

'FREEDOM NOW' PARTY

THE MILITANT

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Negro Socialist Will Run For Council in Brooklyn

By Leslie Evans

NEW YORK, Aug. 10 — "Freedom Now" — the rallying cry in the struggle for first-class citizenship across the nation — is a central plank in a campaign to elect a Negro City Council member from Brooklyn.

Independent nominating petitions are now being circulated for Clifton DeBerry, a Negro union man and socialist for councilman-at-large in the November election. He will be the only Negro candidate in Brooklyn. DeBerry, 39, is the nominee of the Socialist Workers Party.

DeBerry's platform is based squarely on the issue of Negro rights. He is calling for the formation of a nationwide all-Black Freedom Party to put up independent candidates in the 1964 election to fight for civil rights.

Widespread sentiment among Negroes for Negro representation and a civil-rights party was indicated by the unusually good response to DeBerry's nominating petitions. In one week campaigners secured nearly 5,000 signatures. In order to secure a place on the ballot, DeBerry must get a minimum of 5,000 signatures of Brooklyn registered voters. Campaign workers are aiming to secure many more than that to insure him a place on the ballot.

Enthusiastic Response

Volunteers who have worked in previous Socialist Workers Party campaigns report that they have received the most enthusiastic response they can remember. Some old timers say it is the best in twenty years.

Also in DeBerry's platform is a demand for preferential hiring of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. He advocates that employers be required to give first chance at jobs to Negroes and Puerto Ricans un-

til there is an end to discrimination once and for all.

In a statement on preferential hiring, Mr. DeBerry said, "When American servicemen got out of the army they were given the G.I. Bill to compensate them for the time during which they had been deprived of leading normal lives. We are sick and tired of hearing people in the power structure who kept their mouths shut during 100 years of segregation suddenly call it 'discrimination' or 'reverse discrimination' when Negroes ask for some compensation for whole lives of deprivation."

Other proposals of DeBerry's to create more jobs and to help the unemployed are a call for a \$2 per hour minimum wage, unemployment checks for the entire period of unemployment, instead of a fixed limit of 26 weeks, and a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. This last would spread the existing work among more people with no reduction of wages.

Clifton DeBerry was born in Holly Springs, Mississippi. He has worked as a shipping clerk, painter, packinghouse worker and in a foundry. He was a delegate to the Founding Conference of the Negro Labor Congress in 1950, one of the forerunners of the Negro American Labor Council. In addition to being an active union member, Mr. DeBerry is a state organizer for the Socialist Workers Party.

The election in which DeBerry is running is a special one called to add ten councilmen-at-large to the City Council, two from each borough. The entire election is currently being challenged in court but the campaign is continuing unabated.

There are four candidates for the two councilman-at-large posts in Brooklyn. Joseph F. Ruggieri is the Democratic nominee, Harry Donnelly is the Republican candidate, and Vito Battista is running for the United Taxpayers Party, a right-wing group campaigning against rent control and low-rent public housing. It is significant that all three parties decided to choose white candidates, despite the fact that Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant is the largest Negro ghetto in the country with the exception of Harlem.

During the campaign itself, Mr. DeBerry plans to carry out extensive street speaking throughout the Brooklyn area.

More information can be obtained on the campaign at: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee, 129 Fifth Ave., Brooklyn 17; or in Manhattan, at 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y., Tel. AL 5-7852.



Photo by Barry Kaplan

LET'S GO! Demonstrators in Detroit roar approval of speaker's call for all-out war against Jim Crow. They were part of giant June 25 "March to Freedom."

By Fred Halstead

Among civil rights activists a sentiment is being crystallized in favor of a "Freedom Now" Party to oppose the Democrats and Republicans on a national scale beginning with the 1964 elections.

One of the strongest supporters of this idea has been newsman William Worthy, one of whose speeches on the question is reprinted elsewhere in this issue (See page 2). On a TV appearance last October, Daniel H. Watts, chairman of the Liberation Committee for Africa and editor of the magazine *Liberator* suggested the formation of an Afro-American political party. Civil-rights attorney Conrad Lynn and the Rev. Albert Cleage, militant Detroit Negro leader, have also supported the idea of independent Negro political action. Additional support to the idea was lent by Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad when he declared last March that "there will be no real freedom

for the so-called Negro in America until he elects his own political leaders and his own candidates."

As the Negro revolution develops it becomes more and more clear that it is not just the Dixiecrats, or even a Dixiecrat-Republican coalition, which is opposed to freedom now — and anyone who says that's all there is to it is lying in his teeth. It is the whole white power structure — which controls both the Democratic and Republican Parties — in the North as well as the South, in Washington and Wall Street as well as in Jackson, Miss. and Danville, Va., which is fighting by violence or trickery to stop the Negro revolution, to "get it out of the streets" and back into tokenism.

No Tokenism

A Freedom Now Party with candidates responsible to the colored masses and to them alone, could rapidly become a real political power for the Negro revolution. It would not be the illusion of power that political action within the Democratic or Republican Parties now gives Negroes. It would not be a question of a few token Negro candidates captive in a party controlled lock, stock and barrel by the wealthy white power structure.

White unionists and militants could greet a Freedom Now Party as a natural ally in the bread-and-butter fight against the anti-labor forces which control both the Democratic and Republican parties. So-called labor leaders like Walter Reuther and George Meany would find it harder to continue their disastrous policy of wasting labor's political power inside the Democratic Party. The development of an independent labor party — linked in action with the Freedom Now Party — would be on the order of the day.

The "coalition" with the "liberal" Democrats — which people

like Reuther are always pushing — is a trap for the Negro people, just as it has been a trap for the working people in general. A vote for a liberal Democrat is a vote to put Dixiecrats in charge of the powerful congressional committees.

The "liberals" in Congress fight sham battles with the Dixiecrats every session, but nothing important ever results. The Dixiecrats get their way and the "liberals" make the record as "friends of the Negro," or "friends of labor." If anything comes out of this session it will be because of the mass demonstrations, not because of votes given to "liberals."

The big cities of the North are all controlled by "liberal" Democrat or Republican politicians. But there are still masses of unemployed, discrimination, police brutality, high rents for dilapidated housing, rats, cockroaches, inferior schools, low wages, and now even mass arrests of civil-rights demonstrators.

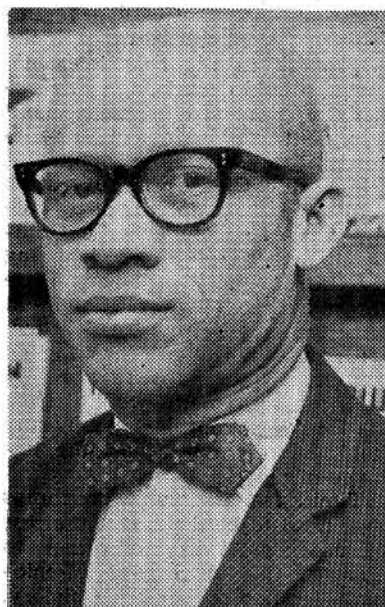
This whole hypocritical shell game can be exposed, shattered, exploded by a Freedom Now Party. In the country's major cities, the vote of colored people is the balance of power. In many Southern areas, Negroes are a majority. A Freedom Now Party which would free this great potential political force from the trap of the white power structure and forge it into an independent power base for the Freedom Now movement would get real action.

The voter-registration drive would have real meaning, and would be a greater success. People would fight even harder to get registered if they knew they would have someone to vote for besides a representative of the Democratic Party — the party of Eastland, Barnett and all the Dixiecrat judges that President Kennedy appoints. With a Freedom Now Party political action would be a battering ram in the hands of the Negro people.

Complete Petitions For Brooklyn Ballot

As we go to press, the gathering of signatures to petitions to place Clifton DeBerry on the ballot in Brooklyn has been completed four weeks ahead of the deadline. A total of 8,700 signatures — almost twice the required number — were collected within ten days. All that remains to be done before filing the petitions Sept. 6 is completion of the clerical and technical work on the petition sheets.

Meanwhile the main campaign forces are turning their attention to the political campaigning itself.



Clifton DeBerry

A Call to Action by William Worthy

It Is in Our Power to Change the World

[The following is from a speech made in Cleveland by William Worthy, journalist and civil rights leader, during the course of his recent national speaking tour.]

When historians review this period of great flux and uncertain strivings for a better world, they will probably list as a turning point the present developing sentiment for Negroes to select their own candidates in the 1964 national elections.

Based on my own travels abroad, I for one find it difficult to overestimate the tremendous potential significance of this sentiment. The prospect of Negroes striking out in meaningful independent fashion to remove their chains, instead of relying on the corrupt and dishonest two-party system just to alleviate the pressure of the chains, is certain to thrill and electrify our brothers in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

If Negroes in the next few months carefully analyze the realities of U.S. politics and issue a clarion call for an effective new political orientation, this broadened struggle will be recognized by the Nkrumahs, the Nassers, the Kenyattas, the Ben Bellas and the Castros as the hope for Negro liberation in this country. Their hands abroad will be strengthened in dealing with colonial West, just as our backbone at home will be straightened.

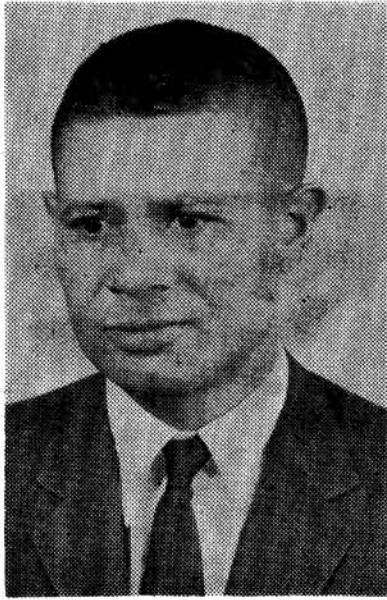
We can more or less know if we are on the right track by the degree to which such a political move shakes up and agitates the national power structure, the local power structures and the politicians facing Negro voters in the see-saw campaign battles next year. The Kennedy brothers, looking even beyond 1964 to "Bobby's" candidacy for the presidency in 1968, will feel constrained to make concessions to Negroes in order to meet some of the movement's immediate demands and to undercut its attraction for voters.

At home, this new movement could be for Negroes what the threat of Russia abroad has meant for the colonial peoples: a real political alternative that compels reluctant, begrudging concessions.

Down South, the ill-paid, self-sacrificing young volunteers from SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee], who are daily risking their lives in order to register Negro voters in the worst sections of Mississippi, would gain heart. In fact, just as the sit-ins of 1960 spread like wildfire in communities historically committed to anti-Negro violence, so a new political force might also gain its readiest acceptance in Dixie where the pressures are greatest. To register to vote is fine. But how much more constructive, once registered, to have someone other than Eastland to vote for! In New York and Connecticut, how politically productive it would be to have a choice beyond Senators Keating and Dodd — Eastland's great witch-hunting buddies and his bipartisan Siamese twins on the northern front!

In a brief talk, I would not presume to lay down a new political program. That will have to be hammered out in numerous free discussion groups across the country. The issues must be defined by young militants, on Negro campuses, in Negro caucuses within the discriminatory trade unions, in the ranks of the unemployed, among black intellectuals, within the Muslim movement. Author James Baldwin has pointed out that, whenever a Negro stops accepting the definitions of issues long provided us by the indoctrinating schools, churches and politicians, he becomes a threat to the white power elite.

I would warn those with a sense of history that no significant issue can be evaded. For, in the long run, the consequences would be fatal. The tortured history of man's



William Worthy

disappointments and disillusionments teaches us that the end is in the beginning. If we get started on the wrong foot, if we are intellectually dishonest in originating a liberation movement, we will end up wrecked, shattered, still enslaved by whites with centuries of experience in dishonesty, manipulation and evasion.

But if we launch ourselves on a 1963 path of man's attainable ideals — freedom, justice and equality for all in a classless, hate-free society — we will have an excellent chance of turning this country from her destructive, suicidal and repressive course.

If this commentary means anything, it means a ringing, unequivocal repudiation of the exploitative and discriminatory economic system that humiliates and plunders us every day of the year. It means a total rejection of our oil imperialism in the Arab world, our dollar and banana diplomacy in Latin America, our Uncle Tom diplomacy and neo-colonialism in Africa, our million-dollar-a-day dirty war in South Vietnam, our involvement through the CIA in the murder of Patrice Lumumba and other freedom fighters. Any program holding hope for our liberation within the U.S. must link our struggle to all of the freedom and independence movements in the economically underdeveloped countries.

Anti-Colonial Line

Kwame Nkrumah told me that in an interview in Accra back in 1956, in vain, he urged the NAACP to come out with an unmistakable anti-colonial line, including criticism of U.S. colonialism. At the UN General Assembly, President Sekou Touré of Guinea was speaking primarily of the colonized peoples abroad when he said:

"Ours is a world of space vehicles; it is also the world of those who urgently need wheelbarrows, hoes and trucks." But he could also have meant to include those displaced sharecroppers and migratory workers who every day arrive, utterly destitute, in New York, Chicago, and other cities from the impoverished Black Belt colony of cotton, peaches, peanuts and deputy sheriffs.

Certain honest mistakes in techniques and approach will be inevitable for a people setting sail on what, for us, will be uncharted political seas. But if we study the biographies and autobiographies of the Nkrumahs and the Lumumbas, if we learn from Ghana's Convention People's Party and Algeria's National Liberation Front, there will be charts to give us direction. Experience may be the best teacher, but it is also the costliest teacher. We haven't time, in a world of nuclear brinkmanship, to commit avoidable errors.

Above all, philosophical perspective is mandatory. Anyone engaged in a protracted struggle must always remember the les-

son of "successful" dissenting movements of the past. The ironical lesson is that, to the degree that a panicky power structure satisfies immediate demands and slows down a movement's forward momentum, quick and easy successes spell failure over the long haul.

For example, 25 years ago many Negro and white workers put their faith in the then-new CIO. The steel magnates and auto manufacturers, frightened by the sit-down strikes, recognized the unions, granted wage demands, and then won the support of labor's leaders for a no-strike pledge in World War II and for the "postponement" of the Negro equality fight in industry. (One result: the 1943 Detroit race riot.) Ever since, the big business community has progressively weakened the demoralized unions by enacting the Taft-Hartley Act (1947), so-called "right-to-work laws," and the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act (1960).

My point is that new, independent and serious electoral activity (barring an economic crash and depression, or a series of race riots and lynchings) cannot realistically anticipate meaningful 1964 victories at the polls, except possibly in a few scattered congressional, legislative or councilmanic districts. 1964 should therefore be regarded as the year for uniting and educating all militant forces in the black community. 1964 should be the year for gaining experience in the wearing day-to-day practicalities of electoral activity. 1964 should be the training ground for a few victories in the 1966 midterm congressional elections and for truly substantial triumphs in 1968.

With the intention of destroying the moral foundations of a challenging new political force, the bi-partisan enemy will send his dark-skinned agents into our camp in 1964 and advise us to trim our program, scale down our demands, and support such-and-such "liberal" candidates, on the tempting grounds that "they can win." But unless the groundwork of a disciplined grass-roots electorate and uncompromising program has been laid, a preoccupation with "winning" would be like building a political house from the top. "Nothing fails like success" — easy, cheap success such as Negroes have been winning under "liberals" since the days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

To get anywhere, we must make a clean break with the cold-war liberals, white or black. They offer us an electoral choice between a Democratic Lucifer — cuddled up in the Party bed with the Dixiecrats — and Republican Satan. Both Lucifer and Satan are consciously or unconsciously committed to racism, a class society and, if necessary, nuclear war to perpetuate these values closest to their hearts.

Rev. Albert Cleage Jr. of Central Congregational Church in Detroit remarked recently that, if the Negro vote in a half dozen crucial states should defeat John F. Kennedy for re-election, the next President would adopt quite a different stance toward our demands. I hope Rev. Cleage was suggesting that this be attempted, not by voting for a Rockefeller or a Goldwater or a Nixon, but by running a Negro for president as candidate for a Freedom Now Party in at least those half dozen states. Then, with the whole world looking on expectantly, an independent Negro political movement would, from 1964 to 1968, not just potentially hold, but actually wield the balance of power.

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



Over a third of the United Auto Workers locals in the automobile plants have voted top officials out of office. Locals in the aerospace and farm equipment industries didn't follow the "oust-the-ins" trend, but in the auto plants, the local elections this spring and summer have seen the greatest number of changes since the 1940's.

Incumbent presidents were ousted in 21 of the 67 Ford Motor Co. locals. Among the 131 General Motors Locals, 27 presidents and 40 bargaining committee chairmen were ousted. Ten of the 26 Chrysler locals changed administrations. Two of the American Motors locals changed top leaders — the 14,000-member Kenosha, Wis. Local 72 and the 9,000-member Milwaukee Local 75. In addition, half the 12 Borg-Warner auto-parts plants changed administrations.

The trend is even more impressive in view of the fact that incumbents barely squeaked in at a number of other plants, and that not all the locals have had elections this year.

In spite of the changes, however, few of the newly-elected administrations are regarded as hostile to the International administration of Walter Reuther. So far, Reuther's machine has been able to let the local people take the rap for its policy of letting conditions deteriorate.

International Union officials gave a variety of explanations for the trend — ranging from "no significance," through "the younger workers against the older ones," to "something has to be done about working conditions in the 1964 contract."

* * *

The year-old strike at the Houston, Tex. Shell Oil Co. refinery was settled August 6 substantially on company terms. Some 2,000 members of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union were involved at the refinery. The settlement provides for changes in work rules which will immediately reduce the work force by nearly 400 persons.

The company had operated the refinery behind the picket lines during the strike by use of supervisory, clerical and technical personnel who were not members of the union. In addition, some building trades unions in the Houston area had refused to respect the picket lines even when they were taken off construction and put to doing strikers' work.

* * *

We don't know if the Wall Street Journal is suggesting a mode of struggle to American workers faced with layoffs, but its Aug. 6 issue contains the following:

"The big auto-making firm, Industrias Kaiser Argentina, S.A., decided to shut down for a week recently and to lay off its 9,000 employees. But the workers had other ideas.

"They promptly rioted, seized the plant and herded 150 supervisors and foremen into the paint shop. Brandishing cans of sloshing gasoline, they vowed to set fire to the shop unless officials rescinded the shutdown order. Fearing for the safety of the management hostages, Kaiser Argentina president James F. McCloud finally capitulated."

* * *

Several prominent AFL-CIO leaders were run out of town by a racist mob in Hartwell, Georgia last month when they tried to pass out organizing leaflets at the Monroe Shock Absorber plant there. The union officials — some of whom were beaten, though not

seriously injured — were: Pat Greathouse, a vice president of the United Auto Workers; John Chupka, secretary-treasurer of the Textile Workers Union of America; Nicholas Zonarich, organizational director of the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department; Jim Pierce and Ken Young, of the IUD staff; and Joe Mooney, assistant to Greathouse.

The UAW has long since organized the company's main plant in Monroe, Michigan, but is trying to get a contract at the plant in Nebraska and attempting to reach the workers at the Hartwell plant. Union organizers had previously been chased from the Hartwell plant, and Greathouse notified state police that he would distribute leaflets there on July 15. The police did nothing, however, as 150 men arrived in company trucks, seized and burned the leaflets, and ordered the organizers out of town shouting: "Communists" and "NAACPers."

Greathouse notified the FBI which said it is "investigating." Zonarich said the next move would be another leaflet distribution with "a sufficient number of Georgia union members to insure success."

* * *

Figures released by the U.S. Department of Labor show that this June average weekly factory earnings reached \$100.61. That single figure fails to show that while some workers are doing nicely, many are not.

Fully 10.6 per cent of the average factory wage was due to premium pay for overtime. This in the face of an overall jobless rate of 5.7 per cent, a Negro unemployment rate of double that, and a teenage rate of 16 per cent. White married men had an unemployment rate of less than 3 per cent.

* * *

Perhaps seeing the handwriting on the wall, Harry Bridges, president of the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union declared in the July 26 issue of the union's paper:

"In our own interest, this fact must be faced. Thousands of workers, especially Negro workers, would be glad of the chance to go to work on the waterfront under our contracts, even if it means working only two or three days a week . . . Yet the union strength is being used to limit the number being added. Controlling registration is one thing. A 'job trust' is something else again!

"If I am on the beam on this point, then, unless such policies are changed, the end of our union — at least in terms of being a union standing for solid trade union principles — is in sight. It doesn't take union men or union leaders to manage a job trust; politicians, hoodlums, and labor skates can do a better job than the type of union people and union leaders we say we are."

* * *

Several dozen Negro members of United Auto Workers Local 65 began picketing Solidarity House, the union's international headquarters in Detroit, on Aug. 7. They protested discrimination at the General Motors Chevrolet Corvair plant at Willow Run, Mich. Darnell Taylor, head of the local's fair practices committee and spokesman for the pickets, said the local's officers had refused to take up demands presented by the committee. Among other things, the committee demanded that the union force the company to open all types of jobs in the plant to Negroes, and end "intimidation of men" who file grievances.

CUBA: Report by a Canadian Journalist**The Revolution Brings Each Child a Quart of Milk a Day**

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

By Jack Scott

HAVANA — One of the many paradoxes of the revolution is that it often takes a visitor, sometimes in the form of a moderately hostile witness, to assure the Cubans that they're doing just bloody well fine.

A Swiss correspondent with whom I teamed during part of my tour left for Prague yesterday. I drove him to the airport in my Lincoln to see him off.

Like me, he's a pale, non-toxic socialist of the British Labor Party type with certain natural reservations about this affair. His fascination, like mine, is a simple matter of ceaseless admiration and gratitude for a society that, alone in the Caribbean or in Central or South America, respects the human race.

We talked of it on the drive to the field. "I don't know how to write it for my readers," he said, "but Cuba gives me the crazy idea that there's still some hope for the world."

I was with him when he went through customs. His suitcase was checked by a small, tired Negro official who apologized for not hefting the heavy bag to the counter. He'd worked as a volunteer in the sugar fields the day before, he said, and his back was killing him.

The Swiss writer impulsively put out his hand and said, "Keep at it, my friend. You've got some-

Pioneer to Publish Castro Speech

NEW YORK — Pioneer Publishers will publish the text of Fidel Castro's July 26, 1963, speech as a pamphlet. Delivered in Havana on the tenth anniversary of the attack on Moncada Barracks, the speech is a major assessment of the present state of the Cuban Revolution, the prospect for revolution in Latin America, and U.S.-Cuban relations.

It will be the first complete English-language publication of the speech. Copies may be ordered from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y., at 50 cents each, with discounts for quantities.

thing here that's worth working for."

And, with wide grins, they shook on it.

Sentimental? Maybe so. But I don't think a man need apologize for the kind of sentiment that comes from seeing people who are being treated as if they mattered above everything else. Whatever else you may have read or will be reading of Cuba, surely the most criminally distorted story in the long history of man's communication, this is what counts.

Like my Swiss friend, I often found myself in the curious role of assuring Cubans that their progress is spectacular and, indeed, almost unbelievable after a year away.

In Havana, for example, I heard much introverted, soul-searching and recriminations about absenteeism as a major cause for this year's poor sugar crop.

On the longer evidence, readily available to a reporter who has pried and questioned for three weeks in both the cities and the hinterland, it's evident that malingering is a minor problem.

A U.S. Journalist Describes Gains of Cuban Revolution

By Lee Forrest

A series of articles giving an unusually objective account of Cuba today recently appeared under the by-line of Donald Grant of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. Though Grant is not pro-Cuba and his paper — like other U.S. dailies — is hostile to Cuba, his articles confirm many points *The Militant* has been making over the past period and especially bear out the reporting of Canadian journalist Jack Scott whose articles on Cuba are being reprinted in these pages.

Grant states that in Cuba he was free to travel where he wished and visited factories and plants of his own choosing, all of them built since the Revolution. "Producing industries are a visible fact where vacant fields stood before," he observes.

"The reorganization of Cuban agriculture, the most competent Western observers in Havana say, has been an achievement of the first order in the last year. Despite a drop in imports no one is starving. Domestically produced supplies are increasing and distribution is improving."

On Castro's popularity, Grant writes: "He still seems to have the youth of Cuba with him, as well as the Negroes and a large part of the rural poor. The Negroes, a third of the population, have achieved equal opportunity

for the first time under his regime."

In one plant he visited there were nine members of the new party, who are elected by the workers. "Several Negroes, several of the men who shovel material into the furnace, and an 18-year-old office worker named Enrique del Valle, are among the elite party members."

Grant quotes a U.S. Roman Catholic priest, Father McGowan of the Maryknoll Fathers, to the effect that tales of Catholic persecution in Cuba are "very far from the truth." If this condition existed, Father McGowan pointed out, the Vatican would take note of it. However, "there are good relations between the Vatican and Cuba."

Another point in the articles is that the Cubans are following a revolutionary line, independent of the positions of both the Chinese and the Soviet leaderships.

There is a "deadly serious" determination on Castro's part, Grant observes, to spread "his own peculiar brand of Communism to as much of the rest of Latin America as he can manage." He adds, "A Castro-dominated Communist Latin America could well be another China as far as the Russians are concerned." And he raises the pointed question:

"Is Dr. Castro a captive of the Soviet Union . . . or is it to some extent the other way around?"

On two successive Sundays I watched thousands of volunteer cutters of the townspeople variety, men, women and children alike, doggedly and ineptly hacking away at the cane.

I saw others, more skilled, who have banded together in groups of 300 or more, known as the "Red Battalions," who've left their regular jobs for three or four months to toil at this most bone-wearying work, once the sole job of peon workers regularly unemployed for eight months of the year.

Their efforts are considerable (a man with a strong back, a sense of rhythm and a modicum of dedication can cut and stack up-wards of 7,000 pounds of cane daily and still have enough energy to drag himself to fire-lit school classes at night), but they couldn't begin to counteract the hard facts of the manpower problem.

Men Under Arms

That problem is dictated by the need to diversify production, both in agriculture and industry, and — more importantly — by the need to keep so many men under arms.

Every time Senator Goldwater parts his thin lips and lets the snakes-and-toads word "Cuba" fall out it's a reminder to these people that the men in uniform must still remain on active duty.

Every time a *Habanero* gazes out across the tepid blue-and-green Caribbean to look with loathing at the familiar, grey, obscene silhouette of the U.S. warship *Oxford* on the horizon, its radar and telescopes delicately focussed on the port activity, it is a reminder that a man who might be cutting cane is still required on the ramparts and perhaps will be required even more next year when those nice Americans will be besieged furiously once more with "the Cuban problem" as an issue in the presidential elections.

My own impressions, contrasting the Cuba of the spring of 1962 with that of today and remembering that it was only last October that these people were absorbed by the probability of a global nuclear war hinging on their sovereignty, are almost all favorable. If anyone who hasn't been there wishes to interpret this as being a "fellow traveller" I will most cheerfully tell him to go to hell. (In 30 years of reporting I've never felt so strangely pugnacious in putting down simple facts.)

Cuban Diet

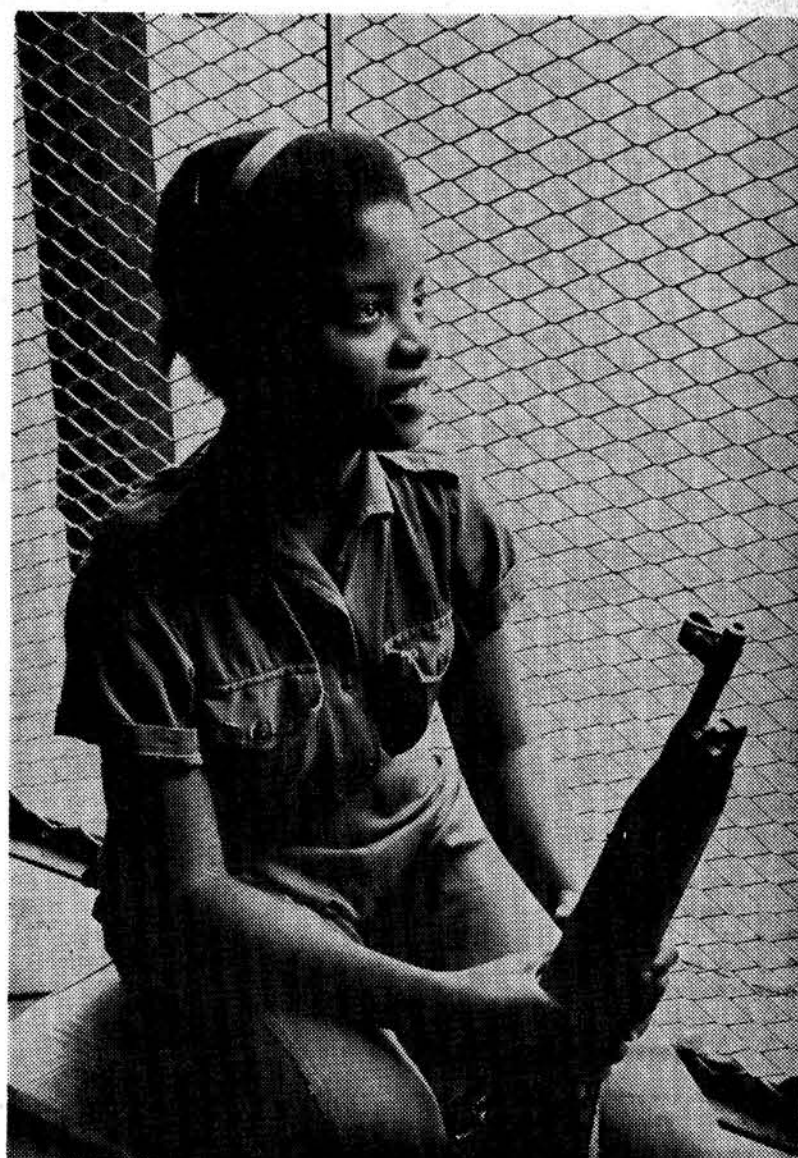
Let's look at some points of comparison:

The diet of Cubans, which I'd reported last year as a source of irritation that could cost the revolution support, is substantially the same except that the then-haphazard system of distribution has been brought to a point of efficiency I wouldn't have thought possible. There is, in fact, less grumbling about rations now than there was a year ago and it is an insignificant factor in shaping public opinion.

In my travels I made it a practice to ask repeatedly about the distribution of milk to children, a quart a day. I put it into the record that I did not find a single instance where the milk was not arriving. When the history of this revolution is properly written that may be recorded as the first and finest triumph.

In every phase of bureaucratic life with which I came into personal contact, in arranging my tours, in cashing cheques, in office functions generally, I found an astonishing improvement.

This is designated as The Year of Organization (last year was The Year of Education) and its accomplishments, motivated by a spirit of constant self-criticism, including pages of the newspapers devoted to complaints of every



Magnum photo by Rene Burri

THE NEW CUBA. A 16-year-old member of the voluntary militia does guard duty at a sugar mill.

form of red tape, are very impressive.

There are still a lot of haywire executive-suite cadres, but if what they've done in a year is any indication it's just a matter of time before they're licked. "General Motors always has this problem, too," remarked "Che" Guevara at a recent meeting.

It is an old Cuban custom to be late for everything, but this year my contacts were usually a half-hour earlier for their appointments than they were in 1962, though still, I must add, late. I offer that as my one and only significant statistic.

The amount of new building, homes, apartments, hospitals, schools and factories — the meat and potatoes of the revolutionary program — can only be described as "astonishing," a word I haven't used since my last visit here.

Humanitarian Motives

Certainly it is astonishing to come upon a place like the Mazorra National Mental Hospital, to see patients undergoing the therapy of working in flower gardens, living in bright, attractive, semi-detached bungalows that were not here a year ago.

What breed of men, you ask yourself, are these fierce-eyed, cigar-smoking, pistol-packing makers of revolution who threaten the good old American way of life? What breed of man gives high priority, in the chaos of a changing order, to insulin shock treatments and group therapy to some 5,000 disturbed derelicts from the past, people who can't possibly be charged as a responsibility to the present state, who can contribute little to the stability of the new Cuba?

What other motive, except humanitarianism, can account for the sports and cultural program here, the trips to the beach and to places of beauty, the 5,000-seat baseball stadium built for them so that they may forget momentarily

their particular torments and the memory of the time when this hospital was a kind of Dachau where the only way out was a death certificate?

Many of the Cubans I talked to last year in primitive shacks I visited this year in modern, pre-fab, tastefully furnished cottages with gas stove and toilets and showers.

Many more, of course, have not made this transformation, are waiting with remarkable confidence and patience for their turn. Meanwhile squads of volunteers are cleaning up their shanties and the grounds in their vicinity to demonstrate what can be done by individual effort.

The new country schools and the new hospitals and clinics are everywhere. I visited a clinic specializing in pediatrics, seeing the repair work being done on the legacy of children's diseases from the unholy alliance of Batista and the United States of America.

"These boys and girls will be half a head taller than their parents," the supervisor told me.

What breed of men, you ask yourselves, are these "tools of the Kremlin" whose greatest pride is preventive medicine for children, whose program of immunization against diphtheria, whooping cough, tetanus and poliomyelitis (not a single case since the oral Sabin-Chumakov vaccine was first given to every Cuban child two years ago) impresses every visitor, particularly those from South America countries where the death of a child is of no more consequence than the death of a mouse?

These are the things that remain with the visitor here, that cause him to awaken every morning wondering what pleasures of human compassion, pride and dignity he'll see in the day ahead and to go to bed each night convinced that, whatever else may be said of the Cuban revolution, it is a beautiful example of people helping people.

THE MILITANT

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Monday, August 19, 1963

AFL-CIO Council Hits New Low

Rarely has there been such a proclamation of bankruptcy as that issued Aug. 13 by the AFL-CIO Executive Council refusing to endorse the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

The fact that 18 of the 20 executive council members reportedly present voted against endorsement shows what an advanced state of putrefaction the labor bureaucracy has reached.

The top labor leaders — or, to speak plainly, labor fakers — long ago gave up action in the fight against racism; for years now they have limited themselves to lip-service to that fight — orating, passing resolutions, giving endorsements, etc. But on Aug. 13 in their overwhelming majority they showed that save for a few — like UAW President Reuther and IUE President Carey who can still make the appropriate noises — even the old, pious words now stick in their throats.

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats are a millstone around American labor's neck. Over the past decade they have amply proved they are too impotent to punch their way out of a paper bag and too incompetent to organize a handful of nuts and bolts. As John L. Lewis, who at least had guts and ability, said when he bade "that bunch of stately and pompous asses" adieu, they are "without heads, their necks simply grew up and haired over." Now these brainless, gutless wonders show they are unsympathetic to the Negro people's heroic fight — or are themselves infected with race prejudice.

Negro unionists and their militant white fellow workers should answer the AFL-CIO Council by going to Washington in massive numbers and then returning home to start a movement to decontaminate the labor movement from Meany on down.

Kennedy and Dictator Diem

A government, like a person, can be judged by the company it keeps. The real character of the Kennedy administration can be judged, for example, by the Dixiecrat allies it depends on in the South or by the tyrannical governments it supports around the world. The Ngo Dinh Diem regime of South Vietnam, for example.

The protest movement of tens and tens of thousands of South Vietnamese Buddhists in the past three months has focused the attention of the world on the despotic nature of the Diem regime. It has exposed Diem as a bigot, whose Catholic family clique runs the country for their own privileges and makes war not only on peasants but also on the basic religious rights of the majority. The Buddhist protest has shown beyond doubt that the greatest source of opposition comes from Diem's own people — not from any so-called "aggression" or "infiltration" from the North.

If Kennedy meant what he says about using GIs to preserve freedom he wouldn't have to send them half way across the globe. He could start a lot closer to home — like in Mississippi. And, as far as freedom in Vietnam is concerned, the best thing the U.S. can do is to get the GIs out of there and see to it that tyrant Diem doesn't get another nickel of American taxpayers' money.

S. Africa Racists Get an Assist

The Kennedy administration's claimed concern for justice, human rights and racial equality was again exposed as a fraud when the U.S. stubbornly refused to support a motion in the UN by 32 African nations to impose sanctions against the murderous Verwoerd regime in South Africa. That regime oppresses the black majority of the country in a manner worthy of the late Adolph Hitler.

In an Aug. 3 speech that truly dripped with hypocrisy, Adlai Stevenson, U.S. delegate to the UN, claimed that sanctions against the South African government would be "both bad law and bad policy."

A question, please. If it's bad to impose sanctions on a dictatorial regime of racist repression, why is it good to impose sanctions on a government that has eliminated dictatorship, uprooted race discrimination and promoted the welfare of the common people? That's exactly what the U.S. has done in the case of tiny Cuba.

Could it be that Washington considers it "good law and good policy" to impose sanctions on Cuba because Wall Street interests were hurt there? And could it be that Washington is reluctant to act against the government of South Africa because big investors are given special consideration there?

Stevenson tried to cover up the shameful U.S. stand by announcing that Washington plans to stop selling arms to South Africa. This too is a cynical fraud.

The Aug. 4 New York *Herald Tribune* reported: "By any estimate the U.S. is a small supplier of arms to South Africa by comparison with Britain and France, and unless these two nations impose an embargo . . . the practical effects of the U.S. arms ban may be relatively small."

There you have Washington's foreign policy in a nutshell. Try to strangle a revolutionary government like Cuba's. But don't do anything against a racist, capitalist government like the one in South Africa, no matter how barbarous it is.

A Socialist Workers Resolution:

New Stage of Negro Struggle

[The following is a section of the resolution adopted by the July 1963 convention of the Socialist Workers Party analyzing the new stage in the struggle for Negro equality and outlining what the SWP proposes to do to help further that struggle. The complete text of the resolution will appear in the fall issue of *International Socialist Review*. To obtain a copy send 50 cents to: ISR, 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.]

Under the banner of "Freedom Now," the Negro struggle for equality has entered a new stage. This is comparable in significance to the change that occurred in the 1830's when a wing of the Abolitionist movement, previously dominated by schemes for piecemeal purchase and deportation of the slaves, raised the explosive demand for immediate and complete emancipation.

The most notable characteristic of this new stage in the Negro struggle is the clear and sharp rejection of gradualism, which is the program, method and perspective of capitalist liberalism. Freedom Now is an essentially radical and potentially revolutionary demand. It brings its advocates, regardless of their particular views, into growing conflict with the White House and the Southern Democrats, with the labor leaders as well as the liberals, with Negro as well as white exponents of moderation, compromise and tokenism.

The ruling class of this country cannot grant this demand. Neither can it suppress or sidetrack the movement. That is why a consistent struggle to achieve it will stimulate profound changes not only in race relations but also in class and political relations in the United States.

Sources of 'Freedom Now'

Freedom Now sentiment is generated from numerous sources: by urbanization, industrialization and migration, as a result of which three-fourths of the Negroes live in cities rather than rural areas and one-half outside the South; by inspiration from the colonial revolutions against white imperialist domination in Africa, Asia and Latin America; by the smallness, fewness and slowness of concessions offered to the demand for equality; by the conviction that the rulers of this country will never grant equality voluntarily or without pressure, and that their difficulties in the cold war make them more vulnerable to pressure; by disappointment in the old-style Negro leaders and the labor bureaucrats. It is spurred by the growth of racial consciousness and solidarity, which flows from common experiences of oppression and is strengthened by historical and contemporary evidence that the Negro must rely on himself first of all if he is to make any progress. This sentiment is bolstered in some circles by a questioning or repudiation of the values of capitalist (white-dominated) society.

New Organizations

The results have been a spread of the Negro struggle into every corner of the country; a sizable increase in the number of active fighters, with the most important new reinforcements coming from the student youth, who are not encumbered by the skepticism, routinism or defeatism of many of their elders and are imparting a new vigor and vibrancy to the struggle; assertions of independence, coupled with heightened self-confidence and growing determination that the Negro will decide his own goals, work out his own tactics and lead his own struggles; and more openly expressed feelings of mistrust and suspicion of whites and bitter resentment against paternalism in any form; the raising of new de-

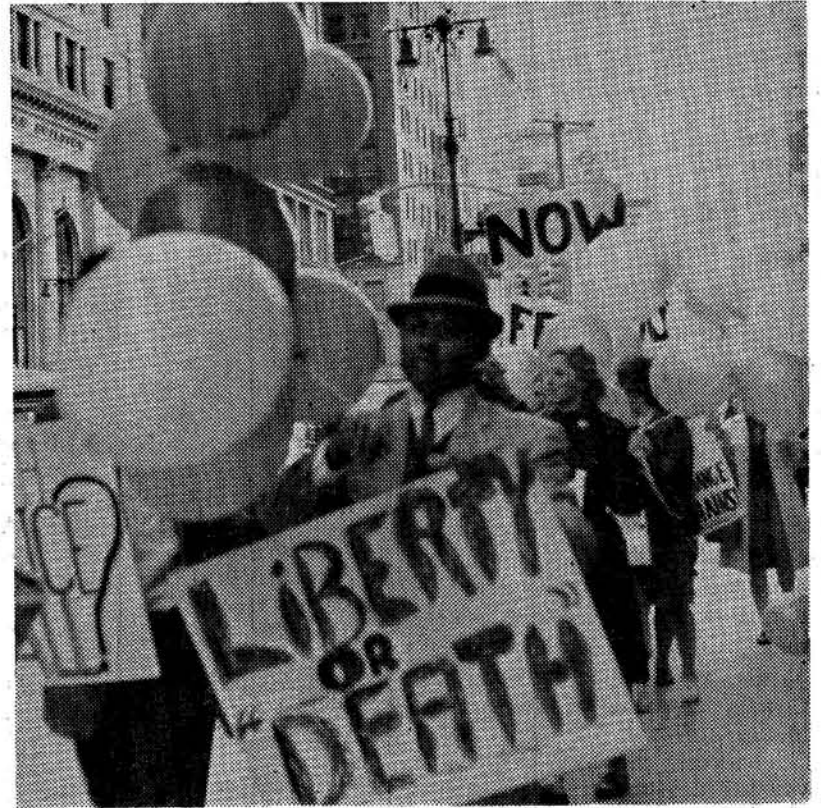


Photo by Robert Greger

TELLING THE MAN. Part of the crowd of civil rights fighters that picketed President Kennedy's \$1,000-a-plate birthday dinner in New York last May to demand that he stop talking and start acting against racists.

mands and proposals that are unacceptable to most liberals (special consideration or priority for the needs of the Negro to compensate for centuries of oppression and deprivation, adequate and effective Negro representation in all places and at all levels, bloc voting, etc.) This new phase has already witnessed a significant growth of Negro nationalist and separatist sentiment along with the appearance of new national organizations and hundreds of local groups dedicated to equality. This is all part of the ferment, discussion, experimentation, and lively search for ideas, methods, programs and leadership capable of guiding the struggle for equality to victory.

Significant Features

The new period which was definitively ushered in with the Battle of Birmingham in May 1963 has been marked by the following features:

1. The struggle is acquiring an ever-greater mass character. It actively involves thousands and tens of thousands ranging from students and middle class people to the most disinherited and dispossessed of the city ghettos. They have stepped onto the arena of action as a mass force of constantly growing dimensions and dynamism.

2. Mass action in various forms has now recrossed the Mason-Dixon line. The opening punch was delivered in the fight for jobs at the school construction site in Philadelphia which spread to New York and other places. The dam burst with the turnout of a quarter million Negroes in the June Freedom March in Detroit, the biggest protest demonstration of its kind in this century. From the start the demands in the North are on a higher social-economic level than those in the South, striking deeply into the established class structure.

3. The impact of these events has shocked the Kennedy administration, provoked a political crisis in the country, and compelled federal, state and local governments to take steps not even remotely contemplated before the upsurge of the Negro revolt. The Kennedy administration does not intend to grant equality. It is anxious to contain and, if possible, buy off the leadership by offering the minimum of concessions to keep the mass movement from moving too fast and far ahead.

4. The top Negro leaders feel even more nervous and unsteady. They are being forced to talk, and in some cases even act, more militantly because they fear the power of the revolt which they did not unloose and cannot control. They also fear that the ruling class upon whom they rely will not grant enough concessions soon enough and that the mass movement will continue to sweep around them and beyond them, dragging them along as they try to slow it down. The profound insecurity of the official leaders, their lack of control over the masses, the emergence of new forces and potential new and bolder leaders are positive signs of an ascending revolt that is becoming more and more radicalized.

5. In the South at this stage the civil rights struggle has some special traits distinguishing it from the rest of the country.

a.) Because of the glaring and intolerable violations of the most elementary democratic rights, Southern freedom-fighters are in a position to expose and dramatize the injustices of Jim Crow, constantly embarrass the federal government, and deepen the indignation against segregation not only throughout the United States but throughout the world, as Birmingham illustrated.

b.) In parts of the South where Negroes are a majority, such moves as the call for the election of a Negro sheriff in Leflore County, Mississippi, have a highly explosive character because they directly challenge and endanger the white supremacist structure. Voter registration drives in rural areas where uncompromising Negro candidates might become mayors, judges, or sheriffs could upset the whole balance of power there.

c.) What happens in Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia has immediate repercussions upon the moods of the movement in the North. Any outrage and outbreak of violence, or any outstanding demonstration and achievement in the South arouses the Negro communities in the rest of the country. Thus the intensification and extension of the struggle in the South is a sharp goad to the national civil rights movement. Conversely, the advances of the Northern struggle, such as the direct actions for jobs, tend to feed back into the South and raise the struggle there to a higher level.

To Stop Trigger-Happy Cops

Detroit Negroes Demand Control of Police in Area

DETROIT — On July 5th a white policeman shot and killed a young Negro woman claiming that she was resisting arrest. It is not unusual for a white cop to shoot a Negro in the North or in the South. This legal murder, however, took place during a nationwide floodtide of struggle against Jim Crow. It hapened here less than two weeks after 250,000 citizens staged the largest civil rights demonstration this country has ever seen. The killing was an old story but the events that followed that killing are part of the civil rights revolution today.

Here's what's been happening: Patrolman Theodore Spicher stopped 24 year old Cynthia Scott for questioning while she was peacefully walking down the street with a boy friend. He claims she drew a knife and slashed him. He shot her twice in the back as she ran away and once more in the stomach when she turned toward him. Negro eye-witnesses saw no knife. They report that Miss Scott refused to enter the patrol car because she had not been told why she was being questioned. When she started to walk away from the car, she was killed.

Wayne County Prosecutor Olsen refused to issue a warrant against the patrolman. The killing was pronounced justifiable homicide. One week later an 18 year old white youth, Kenneth Evans, was shot by police officers when he ran from a stolen car. Again Olsen whitewashed the policemen.

In the protests that followed these two murders, Negroes and whites joined together at times in action and in demands. On July 13 over 1000 Negroes demonstrated in front of police headquarters to protest the killing of Cynthia Scott. Their militant picketing was organized by Uhuru (which means "freedom" in Swahili) and

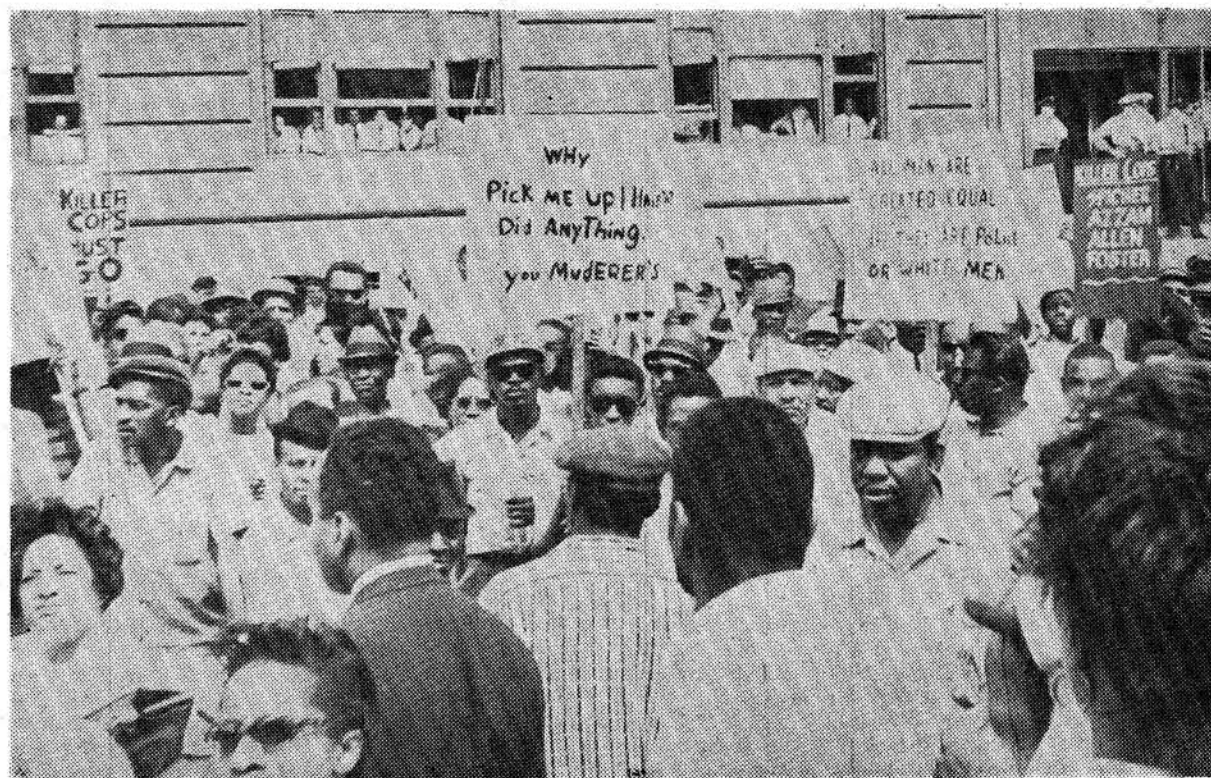
the Group on Advanced Leadership. Uhuru is a group of young Negro college students and GOAL recently led a successful fight to get history texts for Detroit schools that would tell the truth about the Negro in America.

Two days later demonstrators, protesting the killing of Kenneth Evans, engaged in running battles with the cops, answering police provocations with rocks and bottles and by smashing windows at a police station. The protest was organized by Evans' relatives and a Negro, Kirby Brown, who had been a victim of a trigger-happy cop himself.

On July 21 GOAL asked the courts to issue a citizen's warrant against Patrolman Spicher. If the petition is accepted, the judge will start hearings in August. GOAL attorney, Milton Henry, said he would appeal the case to the State Supreme Court if necessary. The next day, Attorney Henry acting for Cynthia Scott's mother, filed a \$5,000,000 damage suit against Patrolman Spicher and the city of Detroit. Mr. Henry appeared in court wearing a red armband which he explained "symbolizes the blood of every Negro who has been a victim of police brutality."

On July 26, 80 GOAL pickets demonstrated at the City-County building demanding a public investigation of Cynthia Scott's killing. They carried signs reading: "Killer Cops Should Not Go Free," "White Americans Join In — Your Child May Be Next."

Public officials have refused time and again to do anything constructive about the Scott or Evans killings. The Detroit Council of Human Rights, organizer of the June 23 Freedom March, asked State Attorney General Kelley to intervene in the case. He investigated; he refused to reopen the case. Prosecutor Olsen has re-



OUTRAGED. Angry demonstrators protest brutal gunshot killing of a young Negro woman by Detroit cops. Less than a week later cops shot a white youth to death.

fused over and over to review the case. The Wayne County Police Chiefs Association publicly commended Olsen for refusing "to bow down to any type of pressure" in the Scott and Evans cases.

A delegation from CORE met with Mayor Cavanagh July 31 to urge him to set up a citizen's review board to judge police actions. The mayor, elected in 1961 by the votes of Negroes protesting the racist policies of the previous city administration, refused the request. Also demanding a citizens review board are: the Cotillion Club made up of Negro professionals and businessmen, Uhuru and GOAL.

The Detroit Council on Human Rights announced that it would ask the U.S. Department of Justice to investigate the Scott shooting and that it was authorizing its legal council to begin working on the recall of Prosecutor Olsen. "Citizens Against Olsen," a group of civic and church leaders, announced a recall petition drive starting August 6.

On August 1 Uhuru staged a sit-down in the mayor's office to protest both the Scott and Evans cases. Cavanagh refused to even see them but told reporters, "I have read carefully the demands of this group and they are so ridiculous and absurd I would not dignify these demands by talking to any of these people..." Uhuru asked for a black police commissioner, Negro police in Negro neighborhoods, an all-Negro citizens review board and the disarming of the cops. Mayor Cavanagh told reporters he didn't think this group of young people were representative of the Negro community. The next day GOAL announced its support of the Uhuru demands.

The Police Commissioner

Events since the July 5th murder of Cynthia Scott have shown that the Negro community has been rallying behind the demands put forward by Uhuru and GOAL at the first police station demonstration. At that time they distributed thousands of leaflets proclaiming: Killer Cops Must Go! Olsen Must Go! Edwards Must Go!

This last demand refers to Police Commissioner George Edwards, the liberals' darling, who was appointed by Mayor Cavanagh to try to erase the terrible tension between the Negro community and the Detroit police department. Edwards had a long pro-labor, and even radical record. He was a UAW organizer during the 30s; was once a member of the Socialist Party; be-

came a lawyer and a candidate for city council in the 40s; was elected president of the council twice; was appointed a judge in the lower courts during the 50s and then elected to the state supreme court. He was supported by the labor movement and the Americans for Democratic Action in all his campaigns.

He left the state supreme court to become Detroit Police Commissioner in 1962 because, "I feel there is a river of suspicion in Detroit and I'm trying to build bridges over this river." He pledged equality in law enforcement and better treatment of Negroes by the police.

As his second year in office draws to a close, Edwards is caught right in the middle of the Scott and Evans cases. At the time of the killings he was in Europe. He returned July 29 and promised an immediate study of the cases. He made it clear, however, that he had been kept informed of developments and "approved what has been done..." On August 6 the Free Press re-

ported that the police commissioner rejected CORE's plan for a citizens review board.

The next day Edwards went on TV in a half hour program to explain the results of his investigation of the case. The result: He gave full endorsement to the action of the police department and Prosecutor Olsen.

Putting a "good guy" into office just isn't enough—Edwards proves this old truth again. You couldn't have found a "gooder" police commissioner than Edwards — but two young persons were wrongfully murdered within one week and every city official is busy whitewashing the criminals. The Uhuru demands and actions point the way for the Negro community: organize and fight for community control of the police department. The killing of Kenneth Evans proves once again that whites, too, are the victims of police brutality. The white community should join more vigorously with the Negroes in demanding and securing an end to street-corner capital punishment.

Gloria Richardson Describes Cambridge, Md., Rights Battle

SAN FRANCISCO — A slender Negro woman last week told an audience here what life was like in a Maryland town on the edge of civil war. She was Mrs. Gloria Richardson, leader of the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee, an affiliate of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. She had been invited to San Francisco to address the first mass meeting of the United Freedom Movement. (See report on page 8.)

She described conditions in the town where armed white hoodlums were seeking out Negroes who were armed for defense; where almost any chance encounter could escalate into major bloodshed. Presence of the National Guard only increased tensions and solved nothing. Through 14 months of demonstrations, she said, the white people of power had stood frozen in attitudes of racial arrogance. They could not comprehend that the Negroes were in deadly earnest.

This experience convinced her that the white ruling class would never concede through moral considerations. They know that yielding anything of significance to the Negroes would shatter their monopoly of power, she declared. They would only yield a part of their power when confronted with the loss of everything.

That moment was approaching in Cambridge, Mrs. Richardson said, as leaders of the Nonviolent Action Committee found they could not control the Negro masses. At this point Mrs. Richardson went to Washington to ask Attorney General Robert Kennedy to mediate and convince the white powers in Cambridge of the seriousness of the situation.

Mrs. Richardson pointed out that

the basic problem of the Cambridge Negroes was economic, and this problem was shared by white workers. Cambridge stands at the very bottom of the government's list of depressed areas. Only 37% of the labor force, white or Negro, has steady year round work. The average schooling of children of both races is eight years.

Propose Program

The Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee has proposed a program to benefit both white and Negro workers. Mrs. Richardson listed some of the major points: A proposed federal housing project should be built by a local contractor hiring an integrated work crew. Special classes to be instituted to train Negro and white apprentices. Integrate the school system and invite a special task force of outside teachers in to help raise the low standards of the formerly segregated schools.

Establish a co-operative business venture with interracial management to create jobs for Negro and white unemployed. To run candidates for public office with white as well as Negro support.

All this was predicated, Mrs. Richardson said, on maintenance of the present shaky truce and making it the basis for further advances by the Negroes. Splits that have developed in the ranks of the whites have made the task of the Negroes easier, she declared. Cambridge Negroes are asking, not for just the desegregation of public facilities, but for a share in the real power in the city. The white power elite will resist to the end, Mrs. Richardson said, but they will finally be forced to yield because the status quo is becoming intolerable for both whites and Negroes.

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U.S. and Soviets Hostile to

China's Nuclear Disarmament Proposal

By William F. Warde

On July 31 the Mao government of the People's Republic of China proposed that "government heads of all countries of the world" hold a conference "to discuss the question of complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons."

A copy of the proposal was sent by Premier Chou En-lai personally to President Kennedy. It was the first direct communication from Peking addressed to the White House.

With arrogant discourtesy, Kennedy did not even acknowledge receipt of the document. According to a Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, the administration's "view" was that "Peking had embarked on a world-wide propaganda campaign in reaction to the political isolation in which China has been placed by the nuclear test ban agreement between the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain. Officials here saw nothing but propaganda in the four-point Chinese proposal."

Why did Kennedy react with such hostility to the proposal of the Chinese government? The real reasons can be gathered from reading what the Chinese proposed. The key paragraphs are as follows:

"All countries in the world, both nuclear and non-nuclear, solemnly declare they will prohibit and destroy nuclear weapons completely, thoroughly, totally and resolutely.

"Concretely speaking, they will not use nuclear weapons nor export nor import nor manufacture nor test nor stockpile them; and they will destroy all the existing nuclear weapons and their means of delivery in the world, and disband all the existing establishments for the research, testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons in the world."

To carry out this proposal, the

Chinese suggested four measures. 1) Dismantle all military bases on foreign soil and withdraw all nuclear weapons and their means of delivery. 2) Establish zones free of nuclear weapons in such key areas as Asia and the Pacific. This would include China and Japan as well as the U.S. and the Soviet Union. 3) Refrain from exporting and importing nuclear weapons and technical data for their manufacture. 4) End all testing of nuclear weapons, not only in the atmosphere, under water and in outer space, but underground, where it is still permitted under the partial nuclear test-ban treaty.

In his Aug. 2 press conference, Kennedy did not even refer to the proposal of the Chinese government for an international disarmament conference. Mentioning the partial test-ban treaty, he said, "we'd like the Red Chinese to come into the agreement."

That "invitation" was obviously made for propaganda purposes only. A moment before, Kennedy had made clear that "we do not recognize the Red Chinese regime." So far as Washington is concerned, China does not exist officially. How can they plausibly hand a treaty to a non-existent government and ask it to sign up?

On the other hand, Kennedy strongly suggested that if de Gaulle would sign the partial test-ban treaty, the White House in return would give France secret information for the construction of nuclear weapons and the devices themselves which would eliminate its need for testing.

Washington correspondent Tad Szulc, who often transmits State Department views, said that the "President's comments suggested that the question of China might have been one of the chief reasons for both the United States and the Soviet Union to have agreed on the test ban." He added that the "view in the Administration is that the Russians did so to further Peking's isolation and

to undermine its influence in the underdeveloped countries where the anti-test sentiment runs high."

Although Peking's nuclear disarmament proposals are substantially the same as those repeatedly advanced by Moscow for years, Soviet officials displayed even more hostility than Kennedy to the sweeping measures advocated by the Chinese government.

Like Kennedy they waved Peking's plan aside and, in reply to the Chinese accusations that the partial test-ban treaty was mainly directed against China, declared that such assertions amounted to "betrayal." On Aug. 5 Soviet Defense Minister Malinovsky said that the Chinese stand was "equivalent to virtual complicity with those who stand for a world thermonuclear war."

Tass quoted Malinovsky as declaring: "By their statement the Chinese leaders have openly come out in opposition to the whole world Communist movement, to all peace-loving peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa and America. They are leading events toward a tightening of international tension."

Even more significant, perhaps, confirmation came from New Delhi that Khrushchev has offered India guided missiles and other ultra-modern military equipment. "It is understood," said an Aug. 1 dispatch from India's capital, "that the Soviet officials have stipulated no restrictions on the use of the military supplies. The Indians have made clear that they wanted the supplies for use against a possible renewed attack from China."

The Chinese government officials have left themselves wide open to attack by Moscow because of their refusal to support the partial test-ban treaty. They have not as yet been followed in this by any of the Asian Communist parties (except North Vietnam) which favored them in other aspects of the dispute with Moscow.

It is true that the tripartite treaty is directed primarily against

Rift in Italian CP Deepens

The ideological rift between the Soviet Union and China has been the focal point in a split in the Italian Communist Party, the largest CP in Western Europe. An entire section of the strong Italian youth movement in Rome has been dissolved as a result of the dispute.

A new current within the party has issued a call for a return to revolutionary fundamentals. *New York Times* correspondent Arnaldo Cortesi reports that the group, calling itself the "New Workers Left," has centers in the industrial north, particularly in Milan and Padua, as well as Rome and Apulia in the south.

A pamphlet that has been widely distributed among party members is attributed to the new group. It harshly attacks the Communist party directorate for condemning Chinese ideas without discussion.

Among other things it says leaders of the Communist federation in Padua were expelled for publishing a pamphlet entitled "Long Live Lenin." It also said that the dissolution of the section of the Communist youth federation in Rome was based on the charge that it had become a "den of pro-Chinese and Trotskyists."

The pamphlet said the Italian Communist Party was no longer striving for revolution. It added:

"The Communist leaders who drive in luxurious motorcars, who have a standard of life similar to that of managers of the great monopolistic companies, who frequent theater first nights, exclusive cocktail parties, fashionable restaurants and expensive nightclubs with their wives and mistresses in furs and jewels, are no more interested in creating a revolutionary atmosphere than the Communist members of Parliament who, besides being very well paid, enjoy many privileges for themselves and their families."

The pamphlet invited party members to insist that the ideas of the Chinese be freely discussed in party assemblies. It also asked that many of the documents of the Chinese CP be translated into Italian and put at the disposal of all party members as a basis for discussion.

In reply to a July 15 attack by Pravda, a statement by the group in Padua declared:

"We maintain that the moment has arrived in Italy for the creation of a revolutionary party, that is a Marxist-Leninist party which is brought back to the true principles of democratic centralism and which works for the overthrow of the bourgeois state, for the installation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the creation of a socialist society. Today it is only such a struggle that can provide the foundation for the seizure of power by the Italian working class."

the People's Republic of China. The Soviet Union, as the Chinese charged on Aug. 10, is preventing Peking from acquiring nuclear weapons while Washington is not deterred from giving atomic bombs to its NATO allies.

But it is also true — and this is why the ban has been acclaimed throughout the world — that it limits, at least for the time being, further nuclear poisoning of the earth's environment.

The Soviet propaganda that Peking's position is equivalent to "actual connivance with those who advocate world thermonuclear war" is, of course, pure fabrication. The real difference between Moscow and Peking on this crucial question does not hinge on the necessity of preventing nuclear war. Both sides agree on this objective. The differences occur over how the peoples of the world can win enduring peace.

Moscow contends that the threat of nuclear war can be eliminated

by diplomatic agreements, like the partial nuclear-test ban, with the imperialist powers that would neutralize their war-making tendencies. Peking holds that there can be no guarantee of permanent peace so long as imperialism, with its predatory appetites and nuclear arsenals, exists. To end the threat of war, imperialism itself must be abolished.

This controversy between Moscow and Peking over the problem of war and peace has certain parallels with the debate on methods of action between the liberals and militants in the current "Freedom Now" struggle. The moderates frown on mass action, caution the Negro people to get off the streets and go slow, and advise them to rely on the good intentions of the Kennedy administration. The militants say that freedom has to be fought for and won through the independent action of the Negro people themselves against the entire existing power structure.

World Events

Peru Peasants Seize Land

The same day that Dr. Fernando Belaúnde Terry was inaugurated as Peru's new president to replace the military junta that had ruled for a year, some 3,000 peasants occupied an 18,000-acre estate near Junin and appealed to Belaúnde to recognize their claim to the land. The peasants have been pressing their claim against the big land owner for many years.

Preparing Alibi in Korea?

Col. Kim Hyung Uk, director of South Korea's Central Intelligence Agency (secret police), made a statement Aug. 3 that may shed some light on the recent flare-up of publicity about shooting incidents on the 38 parallel truce line. According to Col. Kim, North Korea is sending "infiltrators" into South Korea "to disrupt elections planned for this fall."

Are the U.S. and the South Korean military dictatorship preparing to use the border incidents as the pretext for putting off the slated elections which come at a time of mounting economic crisis and social unrest in South Korea?

New South Africa Jailings

In its latest Gestapo-style round-up the racist South African police jailed a group of people described by the chief of police as "a dozen coloreds and Africans alleged to belong to the Yu Chiu Chan club." To make those jailed really seem subversive, the cops charged they were "financed from China." A *Reuters* dispatch said the police "considered the Yu Chiu Chan Club to be as dangerous as the banned African National Con-

gress and the Poqo terrorist organization." The latter two organizations are reported to have begun an underground armed struggle against the white supremacist Verwoerd regime.

Bolivian Mine Fight

A sharp conflict is shaping up in Bolivia between President Paz Estenssoro and the tin mine workers. The government mining corporation, Comibol, wants to dismiss thousands of workers in the Catavi-Siglo mine group. This would be a major step in an "internationally financed" program to make Bolivia's nationalized tin mines more profitable.

The director of Comibol has served an ultimatum on the Catavi-Siglo mine group that the workers must be dismissed on schedule and their "extremist" leaders with them.

The Federation of Mine Workers has responded with partial strikes and threat of a general strike if negotiations are not resumed. One of the "extremist" leaders — Ireneo Pimentel — has been named strike chairman.

The government may try to close the mines and suspend the miners' pay. The workers, who have their own union militia, will probably resist. They control access to the isolated Catavi-Siglo area. President Paz is counting on the army and peasant militia for use in any armed showdown.

Dissident Spanish Communists

A Madrid dispatch in the Aug. 24 *New York Times* reports that a pro-Chinese group has been expelled from the Spanish Commu-

nist Party and has tried "to gain control of the anarchist movement." Spanish police announced a few days earlier the smashing of a clandestine ring of "terrorists" belonging to the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth.

Spokesmen for the Communist Party reportedly described this party as a "force of order" which had expelled the pro-Chinese activists on the grounds that acts of violence would rally the population behind Franco.

A four-page pamphlet circulated by the Iberian Federation is said to reject the CP line of "national reconciliation" and to denounce Moscow's concept of "peaceful coexistence" as indifferent to revolutionary needs.

Pro-Peking Group in Belgium

Despite efforts to block it, a successful conference was held in Brussels by members of the Belgian Communist Party sympathetic to Peking's views. The group that convened the conference is led by Gruppa, a member of the Party's central committee who, along with two other leading members, was recently expelled for dissident views. Despite a warning in the Communist Party press that anyone attending the conference would be expelled, some 125 turned out. They represented an important force in the Brussels section of the party and other areas of the country as well.

The group has published a platform — a book of 250 pages — which offers a left-wing critique of the class-collaborationist policies followed by the Belgian CP during the past decade.

World Protest Grows Against Peru Jailing of Hugo Blanco

An international campaign is underway to win the freedom of Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco who earned the hatred of the landlord-dominated government in that country because of his organization of landless peasants who began to carry out their own land reform. He was captured after a manhunt aided by U.S. helicopters. He was reported ill when imprisoned and is being held incommunicado.

In London, two demonstrations were organized in front of the Peruvian Embassy, the first by a newly-formed "Release Hugo Blanco Committee," the second by the Socialist Labor League. In Brussels, Socialist youth and students organized a similar demonstration.

In Rome a campaign has been launched under the auspices of the University Students' Association. The Communist, Socialist and other youth organizations are participating.

In Japan a meeting of students' organizations known as "Left" —

with branches in Osaka, Kyoto and Kobe — voted to protest to the Peruvian Embassy in Tokyo against Blanco's continued detention. A committee of prominent political workers, trade union and student leaders is being formed to campaign for Blanco's release.

In Ceylon, members of Parliament are sending a memorandum to the Peruvian government urging Blanco's release.

In Canada a picket line before the Peruvian Embassy in Ottawa protested Blanco's arrest and imprisonment. Vernel Olsen, chairman of Canada's Fair Play for Cuba Committee, stated in a letter to the Ambassador of Peru that Blanco's actions could be considered a crime only by "the landlords of Southern Peru."

A group in the Republic of Cyprus has sent a letter to the Peruvian Interior Minister urging immediate release of Blanco.

Peace News, the British pacifist periodical, published a front-page article June 28, entitled "Save Hugo Blanco."

Letters From Our Readers

A Rope for Latin America?

Cleveland, Ohio
 Pres. J. F. Kennedy has been preaching about the Alliance for Progress program and how it is to help the workers and *campesinos* to a much better way of life from the Rio Grande to Tierra del Fuego.

During the past year, five of the smallest Latin American countries have lost the total of \$34 million on their coffee shipments to the U.S., due to the drop in export prices.

During the past year the Alliance for Progress has "given aid" to these same five Latin American countries to the feeble tune of \$10 million. This 10 million dollars "in aid" has in turn been exchanged to the U.S. for guns and bullets to dish out democracy to their own people if they should get out of line by demanding their human rights.

Pres. J. F. Kennedy may as well

broadcast over the so-called Voice of America throughout Latin America the following message loud and clear:

"*Obreros and campesinos* of Latin America, here is a new rope, go hang yourselves."

G.C.

Unity of Rights Movement

Bronx, New York

Not long ago it was announced there would be unity in the Civil Rights movement, unity which I was hoping would enable the groups to act as a united body.

My observations lead me to believe that unity is not truly accomplished. I do believe the same rivalry is there; the numerous statements and remarks I have read made by the respective leaders who are part of the united movement have me wondering if it would be able to function as a united body.

The united movement must be maintained, for unity is needed to combat the southern wealthy classes and their allied northern industrialists.

At this stage of the struggle the Negro movement may have to change its tactical approach. There must be a class differentiation between the racist boss and the "poor white" who is part of the working class of the South. The "Bourbon" and the middle-class planters in 1876 really feared the Negro and "poor whites" who had some unity and understood who their enemy was.

However, the supremacist then was able to break this unity by instilling hatred and fears and thus divided this unity. The only group which benefited was the "Bourbons."

This political chicanery has been maintained up to this day, by the southern upper classes, who have continued to use the "poor white-man" against the black worker, even though his lot is no better than the Negro.

The Negro movement must make a strong bid to draw class lines, for all that is moving is the black people, and the white working class is still the victim of political expediency.

The Free Soil Party, which had a socialist base and was a party of small farmers had also tried to unite the Negro with this party, but again this same alliance destroyed them.

Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts had high hopes to create a democracy in the south but the Second American Revolution did not come into being.

We also know well from the past that the sole objective of the northern industrialist, along with southern wealthy classes, is to keep the working class divided.

It is a known fact that the people of Africa and colonial countries are fighting for freedom and to put an end to colonialism. The Black people of America must intensify their struggle to win for themselves freedom, for it was upon their backs the base of this nation's economy was laid, which was transformed from a slave economy to an industrial one.

By all rights the Black people should think of going nowhere else, but to enjoy full equality and liberty which they have fought for in so many wars — wars to preserve this democracy which denies everything to the Black man but the right to live in poverty and want.

R.H.

A New Party Needed

New York, N.Y.

The big upsurge of the civil-rights struggle has once again shown how little the two major parties have to offer. Both of them are tied to the big money interests which profit from segregation. The "liberal" Democratic Party contains within it the southern Dixiecrats, the most reactionary group of racists in the country.

The Negro people in the South are struggling for the right to vote. But what is there to vote for when they win that right? The "states-rights" Democratic Party? The all-white Republican Party? The black people of this country need their own political party and they need it now!

L.K.

The Flag Wavers

New York, N.Y.

Apropos your article (Aug. 5) about *The Worker* smearing the Black Muslims, Bob Williams and *Liberator* magazine as "reactionary," maybe some light will be shed on Communist Party thinking by a sign I pass every day on the way to work.

It's a big poster in the window of the Jefferson Bookshop which features Communist Party literature. The poster shows a white

and black hand together holding aloft an American flag. Across the top it says: "For the Unity of Our Nation."

Do they really think that freedom fighters who have faced guns, clubs, dogs and hoses aspire to nothing more bountiful than the privilege of waving "Old Glory"?

H.C.

Our Warmest Thanks

Fraser, Michigan

Enclosed find a check for \$10, \$3 to renew subscription and the rest as a donation.

G. & F.S.

Changed Mind About Us

Clayton, Minn.

I have a few short comments to make on your paper. A couple of years ago I subscribed to *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review*. However I cancelled my subscription to both out of dissatisfaction with your Cuban attitude. But later I decided to subscribe again.

My comments on your paper are all good. When you first changed to tabloid size there seemed to be something lacking. Now I see it is very much improved. Your coverage of the Negro struggle, Sino-Soviet "Great Debate," strikes, civil-liberties struggles and so on is in many ways better

than that of radical papers with probably larger circulation, such as the *National Guardian*. It appears fresher and more alive than the approach of the social democratic *New America*. It is more "down to earth" than the *Weekly People* or *Vanguard*; more honest than *The Worker*.

Thank you and good luck.

M.K.

New "Irish Worker" Address

London, England

We ask you to kindly allow us the opportunity of notifying friends of the new address to which all communications intended for the *Irish Worker* should be sent. It is: Gery Lawless, 52 Elford Rd., Highbury, London, N.5, England.

We should also request those who have posted enquiries, etc., to the *Irish Worker* in the course of the past two months to please renew these enquiries to the new address. Various difficulties, financial included, have for some months caused us to suspend publication of the *Irish Worker*. We are now, however, in a position once more to publish and the next edition, which will deal mainly with the 1913 (General) Strike, should appear in the winter of 1963.

Gery Lawless

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"Delegate to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge . . . recently claimed that admission of Communist China to the UN was 'out of the question' because the UN charter specifies that members must be 'peace-loving' nations. 'Red China is certainly not a peace-loving nation,' said Lodge, and gave as his reason why:

"No nation that maintains large armies on foreign soil can be considered a peace-loving nation . . ."

"By Lodge's definition that a nation 'that maintains large armies on foreign soil' is not 'peace-loving,' what nation would be the first to be kicked out of the United Nations? The United States.

"American troops 'in sizable numbers' are quartered in 49 of the 97 countries of the world . . ."

"American bombers are now using 'a huge network of 89 major air bases, built or building, in Europe, Asia, North Africa and the Arctic,' forming an iron ring around China and the Soviet Union . . ."

"According to the definition of its own UN delegate, the U.S. is the most non-peace-loving nation in all history." — August 17, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"High on the agenda of the Roosevelt-Churchill conference now going on in Quebec is the question of Allied policy toward the Soviet Union. The latest victories of the Soviet Union and the developments in Italy and other parts of Axis-dominated Europe have not brought Washington-London and Moscow closer together but rather have sharpened the differences between them.

"For weeks the capitalist press has been exhibiting grave concern over the future of Anglo-American and Soviet relations. Now that Soviet authorities have curtly announced that neither Stalin nor other representatives of the USSR would be present at Quebec because of the nature of the conferences held there, the capitalist press has renewed its clamor — as it always does after important Red Army gains — for commitments by Stalin; a full and frank statement of Stalin's plans for Europe; a list of his territorial claims, etc.

"Why do the Soviet victories and the rising spirit of revolt in Europe — both of which deal hammer blows at the Axis — bring apprehension rather than rejoicing in the Anglo-American councils?" — August 21, 1943.

It Was Reported in the Press

New Party, Anyone? — Former Mississippi Governor James P. Coleman, the racist who is now seeking re-election, supported John F. Kennedy for president in 1960 and, according to *New York Times* correspondent Joseph A. Loftus, was offered the post of Secretary of the Army in the Kennedy administration.

Rubbing Salt in the Wound — Wisconsin legislators may adopt a bill requiring that a \$2 filing fee accompany each state income tax return.

The Press at Work (I) — The Aug. 2 *Wall Street Journal* reported: "Tax sleuths are cool to Congressional calls for closer scrutiny of tax-exempt 'right-wing' foundations; they fear any special crackdown might weaken their reputation for impartiality." The *Journal* neglects to mention that the Treasury Department doesn't shrink from cracking down on non-right-wing foundations. A recent, scandalous example was the withdrawal of tax exemption from the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a long-established, pro-peace religious group.

The Press at Work (II) — Writing from South Vietnam in the Aug. 4 *New York Herald Tribune* correspondent Marguerite Higgins asserted that the "strategic hamlets" built by the Diem dictatorship are "roughly comparable to the forts that the American pioneers built to protect themselves against the Indians." This falsification flies in the face of admissions by correspondents for numerous anti-Communist dailies that the peasants are forcibly herded into the "strategic hamlets" in a desperate effort to keep them from aiding the guerrilla fighters whose cause they support.

The Press at Work (III) — In an Aug. 2 Washington dispatch, Tad Szulc, *New York Times* Latin American "expert," discusses an unconfirmed report that Anfbal

Escalante, former Secretary General of Cuba's Integrated Revolutionary Organization, plans to return home. Escalante left Cuba after Castro denounced him for bureaucratic, sectarian practices. Szulc quotes an unnamed U.S. official as opining that "Escalante's return to Cuba would be tantamount to a return by Leon Trotsky to the Soviet Union after his expulsion by Lenin." Trotsky, of course, was exiled by Stalin after Lenin's death — and not for engaging in bureaucratic practices but for fighting against them.

The Press at Work (IV) — Once upon a time the magazine, the *New Leader*, paid lip service to a milk-and-water variety of socialism. But for a good while now the magazine has been among the worst of the cold warriors. One of the justifications it offers for its rabid anti-communism is the pious claim that communism is "immoral." On July 10, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee disclosed that the *New Leader* had taken \$3,000 from a Chiang Kai-shek press agent in this country in return for an article favorable to Chiang's corrupt Formosa dictatorship.

Propaganda Problem — Complaining that few people in the world believe the propaganda beamed to them by the United States Information Agency, George

V. Allen, former director of the agency wrote in the Aug. 4 *New York Herald Tribune*: "Nothing has served to label the USIA as a propaganda agency more indelibly than the anti-Castro campaign, and nothing could have helped Castro more."

Mental Defector — "TRIESTE, Italy, July 19 (UPI) — A man who showed up in Milan saying he was a Russian psychiatrist defecting to the West turned out to be an escaped mental patient, police said yesterday."

Progress Report — The Boston Gas Company has placed two billboard advertisements in downtown Boston showing Negro and white children playing together on a slide. It's the first ad of its kind in Boston. A company spokesman said there have been many comments on the ad, all of them favorable.

Price of Pollution — The number of babies born with physical deformities in Alberta, Canada, in 1959 was 7.9 per 1,000 live births. In 1961 the figure shot up to 13.1 per thousand. That was the year nuclear testing in the atmosphere was resumed.

The Burning Question — A headline in the Aug. 12 *U.S. News & World Report* asks: "If Peace Does Come — What Happens to Business?"

Special March-on-Washington Offer



If you are a new reader you may obtain an introductory four-month subscription to *The Militant* for only 50 cents.

Name
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Send to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Thought for the Week

"If we're told to give up certain tactics because we might lose our white friends we can't be so sure we had those friends to begin with." — Whitney M. Young, Jr., executive director of the National Urban League.

Robert Kennedy Aids Racists

Indicts Negro Leaders in Albany, Ga.

By William Bundy

In their stepped-up drive to break the back of the militant civil-rights movement by "legal" means, Southern racists registered a great gain Aug. 9. On that date U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy came to the aid of Georgia's white-supremacist officials by announcing federal indictments of nine leaders and members of the Albany Movement. Three are charged with "conspiracy to injure and influence a federal juror," and six are charged with perjury.

The indictment, brought by a federal grand jury in Macon, charges that the leaders of the Albany Movement conspired to injure a juror who had served on a jury which ruled against a Negro. The case was a civil-rights suit brought by a Negro against the sheriff who had shot him. Those charged with conspiracy are W.G. Anderson, president of the Albany Movement, Robert Colbert and Luther Woodhall. The six charged with perjury in the questioning connected with the case are Miss Joni Rabinowitz, a New York student working as a summer volunteer with the civil-rights movement; Mrs. Goldie Jackson, secretary of the Albany Movement; Slater King, vice president; Rev. Samuel Wells; Thomas Chatman and Robert Thomas. Bonds range from \$2,500 to \$5,000 each. All but Miss Rabinowitz are Negroes from Albany.

The juror, Carl Smith, claimed that a Negro boycott and picketing, which resulted in the closing of his grocery store, was due to his jury duty. At the time the Smith store was being picketed last April, however, Mrs. Jackson declared that the pickets were

seeking employment of Negroes at Smith's store.

Mrs. Jackson said then that Smith had promised to hire a Negro cashier a year previously but had not done so. Albany Negroes have boycotted many stores for similar reasons and their boycott closed Albany's bus company.

During the picketing, Slater King declared that Smith's jury service was not at issue as far as the Albany Movement was concerned and that picketing of a person because of his individual judgment on a jury would be "morally wrong and a direct attack on the American system of laws." He added that "all picketing of merchants which has been sanctioned by the Albany Movement has been directed against discriminatory practices of merchants."

In this prosecution of the Albany Movement the U.S. Department of Justice is posing as an impartial body interested only in law and order, "impartially" prosecuting a racist here and a civil-rights group there.

But this is a farce. All Southern juries, including those in federal courts, are dominated by white racists — due to the failure of the federal government to protect the civil rights of Negroes. These juries automatically convict Negroes and acquit white racists in any dispute between the two. The racists don't have to worry about conviction, but Negroes and civil-rights advocates do.

For two years now, the white racist officials in and around Albany have been openly violating the federal constitution in their attacks on the Negro movement. Negroes there are arrested merely

for passing out handbills or carrying picket placards.

Under the circumstances, the federal prosecution can be interpreted only as a message to the Southern racists that they may proceed with immunity in their "legal" campaign to frame up those sections of the movement which have been militant enough to embarrass the Kennedy administration.

White-supremacist officials in Danville, Va., have also been extremely bold in their campaign to smash the civil-rights movement. The authorities there boast that officials from other Southern cities and towns are now visiting Danville to study the methods being used against the Negro demonstrators.

AMERICUS, Ga., Aug. 9 — Three field secretaries of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee are being held here on \$43,000 bail each. The three, who have been working on SNCC's Southwest Georgia project were jailed last night with two local Negroes after Sumter, County Sheriff Chappell shot 15 times over the heads of 300 Negroes leaving a mass meeting. The three who are charged with attempting to incite insurrection—are Donald Harris, a Negro of New York City; John Perdew, a white of Denver, Colo.; and Ralph Allen of Melrose, Mass. Harris was beaten by police.

BROWNSVILLE, Tenn. — Police here used tear gas, acid, cattle prods, sticks and fists to break up a group of Haywood County Negroes who tried to demonstrate against unemployment here Aug. 5. Eric Weinberger, a white man who has been working with the Haywood County movement since early 1962, was among those attacked and he received the worst injuries, though he did not resist. Two thirds of his body were touched by the acid solution, and he suffered dog bites on the face. Some of the sores have become infected. Weinberger spent a month in jail fasting in May and June after being arrested with nine others who took up the Freedom Walk of William Moore, the post-

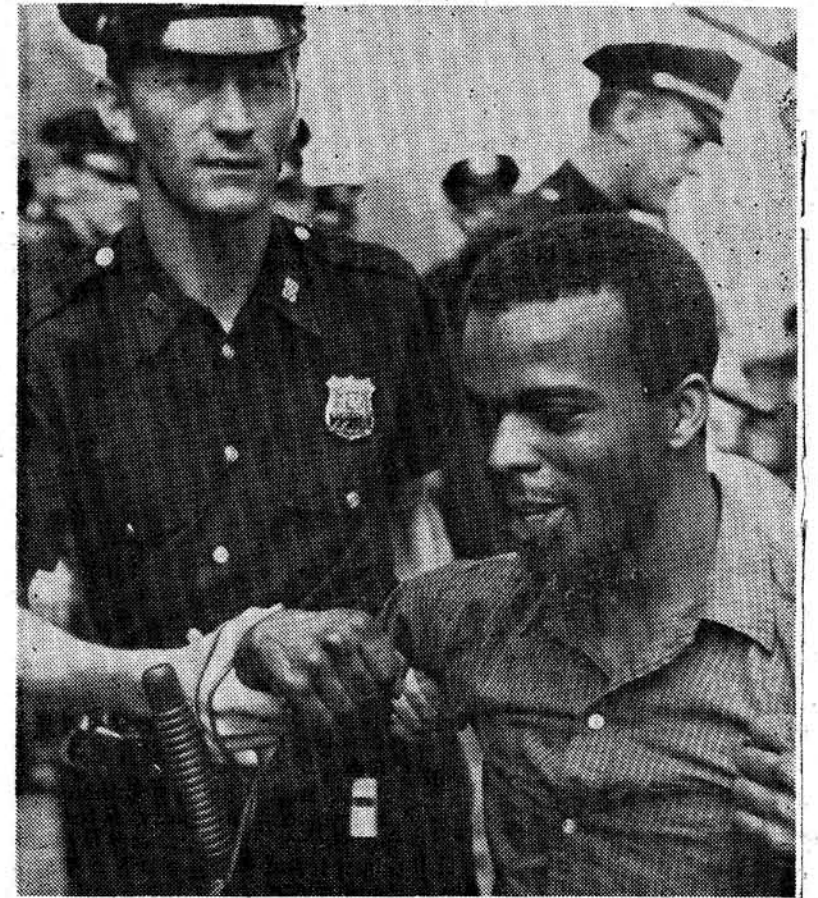


Photo by Robert Greger

"BEFORE I'LL BE A SLAVE . . ." Picket sings as cop arrests him for trying to stop truck from entering Downstate Medical Center construction site in Brooklyn. Repudiating ministers' agreement ending demonstrations in exchange for Gov. Rockefeller's promise to enforce anti-job-bias legislation, CORE continues to picket. Activists on the line call ministers' agreement a "sell out." CORE used sound trucks in Negro community to compile list of 56 skilled Negro construction workers and is now calling on state, city and union officials to find jobs for them.

man murdered in Alabama.

Weinberger helped a group of Negro women here — who suffered economic reprisals when they registered to vote — to set up a leather bag, belt and billfold industry. The women call themselves the Haywood Handicrafters, 307 W. Margin St., Brownsville, Tenn.

DANVILLE, Va., Aug. 8 — Seven civil-rights workers were arrested this afternoon after they celebrated a Court of Appeals decision voiding a Danville ordinance and injunction which prohibited demonstrations. Hundreds of arrests had been made under the injunction.

The seven, including Robert

Zellner, a field secretary for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, were dragged from the offices of the Danville Christian Progressive Association. They were charged with resisting arrest, disorderly conduct and violation of the injunction the court had just voided. Members of CORE and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were also among those arrested.

San Francisco Groups Unite To Press Fight on Racism

SAN FRANCISCO — The Negro community here has laid it on the line for the white power elite of this city. At a mass meeting of 1,500 Negroes and whites, leaders of the United Freedom Movement presented their demands for the end to all forms of discrimination in the city.

The United Freedom Movement is a local committee of ten organizations including CORE, NAACP, the Negro American Labor Council and most of the major Negro groups in the city.

Dr. Thomas N. Burbridge, Chairman of the local NAACP presented the United Freedom Movement's main demands. Stressing that lack of job opportunities was the most pressing concern of Negroes, he demanded: Tokenism in all industries and unions must be ended; a representative quota of Negroes be hired at all levels in all departments of public and private employment; contractors be required to hire a full complement of apprentices; and that an agreed-on quota of these be Negroes; unions that discriminate lose their privileged positions for their members in the city's trade schools. He pointed to the printing, insurance, movie theatre, and culinary fields as special areas of attack on job discrimination.

In housing Dr. Burbridge demanded at least 500 units of public housing scattered throughout the city; an end to displacing Negroes to build high priced apartments; and Negro representation on the Housing Commission. He also called for Negro representation on the Civil Service, Fire and all other city commissions.

Besides calling for full integration of all schools, demands in the

field of education centered on lily-white text books that ignored Negroes' contribution to America; teachers who used inflammatory racial language before students; and the low vocational aims many school counsellors offer to Negro youth.

Dr. Burbridge pointed to the electoral system that makes it almost impossible to elect Negroes to the San Francisco Board of supervisors; and to the racist attitude of the city's cops. "No more police dogs!" he demanded.

Want Confrontation

We will present these demands in a formal confrontation with representatives of San Francisco's power structure, Dr. Burbridge declared. He explained that all Negro organizations had rejected Mayor Christopher's proposal for a series of separate meetings of business, civic, and civil rights leaders because there would have been no confrontation between Negro leaders and those who had the power to move things in San Francisco.

Mayor Christopher himself drew the scorn of the United Freedom Movement. One speaker noted that a man who hires one single Negro in his dairy business only after mass pressure has been applied, and when he is up for election at that, is not a man to be trusted in the field of civil rights.

Dr. Carleton B. Goodlet, editor of the *Sun-Reporter*, expressed the mood of San Francisco Negroes. "We are a united movement," he declared, "We are developing a new young leadership. We don't want to displace the old leadership, but we want them to lead. If they won't lead, then don't let them hinder us. We are on our way!"

Governor Refuses to Drop Monroe, N.C., 'Kidnap' Case

An appeal by defense attorney's Conrad Lynn and William Kuntler of New York for a meeting to discuss disposing of the now two-year-old Monroe "kidnap" case, has been rejected by North Carolina Gov. Terry Sanford.

The frame-up kidnap case resulted from preparations by Monroe's Negro community to defend

itself from KKK thugs on Aug. 27, 1961, following police-encouraged rioting by thousands of white supremacists against Freedom Riders and Negro pickets who were protesting against segregation in downtown Monroe.

Indictments, which carry mandatory 20 years to life sentences, were brought against Robert F. Williams, local NAACP president who was forced to find refuge in Cuba from a national "shoot to kill" manhunt; John Lowry, 21, a white Freedom Rider from New York; Richard Crowder, 20, and Harold Reape, 18, both Monroe civil rights leaders; and Mrs. Mae Mallory, now fighting extradition from Ohio.

In his letter, Attorney Lynn called Sanford's attention to an article in the *Monroe Journal* last spring which reported that 999 out of 1,000 people in the area would welcome a dropping of the case, Lynn said.

Gov. Sanford replied by expressing his confidence in the "fairness" of the notoriously racist Monroe courts.

Contributions to help fight this frame-up may be sent to: Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, 168 W. 23rd St., New York 11, N.Y.



Robert F. Williams

N.Y. Cops Testing Tranquilizer Guns

NEW YORK — The police department here is considering using tranquilizer guns on humans to control "mobs." The gun, which can sink a hypodermic needle in a target 75 yards away, is now used in catching animals for zoos and in subduing those requiring medication.

The gun comes in rifle and pistol models and several kinds of drugs can be used in it — to induce instant sleep, bring pain similar to a wasp sting, or induce immediate nausea.

Dr. Steven McCloy, chief surgeon of the police department, said ballistic tests are now being made on the weapon and this will be followed by tests on animals. "The decision to use it on humans," he said, "will have to be made later by the police commissioner."

Palmer Chemical & Equipment Co., manufacturer of the gun, says it has received inquiries from hundreds of smaller police departments, but they are waiting for the gun to be tested by a larger city police force.

Dr. Shelton Feurt, who helped develop the weapon, is conferring with New York police on their possible use of it. He's very enthusiastic about the project but favors a physician being present when the gun is used on crowds. Apparently jealous of craft prerogatives, he says the responsibility for administering drugs belongs to a physician.

But maybe if the need is pressing, the AMA will deputize the cops as M.D.'s.