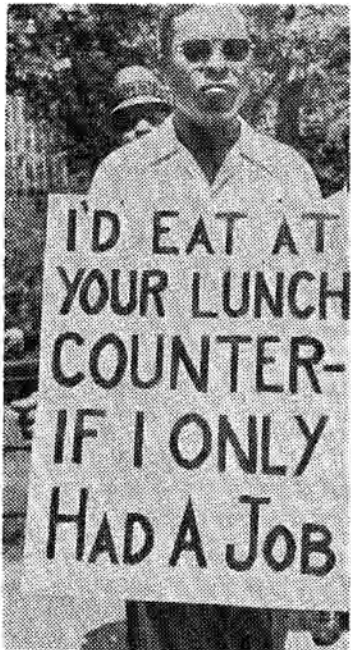
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# THE MILITANT

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Monday, October 7, 1963

## The Test-Ban Treaty

The Senate vote on the limited nuclear-test-ban treaty occasioned no celebrations by Americans because its ratification was regarded as a foregone conclusion. The common people of this country — and of the world — are overwhelmingly for such a ban because they want an end to the poisoning of the earth's atmosphere. They also hope that this marks the beginning of nuclear disarmament.

But it would be a grave misconception to think the 80 senators who voted for the treaty — or the Kennedy administration which submitted it — were motivated by such feelings.

The pack of cold warriors, jingoists, crooks, racists, demagogues and hired hands of big business, who constitute the Senate — and the administration — would go on poisoning the atmosphere indefinitely if it were to their collective profit. They certainly did not ratify the treaty out of hopes of disarmament. They regard war preparations as "the health of the state" and the economy.

They voted for it for other reasons. Its greatest merit in their eyes was that it drove a wedge between the Soviet Union and China. And any further U.S. steps towards a relaxation of tensions with the USSR will be carefully calculated to deepen this split, to isolate China further, with the long-range goal of destroying first one, then the other. One of Kennedy's short-range goals undoubtedly is a deal whereby Khrushchev abandons Cuba.

A second consideration was that the treaty would give U.S. imperialism's "image" some badly needed "peace-loving" and "concerned-for-the-welfare-of-humanity" make-up at little real cost.

That four-fifths of the truculent Senate voted for the treaty — even to garner the advantages listed above — was because the U.S. surrendered little or nothing. The top brass reassured the senators that nothing was yielded, that the U.S. was getting the better of the USSR in the deal. Underground testing — the U.S. specialty — remains unlimited and will be stepped up. (It also poisons the atmosphere through venting of gases into the air.) No hindrance is put on the stockpiling of more nuclear weapons or the arming of U.S. allies with them.

While those who agitated for a test ban may justifiably feel gratified — inadequate though the treaty is — they must not slacken the anti-war struggle on the assumption that commonsense has now prevailed in Washington and things will automatically get better. They must make the banning of underground tests and total nuclear disarmament their objectives. And above all they must be on the alert for any moves against China or Cuba.

## Why Bosch Was Overthrown

The military coup which overthrew Dominican President Juan Bosch is typical of the alternating pattern of army rule and phony democracy in most of Latin America.

Bosch's government was a regime born, destined and designed to be overthrown.

The extremes of poverty and wealth in the Dominican Republic and most other Latin American countries are too great to permit parliamentary democracy. The U.S. interests and the tiny, native ruling classes there can maintain their economic dominance only by force — i.e., military rule. Allowed true representative government for an extended period of time, the impoverished masses of workers and peasants would redress too many of their economic wrongs — or might try to change the economic system completely. There is no large middle class in these countries on which the capitalists and landowners can safely base a political democracy.

So a military or "strong-man" regime is the basic and "normal" form of government. But when a dictator becomes too discredited or is toppled, an interim regime is needed. Such a regime will promise social and economic reforms and is permitted to operate under the trappings of democratic rule. But its tenure of office is intended to last only until the popular effervescence has quieted down enough to allow the reinstallation of dictatorship.

In the first months of the Cuban Revolution the moneyed classes of Cuba and U.S. imperialism thought Castro was of this classic type. They believed he would soon forget all his talk about changing things for the benefit of the poor, that he would soon see "reason" or succumb to the corruption of office. On the other hand, they figured, should he prove to be an incorrigible idealist and dreamer, then such a fool would not be difficult to overthrow. But the Cuban Revolution and its leader were not of the familiar pattern and the Cuban ruling class and Washington learned a bitter and terrifying lesson.

But Bosch is the kind of reformer Washington approves of. He served his purpose well. The only convincing note of regret detectable amid Washington's lamentations and crocodile tears for him concerns the timing of his overthrow. Less than eight months in office — it was a bit hasty! Since the Cuban Revolution public opinion in the U.S. as well as in Latin America must be taken more into account. Otherwise too many people will catch on to the game.

## A View of the Nuclear Pact

# Attempt to Isolate China a War Danger

By Hugh B. Hester

The cardinal question posed by the treaty to ban partially further bomb testing is whether this will promote peace, that is, reduce international tensions by generating greater trust among the sovereign states. It is already obvious that there has been general public relief through greater hope of avoiding thermonuclear war.

President Kennedy, Premier Khrushchev and many other top officials have noted this and have expressed the hope that this is only the first short step on the long and necessarily difficult journey to a co-operative world society. Judging from the mass information media of the West, Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union and much of the uncommitted world, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Khrushchev have scored a great political victory. Despite some discordant notes, the vast majority of the people of both the United States and the Soviet Union approve of this partial ban on testing. And this is probably true of the vast majority of mankind, so great is the fear of thermonuclear war. It is possible — at least this writer hopes it is — that the great popular enthusiasm generated by this short step will encourage — force would be a more appropriate word — the leaders of the world to take the longer and more important ones necessary for achieving man's ultimate goal of a world without war, a peace of plenty, possible now for the first time.

The leaders of the United States have, from the President down, verbally at least, been extremely cautious in forecasting further progress in reducing tensions with the Soviet Union. The text of the President's message to the U.S. Senate, setting forth the things that the treaty does not do, unfortunately if taken literally, leaves precious little latitude for hope. Premier Khrushchev on the other hand, is much more encouraging as to its possible meaning and merit.

This may merely reflect the differences in the two personalities. But it may also reflect the President's fear that the United States Senate is as yet unprepared for any real thaw in the Cold War and only by downgrading the treaty's meaning can ratification be secured. Governor Rockefeller's rather left-handed endorsement of the treaty (N.Y. Times, Aug. 12, 1963) and that of other prominent personages supports this fear. But if this is true, that is, if the leaders of the United States are so fearful of any real progress toward peace, little if anything will have been accomplished by ratification of the partial bomb test ban.

If, however, the massive public support of this small move toward accommodation with the present major opponent, the Soviet Government, emboldens the President to move vigorously toward ending the Cold War, then this treaty could mark an historic turning point in man's struggle for survival. While it is always dangerous to move from the national to the international scene for purposes of comparison, the result of the President's all-out support of civil rights is encouraging. For no public leader can remain wholly immune from, or permanently scornful of, the great popular desire for a warless world in the thermonuclear age.

If Mr. Kennedy has really decided to pursue this course, he must start soon a massive educational program for this purpose. And judging by the magnitude of the support he is now receiving in his civil-rights struggle for human dignity and equality of opportunities for all, an all-out struggle for peace still might win, despite the well organized and financed opposition to it in the United States. It is certainly worth

### About the Author

General Hugh B. Hester (Ret.) is a long-time spokesman for peace and social progress. We are glad to publish his views on the test-ban treaty and invite other views on the issue. Our own estimate of the treaty is presented in an editorial on this page.

the try. But this will mean the President must work for all the things which he said in his message to the United States Senate that the treaty does not permit, and many more, such as non-restricted travel for all people and non-discriminatory trade throughout the world.

For this treaty alone will not stop nuclear testing and it will not in the end limit or restrict membership in the Nuclear Club. This can be achieved only by the destruction of the nuclear weapons themselves coupled with greater freedom of travel and trade. Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union can no more maintain a monopoly of nuclear weapons now than could the United States at the end of World War II, and for the same reasons. (See Professor Joseph P. Morray's excellent analysis of why the Baruch Plan failed in his book, "From Yalta to Disarmament," a Monthly Review Press publication.)

If the Soviet leaders could not trust the United States Government, their World War II ally, with a permanent monopoly of thermonuclear weapons, why should any reasonable person expect the Chinese to trust their security to that very same government, now their avowed public enemy number one, or even to their ally, the Soviet Government? The latter is particularly pertinent now with the apparent rapprochement between these polar powers.

If deGaulle cannot trust Kennedy, the leader of the Capitalist bloc, why should Mao Tse-tung trust Khrushchev, a leader of the Socialist bloc? Again, why should the Chinese leaders be expected to renounce their claim to these weapons while the United States continues to insist upon supporting the pretender to Chinese power, Chiang Kai-shek? Or might not the question be more appropriately phrased, while the United States Government occupies the Chinese territory of Taiwan, the Pescadores, Quemoy and Matsu? And does this not constitute aggression against China by the United States? Certainly the Chinese think so. And so do many international lawyers.

So long as any nation retains these weapons, will not all nations have the right to them? And will not the other big powers struggle ceaselessly until they too acquire them? And further, will not this struggle in itself generate additional grave international tensions? It is encouraging nonetheless to note that both President deGaulle of France and Prime Minister Chou En-lai of China have urged the destruction of these weapons. And the Chinese leader has even called for an international conference to consider this. Should not the United States, the Soviet Union and the other powers accept this invitation?

The temptation of some in powerful positions and the mass information media generally to support the partial treaty ban in the stated hope that this will deny the bomb to China is extremely dangerous. Additional efforts to further isolate this great people are certain to increase international tensions greatly and prove disastrous for the world in the end. Will it ever prove possible to have world peace without Chinese participa-

tion? The answer of most of the experts is no. And would this still be true, even if the Soviet Union and the United States were to unite their vast military forces in an attempt to force peace upon the rest of the world? This time the answer is an emphatic yes, for no nation or group of nations can permanently control the world.

China belongs in the United Nations. And the refusal of the United States Government to permit China to take her Charter when Mao came to power in 1949 was, if I may quote the great French statesman, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand (1754-1838), "Worse than a crime, it was a blunder." As a leading New England editor remarked to this writer in April 1959, "This single irrational act has done more damage to the United Nations and World Peace than all the Soviet vetoes compounded and multiplied many times over." The prolonged attempt to isolate the Soviet Union after World War I contributed substantially to the failure of the League of Nations and thus made World War II inevitable. And its continuance since World War II has contributed materially to the threat of thermonuclear war and all the current war madness.

The dangerous similarity between this country's relationship with the Soviet Union then and with China now should be obvious to all informed people. It is also important to understand the likeness between this treaty, with its present limitations, and its prototype, the Kellogg-Briand treaty of 1928. For if progress towards peace stops here, as happened with the Kellogg-Briand treaty earlier, this treaty is likely to prove a great disappointment to the people of the world and, therefore, menace peace instead of promoting it as hoped.

Is not now the time for President Kennedy to prove the sincerity of his often expressed desire to increase the power and prestige of the United Nations by urging that this organization be charged with the solution of the problems of Germany, Taiwan, Korea, Vietnam and Cuba? Since these are world problems, should not the world have a voice in their solution? Is not this the time to start liquidating the regional military alliance system: NATO, SEATO, the Warsaw Pact and the others? Many international experts believe all of these to be inconsistent with an effective United Nations and that they constitute a threat to world peace.

Is not now also the time to start dismantling the monstrous nuclear weapons system? Is this not necessary for the survival of man? And is not this the time to start debunking the propaganda lies that mass murder weapons promote national security and peace? Do they not promote the exact opposite? Finally, is this not the time to normalize relations throughout the nation-state system and to universalize the United Nations? Is not the latter a *sine qua non* of any permanent peace? For in China alone, now excluded from this world organization, reside almost one-quarter of the family of man.

If the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union are willing to use to the full their outstanding power and influence for achieving affirmative answers to the above questions, then peace is possible. If not, the United Nations must fail as did the League of Nations earlier. Thermonuclear war then will also become inevitable and much sooner than most seem to think, probably within a decade. For unless these weapons are destroyed, some of them are certain to go off. While there may be a deterrent of terror, although I doubt it, there certainly is no deterrent to error.



## Decisive Action Required of Ben Bella Regime

# New Turning Point in Algerian Revolution

By Michel Pablo

The decrees of March 1963 on self-management, plus the tour of Ben Bella from one end of the country to the other after promulgation of the decrees, marked the highest point so far reached by the Algerian Revolution. Granting to the Algerian workers the broadest rights now in existence in the entire world in the field of management of the economy, the March decrees greatly stimulated the movement known as "Management Committees" while consolidating and extending to the utmost under present conditions the "vacated" sector of the economy that has been brought under self-management.

More than 4,000,000 acres of European and Algerian land are at present under such administration, constituting already a decisive sector of the agricultural economy.

In addition, many industrial enterprises are functioning under the same administration, among them some very important ones such as the *Verreries* (glass works) de l'Afrique du Nord and the steel foundry *Acilor*, both in the Oran area.

The March decrees unleashed a veritable revolutionary remobilization of the peasant and worker masses of the country, illustrated in the most striking way at the time of Ben Bella's April 1963 tour, a tour interrupted at its height by the assassination of Khemisti, the militant young minister of Foreign Affairs.

## Agrarian Reform

Then came the formation of ONRA (*Office National de la Réforme Agraire*) whose function it was in principle to organize the first phase of the Agrarian Reform, already begun on the "vacated" lands (nationalized *de facto* in reality), under the present form of self-managed farms, of "people's farms."

Shortly after, came the launching of the national campaign for democratic reorganization of the self-management bodies, which started on May 15 and which was interrupted temporarily in some places because of the harvest season.

This campaign aimed at reorganizing self-management everywhere on a genuinely democratic basis, in accordance with a strict procedure relating to the designation by the workers themselves of

an electoral commission entrusted with conducting elections.

The electoral commission registered the slates of candidates in each agricultural or industrial enterprise, whether submitted by the trade-union local of the farm or factory or by any group of ten workers (or jointly).

It posted these slates three days before the vote, printed single ballots listing all the candidates according to slate and held elections by secret vote. Each worker had the right to choose the candidates of his preference all printed on the same ballot (by encircling the number preceding the name of each candidate).

Next the electoral commission counted the ballots before the Workers' Assembly, posted the results of the vote for another three days, registering any possible con-



Ahmed Ben Bella

test of the outcome by the workers, and then transmitted the completed paper work of the elections to the proper authorities for validation or possible rejection (in case of fraud or irregularities committed during the election) of the electoral results.

Thanks to this electoral campaign for the democratic reorganization of self-management, many farms and factories now have regularly and democratically constituted bodies of self-management.

But during the development of this campaign, many other lessons were drawn concerning the functioning and the future of self-management.

It would be pointless to conceal the existence of certain dangers.

For self-management to succeed, it is necessary for the state and national organizations, the trade unions and the FLN (*Front de Libération National*) in particular, to help the workers overcome the difficulties which they face in the fields of credit, of merchandising and the necessary technical staffing of the farms and plants.

Now the difficulties in these areas can serve as a pretext for the bureaucratic elements of the Administration and the national organizations to deprive self-management of an essential part of its prerogatives and reduce it to more workers' control in the frame-work of a statized economy, centralized and directed in an authoritarian way from above.

In the absence of a powerful ideological and political structuring of the workers through a genuine revolutionary party and democratic trade unions, the growth of bureaucratism is almost automatic and irresistible.

The inability of the workers, under these conditions, to resolve on their own all the questions posed by self-management becomes the reason for being of the

administrative and political bureaucracy, which appears as the force that makes up for the failures and weaknesses of the workers.

In Algeria, a vast field of particularly revolutionary experience marked by the absence of a revolutionary Marxist party and leadership, a battle, sometimes confused, is now going on between the democratic and bureaucratic forces of the Revolution, centering especially on the question of self-management.

This battle will be decisive not for the social but for the political fate of the Revolution.

The Revolution can continue to progress toward the economic and social structures characteristic of a workers' state, that of an economy largely nationalized and planned, freed from imperialism, either in the form of an economy democratically managed by the workers or in the form of an economy managed by a centralized bureaucratic state.

It is on the issue of these two roads of the Revolution that the debate and the struggle among the forces of the Revolution is now taking place.

This, however, should not lead us to forget the wholly counter-revolutionary struggle, which is becoming sharper and more aggravated in Algeria as imperialism and the native feudal, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois reaction gain awareness of the danger that threatens their economic, political and social positions.

## Death Struggle

The transformation of Algeria into a workers' state is not an enterprise which imperialism will accept without the most violent reactions.

Those who forget this and who analyze and judge the Algerian situation light-mindedly, superficially, by limiting themselves solely to the phenomena of the superstructure, fall into gross error.

Algeria is caught in the convulsions of a struggle to the death between the Revolution and the counter-revolution, in a very specific context, dominated by the absence as yet of a conscious Marxist-Leninist vanguard and leadership.

Algeria is advancing on the path of the Revolution empirically, under the instinctive drive of social forces clashing in great ideological confusion.

Those who seek to judge the real advance of the Revolution by phenomena of the superstructure — religion, status of women, form of the Constitution, and even form of the political power and of the party — could reach the conclusion that the game has already been won by the definitively counter-revolutionary forces.

In despair over such a conclusion they can resort to all kinds of "ultra-left" "releasing of the repressed," including, arms in hand, "camping" in the "underground" of Dra-el-Mizan<sup>(1)</sup>, in the company of elements under command, consciously or unconsciously, of imperialism.

This is the case with the "friends" ("copains") so dear to G. Martinet<sup>(2)</sup>, who, before seeking to impose on the Algerian Revolution the ideal form of their juvenile dreams, would do much better, for example, to work to rid France of the Gaullist dictatorship or Spain of bloody Francoism.

To intervene with arms in the

(1) Dra-el-Mizan is the village where an armed group was recently captured. The government charged that they were linked with foreign agents.

(2) Gilles Martinet, editor of the weekly *France-Observateur* and member of the PSU (*Parti Socialiste Unifié*), recently wrote an article accusing the Ben Bella government of now holding more European defenders of the Algerian Revolution in prison than the Gaullist government.



**"TOOK A REVOLUTION TO PUT US IN SCHOOL."** One of the first concerns of the Ben Bella government from the beginning has been to provide homes and schooling for Algeria's hundreds of thousands of war orphans. These youngsters, picked up on the streets of Algeria and placed in a mansion seized from the rich, find school a lot more fun than trying to make a living shining the shoes of French imperialists.

present course of development of the Algerian Revolution, against the government of Ben Bella, which promoted self-management and the Agrarian Reform, which is defending courageously and loyally the most resolute anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle in Africa and supporting the Cuban Revolution, is the height not only of the light-mindedness characteristic of "ultra-left" confusionism but of provocation, pure and simple.

In face of such actions, the mildness of the regime in reality still remains great.

The real course of the Algerian Revolution cannot truly be judged from the Marxist point of view except by the way the structural transformation of the country has or has not progressed. That the adopted Constitution sets up an almost absolute bonapartist political power; that the emergence of the FLN, a little unexpectedly, as the party controlling the government and even the Assembly (before this party yet exists as a revolutionary democratic organization holding a clear socialist ideology) is a move of bureaucratic character; that Boudiaff and his comrades of the URS (*Parti de la Révolution Socialiste*), a political tendency which can be characterized by certain of its aspects as "ultra-left," have been placed under house arrest, however comfortable it may be, without an early regular trial (which, in our opinion, will soon take place); and that all these recent political manifestations do not square with socialist political democracy is certain.

But so far as we are concerned, we were from the beginning conscious of the inevitable limitations of political democracy of the regime in Algeria without thereby concluding that the course of the Revolution would necessarily be blocked.

The Algerian Revolution is again at a turning point. In a few days the President, holding all the necessary powers, will rebuild his government, already abandoned by the most pro-bourgeois wing.

He will have to recreate a governmental team more homogeneous, more efficient, more dynamic which will have to promote the extension of the Agrarian Reform,

on all the European and Algerian lands above a certain ceiling; reorganize the system of credit and wholesale trade in relation to the needs of the socialized sector of the economy; support and extend the socialized industrial sector; promote the formation of skills on a mass scale at an accelerated rate through the radical reform of technical and general schooling; reorganize the administrative system of the country, simplifying it, on a community basis, the economic-administrative unit indicated by the Constitution; decide on the fate of self-management on the basis of the experience acquired and against the attempts of the bureaucratic wing of the Revolution to alter it in favor of a statized, authoritarian economy administered from above.

We are firmly convinced that this new stage of the Revolution will likewise be passed through successfully and that the process of transforming Algeria into a workers' state will again be accelerated and will experience veritable leaps ahead.

After all, this fundamental revolutionary process has not ceased up to now to be the most rapid of all the post-war socialist revolutions.

May the genuine revolutionists of Europe and the world be ready to defend more energetically than ever the Algerian socialist revolution in its decisive phase.

Aug. 28, 1963

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## PAMPHLET REVIEW

## Why a Freedom Now Party

**WHY WE NEED A FREEDOM NOW PARTY.** Published by the Michigan Committee for a Freedom Now Party, P.O. Box 5351, Mil. Jct. Station, Detroit 11, Mich. 14 pp. Single copies 15 cents; 10 cents per copy for 100 or more.

Maybe you're already fed up with the lying promises of the Democratic and Republican parties — especially when they pose as friends of labor and the Negro people. But in any case you will profit from a pamphlet just published by the Michigan Committee for a Freedom Now Party. It not only exposes the two big-business parties, but tells what the Negro people and their Freedom Now movement can do about it.

## Article by Worthy

Why we need a Freedom Now Party contains several articles. The first is a speech given by Negro journalist and civil-rights leader William Worthy in Cleveland. Worthy first raised the idea of a Negro-led Freedom Now Party. His speech takes note of the "developing sentiment for Negroes to select their own candidates in the 1964 elections."

The program for such a party, Worthy says, "must be defined by young militants, on Negro campuses, in Negro caucuses within the discriminatory trade unions, in the ranks of the unemployed, among black intellectuals, within the Muslim movement."

"Timid leaders," he concludes, "won't do things that need to be done. But the rest of us have it in our power to change the nuclear-racist-colonialist course of American history. And thereby we can change the destiny of the entire

world."

Next items in the pamphlet are the *Call for the formation of a Freedom Now Party* and *The Declaration of Washington*, which was issued during the March on Washington and avows the aims and purposes of a Freedom Now Party. The *Declaration* begins with the stirring words: "One hundred years after Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, we American Negroes are resolved to end all political dependence upon the political parties upholding segregation and to take our destiny in our own hands."

## 11 Questions

The pamphlet concludes with *Eleven Questions and Answers About the Freedom Now Party*, by LaMar Barron, acting chairman of the Michigan Committee For a Freedom Now Party. Some questions raised are: Why do we need another party? Why can't we operate through the existing parties? How can you talk about our political power — we are only one-tenth of the population? Wouldn't it be "racism" to form our own party, when racism is just the thing we are fighting against?

In answering the last question Barron says: "To tell you the truth, I don't care much what whites say about this. It's not our welfare they are worried about, but their own." After explaining this Barron adds: "We will gladly co-operate, after we have formed our party, with any non-Negro persons, movements or parties that have the same goal we have."

This is a must pamphlet for all Freedom Now fighters.

—Tom Leonard

## REPORT FROM CUBA

## How Members of New Party Are Selected

[The following is reprinted from *Cuban Newsletter*, a mimeographed bulletin recently begun by Canadians living in Cuba. Its writers state: "We have proposed this letter describing, from our experience, life and conditions in Cuba, hoping to convey a truer picture to at least a limited number of people back home."]

\* \* \*

Is there democracy in Cuba? Do the people have some say about what's done, about who represents them in government? When audiences in movie theaters applaud at the appearance of their revolutionary leaders on the screen; when more than a million people turn out for a demonstration in Havana, while simultaneously other meetings are taking place in other parts of the country, they are indicating how enthusiastically they support their government.

A new political party is now being formed in Cuba in order to give direction to the political life of the country — a party based on Marxist-Leninist philosophy. It will encompass workers and farmers, professionals, and intellectuals, from all sections and all levels. A mass meeting of the employees of the Cuban Institute of Mineral Resources was held during the month of March. There was a binding provision that made compulsory 90 per cent attendance for the meeting to take place. For two days running approximately 300 people spoke, discussed and argued over the nominees who were to be their political representatives for the United Party. Some 13 or 14 will com-



**NEW EXPERIENCE.** Members of Cuban rice co-operative attend meeting which for first time in their work experience gives them voice both on job conditions and production problems.

prise the party nucleus in this Institute.

The regulations imposed for a person to qualify for membership are designed so that the best workers are selected; participation in voluntary work; enrollment in the militia; exemplary work record; excellent relations with fellow workers; participation in organizational activities; etc. Any association with the Batista tyranny are grounds for disqualification. A minimum of 80 per cent of the employees in their favor is necessary for nomination.

Here is how the meeting went. An accounting-machine operator was nominated. Primarily through his efforts, working 12 to 16 hours a day, the previous years' accounting had been completed thereby eliminating a backlog of six months' work. In addition, he had stood guard twice a week, four hours at a time, and had gone cane-cutting on weekends. Despite criticism of his hot temper ("usually justified"), he received a unanimous vote as an exemplary worker and was nominated to the "nucleus."

One of the janitors was nominated. He did his work well, belonged to the militia, and did voluntary work. Probably most important of all was that he was respected and liked by his fellow workers.

Women had their share of nominations. Efforts in raising funds, clothing and equipment for a school adopted by the Institute won an attractive brunette, a typist, her approval by the workers.

The head of the union in the Institute was turned down because of criticisms that he wasn't doing his work well, and because of his abrupt manner with members of the union. He was voted down about 90 to 10.

The head of the nucleus of the Revolutionary Organization (ORI) was turned down for neglecting his work in the Institute, for taking privileges that his position offered, and for his habit of making types of promises which were not fulfilled. He was discussed for three hours, and while he was sharply attacked for these weaknesses, his abilities were discussed and praised as well. However, the majority said, "No."

A second meeting is scheduled for elections to give the workers time to think over their choices. This process is taking place all over the country. In Cuba the people choose their political representatives and the Cuban people are not afraid to express what they think, or to criticize.

Thus with this real example, the lie is given to the American mourners and to cheap publicists

who cry about "dictatorship" and "tyranny" in Cuba. There is something here to be learned by the American people, who, being restricted between voting between Tweedle-Dum or Tweedle-Dee, don't get this kind of choice.

## ...Civil Rights

(Continued from Page 1)

investigate the Birmingham situation has been denounced by Baldwin as "an insult to all Negroes."

Blaik and Royall were met at the airport in Birmingham by the white politicians. They didn't even bother to contact the Negro community independently. They issued a statement through the segregationist mayor's office telling how their investigation would proceed.

So far, the Blaik-Royall mission has been very satisfactory to the racists. The bombers have not been uncovered, the Negroes are still terrorized by Alabama police, and the united front of Negro leaders has been broken along lines desired by the white racists.

Birmingham's segregationist mayor, Albert Boutwell, issued a statement when Blaik and Royall arrived that Birmingham would be all right if "outsiders" would stop interfering. This was a reference to Dr. King. Dr. King declared Sept. 27 that demonstrations in Birmingham would be resumed if certain demands were not met.

The next day, two conservative Birmingham Negro leaders, Attorney Arthur Shores and millionaire A. G. Gaston, declared their faith in the Blaik-Royall mission and echoed the racist mayor's argument by saying: "We feel there is no need for any additional outside help at this time, and we would hope there would not be any additional outside interference that would disturb our present negotiations."

So far Kennedy has succeeded in pushing the Birmingham mess under the rug. No wonder Rev. Wyatt T. Walker declared at the SCLC convention: "I have no concern whatsoever as to who wins the election in 1964." It remains for the movement to translate this awareness of the uselessness of supporting Kennedy into an active policy of independent political action — running Negro candidates and opposing both the Democratic and Republican parties. Such a policy would make the movement for Negro equality a real political power, and that is a basic requirement for real progress.

## World Events

## Franco Press Hails Pact

The controlled press of dictator Francisco Franco spoke in glowing terms of the new agreements the U.S. has just signed to retain air and sea bases in Spain for five years. The agreements will also bring an increase of U.S. forces in Spain. The Franco government clearly felt reinforced by this military alliance. In the words of one Spanish paper U.S.-Franco relations had passed from "collaboration out of necessity" in 1953 to "cordial cooperation" in 1963.

## Venezuelan Strife

Guerrillas of the Venezuelan Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) almost totally wrecked a large plant in Caracas that was printing ballots for the presidential elections scheduled for Dec. 1. They distributed leaflets denouncing the elections as a fraud. The two mass-based parties of the left, the MIR and CP, are effectively banned from participating in the elections.

President Betancourt, trying to pin the blame for the rising wave of civil strife on the Cuban revolutionary regime, revealed more

than he intended, when he said:

"I guarantee this terrorism would end in five days . . . if we would establish diplomatic relations with Cuba . . . if we would permit Communists freedom of action . . . if we would sell oil to Cuba . . . if we would permit Cuban propaganda here." He did not explain why these simple measures were not taken, except that "we believe in the ideals of democracy." Betancourt boasted he had "weeded out" from public schools 2,500 "Communist teachers" since he came to power.

## Indian CP Left Holds Rally

Dissident members of the Indian Communist Party held a rally of "surprising" size in Calcutta Sept. 28. Conservative estimates were 10,000. Despite orders of the CP national leadership to stay away, two communist members of Parliament spoke at the rally and the acting Communist leader in the West Bengal Legislative Assembly presided. A. K. Gopalan, one of the MPs, denied intentions of splitting the party but said the party leadership could be changed by the membership at the national congress.

Before the cheering crowd of thousands he demanded that the emergency Defense of India Rules be canceled and that Communists jailed under them for alleged pro-Peking sympathies be released. He warned the Nehru government that because of the food shortage the people might seize food from the shops and distribute it themselves.

## Yevtushenko Blackout Ends

The non-conformist Soviet poet, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, who came under heavy attack last April for publishing his uncensored autobiography in France, has had several poems published in the Soviet press for the first time since then. Describing his trip home after being officially and publicly re-

buked, he quotes his uncle in one of these new poems as saying: "Don't be so sad: You've still got hands, legs and even not too bad a head."

## China-Cuba Friendship

The revolutionary government of Cuba announced Sept. 26 the beginning of a nation-wide week of Cuban-Chinese friendship. The celebration was opened with an exhibition of the achievements of the Chinese Revolution. The Chinese Vice Minister of Education arrived to represent Peking during the friendship week. Meanwhile, Cuban representatives were in Peking for the celebrations of the 14th anniversary of the Chinese Revolution.

## Uncowed by Racists

In one of the countless recent trials in South Africa against alleged terrorists, eight young men — the oldest of whom was only 23 — were given sentences totalling 98 years imprisonment. As 23-year old Johnson Miambo, described as leader of a Pan-African Congress group, was led to prison after sentencing, he gave the PAC salute and called out: "History will absolve me." All the others convicted also gave the PAC salute as they left the dock, declaring: "Africa will be free!"

## The U.S. War of Atrocity

Comparing the methods of the French army, which fought to keep Indo China a colony, to those of the American now carrying on a neo-colonialist war in neighboring South Vietnam, the newspaper *Realités Cambodgiennes*, published in Phnom-Penh, capital of Cambodia, says:

"The French army fought hand to hand, the American army levels entire villages, massacres the inhabitants by the hundreds, rounds up the survivors into camps to which the Diemist propaganda machine sends its emissaries."

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by Daniel Guerin

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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.]

## Travel Ban and Civil Rights

San Francisco, Calif.

As a former Negro labor leader I should like to express my opinion on the plight of the 59 American students who recently visited Cuba. The arrest of these students is part of a continuing drive

to betray the constitutional rights of the American people.

The working people of America have the right to think about, to speak for, and to visit peace-loving peoples in other parts of the world where integration has succeeded, and where the brotherhood of man has been established.

Here in America, the unions, the churches, and other organizations should assist in the struggle of the minority groups for better education, housing and health programs.

If necessary, the federal government should intervene in those southern states where officials, sworn to uphold the law, incite mob violence in order to prevent the Negro from gaining the equal justice, equal education, and equal employment opportunities to which he is legally entitled.

The attempts to set worker against worker because of differences of race, color, or religion must be overcome, and peace and goodwill established throughout the world.

Let us work for better Americanism NOW as well as for tomorrow.

Lee Brown

## From Indian Socialist

Chahpur Chakla,  
Ahmedabad, India

A couple of days ago I received two copies of your well-known paper and its was a matter of great pleasure to go through it and to know about the activities and progress of the working class and socialist movement of the biggest capitalist country. I thank you very much for it and also thank the comrades of the USA for bringing out such a nice paper.

I hope that I will get it regularly. I would like very much to study the socialist movement and its development in the USA. I would be very much pleased if you could put me in contact with three or four students and young workers with whom I could discuss and exchange views and ideas of the socialist movement. Also I would like to exchange literature of the socialist movement from our country and the USA. I am a lawyer and have been associated with the labor and socialist movement for the past ten years. I will greatly appreciate an exchange of views and ideas with U.S. comrades.

I send my hearty congratulations to the comrades of the Social Workers Party on their successful convention and on the long-desired reunification of the Fourth International.

Once more I thank you on behalf of my comrades here and hope that we will get copies of *The Militant* regularly.

I would also like to send my congratulations to the Negro fighters for civil rights on their successful March on Washington.

Chandulid Bhatt

## Infamy in Birmingham

Livermore, Calif

I am more than shocked with the outrageous, disgraceful way those "American" whites have been and continue to behave against our brothers and fellow citizens, the Negroes, in several

parts of the country and especially in Alabama and other southern states.

It is a shame that will never be erased from the annals of history.

The word "infamy" that President Roosevelt used in referring to the Pearl Harbor incident can also be justifiably applied to the bombing of that church in Birmingham where a number of innocent youngsters were killed. This crime is more infamous and shameful because it was committed by Americans and not by foreign enemies.

To me and to thousands upon thousands of decent Americans those "nice Christian, democratic white" citizens are just plain rats obviously encouraged by the attitude of Gov. Wallace.

When is our federal government going to severely punish those despicable men who are giving the entire world a very ugly picture of America.

Stand up, you men in Washington!

Carlos U. Benedetti

## Reuther's Speech in D.C.

Long Island City, N. Y.

At the March on Washington, Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, said the job question is crucial; because we will not solve education or housing or public accommodations as long as millions of American Negroes are treated as second-class citizens and denied jobs.

True — 100 per cent! But in his conclusion, Reuther decided that, "The Congress has to act. And after they act, we have much work to do."

In effect, what Reuther is telling us is that he won't do anything until someone else — Con-

gress — does what is his job in the first place. In spite of two good years in a row, there are thousands of unemployed workers in Detroit as a result of automation which mainly hits the Negro workers there. Yet Reuther not only refuses to come out for a shorter work week, but even allows overtime for those who are working — which the unemployed have fought against. How phony can you get?

In this same speech Reuther said, "There is a lot of noble talk about brotherhood and then some Americans drop the brother and keep the hood." Isn't Reuther talking about jobs and forgetting about them at the same time?

May I suggest that your organization call for a shorter work week in all civil-rights organizations; and for civil rights and a shorter work week in all labor organizations? Isn't that the best way to unite the white and black workers (employed and unemployed) in two common causes, instead of being pitted against each other as is now being done in many cases?

I.W.

## Vote Boss Candidates Out

Corbin, Ky.

Many workers feel they have nothing to lose by not voting because all politicians are crooks who pose as their friends until the day after elections (which is true) and those, who do go to the polls, vote into office not their own representatives, but are led into voting into office the political creations of the wealthy class.

The workers are told only what the billionaire owners of the means of production want them to hear, by use of the press, radio and TV,

which in most cases are owned by the wealthy class.

By this method the owners of the means of production get the workers to vote into office politicians who will trample upon the constitution in order to defeat the just demands of the workers. When workers move to better their precarious economic position the newspapers are generally hostile to them because any gains made by the workers means a loss to the owners of the means of production.

What the workers must do is go to the polls and vote out of office the political creations of the owning class and vote into office men and women of all colors, races and creeds who will work for the well-being of the nation as a whole.

With a new breed of men in office we could have a crash drive on the rat-infested slum areas that millions of Americans are forced to live and die in. This in itself would create employment. And the workers employed would have the means to buy needed goods and services and this would create employment in other fields.

If the working class can unite and place men of good will in office, laws could be enacted that would clean up the mess that we now find ourselves in. This nation could be a showpiece of democracy, having cleaned up our own backyard by wiping out slums and poverty. We could then move to aid other nations in their hopes and dreams of a better way of life. And I may add that a good start would be for the workers to begin to rid their unions of all the labor fakers who have misled them in the past.

Reader

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Man With a Vision** — The Sept. 25 New York Times reported that Lt. General Wallace M. Greene, just appointed by President Kennedy as new Marine Corps Commandant, envisions that by the end of the 1970s the U.S. could launch a rocket with a 12,000-man battle team from Camp LeJeune, N.C., to a trouble spot in Africa in 80 minutes.

**Revelation** — In a recent pronouncement, Mrs. Ngo Dinh Nhu, "first lady" of the South Vietnamese tyranny, announced: Buddhist priests don't exist in Vietnam. Actually, they are saboteurs, or naive people directed by the Communists toward burning themselves.

**Theological Retooling** — In a demonstration of its capacity to keep relatively abreast of the times, the Church of England has revised a number of ancient hymns. Two lines, thought to smack of feudalism, were dropped from the hymn *All Things Bright and Beautiful*. The lines are: "The rich man at his castle, the poor man at his gate/God made them, highly or lowly, and order'd their estate."

**Good Lord!** — Roy M. Brown, 42, of Baltimore, was put on probation by Judge Howard Aaron

on a charge of "blasphemy by taking the Lord's name in vain." He was also charged, along with nine others, with participating in a crap game.

**Question to Kennedy** — "The limiting factor in underground tests is the degree to which the radioactive debris can be contained so that there is no release (i.e., venting) to the atmosphere. The venting problem has to be reassessed in terms of recent data on the contamination of milksheds with radioactive iodine . . . Independent scientists have been emphasizing the radiation hazard to the infant thyroid for many years . . . How does it happen that President Kennedy can make such a reassuring statement on fallout hazard in June of 1962, and then be confronted in July with one of the heaviest Utah fallouts ever measured?" — Nuclear physicist Ralph Lapp in a letter to the Sept. 21 N.Y. Times.

**News of the Week** — A headline in the Sept. 27 New York Times announced: *Race Issue Hurting U.S., Murrow Finds.*

**Suggestion** — A headline in the Sept. 23 New York Times reported: "Kennedy to Hold Key Parleys on Vietnam and Birmingham." Why doesn't he just take the troops from Vietnam and send them to Birmingham?

**Promises, Unlimited** — Groups, Unlimited, a New York travel outfit was enjoined from making misleading advertising claims concerning charter flights to Europe. According to State Attorney General Lefkowitz, the company ads spoke of films in flight, complimentary wine and tempting continental cuisine. He said the planes used had no facilities for showing films or serving wine. And the "continental cuisine," he charged, proved to be Army surplus frozen dinners in containers dated August, 1962.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"The capture of Smolensk — 'gateway to the West,' as the Red Army organ correctly terms it — on Sept. 25, followed by still further Soviet gains, has raised as an immediate possibility the victorious advance of the Red Army in pursuit of the Nazis into territories beyond its 1940 borders.

"To the Soviet masses and to the class-conscious workers of the world, who want to see the workers' state emerge victorious over the fascist foe, this prospect is a happy one. But to the capitalist rulers the further advance of the Red Army is a frightening specter.

"There is panic in the ruling classes of the countries the Red Army is nearing — and that is true equally of the Axis satellite, Rumania, and the satellite of the 'democracies,' the Polish government-in-exile. For in both war camps the capitalists remember what happened when the Red Army advanced into Poland in 1939 and into Bessarabia in 1940 . . . — the nationalization of private property . . .

"The Red Army successes appear to be impelling a speedy re-orientation of Washington and London on the question of the second front in western Europe . . .

"Typical was the Sept. 27 United Press dispatch which stated: 'Either the Allies must open a second front as quickly as possible or face the possibility that the Soviets may defeat the Germans single-handed . . .'

"Thus the basic conception of the 'democratic' capitalists . . . stands revealed: they aim to checkmate the Red Army and cut it off from western Europe." — Oct. 9, 1943.

## Thought for the Week

"In a Senate speech the other day he [Senator Keating of New York] made sport of the Fire and Police Research Association of Los Angeles . . . for urging a Congressional investigation of the national folk-singing craze . . . Why does Senator Keating find it so laughable? If anything, the Fire and Police Research Association is guilty of understating the case. It declines, for example, to point out that the greatest concentration of beards in the hemisphere today, outside Cuba, is invariably found around a guitar under the lugubrious influence of folk music. Is Senator Keating not struck by this odd association of beards and folk songs? As a man who has done so much to keep us alerted to the Castro menace, he surely knows better than to treat a beard lightly." — Russell Baker in the Sept. 28 New York Times.

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## Freedom Now Party Rally Is Slated in Detroit Oct. 11

DETROIT — The first public rally for a Freedom Now Party will be held Fri., Oct. 11 at 8 P.M. at the Central Congregational Church, 7625 Linwood (at Hogarth). The main speaker will be William Worthy, news correspondent for *The Baltimore Afro-American*. Worthy issued the first call for the formation of a Freedom Now Party when speaking at a Harlem street rally last June.

Detroit speakers will include Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr., Minister Wilfred X, Richard Henry, President of the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL), and Uhuru Chairman Luke Tripp. The meeting will be presided over by Lamar Barron, acting chairman of the Michigan Committee for a Freedom Now Party. Admission will be free.

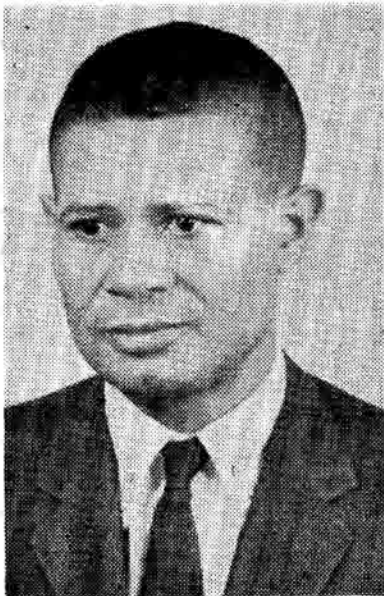
### A Bostonian

William Worthy, a native of Boston, graduated Boston Latin School and Bates College. He received a Nieman Fellowship in Journalism at Harvard University 1956-1957, and a Ford Foundation Fellowship in African Studies 1959-1960. He has covered such events as the Korean armistice negotiations at Panmunjom and the Asian-African Conference at Bandung, Indonesia, 1955.

As correspondent for the *Baltimore Afro-American* and CBS News, Worthy defied in 1957 the State Department ban on travel to China. As a result of that trip, the State Department has refused ever since to renew his passport.

In 1956, Worthy was deported from the Union of South Africa after making a broadcast from Pretoria for CBS News.

At the present time Worthy is appealing a federal conviction and a three-month sentence for



**WILLIAM WORTHY has been in forefront of effort to popularize idea of a Freedom Now Party to win full equality for the Negro people, North and South.**

"re-entering the United States from Cuba without bearing a valid passport." This was the first such conviction in U.S. history.

Rev. Cleage, pastor of the Central Congregational Church, is contributing editor of the controversial *Illustrated News*. He is a board member of GOAL, Detroit Council for Human Rights (DCHR) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

Wilfred X is the minister of Muhammad's Mosque No. 1.

All speakers are active participants in the liberation struggle of the Detroit Negro community.

## 300 Young Anti-Bias Fighters Are Jailed in Selma, Alabama

SELMA, Ala., Sept. 27 — Nearly 300 young Negroes have been arrested here in voter-registration and anti-segregation demonstrations in the past week. Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee Chairman John Lewis was arrested Sept. 25 along with 28 Selma University students who were peacefully demonstrating their belief that every man should have the vote. It was Lewis' twenty-sixth arrest for civil-rights demonstrations.

The students were arrested while picketing the Dallas County Courthouse with signs reading, "One Man, One Vote," and "Voter-Registration Without Intimidation."

County Sheriff James G. Clark Jr. said he was ready to lock up Negro demonstrators "until they fill the jails." Negroes may not walk the streets, hold mass meetings, or picket peacefully without being under constant surveillance by local, county, and state law officers. In addition, the sheriff has deputized a special posse of more than 300 local white civilians. These white civilians are authorized to carry arms and make arrests.

Two SNCC workers, Wilson Brown and Worth W. Long were fined \$300 in Dallas County Court Sept. 27 and sentenced to 180 days in jail. These sentences were handed out on charges of "unlawful assembly" in one case and "interfering with arrest" in the other.

The arrests continued the pattern of state and local harassment of Selma Negro efforts to register voters, obtain fair employment opportunities, and lunch counter integration. The Trailways Bus Sta-



John Lewis

tion is the only desegregated public facility in Dallas county.

Less than one per cent of the voting-age Negroes in the county are registered, while 64 per cent of voting-age whites are registered. The county is about 60 per cent Negro.

All of this prevails in spite of the fact that Dallas County is the first place where the federal government filed a suit — in 1961 — against local registrars to prevent them from intimidating or discriminating against Negroes attempting to vote.

Prior to his arrest on Sept. 24, SNCC staffer Long said:

"Selma is in a state of siege. Everywhere you look you see state patrolmen or members of the spe-

cial posse brandishing clubs and cattle prods.

SEPT. 30 — More than 770 arrests of Negroes have been made in Orangeburg, S.C. in the last three days. The Negroes, mostly college students, were peacefully demonstrating to support demands for desegregation of public facilities, equal job opportunities and equal customer treatment in stores.

SEPT. 30 — A March by 5,000 Negroes on the New Orleans city hall took place tonight to protest segregation. Some 3,500 more lined the streets to watch.

NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 21 — Eighty-five Negro high school students were arrested Sept. 20 while demonstrating against discrimination by voter-registration officials here. The students, members of the youth corps of the Co-ordinating Council of Greater New Orleans, were charged with "disturbing the peace" and "using boisterous language." Mr. I. S. Daniel, director of the council's voter project, was among those arrested. He said that over 1,000 Negroes had been brought to the registrar's office by student volunteers during the last three months, but that less than 350 had actually been registered.

## Reduce Work Week Says S. F. Nominee

Sam Jordan, independent candidate for mayor of San Francisco, declared he would institute a 30-hour week at no reduction in pay for all city employees if he is elected mayor. In a TV speech Jordan declared "30 for 40" is the only answer to unemployment among both Negroes and whites.

Jordan said many people had asked why he, a Negro and an ordinary citizen, was running for mayor. His reply is: "Why not? What have previous mayors done that is so great from the viewpoint of the average citizen? Are there fewer unemployed than two years ago? Has the gap between those who have and those who have not been closed or even narrowed?"

"I am running for mayor as an independent Freedom Now candidate," Jordan said, "because I know I can do better, not only for the Negro citizen, but for all those who are unrepresented in city government — which I believe is the majority."

Jordan told the TV audience of his work among Negro youth, some of whom are school dropouts. When he urged them to go back and get an education, he said, many asked, "What for? So I can shine shoes, or wax cars, or roam the streets looking for a job?" He said he told them, "Don't give up. A new revolution is in the making. Black Americans, along with white Americans are creating a new peaceful revolution, and tomorrow things will be different."

Besides a 30-hour week for all city employees at no loss in pay, Jordan's program calls for: 50,000 units of low-rental, unsegregated public housing; an end to discrimination in sale and rental of homes and apartments; appointment of qualified Negroes and members of other minorities to all city boards and commissions; integration of all police patrols; firing of all racist cops who fail to learn from special human-relations courses to be set up; and the ending of San Francisco's participation in the Civil-Defense program and use of the money saved for low-cost housing.

## In the Tradition of Civil Disobedience

# Report of a Sit-In at the Base of the Liberty Bell

By Gail Hathaway

PHILADELPHIA — I participated in a sit-in at the base of the Liberty Bell in Independence Hall. The sit-in was part of the Philadelphia Congress on Racial Equality's week of protest actions over the murder of Negro children in Birmingham and slum housing conditions in the Hawthorne section of this city.

On Wednesday, Sept. 18, CORE members began a sit-in at the office of the Relocation Bureau, protesting its failure to find housing for tenants evicted from condemned buildings in the Hawthorne area. It lasted till Friday when a second group of CORE demonstrators sat down in city hall on the same issue. The official in charge of the office at first said the eleven demonstrators could stay as long as they wished. But later they were arrested — apparently on the orders of Mayor James Tate.

### Symbol of Liberty

The Liberty Bell sit-in began the same afternoon as six demonstrators entered Independence Hall. They informed the National Parks Service guards on duty there of their intention and sat down at the base of the famous symbol of American liberty.

The guards closed the building at 5:15 p.m. and asked the demonstrators to leave. When we all refused, they dragged us, one by one, out onto the back steps of Independence Hall and locked us out.

At about 7:00 p.m. we heard about the city hall arrests and went to the CORE office. There the group decided to take no action on the arrests beyond issuing press re-

leases and we applied ourselves to reorganizing the Independence Hall action. At 9:00 a.m. Saturday morning we re-entered Independence Hall with signs stating our demands while a picket line marched outside.

The guards confiscated our signs on the grounds that no signs were permitted inside the building. We sat down at the base of the bell and refused a request that we stand. The city police appeared for the first time. One policeman was stationed inside the building, others all around it, and a large number by the picket line. We were warned that we might be arrested if we didn't leave at closing time — 5:15 p.m.

Meanwhile groups of tourists —

## Philadelphia Memorial Meeting

PHILADELPHIA — At a Sept. 21 mass meeting mourning the children murdered in Birmingham, Cecil Moore, president of the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the audience that self-defense was a basic right. "If a man breaks into my house," Moore said, "I'll shoot him."

In contrast to this militancy was Moore's praise of Philadelphia's Democratic machine-picked mayor, James Tate, who also addressed the meeting. Members and sympathizers of RAM, a local Afro-American liberation group, distributed leaflets protesting Tate's presence, noting that the day before he had caused the arrest of eleven CORE sit-ins at city hall.

4,000 during the day — who had come to see the famous bell, crowded around us. We were free during the day to leave the bell to use the rest rooms or to eat sandwiches outside. During the long afternoon we read books, wrote in notebooks, nibbled candy bars and discussed with the tourists why we were there.

At a magistrate's hearing early next morning the case of the eleven city hall demonstrators was continued to Sept. 30 and most of them came down and joined the picket line. Hawthorne residents also came down to Independence Hall to join the line.

Reporters, photographers, Park Guards, a CORE spokesman and our sit-in group were the only people inside the building when the doors were closed to the public. We refused to leave. A National Park official then told us we would be permitted to stay through the night, that four guards would be on duty, and that we could leave singly to use the bathroom facilities or to eat.

### Phone Busy

Newsmen stayed inside for several hours. The phone in the guards' office rang often as people unsuccessfully tried to get a comment on the situation from the guards. The 6:30 p.m. news on a transistor radio told us (incorrectly) that President Kennedy had personally granted us permission to stay overnight. Blankets were brought in from outside.

We spent most of the night trying to keep warm, listening to radio news, and chatting with the guards whom we found unexpectedly friendly and sympathetic. One told us that he regretted hav-

ing to follow orders to carry us outside the previous night. Another asked about CORE's aims. A white guard told us he was interested in joining the NAACP. One guard, as we went off duty, thanked us for his overtime.

At 2:00 a.m. a guard held our attention with his personal interpretation of the history of the Liberty Bell. He included a story about why the guards did not remove their hats beside the Bell, dating this custom from the time when William Penn spent six months in jail for refusing to remove his hat to anyone or anything. Thus he made us aware that our action was part of a long tradition of civil disobedience.

### Discussion

A Negro photographer arrived to take our pictures and stimulated a lively discussion on the issue of armed self-defense. At 1:30 a.m. a couple from Mount Airy arrived with coffee, milk, and grilled cheese sandwiches and stood outside in the wind for an hour and a half until each of us had come out and eaten.

Most of us woke up freezing around 6:30 Sunday and began listening to early morning news and going out for coffee. We straightened up the area around the Bell in preparation for the opening of the building at 8:45. We spent the morning as we had the previous day, huddled around the Bell reading, writing and talking to visitors and reporters.

At 2:15 p.m. we ended our sit-in by walking out singing "We Shall Overcome." We led about 100 people outside to a statue in the park where memorial services were held for the four Negro girls slain in Birmingham.