

Armed Birmingham Negroes Conduct Own Safety Patrols

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 27 - No. 33 Monday, September 23, 1963 Price 10c

Federal Gov't Should Deputize Them And Send Troops to Disarm Racists

By George Lavan

SEPT. 18 — Negroes in Birmingham have armed themselves and are patrolling their neighborhoods.

On "Dynamite Hill," so-called because of the frequency of "unsolved" racist bombings there,

Negro residents have set up their own armed protective system with observation posts and a communications network to guard against bombers.

A mass meeting held at the Sixth Avenue Baptist Church on Sept. 16 was guarded by a volunteer corps of Negroes who regularly checked all parts of the building, inside and out, for explosives such as those which killed four young Negro girls at the 16th Street Baptist Church the previous day.

The self-defense measures taken by Birmingham's Negroes constitute the only protection they have. All the official "law-enforcement" bodies, not only offer them no protection, but are their worst enemies and a constant threat to their safety.

This makes it urgent that throughout the country, Negroes and all whites who are really for civil rights immediately put pressure on President Kennedy to force him to deputize these Negro self-defense guards and send federal troops to occupy Alabama. Such troops should disarm the official police forces now terrorizing the Negro people of Birmingham.

Playing Politics

Kennedy's playing of politics from the beginning of this month's school desegregation crisis in Alabama is largely responsible for the deaths of the six Negro children. Their blood is on his hands no less than on those of Governor Wallace. Kennedy's decision not to send federal marshals or troops to Birmingham, lest it offend white-supremacist opinion and risk the loss of some of the South's electoral votes in next year's presidential election, was a deliberate gamble with the lives of Negro children in Birmingham.

As early as Sept. 4 Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, militant Birmingham rights leader, warned Kennedy: "The national administration is making a mistake, playing cat and mouse with George Wallace and regarding this as a purely local matter."

Also in refusing "to make a martyr" of Wallace by sending him to jail, Kennedy encouraged all white-supremacists to believe that they too could trample Negro rights without fear of punishment. The absence of federal troops or marshals in Birmingham when the token desegregation finally began meant that there was absolutely no governmental power there which was for desegregation. There was only a vacuum. And as correspondent Claude Sitton wrote in the *New York Times* which appeared merely hours before the fatal bombing, such a vacuum "is quickly filled by the advocates of opposition." Ken-

neddy's duty was to fill that vacuum with the federal presence but for cheap political ends he refused to do so.

Last week's *Militant* which came off the press only three days before the murder of the children, prophesied: "Yet Kennedy's 'forbearance' or expediency in not sending federal troops or marshals to Birmingham is a disservice to the Negro children who have been 'integrated' there. He is gambling with their lives when he leaves them without federal protection. Perhaps nothing will happen to them — but their lives and limbs are being risked in the pre-election campaign maneuvering . . . "The total effect of Kennedy's forbearance policy is to embolden the KKK, White Citizens Councils and assorted racist groups and individuals."

But the murders of the four Negro girls by the bombers and the subsequent murders of two Negro boys, one by the police and the other by white teen-agers, apparently meant no more to Kennedy than the deaths of so many flies.

He issued a perfunctory statement about the bombing outrage — he didn't even utter it himself, but had his press secretary read it to reporters — and then turned a deaf ear to the demands of Negro leaders for decisive federal intervention and the sending of troops.

He is still gambling with the lives of Negroes rather than displease white-supremacist Southern Democrats whose votes he covets for next year's election. And in this cold-blooded game he is supported by the liberal Democrats of the North — not one of whom denounced his earlier refusal to send federal troops or his current refusal.

What do the Negro people and their defense guards now face in Birmingham? They are confronted with 500 city policemen — all white. These are the men trained by "Bull" Connor, the ones who last May mercilessly beat and clubbed Negroes of all ages and both sexes, who used fire hoses and police dogs on them. In addition they are confronted with 150 deputy sheriffs — all white and steeped in anti-Negro brutality from Jefferson County.

They are also faced by 300 state troopers — better described as storm troopers — under command of the Negro-hating sadist, Colonel A. J. Lingo. And in reserve in a Birmingham armory are 500 national guardsmen in full battle regalia under the command of bloodstained Governor Wallace.

Birmingham Negroes openly discuss whether the bombings were done by these racist cops or merely in collusion with them.

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OUT THEY WENT. Young men in white shirts convince Cuban counter-revolutionaries at New York Town Hall meeting that it would be wise for them to leave and not try to disrupt meeting.

United Defense Effort Stops Cuban Exiles From Breaking Up N. Y. Public Meeting

By George Saunders

NEW YORK — Despite a major effort by Cuban counter-revolutionaries to break it up, a successful meeting of the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba was held in Town Hall here Sept. 15. This success was largely due to the collaboration of various sections of the pro-Cuban and pro-civil liberties movements of New York in forming a defense guard for the meeting. The Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance participated in this united defense, providing a large part of the committee which maintained order at the meeting.

The success with which the meeting was defended was a boost to the morale of the left in New York. This was expressed by the enthusiastic applause of the audience of 1,500 who had braved the crowds of violent, screaming Cuban counter-revolutionaries to attend the meeting.

The united defense committee was in the best tradition of the early American socialist movement, a tradition in which all tendencies in the working-class movement worked together on issues of common interest. The joint defense of this meeting should provide an example for the left and civil libertarians throughout the country.

Civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn, who acted as moderator of

the meeting, expressed its true significance when he declared: "We are making a demonstration here this afternoon not so much for Cuba as for America. There can be no peaceful solution of the American problem if suppression of freedom of expression is allowed to go on."

Many agreed with speaker Maxwell Geismar, literary historian and writer, when he called the meeting "the best thing that has happened in 20 years" and saluted the student travelers for opening the way for such a meeting.

The committee to preserve order proved absolutely necessary. Known Cuban counter-revolutionary activists were turned away at the door, their ticket money being refunded. Two large groups of them, however, managed to enter the hall. One group of about 30 sat in the left rear of the orchestra. Surrounded by members of the defense squad, they finally decided it would be wiser to leave. Several of them started fights on the way out but were quickly subdued.

Another group of about 50 took seats in a section of the balcony. After the ejection of the group in the orchestra, they too decided that discretion was the better part of valor and acceded to the demand that they leave.

Earlier it had been announced that a leader of a counter-revolu-

tionary group in Miami had wired demanding a debate. The Student Committee for Travel to Cuba replied, accepting the challenge. It pointed out, however, that the program of the Sept. 15 meeting did not allow for any such debate and that the anti-Castro Cuban group could set a date, time and TV station for a future debate but should not expect that it would be allowed to interrupt the program of the Town Hall meeting.

It was obvious that the Cuban counter-revolutionaries were at the meeting only to disrupt. A number were seen to leave once it was unmistakably clear that the meeting would continue peacefully. Several times speakers were interrupted by individual outbursts, but the disrupters were quickly removed.

After one such incident, in which a counter-revolutionary leaped onto the stage but was immediately pulled into the wings by guards, Phillip Luce, assistant editor of *Rights* — the magazine of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee — and one of those grilled by HUAC, explained to the overwhelming approval of the audience that those who had organized the meeting had determined in advance that no one would be allowed to break it up; that in organizing a committee to see to this, they were acting in the best

(Continued on Page 5)

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Report from Puerto Rico

Pro-Independence Youth Hold Parley

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — The Third National Conference of the Pro-Independence Youth Movement here, attended by almost 500 delegates and observers, evidenced a significant growth of the organization.

Equally significant was the adoption of a resolution calling for the independence and liberation of Puerto Rico and pledging support for the world-wide colonial revolution and for the "Socialist Cuban Revolution" in particular.

The conference paid tribute to Pedro Albizu Campos, the aged and imprisoned hero of the Puerto Rican independence struggle, several times with standing ovations. It was also decided to cover the island with posters celebrating his forthcoming 72nd birthday.

Foreign visitors to the conference included 12 students from the Dominican Republic. They represented several youth organizations and secondary schools. U.S. officials at the airport had confiscated almost all their belongings, even poems intended to be read at a cultural session of the conference.

There were two invited guests from the U.S. — Carl Jerome, representing the Progressive Labor Movement, and Peter Camejo, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Jerome told the conference that the enemy of Puerto Rico, the forces occupying it, were the same forces which exploit the North American workers.

Camejo thanked the MPI youth for having been among the first to come to the defense of the three Young Socialist Alliance officers at Indiana University who face six years imprisonment for their ideas.

He also spoke on the struggle of the Negro people and youth in the U.S., giving the conference a first-hand report on the March on Washington.

A highlight of the conference was the presence of Professor José María Lima of the University of Puerto Rico. He had traveled with the student group which visited Cuba this summer. Upon his return, he said that he was a Marxist-Leninist. Since then all the reactionary forces in Puerto Rico, including the thousands of Cuban counter-revolutionaries there, have been demanding his dismissal from the university faculty.

They have formed picket lines at the university denouncing him. But these have always been countered by much larger picket lines defending him and his freedom of expression.

When Lima was introduced the conference rose and applauded. To cheers and clapping, he reaffirmed that he was a Marxist-Leninist and that he would continue to say so anywhere in the world, as he has in Cuba, the U.S. and Puerto Rico.

The conference closed with a speech by Juan Mari Bras, leader of the Movimiento Pro-Independencia, the adult organization. He had just returned from a trip to Europe and Algeria. He declared that the youth represented at the conference would lead Puerto Rico to independence and socialism.



BRAVO! Prof. Jose Maria Lima (left) receives standing ovation when introduced at San Juan conference of Pro-Independence Youth movement. At microphone is Puerto Rican youth leader Ramon Arbona. Lima was part of group that traveled to Cuba in defiance of State Department ban and is now center of storm of controversy in Puerto Rico with business and church groups leading demand that he be fired from the university.

Sept. 23 has been declared a day

of international solidarity with the Puerto Rican independence struggle. Messages and greetings from organizations and individuals should be sent to MPI, c/o Claridad, 1122 Ponce de Leon, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.

Negro Journalist Describes Impact of Visiting New Cuba

NEW YORK — On a recent tour of Cuba, Charles P. Howard noticed a woman outside a peasant house and he asked his companion: "Why do you think she would fix her hair so carefully and be so nicely dressed way out here in the sticks?"

His companion, a young Negro woman from New York who is a psychologist, answered: "It's because someone cares about her. When you realize people care about you, you want to look your best." It doesn't have to be a boy friend or husband, she said. In Cuba, the people know the government and the country care about them.

Charles P. Howard is editor-in-chief of the Howard News Service and foreign correspondent of the *Afro-American* and *Muhammad Speaks*. He spoke to the Militant Labor Forum Sept. 13 about his trip to Cuba with a number of American writers and newsmen invited to attend the July 26 celebrations.

Howard was clearly overwhelmed with emotion in describing the reality of the great, liberating revolution in Cuba, especially in respect to the Negro people. An articulate man, he felt himself inadequate to convey sufficiently the wonderful atmosphere of freedom so unfamiliar to an American Negro.

Traveling through Cuba he was struck time and again by the total absence of discrimination against Negroes. He asked one young colored woman about discrimination there and she answered, "We are all Cubans here." Howard was impressed also by the fact that he discovered black people in positions of authority and in all kinds of jobs and there seemed to be no supremacist attitudes among light-skinned Cubans. One explanation for this, he felt, was that "Cubans were not stingy about recognizing the achievements of their black

citizens." He cited the fact that black participants in the war against Spain and in the Revolution are national heroes — Gen. Antonio Maceo, for example. Howard, who recently published an interview with the head of the Cuban army, Juan Almeida, described the black commander as "brilliant."

In the question-and-answer period, Howard said that he had been in every one of the new African states and knew their leaders and nowhere in the world, where a new government was evolving, have they chosen "democracy, as we like to talk about it. These leaders find out you can't build these countries on a capitalist basis. There's no one to provide the capital."

He said that Americans have been propagandized so much against socialism and communism that anyone who gets up and speaks for it is in trouble. "But as a Negro I'm in trouble already," he said, "and I'm not interested in any system that'll take me another 100 years to enjoy any of it."



Charles P. Howard, Sr.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Hauling migrant workers in trucks like cattle was responsible for the Sept. 17 accident in Salinas, Calif., in which 27 Mexican celery workers were killed and more than 30 more injured when a Southern Pacific train struck the makeshift "bus" in which they were being hauled from a celery field to the labor camp where they were lodged. At least 15 of the injured were reported in critical condition.

The "bus," which was carrying more than 60 workers, was actually a flatbed truck with benches on it. It had stopped at the rail crossing and then started up again and was half way across the track when the train rammed into it, scattering bodies for half a mile.

The driver of the truck, who survived, said he stopped at the crossing and looked down the track, but that his view was obscured by a fellow worker and he neither saw nor heard the approaching train.

Unemployment compensation benefits have been reduced in 12 states by new anti-labor laws passed in the first half of 1963. Despite a 150% increase in long-term unemployment over the last five years, several state legislatures cut the duration of benefits as well as the amount of weekly payments.

What do you do when your plant moves away and leaves 271 workers, including you, unemployed? John Woody, a former chief steward at Sterling Aluminum Products, charges that the company, in collusion with the International Association of Machinists, closed the St. Charles, Mo., plant, depriving him and the others of their jobs. On behalf of the 271 who lost their jobs, he is suing them jointly for \$19,285,312.

The Central Conference of Teamsters, which met in Chicago, heard International Brotherhood of Teamsters President James Hoffa's plans for nation-wide labor agreements. National and multi-state contracts, he said, were necessary to the union's survival. "Get into a dispute in a small town and you may find you're fighting a multi-million-dollar holding company," Hoffa said. "You may have to put pickets across the United States." As local and area contracts expire this coming year, he hopes to establish nation-wide agreements unifying 450,000 workers in inter-city and local cartage industries.

After repeated demands for the removal of an officer who, crew members said, was racially prejudiced, members of the National Maritime Union took matters into their own hands and struck the liner *America*, Louis Neurohr, first assistant engineer, allegedly refused to have Negroes and Puerto Ricans on his watch. It was further alleged that he objected to them going through a passageway with him and even had a washroom locked to prevent their use of it. This climaxed eight months of complaints which the U.S. Lines had refused to remedy by Neurohr's removal.

NMU President Joseph Curran, arriving less than two hours before sailing time, met with company representatives and, failing to get an immediate settlement of the dispute, called a ship's meeting of more than 500 crew members on the pier. A unanimous vote made the removal of the engineer the precondition for sailing.

The company argues that since Negroes and Puerto Ricans consti-



Curran

tute 40 per cent of the crew, it is free of racial prejudice.

Two courses of mediation were offered by an arbitrator: 1) that the ship sail with both a company and a union representative who would conduct an investigation en route; 2) that the ship sail, but the ship's committee — composed of six union delegates — and the officer in question remain ashore and join the ship by plane after the investigation, if the charges were not upheld.

Both offers were refused. The NMU objected to the first because it left the accused engineer aboard the ship. The Marine Engineers Beneficial Association refused the second because the engineer had already signed the ship's articles (contract) to make the trip. The entire situation was complicated by existing hostility between the NMU and the MEBA. The company contended it was in the middle because the engineers — 29 in number — would not sail if one of their number were missing.

The company's failure to settle this grievance, says Curran, might "tie up the entire fleet" of the U.S. Lines.

With definite cancellation of the *America's* sailing, the 945 passengers aboard were forced to find other means of getting to Europe. They, too, got a taste of the company's high-handedness and arbitrariness. Pleas of many to be allowed to say aboard that night because they couldn't afford or couldn't get hotel accommodations were curtly rejected. Many passengers left in high dudgeon, telling TV interviewers what they thought of the company in no uncertain terms.

The First 10 Years Of American Communism

Report of a Participant

By James P. Cannon

The author is a founder of American Trotskyism and the only living top leader of the early years of the U.S. Communist Party who has not repudiated communism.

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Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

The Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty — What It Is and What It Means for World Peace. Speaker, Frank Lovell, Mich. state chairman, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 27, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

Michael Munk, staff writer for the National Guardian discusses Jobs and Jim Crow. Fri., Sept. 27, 8:30 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c.). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

OAKLAND

CUBAN REPORT by three students who defied travel ban. Fri., Oct. 4, 8 p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 563 Sixteenth St.

THE MILITANT

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Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 27 - No. 33 145 Monday, September 23, 1963

Diem 'Ends' Martial Law

Kennedy has in effect made his peace with the murderous regime of South Vietnamese ruler Ngo Dinh Diem — just as he manages to live with the murder-inciting Wallace regime of Alabama. After a few token gestures of threat and condemnation toward Diem for the Aug. 21 assaults on Buddhist pagodas, Kennedy showed his real hand by okaying continued under-the-table payments precisely to the Vietnamese Special Forces which carried out those raids.

Now Mme. Ngo Dinh Nhu, bloodthirsty first lady of the Diem family clique, has expressed satisfaction with U.S. policy. She said she "feels better and is pleased" with Secretary of State Dean Rusk's statement of confidence in South Vietnam's ability to "mend its internal affairs."

The South Vietnamese government announced Sept. 14 that "martial law" would be ended in that country as of Sept. 16. The U.S. State Department the same day issued a statement that this was "a step in the right direction" as long as it meant the Diem regime was "moving to undertake constructive measures to achieve adequate support and win the war and to insure a better future for the Vietnamese people."

Flowery and hypocritical rhetoric!

The real reasons for the lifting of martial law have to do with the upcoming debate in the United Nations General Assembly on violations of human rights in Vietnam — as reports from Saigon and Washington baldly admit.

How little this "step in the right direction" means was clear in news reports of Sept. 16. Troops were still posted around Saigon's Central Market, which students have used for demonstrations. Marines were still stationed in Saigon high schools. Arrested students and Buddhists in Saigon were still being held. In many other cities, students, professional persons, civil servants and military officers, were also reportedly still being held.

The "lifting of martial law" and the State Department's praise for it are phony maneuvers to try to improve surface appearances in order to undercut, in the coming UN debate, denunciations of the mistreatment of Vietnamese Buddhists.

The U.S. does not dare oppose that debate for fear of alienating Afro-Asian opinion. But it fears that too hot a debate will touch on the real issue of U.S. military, financial and diplomatic support of the Buddhist-killing Diem regime.

Beyond the range of all this diplomatic maneuvering, the brutal military occupation of South Vietnam by Diem's CIA-backed forces goes on. The only ray of hope in the picture are the military successes recently scored by the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front, the organization of peasant guerrillas.

Some of the uses of U.S. aid were recently detailed in a *Christian Science Monitor* report. Aside from the care and feeding of storm troopers, U.S. tax dollars go to supply shotgun ammunition to the Vietnam police who helped suppress Buddhists and students, police trucks in which Buddhists and students are carted to detention camps, and — bitterest pill of all — to help the South Vietnamese Directorate General of Information make propaganda films extolling Diem's government.

The Ministers' Vietnam Committee, a group of prominent U.S. clergymen, has announced that 17,358 American clergymen of all faiths have joined their protest. The Committee, among other things, has called for an end of U.S. military aid and "the loss of American lives and billions of dollars to bolster a regime universally regarded as unjust, undemocratic and unstable." When will the rest of the American people speak out? Kennedy should be given no rest until every GI is withdrawn from Vietnam and every cent of U.S. aid to the Diem tyranny is cut off.

Local Directory

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

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

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

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California.

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

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

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

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

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

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

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

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 8412, Philadelphia 1, Pa.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum meets second and fourth Fridays at Pioneer Book Store, 1488 Fulton St. WE 1-9967.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-2669. Ask for Dick Clarke.

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

SEATTLE. 3215 5th N.E. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

'Labor Looks at Labor'

10 Unionists Discuss Failure of Leaders

By Tom Kerry

In the past several years there has appeared in print a welter of articles, studies and commentaries on the sad state of the American trade-union movement. The consensus is that the unions have suffered a disastrous decline in prestige and influence; that organized labor is bogged down on a stagnant plateau of membership and ideology; that the labor leaders have failed dismally in meeting the challenge of rapid and radical technological change; etc., etc.

Some of the more thought-provoking studies have been published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. The most recent one, *Labor Looks at Labor*, is an innovation. It is in the form of a "conversation" between W. H. Ferry, vice-president of the Center and one-time director of public relations for the CIO Political Action Committee, Paul Jacobs, staff director of the Center's Study of the Trade Union, and ten (10) members of the AFL-CIO United Automobile Workers, identified only by number. Why the names of these participants were withheld is not disclosed.

What emerges as the central facet of the "conversation" is that the decline of the labor movement is primarily due to the surrender of its independence on both the economic and political field. A recurrent theme is that union strength and vitality have been sapped by the unions' incorporation into what is called "the establishment" — that is, subordination to the policies, institutions and organizations of the capitalist ruling class.

'Joined Establishment'

Commenting on one of the major issues of the day, war and peace, W. H. Ferry observes: "Another area in which a disastrous amount of short-sightedness is being displayed by the labor organizations in this country is its abject acquiescence to the whole business of arms and defense. The voice of Meany is indistinguishable from that of the Defense Department or the men who run Northrop. This ties in with the joint lobbying that was mentioned here earlier. Is this the best that labor can do? You've joined the establishment."

Ferry here puts his finger, unwittingly perhaps, on the crux of the problem. The problem is further amplified in a rhetorical question posed by UAW member No. 5: "In the international context, is an increase in the militancy of the American trade union movement likely at a time when it is necessary for us to be taking certain defensive or even aggressive steps against an ideology that has come to be identified to a certain degree with the trade-union movement? By that I mean the rise of socialism around the world while at the same time the United States remains one of the last strongholds of *laissez-faire* capitalism. When we examine the questions that have arisen here today, I believe they must be put into a broad international context if we ever hope to reach the right answers."

Involved in these observations is the whole relation between foreign and domestic policy which lies at the heart of the decline of the American labor movement since the advent of the cold war in 1946. In the field of foreign policy the labor leaders have functioned as slavish disciples of the American State Department and belligerent jingoist agents of the Pentagon.

American foreign policy has made Yankee imperialism a hated symbol of oppression throughout the world. In the name of rabid "anti-communism," Washington has propped up and perpetuated the rule of the most loathsome puppet dictators that ever disgraced the human race. Billions of American dollars are expended



HEE-HAW! UAW President Walter Reuther almost busts a gusset laughing at Kennedy quip. Panel of veteran unionists noted growing dependency of union brass on government as important source of sapping of union strength.

each year in a futile effort to stem the progressive march of human progress. The labor leaders have willingly lent their support to this counter-revolutionary apparatus of repression.

The American workers have paid a heavy price for condoning this unholy alliance. Foreign policy is an extension of domestic policy. Along with cold-war reaction on a world scale came the march of reaction at home. It was no accident that the advent of the cold war in 1946 was soon followed by oppressive labor legislation in Congress. The union-busting Taft-Hartley law was enacted in 1947. Since then, repeated assaults upon the independence of the organized union movement threaten to turn meek retreat into a rout.

Organized labor is blackjacked into making more and more sacrifices in the interests of American capitalist foreign policy, both economic and political. Once having accepted the primacy of American imperialist interests abroad, the labor leaders find themselves incapable of defending the elementary interests of the union membership — let alone acting as spokesman for a vast majority of workers outside the union ranks.

Their function becomes that of disciplinary agents of the employing class assigned the role of policing the ranks and preventing, if they can, or quelling sporadic outbursts of revolt against deteriorating conditions on the job. The gap between leaders and ranks grows ever wider. Discontent breeds antagonism. Too often, unfortunately, antagonism takes the form of hostility to the union as such.

All of this is hinted at in the record of the "conversation" published by the Center but is not clearly expressed. Jacobs, for example, deplors his participation in the expulsion from the CIO of the so-called "communist-controlled" unions in 1949. The witch-hunt against radicals established a "pattern of conformity" that transformed the unions into an ideological desert.

"That is why," says Jacobs, "you can't dignify what goes on at a UAW convention today by calling it 'debate.' Policy questions are not being debated at UAW conventions. What is being argued about is administrative jazz and union legislative problems. There are no arguments about foreign-policy questions or even about domestic-policy questions. The ability to break with traditional

patterns is one reason why Hoffa is successful. He thumbs his nose at the establishment."

It is a debatable question whether Hoffa broke with the "establishment" or the other way around. It is symptomatic, however, that the top union brass in the AFL-CIO joined with the Kennedy brothers in making Hoffa a target for harassment and persecution by the administration. In his fight for survival Hoffa was compelled to broaden his base in the ranks — the only really effective counterforce to the "establishment." To accomplish this he had to demonstrate that the Teamsters Union, under his leadership, could produce results both in wages and working conditions and in the expansion of union organization.

In this sense Hoffa has been able to demonstrate that acceptance by the establishment can only be achieved at the expense of the rank-and-file worker. The price paid by the ranks for the witch-hunting policy of the union leadership was graphically presented by UAW member No. 5 who observed:

"When I came up in the trade-union movement, our teachers were trade-unionists with class-struggle backgrounds of one kind or another. At things like the University of Wisconsin trade-union educational programs, we used to listen to great debates among the Socialists, the Trotskyites, and the Communists. These were the people who were carrying the ideological ball at that time. Now we are in a time when we go to a trade-union educational class and we talk about which wing of the Democratic party we are going to support. This carries no spark back to the plant. They can get this kind of information out of the *Los Angeles Times*. There is nothing here to capture the imagination of the young people who are going to take our place."

Elaborating on this theme, the same speaker observes: "We determined some time ago that the old idea that the unions ought to stay out of politics had to be discarded. But what kind of politics did the unions get into? It seems to me we are sort of playing a game of company unionism in that area . . . In some other countries, the trade-union movement has already moved toward more independent political action. I believe the very reason the movement has been declining in America is that we have not been more aggressively independent, politically speaking."

CUBAN LEADER ELABORATES VIEWS

Algerian Interview With Che Guevara

An interview granted by Che Guevara on July 23 while he was in Algiers received brief notice in the capitalist press at the time. A couple of sentences dealing with the Moscow-Peking dispute were singled out and the rest of his declarations brushed aside.

Among the noteworthy statements made by Guevara was one on Hugo Blanco, the well-known Trotskyist peasant leader in Peru who was captured and now faces possible death.

The full text of the interview, as published in the Aug. 3 issue of *El Moudjahid*, central organ of the National Liberation Front of Algeria, is as follows:

Question. What do you think of the Algerian experience with Management Committees?

Answer. I visited Management Committees in some plants and farms and even a few military farms. Clearly, the Management Committees are not yet an absolutely defined sector. It's an experience of only four or five months and so you can hardly speak of the experience of administration through the committees.

I think that the main thing, and this is what best characterizes the Algerian Revolution, is the fact of having taken the means of production, the land and the plants of the French who left, in order to place them in the hands of the people.

Q. During your visits, were you able to speak with officials of the Management Committees in the plants and farms, and what impressions did they leave with you?

A. I spoke with them, and as each time I see something new in Algeria, I was reminded of Cuba. The same spirit, the same enthusiasm, the same inexperience also, perhaps, but also the same intense desire to do things and do them well. I think a lot of work must be done in the sense of perfecting the committees; and the work of the government to raise the technical capacity of the members of these committees is one of the important tasks to be carried out. Up to now it cannot be said that these men, these officials of the Management Committees, are genuine technicians. But that's not what's most important. We already had the same experience in Cuba with the workers who took over management in the plants and they also did very well. We are able to state that at least 95 per cent of Cuban industry in the hands of the state has

succeeded in developing at least normally well.

Q. Have you likewise gone ahead in Cuba with the election of Management Committees by the workers on the farms and in the plants?

A. There are some differences. Our committees in the plants are elected by the workers, but the chairmen of these committees are administrators chosen by the government. It's not like here where there is a chairman and an administrator (director). There's only one official who is named by the minister and who can revoke him. He is not elected.

The committee is made up of delegates who are elected in each enterprise; one for a shop. Where an important enterprise is involved there are shop councils in each plant. The administrator is called a Technical Assistant Councilor.

Q. Did you have a drop in production in the first period after taking over the land, especially in connection with sugar cane? The American newspapers have said that the production of sugar cane dropped 50 per cent and that this was the reason for the world increase in the price of sugar.

A. There is always a little truth in what the Americans say, but very little. They cannot completely falsify the truth. We committed two errors which must not be attributed to the fact that the workers took the land but to the general policy in regard to sugar cane. On the one hand we did not sufficiently keep up the culture of cane; and, on the other, we suffered two years of great drought and production fell, not 50 per cent, but 30 or 40 per cent on the average.

As for the increase in the price of sugar on the world market, it is necessary to note first of all that the production of sugar cane fell not only in Cuba but throughout the world. The big monopolist groups pulled many maneuvers in the sugar-cane market. I am not completely up to date on these games which are quite complicated, but in all these maneuvers, it seems that someone lost control and the price went up excessively. The American government tried to take measures to bring prices down and got the contrary result. They went up still more. And it wasn't the monopolies that paid for it, but the American people and the people of the entire world.

Q. Did you profit from this increase?

A. A little. But we would prefer to produce a lot so that the entire world could consume more sugar. There are two tendencies involved in this. One consists of reducing production and increasing prices. The other consists of increasing production and profiting from the quantity and not the price. We belong to the second current; produce more to give more to all the people.

Q. After leaving Algeria, will you return directly to Cuba?

A. I have no intention of going into exile. (Guevara smiled broadly.)

Q. Can we expect Fidel Castro to visit us soon?

A. The word "soon" is as early as convenient. I can't make it more precise.

Q. Could you tell us about the progress of the revolution in Latin America?

A. That's my favorite theme. I cannot, unfortunately, always speak of the continuous progress of the revolution because there are periods when the revolution marks time. It's a kind of law. But clearly, just as it is your duty and task to aid the peoples of Africa to free themselves from colonialism and neo-colonialism, so it is our task to aid our brother peoples who speak the same

language — or even if they don't speak it; in the final analysis that's not important; the revolutionary language is the same everywhere. It's our duty to help them free themselves and we will help them in it with all our strength. All our sympathy goes to the movement in "British" Guiana, which will certainly cease to be British despite all the efforts of those who don't want it to cease being so.

At the moment it can be said that there are two countries where the revolutionary struggle has taken sufficient force already to assure its development toward a revolution that will take power and carry out big changes in the political and social structure of these countries — they are Venezuela and Guatemala. There is a wall of silence around these two countries. They don't talk about the actions of the Venez-

veloped despite enormous difficulties, but which must eventually triumph. In a note which our government sent a few days ago to the government of the United States, it was said that Cuba is not the last socialist country of the Americas but the first.

Q. In Brazil how is the agrarian movement led by Julião¹ developing?

A. Yes, Julião's movement is developing, but Brazil is in a special situation. The Brazilian government is not particularly a government against the people. Clearly there are forces of reaction, like those of Lacerda, who is a genuine fascist, of the militarists who are trying to take power, but there are other militarists who defend the people, and the movement is developing in a different way than, for example, in Peru.

Q. What is the status of the peasant guerrilla movement in Peru since the recent arrest of Hugo Blanco²?

A. Hugo Blanco is the head of one of the guerrilla movements in Peru. He struggled stubbornly but the repression was strong. I don't know what his tactics of struggle were, but his fall does not signify the end of the movement. It is only a man that has fallen, but the movement continues. One time, when we were preparing to make our landing from the *Granma*, and when there was great risk that all of us would be killed, Fidel said: "What is more important than us is the example we set." It's the same thing. Hugo Blanco has set an example, a good example, and he struggled as much as he could. But he suffered a defeat, the popular forces suffered a defeat. It's only a passing stage. Afterward will come another stage.

Q. Could you indicate for us the advance of Cuban industry since the taking of power?

A. You can't measure industry as exactly as agriculture. The errors and the successes are not as evident, as immediately evident as in agriculture, and their consequences appear only in the long range. We don't have any big plants. The big plants — for the construction of which we have contracts with the socialist countries — are in process of preparation. The preliminary studies take about two years. In the coming month of August the Soviet technicians must provide us with a study called technical and economic in order to come to a decision in the question of steel, and this despite the fact that we have had contract on this since 1960. The studies are very long and must be very extensive, because if we make an error in this field it's not like making an error in sowing which can be rectified in accordance with the next harvest. It's an error which continues and which weighs heavily on the economy. Today in Cuba we cannot say that we have yet had an important development of heavy industry, but we have created a base that will enable us,

¹Leader of the leagues of landless peasants who are proceeding to the occupation and collective cultivation of land of the big uncultivated feudal domains. [Footnote in original.]

²General Secretary of the Federation of Peasants of Convención in Peru. Of revolutionary-Marxist tendency. Persecuted for his militant action in favor of a radical agrarian reform, he was forced to go underground where with his partisans he faced the government forces for some months. Taken prisoner, his life is now in danger. [Footnote in original.]

Cuba Sets UN Plea On U.S. Attacks

NEW YORK — The Cuban delegation to the United Nations here has announced that it will charge the Kennedy administration with a stepped-up campaign of sabotage and other violent counter-revolutionary activity against Cuba. The charges will be detailed in a speech tentatively scheduled for Sept. 30 by Cuban Ambassador to the UN, Carlos M. Lechuga. A Cuban spokesman reportedly pointed out that Cuba has not signed the nuclear treaty, negotiated between the U.S., Britain and the USSR, because Cuba has been "left out" of the general negotiations to ease tensions. (In his July 26 speech Fidel Castro noted that at the very time the ban was negotiated the U.S. was stepping up aggression against Cuba.)

uelan and Guatemalan patriots, but the actions are occurring.

In Venezuela there are three or four columns of guerrilla fighters. There is a front that struggles in the cities and in the countryside. And there is a continuous struggle against the repressive forces and the police. When the guerrillas blow up the oil lines, you can see that the movement exists. But every day combat actions go on; the combat is daily.

In Guatemala, too, there are four columns of guerrilla fighters. There are two or three different movements that are struggling together and, despite the recent *coup d'état*, the government forces can't control the situation, and you can say that it is moving ahead. In addition, you can read the news from Latin America. There are constant new *coups d'état* and we have just seen the one in Ecuador.

It was about a year ago that Fidel Castro foresaw what has happened in Ecuador. This was not a great prophecy because this mechanism works out in almost identical fashion in all the countries of Latin America. Frondizi, Arosemena, Ydigoras Fuentes, Betancourt fall when imperialism has completely used them up. Imperialism maintains as long as it can a thin facade of liberalism, but afterwards it installs a strong regime, more decisive in maintaining the prerogatives of the exploiting classes.

One can say, in concluding this subject, that the struggle in Latin America develops in the sense of a struggle by all means against the neo-colonialist power that exists in general in these countries and that this struggle breaks out in many cases in an armed struggle of the people, a struggle that is very hard, which must be de-



GUEVARA AND MIKOYAN. (Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan machine during Mikoyan's Nov spent three weeks there in unsuccessful to accept proposal for UN inspection missile crisis of that time.)

in the next plan, to project a genuine industry for the country.

Q. In Cuba are you for long-range plans or for shorter ones instead?

A. This depends on the degree of industrial development and organization of the country. It is necessary, to the degree possible, to make the plans as long-range as possible and integrate into them the shorter ones.

For example. In Cuba we have to develop laterite (iron, nickel, cobalt) which is a mineral whose properties are very important for the fabrication of all apparatus strongly resistant to chemicals, friction, etc. For this we must build a good many nickel plants, but we don't have the possibility at present to do this and we have only drawn up a plan for one plant in the present period. The same problem is posed in relation to iron.

In general we have to work according to a medium-range plan; that is, four or five years into which we integrate the short one-year plans. That's what we must do this year, but we haven't yet been able to do it. The middle-range plan was worked out on paper, but it is not a guide for action because it was very subjective. It contained many errors; but now we have learned to plan at the price of our own grief. I don't think we will make such big errors from now on. I would like to say something else on this subject. A revolution, almost by definition, must make some errors. One fault would be not to correct the errors; the other fault would be to do nothing out of fear of making errors.

Q. How has the party of the Revolution been built in Cuba and what has been its role?

A. It was constituted at first by the ensemble of three movements that participated in the Revolution: our old July 26 Move-

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Guevara on Cuba and World Situation



Guevara, in beret, and Soviet officer in fedora, inspect cane cutting crew 1962 visit to Cuba. Mikoyan's successful effort to persuade Cubans on of island as means of ending

ment, the Revolutionary Directorate and the Communist party. This was the first embryo. But later, you know the developments, sectarianism, Anibal Escalante. We rebuilt the party, but as a completely new thing that commences at the base, the workers and peasants electing exemplary workers and it is these that have the right to be members of the party. Nothing remains of the former organization except certain men and already a new party has been formed based only on the workers. A worker, an office employe, can be members of the party. An exploiter can't belong to the party. There are no bourgeois in the party; but petty-bourgeois, yes; some petty-bourgeois like ourselves who used to belong to this social category but who struggled and who developed in the struggle.

We don't speak anymore of the ORI.³ We are working at present on the party statutes. First came the party, then the statutes. There remains a congress to endorse all this. It's a question of time. Time is an important question in this field because quick work can cause us to commit errors. It was because of that we already suffered a setback in the question of the party.

Q. What means can be employed in Cuba so that rank-and-file militants can learn about the economy?

A. I left Cuba five or six days after Fidel's return from the Soviet Union and I don't yet know what practical means have been set in motion to achieve this aim. The idea is to give, in a school for cadres, a more practical course

³Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, regrouping the July 26 Movement, the Revolutionary Directorate, and the Cuban Communist party. [Footnote in original.]

because the cadres ordinarily study in school the manuals of political economy.

This is good preparation for understanding the principles of the economy from the point of view of general theory, but we don't teach what the problems are of sugar, for example, why sugar has dropped, why there isn't more nickel, why there are also some problems for tobacco. It's this that is lacking at present in Cuba in our teaching and it's this that we must change.

Q. The Americans are in process of discussing with the Soviets the suspension of nuclear tests. If they find ground for agreement do you think that the relations between Cuba and the USA will become better?

A. Perhaps! Imperialism is always imperialism. One can speak of obliging it to respect certain forms.

Q. If the USA can co-exist with the USSR, why not with Cuba?

A. Because the USSR is the USSR and Cuba is Cuba. Some hundreds of thousands of square miles and some hundreds of millions of inhabitants, some hundreds of missiles on the one side; a few thousand square miles and a few million inhabitants on the other, with only a moral missile — and at the door of the USA. These are the absolutely different conditions.

Naturally the United States must speak with the USSR — that's what counts — but they know that as long as Cuba exists as Revolution, the danger exists in the Americas because we are very close to the other peoples, we speak the same language, our radio speaks every day on what must be done in the Americas and, despite the propaganda against us, the peasants listen and think that this is the truth. I don't know what you think about it, but I, too, think it is the truth. The Americans in general can't admit this. They discuss in Moscow and things progress on this point, but at the same time they take measures against Cuba. So I can tell you: perhaps! But in any case it can't be said that their desire to destroy us will disappear as long as imperialism doesn't disappear.

Q. You know that the Algerians are very sensitive to everything concerning the Cuban Revolution. Have you any message to give the Algerian people?

A. I think that such a message would be a little formal. Here we have been able to see two things equally moving to us: the first is the sympathy that the Cuban Revolution aroused in the people and that, spontaneously, without any official preparation. We were received here as brothers, as you say, everywhere in the streets people recognized us. I don't believe it's Che Guevara they greet this way but the Cuban Revolution and that's what moves us, what ties us to the Algerian people.

The other thing is the resemblance to our Revolution, to the stages of our Revolution, and it's because of this that we can understand the Algerian Revolution to the bottom and thus love it and support it with all our power, even if our power is small in regards to material means. And it's because of that, I think, that the Algerian people have such sympathy for us. Because we believe that together we are the most advanced representatives of the revolutionary movement in the under-developed countries and that as such we have an important task, and perhaps history will speak of the importance of our movement in the liberation of Africa and the Americas. This, I think, is more important to note than any message of friendship.

Q. What do you think of the present conflict between the Communist parties of China and the USSR?

A. I was waiting for that question. One can reply frankly to it. I think that it's a conflict that brings nothing good to the revolutionary movement. But we shall not say who is right in this conflict because we are small, our power, materially and even ideologically, is small. We cannot attempt to be arbitrator, or judge or anything like that, but we regret this situation very much and we are struggling as much as we can, with our small power, our small influence, our small revolutionary history, if you wish, so that the unity of the socialist camp won't be broken. That's all I can say to you.

Q. In your opinion, is it possible to avoid in Africa the neo-colonialist phase which has been rampant, for example, such a long time in Latin America?

A. It's very difficult to say whether it's possible to avoid this because in the first place we don't know the problems of Africa to the bottom. We have been isolated from Africa, because that's one of the maneuvers of imperialism to isolate people who are struggling for the same cause. It's only since Algeria that we have ceased to be isolated from Africa and we think that Algeria has set an example.

This was a country, completely colonized, which was in the hands

of the French, who spoke of "French Algeria." Today this country has won its liberty, and already it is preparing to develop its socialism. It took the land, the means of production, all that was abandoned and that was against the interests of the people. It is developing industry. This is an example of what must be done. Such an orientation depends on many things — the leaders, the people, the subjective and objective conditions. All this is linked together. It is the objective conditions that condition consciousness. What stands out in the Algerian example is that this people was colonized, had no schools, no technicians, no important working class, but this was not an absolute obstacle. It creates big difficulties, but it isn't an absolute obstacle because socialism is now a fact of world consciousness. You can jump across a few stages with the aid of the whole socialist camp.

Q. What do you think in particular about the struggle undertaken in Angola and its chances?

A. The struggle in Angola — we have followed it, got to know it above all in Algeria. It is Algeria that has taken on this point the most solid and clear position in all the problems of Angola. For us this is the right position and we can't add anything to it but only learn here concerning the problem of Angola.

Q. What do you think of the necessity of liaison among the dif-

ferent revolutionary movements in the world?

A. Not only is it possible, but it is absolutely necessary to develop all that we can in regard to our knowledge and reciprocal support. The conference of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which is to be held in Havana, will be a very important step to reinforce the ties among the various countries and to give an impulse to the struggle for freedom as the principal task of the colonized countries. For us, the struggle for freedom of the colonized countries is a very important struggle.

Q. They speak a lot in America about the presence of Soviet soldiers in Cuba.

A. Don't say in America but in North America. They hardly ever tell anything but complete lies as I said a few moments ago. There are technicians in Cuba who understand fighting and they have to teach us how to utilize all the means of fighting, and even, perhaps, it's necessary to fight against a foreign aggression, perhaps even they will fight. In any case, they showed during the last world war that they well know how to battle.

As to their number, I can't say. The number, however, is of little importance. The fact exists. The technicians exist. What is important is the placement of missiles in the USSR itself. This is likewise our general line of defense.

... Defense Squads at New York Meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

traditions of American democracy. Luce served warning that if anyone tried to stop the meeting, the committee would use force to prevent such interruption.

Five of the students who had visited Cuba gave their impressions. John Wayne Thomas of Oakland, Calif., a Negro student, told of Cuba's success in abolishing racial discrimination. Levi Laub and Steve Martinot, students at Columbia University, discussed the governmental system and problem of bureaucracy in Cuba and the United Party of the Socialist Revolution, the mass Marxist party now being built there. Al Maher of Houston, Texas, spoke of the freedom for artistic expression in Cuba. And Martin Nicolaus, of Fontana, Wisc., gave his general impressions of the popular support for the revolution.

James Higgins, assistant editor of the York (Pa.) *Gazette and Daily*, gave a humor-sprinkled speech that was nonetheless serious. He mocked the press for describing the student travelers as "unkempt" and "beatnik"; it should have concentrated on the real issues of freedom to travel and the witch-hunting of HUAC, he asserted. He also asked for a collection to help finance whatever legal defense the students might find necessary, or future trips to Cuba.

Truman Nelson, novelist of the abolitionist movement, denounced racism in the U.S. government, seeing the same spirit in its attacks on the students as in its reluctance to prosecute racist officials and murderers.

Other students who had been on the Cuba trip were asked to come up from the audience and add their comments or impressions. The meeting closed with the orderly filing out of the large audience. While New York police held back the rioting counter-revolutionaries at both ends of the block, the audience, protected by the defense committee in front, along the sides and at the rear, moved quickly and safely into a subway station. Meanwhile, the mob of counter-

revolutionaries raged in impotent fury, appealing to police not to protect "traitors." They bore signs reading: "HUAC Defends American Freedom," "No Free Speech for Red Traitors," "National Renaissance Party," "American Workers, Unite with Us to Fight Communist Traitors," etc. They engaged in fights with the police and attacked numerous passers-by,

singling out those who happened to have beards or to be dressed informally.

Because of the efficient defense only one member of the audience was injured. This was an elderly woman who left the meeting early. Down the block from the hall she was attacked by a group of counter-revolutionaries, who smashed her glasses.

...Deputize Birmingham Negroes!

(Continued from Page 1)

They know that after the bombing on Wednesday, Sept. 4, the date of the enrollment of the first Negro children in the white schools, city police came into the Negro neighborhood firing rifles and sub-machine guns and killed a Negro youth, shot in the back.

Even the most conservative Negro leaders denounce the calling in of Col. Lingo's storm troopers by the mayor and city council. Rev. Martin Luther King, calling for their withdrawal, described them as "head-beaters." Dr. Lucius H. Pitts, president of Miles College, said: "When the city council asked Lingo and that group of mobsters to come in that's just like spitting in your face."

Rev. Shuttlesworth has called upon the federal government to declare an emergency and "take over Birmingham." He expresses hope that a massive march on the Capitol in Montgomery, which was voted for unanimously by the Sept. 16 mass meeting, will force the federal government to come in and afford protection to Negroes.

In a telephoned statement to the *Philadelphia Tribune*, Shuttlesworth said: "The police themselves are roaming Negro neighborhoods and shooting people without provocation. They claim to be shooting over the heads of Negroes to control unruly crowds, but actually, they are shooting at us in many instances."

Rev. Martin Luther King warned Kennedy of an impending "racial holocaust" and the next day, speaking for 150 Negro civic

leaders of the city, said the federal army "ought to come to Birmingham and take over this city and run it."

Even Roy Wilkins, head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, wired Kennedy that unless the federal government offers more than "picayune and piecemeal aid against this type of bestiality" Negroes will "employ such methods as our desperation may dictate in defense of the lives of our people."

But to all pleas for federal troops President Kennedy turns a deaf ear. Moreover, that slippery liar, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, who "interprets" the law this way or that at a nod from his brother, brazenly asserts that the federal government has no legal basis for sending troops. This — after Eisenhower sent troops to Little Rock and President Kennedy sent troops to Alabama (they were kept on the ready outside of Birmingham) just last May when a situation less dangerous than the present existed!

Negro and white supporters of Freedom Now must rally to the support of the Negro people of Birmingham. Kennedy must be deluged with these demands:

• Deputize and arm the Negro people of Birmingham for self defense.

• Send federal troops to occupy Alabama and to disarm the racist police and military forces there.

• Arrest and indict Governor Wallace.

Penna. Prof. Fights Bias Jailed for Solidarity With Negroes

By Gail Hathaway

PHILADELPHIA — During the two days of stone-throwing, insult-screaming and firecracker-explosion by a white-supremacist mob in nearby Folcroft, one white man stood up and defended the right of Mr. and Mrs. Horace Baker, the Negro couple, to move into their newly purchased home. For that, Jim Van Dyke was arrested by the local police on charges of disorderly conduct and inciting to riot.

Van Dyke, 33, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, became upset by the TV films of the rioting which he saw Thursday night. He drove to Folcroft at 5 a.m. the next day. During the morning he stood on the lawn of the Bakers' battle-scarred home along with four clergymen. When the Folcroft police and state troopers discovered that Van Dyke was not a clergyman, they threw him outside the police lines, into the mob.

For hour Van Dyke stood silently with his back to the mob, ignoring their angry name-calling. Occasionally he tried to make his way back to the lawn behind the police lines, only to be tossed into the mob again by the cops. He requested police protection to no avail.

At 2:30 in the afternoon the crowd demanded that he speak to them. Believing his silence was making the crowd angrier, Van Dyke told them he had only one thing to say: "This hate is hurting you more than it is hurting the Bakers."

Two Folcroft policemen grabbed him and pushed him through the

mob to a police car. There, with its windows open, they left him for a while sitting, handcuffed, while the crowd tried to reach him. Then he was taken to the Folcroft police station.

Without counsel, he was tried in a kangaroo-court proceeding and fined \$100 for disorderly conduct. Later in the evening he was released on \$500 bail on the inciting-to-riot charge.

On the night of Sept. 6, in the Folcroft Firehouse, 150 people gathered to witness Van Dyke's trial. About a hundred were Folcroft residents who had come to cheer on the judicial lynching of a "professional agitator" and to attack him physically if they could. The others were sympathizers of his, reporters, several clergymen and a representative of the state Human Relations Commission.

Despite the obviously rehearsed testimony of four Folcroft police officers and six local residents that Van Dyke had "incited" the crowd by calling them "pigs" and "animals," the Justice of the Peace, following the cross-examination of witnesses by Defense Attorney Blumberg, felt obliged to dismiss the charge. In making this ruling the judge affected to believe that Van Dyke had used the epithets alleged and that they were inciting but that the riot had occurred for other reasons.

As the court was adjourned, about a dozen people quickly escorted Van Dyke to his car to forestall any attempt on him by the frustrated racists.

Van Dyke has appealed his conviction for disorderly conduct. The appeal will be heard in the courthouse in Media on Sept. 27.

The American Way of Life

A Lake on New York's East Side

By Ethel Bloch

One hot, humid evening a few weeks ago, on my way home on New York's lower east side, I found myself standing at the edge of a rather large lake. A lake whose attachment to nature was remote, its source being a fire hydrant almost a city block away.

It was in the shape of a half-moon, extending more than a half block, covering the street with water about two feet deep and spilling over onto the sidewalks on both sides of the street, tapering off only at the corner where the sewer was located. The water was shiny-black and reflected back the white street lights and dirty grey tenements.

The lake was crowded with shouting, screaming, laughing children. They swam and dived into the shiny garbage-filled lake. Some wore bathing suits, but many were splashing about in their regular clothes. Pushing floating orange peels and egg shells aside they would plunge over and over again into the water.

A boy of about 12 was showing a younger boy how to do the dead man's float. Near the corner where the water drained in and

out of the sewer and where small mounds of garbage had collected, a boy was floating a boat made of a flat piece of wood with two empty beer cans as smoke stacks.

Up against the tenement walls and on the stoops sat hundreds of Puerto Rican, Negro, Jewish, Slavic and Chinese mothers and fathers. They sat in dilapidated beach chairs, seats from discarded cars and on boxes. Some were drinking beer, some playing dominoes, but most were just watching their children getting some relief from the terrible heat.

The atmosphere was festive, because for the moment a battle had been won. In spite of the fact that it was illegal to open the fire hydrants, the kids had not only opened one but had kept it at a great enough force to convert the hot, drab, miserable street into a facsimile of a lakeside resort.

Usually the cops arrive within minutes after the opening of a hydrant, but since last summer, when people started dropping bricks from the tenement roofs whenever they appeared on the scene, they haven't been so hasty, even with their new white steel helmets.

I walked around the lake and continued on my way home with mixed feelings. One was tremendous pride in the resourcefulness of my neighbors, who can squeeze some pleasure out of such miserable surroundings. The other was fury at the sight of lively, growing children having to play in gutters filled with garbage.

I thought of the hundreds of crystal clear lakes in Maine and New Hampshire. Of the clear air scented with pine. Of those lakes practically unused save perhaps for an occasional camper spending a few days. Of the strength and knowledge these slum children could acquire in the clean country.

What a horrible society it is that allows so many of its children to spend their precious summer months in filth!

Report on Racist Campaign to Smash Danville, Va., Freedom Now Movement

DANVILLE, Va. — After three years of practically fruitless negotiations, the Negro people of this city, led by the Danville Christian Progressive Association, held their first Freedom Now demonstration on May 31.

On June 5 a sit-in to press demands for fair employment practices in government and industry, integration of schools and hospitals, and equal public accommodations, was held in the office of the mayor, who refused to confer with "criminals and communists."

There were five arrests. Five days later, cops attacked, beat and arrested a small group of demonstrators. A mass meeting was held that evening and it was decided to demonstrate around the jail to protest police brutality.

While the demonstrators were in the alley between the jail and the Municipal Building, Rev. McGhee, one of the leaders, saw fire trucks approaching at one end. He directed the demonstrators to kneel and pray. He was arrested. Bob Zellner, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, was there as an observer. The cops grabbed his camera, smashed it, and then arrested him.

Clubs and Blackjacks

At the command, "Let the niggers have it," the firemen turned their high-pressure hoses on the demonstrators. Cops and deputized garbage collectors (all white), armed with clubs and blackjacks, had now closed off the other end of the alley.

The force of the water from the fire hoses was so great that it knocked people down and tore their clothes off. As the demonstrators tried to escape or were washed down to the far end of the alley, they were beaten without mercy. Women, who tried to hide or find shelter underneath parked cars, were dragged out by police and deputies, clubbed and kicked. The clubbing was so savage that arms were broken by the force. The demonstrators were not arrested but left there, bleeding on the pavement. The vehicles of two Negro-owned funeral homes had to be pressed into service afterward as ambulances to carry off the casualties.

To cite a few of the many wounded:

One woman's nose was broken, several of her teeth knocked out and she required seven or eight stitches in the head. Another's breast was slashed. Rev. Campbell's wife, whose clothing was beaten off her, has suffered muscular spasms since.

A young boy suffered a blood clot behind the eye as a result of a blackjacking. Another required eleven stitches to close a head wound and a major operation to save him from paralysis.

On June 13 Danville's mayor returned from a conference with the governor of Virginia only to be met by another demonstration at the court house. He told the demonstrators that at first he thought he had done wrong to order the June 10 assault, but

Dan River Union Votes to Integrate

Dan River Mills locals of the United Textile Workers Union in Danville, Va., voted to integrate Sept. 8. This action by the separate white and Negro locals, representing about half of the 10,000 employees of the plant, abolished the last Jim Crow local in the UTWU. The former president of the all-Negro local is a leading candidate for vice president of the integrated local in a union election scheduled for Oct. 6. The Dan River Mills plant employs nearly a third of the local labor force.

Howard Robertson, manager of the union's Southern Joint Board, said 50 members of the Negro local voted unanimously for the merger, as did "all but three" of some 400 white union men who attended the Sept. 8 meeting.

having now discussed it with the governor, he knew he had been right. He then gave the order to 100 local cops and state troopers to "let 'em have it."

Using clubs and tear gas the police attacked the 50 demonstrators.

July 28 witnessed a mass demonstration in which 100 were arrested, filling up the city jail and two county jails. Matthew Jones, Negro SNCC field secretary, relates how he was put in solitary for singing freedom songs. His cell was windowless, the only ventilation being the crack under the door. He was put on bread and water for four days. An oil can served as a toilet. The water spigot was turned off except during "meals." His mattress was taken away.

Danville Hot Box

A bright, hot light was trained on him for 24 hours during his stay in solitary. The heat was so intense he had to take off all his clothes. When the jailer entered the torture chamber demanding why he wasn't dressed, Jones smiled and replied, "I'm taking a sunbath — trying to get a tan." He was kept eight days in solitary.

Henry Davis, another young demonstrator, was put in an isolated 4½-by-8 foot cell for refusing to clean the jail toilets. When asked why he refused this work, Davis replied, "In the first place I had had no trial. Furthermore, I say 'no co-operation with an evil system.'"

Private First Class Buford Holt was put in a segregated cell and refused bail on grounds that the U.S. Army had issued a detainer. He is still in jail.

When the demonstrators on one floor found out about their comrades being put in isolation, they all burst into protest singing. They were all put in isolation.

Danville, whose Negro population of 13,000 (to 34,000 whites) has no representative in the city council, passed an anti-demonstration ordinance and on June 6 obtained a temporary court injunction against demonstrating. On Aug. 3 a permanent injunction was obtained stipulating that civil rights could not be discussed at any gathering and no money could be given to the movement. On Aug. 8, Federal Judge Simon Sobeloff quashed the injunction and the anti-demonstration law.

Demonstrators were hit that very day with new charges of: 1) obstructing the sidewalk; 2) disorderly conduct; and 3) destroying a man's business reputation. While integrationists were celebrating Sobeloff's decision, cops invaded their headquarters and arrested four of them. Three more lay under the police car and were also arrested.

Dan River Mills is the largest employer and heads the power structure in Danville, according to Jones. It employs 10,000 whites and 1,000 Negroes. Protests at Dan River have resulted in Jim Crow signs being removed, but no changes in its hiring or upgrading policies.

Together with the tobacco in-

dustry, Dan River controls the municipal government. The Danville Freedom Movement, a combination of SCLC, CORE and SNCC, recognizes this and is demanding that Dan River "pressure city officials." A nation-wide boycott of Dan River fabrics has been declared.

On Aug. 6, during the 4:00 p.m. shift change at Dan River, four youths held a lie-in at the main intersection near the plant. For 20 minutes traffic was blocked for 15 blocks. The youths were arrested — with bonds starting at \$1,350. Fearing further unannounced demonstrations, cops and state troopers are stationed at strategic points throughout the city.

Danville is a city where the presiding judge wears a gun under his robe and cops carry machine guns in court; where white ministers are forced to resign their pulpits for merely advocating the formation of a bi-racial committee; where Negro ministers are awakened to the sound of night sticks hammering on the door at 4:00 in the morning and carted off in bathrobes and barefooted to jail.

History of Struggle

Danville is also a city, according to Brian Peterson, a SNCC volunteer who did a research paper on the subject, which from Reconstruction until 1883 was run by a coalition of Negro and white workers who gave the city its most progressive administration — including municipally-owned water works and gas company.

Only the combined power of the KKK and federal troops was able to smash this alliance — at the cost of four Negro lives, and to re-establish the rule of the Southern Bourbons.

It is a city which fought and lost a terrible strike in 1930 when workers were evicted en masse and many died in their tent city before the strike was broken. The town was only partially organized (and in Jim Crow unions) in 1943 at an average wage of 40 cents per hour.

It is a city where there has been markedly little hostility to the Negro demonstrators shown by civilians. Matthew Jones says that "whites in Danville seem to be moderate. They don't really know what is going on. The local papers print only the officials' side. The only sadistic ones are the officials."

Danville needs help in the struggle for Freedom Now! Money is needed to defray gigantic legal expenses. Donations should be sent to: Danville Freedom Movement, 226 N. Union Street, Danville, Virginia.

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Letters From Our Readers

How Things Are in Houston

Houston, Texas
 Ever wonder how things are down here in Houston, Texas? Here is a story from the Sept. 11 *Houston Chronicle*. It said:
 "Two policemen put the arm on blind Willie Hendricks, 72, for selling sassafras root — from which tea is made — on the sidewalk without a permit Tuesday.
 "They took him to headquarters and he posted a \$25 cash bond.
 "Hendricks, who has permission

from two store owners (my emphasis) to sell from their doorways, was nonplused.
 "But he put up the bond — all he had in his pocket except 75 cents.
 "His seeing-eye dog, Lady, which he recently acquired and trained, was sent to the pound.
 "Hendricks then took a cab to a finance company, borrowed \$3.50 to pay the fare and went to the pound to reclaim Lady."
 Guess they had a "better" use for the dog.

H.F.

Rail Nationalization

Rutland, Vt.
 I have been interested in the fact that the Trades Union Congress of Great Britain has called for more nationalization of industry.

They were afraid that there is too much concentration of economy and political power arising from the increase of mergers. They believe that there should be an element of public participation in the ownership and control of private concerns that get government aid.

I believe that the same thing is true in the United States. While I believe that government here should take over many industries for the greatest benefit to the good of the people, the most glaring example of the need for the government ownership is the railroads.

Private enterprise has failed in this country to give satisfactory public service on the railroads. The United States should nationalize them all and give the people much better service. Among many other advantages of nationalized railroads are efficiencies of large-scale enterprise. The small railroads in the United States have very little chance of giving efficient service to the public.

I.H.R.

Muslims and Segregation

New York, N.Y.
The Militant is an excellent and much needed publication. I have enjoyed it very much indeed. My only criticism: you seem a little confused on the Black Muslim issue. After all, they believe in segregation too.

Otherwise your coverage is thoughtful and thorough.

C.M.

[The separatist views of the Muslims have nothing in common with the segregationist stand of the racists. The Muslims believe that as an oppressed minority the Negro people can achieve freedom only by separating themselves from what they are convinced is an incurably bigoted white majority and establishing their own self-sufficient community. They have a perfect right to present this viewpoint to their people as a solution to the race problem.

Such a desire for separation — whether it be correct or incorrect, realistic or unrealistic — is the very opposite of the present enforced segregation of the Negro people. For example, is it the same thing when a Negro says, "I would prefer to live in a decent neighborhood with my own people," and when a racist says: "If a Negro tries to move into my neighborhood, I'll kill him!"?

Furthermore, the people who promote racism — i.e., the employers of this country — would

be bitterly opposed to any form of separatism. They favor the Negroes being denied equal access to homes, schools, jobs, etc., but they certainly wouldn't want the Negroes to pick up and leave. After all, that would mean the end of a lucrative source of cheap labor for the hardest, dirtiest jobs and the elimination of a scapegoat for the poor whites to vent their frustrations on. EDITOR.]

'A Pleasure'

Long Island City, N.Y.
 Sorry I'm late with my renewal. It's a pleasure to read the true facts in *The Militant* after reading the distorted news in the daily papers.

Your news on civil rights and Vietnam are especially enlightening. Keep up the good work.

J.N.

The Freedom Now Party

Los Angeles, Calif.
 The *New York Times* of Aug. 4 reported the formation of a national all-Negro political party, a "Freedom Now Party." According to the *Times* the idea originated with William Worthy, a Negro

newspaperman, at a Harlem rally June 1. William Worthy suggested this idea to Conrad Lynn, a Negro lawyer, now chairman of the movement with headquarters in Harlem, New York.

While the policy of independent political action is a great step forward, the movement for an all-Negro political party should also emphasize the necessity for unity of black and white workers.

1) The leaders behind the movement for an all-Negro political party must recognize that racial discrimination is rooted in the system of capitalist exploitation.

2) The Negro struggle for civil rights is inseparably linked with the struggle of all exploited masses.

3) To join with the civil-rights movement — unite with all the oppressed and exploited masses regardless of race, creed or color in a common struggle for political economic and social justice and against all forms of discrimination. This is the road to final victory.

A.S.

Kennedy and Birmingham

New York, N.Y.
 Just as I sat down to write this, the air raid sirens began yowling

in another of their tests which are supposed to assure that they will be in working order, so that we can be given proper warning and get to safety when some enemy sends a bomb in our direction.

Similarly, we are repeatedly assured that the GIs and atomic weapons strung across the globe are there to protect us from possible harm from an aggressor.

Yet when a very real bomb attack takes place — as it just did in Birmingham — we get a true and bitter taste of Kennedy's concern for the safety of the American people.

If Kennedy, without consulting the people or Congress, could bring the world to the edge of destruction to remove the alleged threat of bombing of the U.S. by Russian missiles stationed in Cuba, how on earth can it possibly be that he doesn't have the authority to send troops to Birmingham where six innocent children are already dead and where the safety of the entire Negro community is in terrible jeopardy?

Those air raid sirens are wailing for the safety of the American people? Has any country ever lived with a bigger lie?

H.C.

It Was Reported in the Press

But the Trucks Keep Rolling — The Sept. 16 *Christian Science Monitor* reported that U.S. aid to the South Vietnam dictatorship "supplies the police trucks in which high school and university students demonstrating for freedom have been carried away to detention centers." "Three months ago," the report added, "an American aid official . . . watching Buddhist demonstrators being hauled away in these trucks ordered that the clasped hands symbol denoting that the trucks came from the United States should not be stamped on future police truck imports."

"Freedom" Pushers — Federal agents arrested three Cuban exiles in Miami Sept. 14 and seized a cache of cocaine with an estimated black market value of \$2 million. It was described as one of the biggest narcotics seizures ever made in the country.

Sore Losers? — The State Department will not permit U.S. citizens to travel to Cuba for the congress of the International Union of Architects slated to be held in Havana from Sept. 29 to Oct. 3. Principal objection to attendance by U.S. architects is that the Cuban government plans a Bay of Pigs "Victory Monument" contest. Delegates have been promised a full briefing on the defeated U.S.-led 1961 invasion.

Talk About Gall — The government of the United States — which sponsored an illegal invasion of Cuba and lied about it in the UN, and which finances a fascist-like secret police force in Vietnam — has cautioned African leaders against violating "the rules of the game." Harlan Cleveland, a State Department officer, expressed concern that the 33 African nations in the UN might not pay careful enough attention to the parliamentary rules of that body.

Hear, Hear! — Anthony Scotto, 29, a vice president of the Inter-

national Longshoremen's Union, turned down a U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce offer to compete for an award as one of "America's Ten Outstanding Men of 1963." He described it as a "big business prize" and said the C of C advocates that people "go it alone," while unions believe that "people are superior to profits and therefore should work together for the common good." "Between the two schools," Scotto said, "yawns a wide philosophical gulf."

Tough Situation Dep't — Mrs. George T. Cameron, a San Francisco society matron, confided to the *New York Times* that she's plagued by the servant shortage. "I haven't had a footman in years," she grieved. "I had a Chinese cook for 37 years. After that I had 17 in three months."

Shop Early for Xmas — A New York manufacturer is offering a silver-plated asparagus dish — with pitcher for hollandaise sauce — for \$195. Plus tax.

How to Win Friends — A division of the Pfizer drug company that sends out a lot of junk-mail advertising is trying to cope with the fact that many people throw away such mail unopened. The company came up with the theory that most people open their bills and therefore the company plans to send out ads that look like bills.

Easier Breathing on Top — Top management executives have fewer

heart attacks than the people who work for them, according to a medical study of 86,750 duPont Corp. employes. The heart-attack rate for presidents, vice presidents and plant managers was 2.2 per thousand as compared with 4.0 per thousand for clerical workers.

Why Royalty Is Losing Out — A State Department luncheon at Lord and Taylor's New York store for Queen Homaira of Afghanistan was supposed to wind up with green tea. To do justice to the tea, the store bought a non-bargain-basement teapot at Tiffany's. Then, to do justice to the teapot, they went back and bought gold-rimmed tea cups. At the luncheon, the queen asked for coffee.

Those Un-Cricket Cubans — U. S. security agencies believe that many pro-Castro Cubans have infiltrated the counter-revolutionary exile movement in this country, according to the *Chicago Daily News*, which says the problem is made difficult because the infiltrators are "unschooled, non-professional informers without background in espionage."

Materialist Theologian? — Reviewing a book on business ethics by Father Thomas M. Garrett, the *New York Times* critic reports: "For the businessman who finds philosophy too exalted a reason for assuming the burden of ethical behavior, Father Garrett offers the reassuring conclusion that good ethics is often good business." And when it isn't?

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"NEW YORK, Sept. 16 — New York City's Mayor Impellitteri went down in humiliating defeat in last Tuesday's Mayoralty primary. His loss of the nomination to Manhattan Borough President Robert F. Wagner in an extremely light turnout proved that the corrupt Tammany Hall machine had decided to dump Impellitteri.

"Wagner's victory gives Tammany Hall their least dirty candidate to meet the threat of the Liberal Party candidate, Rudolph Halley. Wagner, known as a 'liberal' Democrat and enjoying the support of Senator Herbert Lehman, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and the Stevenson ADA supporters of New York, has a far better chance to mend the fortunes of Tammany Hall than Impellitteri whose administration was marked by such outstanding 'victories' for progress as the boost of the already doubled subway fare to 15 cents, the increase of the City Sales Tax to 3% and the most relentless rent-gouging of all time.

"Tammany knew that it would be courting great risks and dangers to put Impellitteri forward once again. The widespread and bitter resentment of New York's working millions . . . made this front man a bad risk. To counter the threat of liberal Democrat Halley, Tammany threw its weight to liberal Democrat Wagner." — Sept. 21, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"NEW YORK, Sept. 20 — James T. Farrell, noted author and Chairman of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, today issued the following statement on the latest developments in the Minneapolis labor case:

"The decision of the Eighth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upholding the conviction of the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Local 544-CIO, defendants in the Minneapolis labor trial of 1941, strikes at the very heart of civil liberties in the United States.

"Immediate steps will be taken by the Civil Rights Defense Committee and the American Civil Liberties Union to appeal the convictions to the U.S. Supreme Court and test the constitutionality of the Smith Act.

"The Minneapolis defendants were the first to be convicted under the Smith "Omnibus Gag" Act passed in 1940. This Act made the mere expression of opinion a federal crime. Under its provisions a man could be sent to jail for circulating such documents as the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, both of which advocate revolutionary doctrines . . .

"The defendants in the Minneapolis case are 'guilty' of nothing but exercising their constitutional . . . rights of free expression. The upholding of their conviction sets an extremely dangerous precedent." — Sept. 25, 1943

Thought for the Week

"I think the person that bombed the church should get a trial and sinunst [sentenced] for life. And I think Negroes have a rite to fite back. And I think if people wood stop waving the Confederate flags [the bombers] woodnt do all this." — A nine-year-old white Birmingham boy's views as expressed in a school essay.

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DEMAND PASSAGE OF EFFECTIVE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL. Chicago supporters of the militant Atlanta-based Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee turn out for open-air rally to blast Illinois Senator Dirksen for his opposition to meaningful federal civil rights laws. Shown here is part of crowd of one thousand that turned out despite raw weather. The rally heard James Forman, SNCC executive director, who has been in thick of battles in Deep South.

Chicago Demonstration-Rally Hears Forman on Rights Bill

By Joyce Daniels

CHICAGO — Despite low temperatures and a raw wind, 1,000 people gathered here Thursday, Sept. 12, at a demonstration and rally to hear James Forman, executive director of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, denounce Senator Everett Dirksen's opposition to the public-accommodations section of the civil-rights bill now before Congress.

In his opening remarks Forman referred to the March on Washington, stating that we should be able to march on Washington whenever we want to, not just when we are allowed to.

After describing the arrests in Americus, Georgia, where three SNCC field workers face possible death sentences for peacefully demonstrating, he called upon Negroes in the North to "use their political power to influence men like Chicago's Mayor Daley and

Illinois' Senator Dirksen to do something about things in the South."

"If he [Dirksen] doesn't do something we won't vote for him," he added. "We will continue to demonstrate to pass this bill so we can demonstrate about other things."

Among the other civil-rights leaders introduced was Rose Simpson, Chairman of the 71st and Stewart Committee, which is fighting the installation of mobile Jim-Crow classrooms in Chicago's Negro areas. She stated: "Our fight is not over, it is just begun. The fight has just started here in Chicago."

At the mass picketing which preceded the rally, signs called for "An End to Police Brutality," "Human Rights Over Property Rights," and "Freedom Now Party," as well as for support of the SNCC field representatives arrested in Americus, Georgia.

Victim of D.C. Police Brutality Describes HUAC 'Hearing' on Cuba Travel Ban Issue

By Gloria Watson

Very early on the morning of Sept. 12, in New York City, 65 of us gathered to take a bus to Washington, D.C. We were going to the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee investigating the recent trip to Cuba by 58 American students.

When we got off the bus at the House Office Building in Washington, photographers were waiting. Inside the building men with motion picture cameras — with no indication that they were from news media — were very careful to get good shots of each person entering the hearing room. Already inside were plainclothes and uniformed policemen and George Lincoln Rockwell, führer of the American Nazi Party, with 15 of his followers.

The first witness, Barry Hoffman, had been sent by the CIA and FBI on the trip to Cuba as an undercover agent. He told HUAC the names of those people who had played leading roles on the trip.

When we returned after the noon recess, uniformed cops lined the walls of the room. Rockwell and his men who are ardent champions of HUAC, were wearing their swastikas. Cameras again took pictures of all present. Representative Willis of Louisiana, chairman of HUAC, then announced that the hearing would continue in executive session. Those subpoenaed objected, saying they wouldn't testify unless the hearing was public. Willis had to give in and the session was public.

Levi Laub, one of the students' leaders, was the first witness. When asked if he knew they were breaking the law, Levi explained that there was no law prohibiting American citizens from traveling to Cuba but only a State Department notice requesting that Americans not go there. Laub said he has repeatedly asked the State Department, the press, and others to show him the law which would prevent him from going to Cuba. Neither HUAC counsel Nittle nor chairman Willis was able to satisfy Laub on this point.

Laub was then asked to give information about other people. He stated that he would not inform as "that rat Barry Hoffman" had. Again the students applauded. Willis gave a nod and House employees grabbed several students.

This time the police entered the act. They forcibly ejected six students — beat, kicked and dragged six students out of the room.

When asked about the socialist group, Progressive Labor, Laub stated that those who were on the trip were from all over the country and represented different and diverse political beliefs, Laub further stated that he was acting in the American tradition of civil disobedience, and that thousands of Americans in the South were acting in the same way against the same racists who sat on HUAC.

There was loud applause and Willis banged his gavel, dismissing the witness in anger. Several people in the hearing room shouted "Racist, go home!" One young man said there was more freedom in Cuba than in Willis' home state of Louisiana. Six cops jumped on him, beating and kicking him on the floor. They dragged him and several others from the room. A girl who had been shoved by the police was hurt. People began to call for a doctor, but the cops continued to push and drag people out.

Robert Zellner, field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, who attended the hearing, said he had been arrested in Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia and Virginia but hadn't seen such police brutality.

Public Meeting

That evening an "American Activities Committee" meeting was held at the Presidential Arms Hotel. There the students talked about what they had not been able to say in the House building. Outside, the American Nazi Party picketed with signs reading: "Gas Red Jews" and "Communism is Jewish." The meeting was chaired by Father MacGowan, a Catholic priest, who had visited Cuba and become a supporter of the Revolution. He has since been silenced by his bishop.

Next morning the police refused to admit many people who had been present the day before — even subpoenaed witnesses were refused admittance. Phillip Luce, assistant editor of *Rights*, magazine of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, was called first. He began by protesting that many people had been refused admittance. During his testimony the audience clapped, Willis told the cops to take out the ringleaders. The cops leaped on six or seven people, one of whom hadn't even clapped. They were dragged from the room, some by the feet, others by handcuffs which had been put on them.

At the afternoon session, after letting in the Nazis, House employees and other friends of the Committee, the police finally let in a few other people, carefully screening out Negroes, anyone with a beard, and those they remembered from the day before.

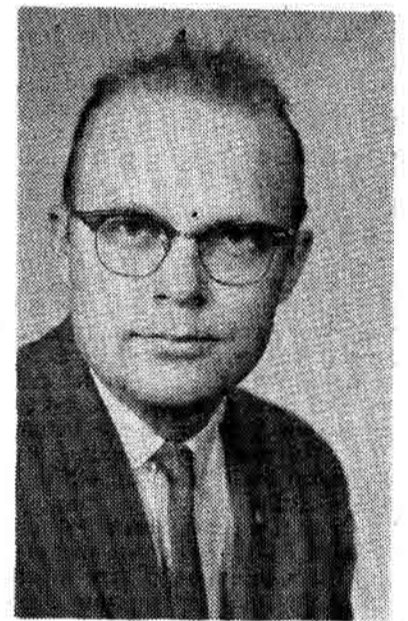
I was kept out as one of the latter. After nearly being pushed down a flight of marble stairs, I walked down the rest on my own. Meanwhile above me struggles broke out again. Looking up I saw people rushing down the stairs with six cops in the lead. One of the cops shoved me into the wall — then, since I was still apparently in his way, he clamped a vise-like grip on my neck and began to hit me with his other hand as he dragged me down. I struggled and two more cops helped him. They all hit and kicked me, and finally threw me from the top to the bottom of the outside stairs. Later, when a cop pushed my head into a marble wall, a friend of mine tried to protect me and was arrested.

A young girl I know, who had just arrived in Washington was refused admittance on the grounds

that she had been there the previous day. When she tried to explain that that was impossible, the cops beat and kicked her. They picked her up bodily and deliberately dropped her onto the marble floor. Then they threw her out.

During the afternoon session there were two witnesses. Applause broke out when one of them declared that she believed socialism was the only way to end racism. Willis banged his gavel and some 30 cops mobbed a group of students who didn't want to leave and brutally threw them out.

Socialist Running In Hibbing, Minn.



Everett Luoma

The Socialist Workers Party is running Everett Luoma for mayor of Hibbing, Minn. This city is in the Mesabi iron-ore range, long the main source of the mineral wealth of the big steel industry in this country, but recently abandoned by U.S. Steel for richer fields.

In announcing his candidacy, Luoma said: "The conditions on the Range make it imperative that the ordinary worker take matters into his own hands and fight independently of the two capitalist parties for jobs. The independent, militant spirit, that organized the unions in the Range in the 1930's against the wishes of big business and that sought representation through the Farmer-Labor Party, must again assert itself."

The socialist candidate in the economically-stricken northern Minnesota city declared that the capitulation of the act-alike Democratic and Republican parties was evidenced locally by the fact that the Oliver Iron Mining Co., a subsidiary of U.S. Steel, had been able to hire an assessing company to assess the residences of workers at such a high rate that the taxes of home owners had more than doubled.

Luoma also voiced opposition to the so-called taconite amendment, supported by both parties as an economic panacea for the area. Taconite is a low-grade iron ore. The amendment would supposedly encourage the steel companies to mine it by offering them financial inducements.

Such power in the hands of a handful of businessmen, he asserted, gave no guarantee of economic security to the men on the Range. Social ownership of the steel industry under control of the workers was the only real solution. This could be achieved, he said, only by independent political action on the part of labor through a nation-wide Labor Party.

Socialist Nominee Wires Kennedy:

Send Troops to Birmingham!

NEW YORK, Sept. 17 — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn councilman-at-large, today demanded that President Kennedy send federal troops to Alabama, disarm the racist police forces there, and deputize and arm Birmingham Negroes.

In a telegram to President Kennedy, DeBerry — the only Negro running for the Brooklyn post — demanded:

"(1) That federal troops be dispatched immediately to Birmingham to disarm the Birmingham police and Wallace's state troopers and assume the direct responsibility for policing the city.

"(2) That Alabama Governor Wallace be arrested and indicted before a federal court for his racist activity which proved to be an incitation to murder of innocent Negro children and the terrorization of the Negro people in the state.

"(3) That you utilize the power of your office to proceed imme-

diately to deputize and arm the Negro people of Birmingham to defend themselves against the racist thugs whose bestial atrocities against unarmed and unprotected Negro citizens has shocked the entire civilized world."

The Socialist Workers Party filed over 10,000 signatures Sept. 12 on independent nominating petitions to place DeBerry on the ballot in the borough of Brooklyn. A house painter by trade, and a trade unionist, the 38-year-old candidate has declared that "I hail and support the movement for a Negro-led, Negro-controlled Freedom Now Party."

"I favor a labor-Negro alliance," said DeBerry in a speech at a forum in Adelphi Hall here last week, "but there is no good in the Democratic or Republican parties for Negroes — or for labor either. People like David Dubinsky and George Meany and Walter Reuther are doing Negroes a dirty disservice by supporting the Democratic Party — the party of Eastland and Wallace and Bull Connor."



CLIFTON DE BERRY, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Councilman at Large in Brooklyn, N. Y.