

Stage Biggest School Boycott Yet

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 27 - No. 39 Monday, November 4, 1963 Price 10c

Defend Algerian Revolution Against Moroccan Attack!

An appeal for full aid and solidarity with the Algerian Revolution against the attack launched by the Moroccan monarchy has been issued by the Fourth International, the world organization of revolutionary socialists founded by Leon Trotsky. (As we go to press, the UPI reports from Mali that Algeria and Morocco have agreed to a cease-fire.)

The major sectors of the world Trotskyist movement, reunited at a congress in Italy last summer after a long split, are represented by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International which issued the appeal.

The full text of the appeal follows.

The attack on Algeria is a desperate attempt by the decayed, feudal-capitalist regime of the Moroccan monarchy, backed by French, American and Spanish imperialism, to cut short the growing influence of the Algerian Revolution among the poverty-stricken masses of Morocco.

The Moroccan people have turned toward Algeria with hopeful eyes. They approve the deep-going agrarian reform, the sweeping nationalizations, the establishment of a socialist sector of the economy and the steps toward making Algeria the Cuba of Africa.

They have been impressed by the organization on a nation-wide scale of democratically elected Workers' Councils and Self-Management Committees.

They want Morocco to start down the road toward socialism the way Algeria has.

That is why King Hassan's court clique decided to strike at Algeria's revolutionary government and if possible bring it down. That is why King Hassan timed his attack to coincide with a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion inside Algeria in the Kabylie mountains.

But the military assault launched by the Moroccan monarch can have unexpected political consequences for his own unstable regime.

Already the most important opposition forces inside Morocco have responded to the revolutionary appeal of the Algerian government to overthrow Hassan II. They have publicly called for the defeat of the reactionary government they are cursed with. They are cheering for the victory of Algeria's revolutionary National People's Army.

If the Algerian Revolution spreads across the border into Morocco it would constitute a colossal blow to the whole neo-colonialist structure supported in West Africa by de Gaulle, U.S. imperialism and Franco's fascist regime.

For imperialism, this is a real and frightening possibility. The sectors of U.S. imperialism who see this most clearly are already calling for intervention by the United Nations.

These acts of aggression against the Algerian Revolution must not succeed!

The international labor movement must bring speedy help to the Algerian Revolution and block the aggression undertaken by imperialism through its stooges.

Hands off Algeria!
Defend the Algerian Revolution!
Down with Moroccan reaction!

Full aid and solidarity to the Algerian people and their government in mobilizing in defense of their Revolution against the attack launched by the Moroccan monarchy!

United Secretariat of the Fourth International

CHICAGO — Tuesday, Oct. 22, was "Freedom Day" in Chicago. It was the day of the biggest civil-rights boycott in the nation's history. Almost 200,000 elementary and high school students stayed away from classes. The students, mostly Negroes from the ghettos of the South Side and West Side, were protesting the re-hiring of School Superintendent Benjamin Willis.

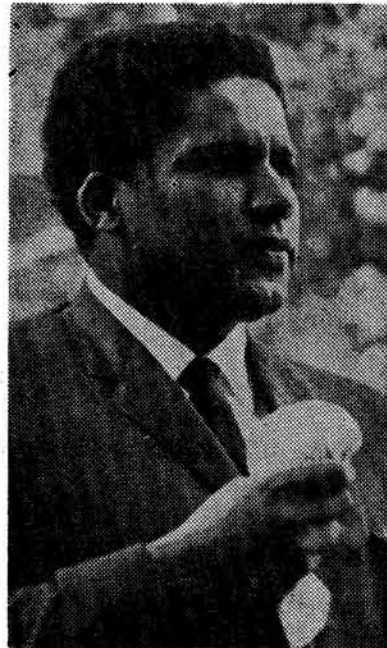
He had resigned under fire from his \$48,000-a-year job as czar of the Chicago school system after stubbornly resisting school desegregation demands. But the school board (appointed by Democratic Mayor Daley) refused to accept his resignation. Further boycott actions are being proposed to win Willis' ouster.

School teachers and Willis himself admitted that the boycott constituted a nearly unanimous show of strength, with 51.4 per cent of the elementary students absent (about 51 per cent of the city's elementary students are Negro) and 38.4 per cent of the high school students absent (about 33 per cent of the high school students are Negro).

The "Freedom Day" boycott was sponsored by the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, representing 16 major civil rights groups.

Some of the students attended "Freedom Schools" set up in 144 churches, union halls and community centers. The classes emphasized Negro history, dealing with figures from American history such as Crispus Attucks, Harriet Tubman and George Washington Carver. Volunteer teachers for these classes included about 300 teenagers of the "Student Advocates of Negro History."

While city and state officials were complaining about the loss of state aid (Willis estimated the loss at \$470,000), leaders of the boycott were jubilant about the community response. Lawrence Landry, organizer of the boycott, and co-head of the Chicago Area Friends of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, said the response to the boycott call was beyond his most optimistic expectations. "I don't like to take children out of school, but we are left with no alternative but to take to the streets . . . White millionaires can buy an ad



James Forman

to support Willis. We are poor and have to go to the streets to be heard," he told newsmen.

James Forman, national executive secretary of SNCC, who flew in from Atlanta for the boycott

and demonstration said: "The Negroes in Chicago will never be the same again. They have become aware of their power." Forman predicted "political suicide" for Mayor Daley if he doesn't see to it that Willis is fired.

Forman urged the boycotters to hold another "Freedom Day" within 30 days if Daley or the school board does not act on their demands for an end to "Willisism."

The "Freedom Day" boycott and demonstration was mobilized by extensive distribution of leaflets calling for "Thousands of Freedom Marchers" to "Show Chicago you're sick of Ben Willis-ism and 2nd rate education — right now!"

Sound trucks and Negro radio stations encouraged students to "cut classes." Students pasted "Freedom Day" stickers on walls, windows and lockers in their schools and neighborhoods. Sunday and Monday evenings saw teenagers parading through their neighborhoods singing freedom songs and urging fellow students to join them.

The second half of the protest against Willis and the segregation and inferior education which he

(Continued on Page 2)

A Bi-Partisan Gang-Up

Yank Teeth of Rights Bill

A bi-partisan gang-up by leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties in congress has succeeded in cutting the teeth of the House Judiciary subcommittee version of the civil rights bill.

Bowing to the wishes of President John F. Kennedy, the full committee Oct. 29 rejected the stronger subcommittee draft and voted 23 to 11 in favor of a draft even weaker than the one originally proposed by the administration in regard to voter registration.

The bi-partisan stripping of the most meaningful sections of the bill — particularly the anti-police-brutality provision (Title III) — was organized under the personal direction of the President and his brother the Attorney General.

The excuse the Kennedy's gave

— that only the weak bill could pass the House — was exploded by NAACP executive secretary Roy Wilkins in a statement Oct. 25. He pointed out that in 1956 the House, by a vote of 279 to 126, passed a civil rights bill containing Title III. The Republican vote for the bill, he pointed out, was 168 and the Democratic, only 111.

"Yet today," Wilkins said, "we are told that in order to get Republican support for a civil rights bill, this section must be eliminated. This position is even more astonishing when we remember that President Kennedy told a news conference last May that the federal government was 'without statutory authority' to act in Birmingham. Now that statutory authority has been offered, and the Attorney General has formally rejected it."

Will Discuss Ways to Advance Rights Fight

Grass-Roots Negro Parley Slated in Detroit

DETROIT — A genuine grass-roots conference of Negro freedom-fighters will be held here the weekend of Nov 9 and 10 under the auspices of the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL). It was decided to hold the conference after heads of the Detroit Council for Human Rights arbitrarily excluded certain subjects and speakers from the agenda of the Northern Negro Leadership Conference it had called for the same weekend. Rev. Albert Cleage, leading militant Negro spokesman, resigned from the DCHR, protesting its bureaucratic action and charging it would strip the parley of any effective meaning. He will participate in the grass-roots conference called by GOAL and will be the principal speaker at a wind-up rally on Sunday Nov. 10.

The GOAL conference will hold workshops throughout the day on Saturday. On Saturday morning there will be one on economic action which will deal with the questions of selective buying, a Christmas shopping boycott, and necessary changes in the economy to cope with the problem of unemployment.

This session will also discuss the recently formed All-Trades International Union, a Negro group which has begun to deal with the problem of providing union sponsorship for Negroes seeking to participate in state apprenticeship programs.

A Saturday afternoon session on political action will include the question of formation of a national Negro-led Freedom Now Party.

Later Saturday afternoon there will be a workshop on education which will discuss the feasibility of a national school boycott and evaluate the Chicago boycott and the Englewood experience.

GOAL Address

A session on Saturday evening will deal with the problem of self-defense against racist violence.

Participants coming for the conference and unable to provide their own housing can contact GOAL, Richard Henry president, at 11605 Linwood, phone 866-4505.

The moves of the DCHR leadership to drastically limit its slated conference was made public by Rev. Cleage in the Oct. 28 issue

of *Illustrated News*, of which he is contributing editor. The following are excerpts from the article in which Rev. Cleage tells why

(Continued on Page 2)

Drop 'Sedition' Charge Against Rights Group

NEW ORLEANS, La. — "Sedition" charges have been dismissed against James A. Dombrowski, executive director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Benjamin E. Smith, SCEF treasurer, and Bruce C. Walter.

The three were arrested Oct. 4 by Louisiana and New Orleans police at the behest of the Louisiana Committee on Un-American Activities and their homes and offices searched. Judge Bernard J. Cocke ruled Oct. 25 that the state had failed to produce a single fact to justify its actions against the SCEF.

... Detroit Civil Rights Parley

(Continued from Page 1)

he resigned from DCHR. For the complete article write to *Illustrated News*, 5385 Lovett, Detroit 10.

The Reverend Albert B. Cleage, Jr., announced his resignation from the executive board and the Conference planning committee of the Detroit Council for Human Rights following a special board meeting on last Tuesday evening in the New Bethel Baptist Church. Mr. Cleage, who headed up the planning committee for the Northern Negro Leadership Conference, stated that he could not accept the limitation which the Rev. C. L. Franklin, chairman of the DCHR, arbitrarily sought to impose upon the Conference and the planning committee.

The original Conference plans, approved by the board, authorized an "open Conference" to which delegates from all Negro organizations in all Northern urban centers would be welcome. It was agreed that any realistic attempt to develop a practical basis for Negro unity and cooperation in the North could only be achieved upon the basis of free and open discussion and decision by individuals representing all shades of Negro opinion.

Four basic areas of concern were selected for discussion because they offered possibilities for the development of a unified program of concerted action. Looking toward united political action for '64, the discussion was to have centered around an evaluation of the Freedom Now Party. In the area of economic action the discussion was to have centered around a selective patronage against General Motors and the Christmas boycott.

In addition, workshops dealing with *de facto* segregation in Northern schools and methods of combating housing discrimination were to have been included.

Voiced Fears

At the DCHR board meeting the Reverend Mr. Franklin voiced his fears that the Leadership Conference might be infiltrated by "black nationalists and other radical groups" from the East who would hold positions on social, political and economic issues with which he could not agree. "This must be prevented at all costs," he insisted. When inquiry was made as to the mechanics by which he hoped to control the actions of delegates to the Conference, he had no answer but replied that it must be done to prevent any Conference endorsement of the Freedom Now Party — because as DCHR chairman he "could not afford to be labeled a black nationalist like Marcus Garvey."

Rev. Cleage pointed out that he belonged to the Freedom Now Party and had invited Attorney Conrad Lynn and William Worthy, national leaders of the Freedom Now Party, to the Conference with the consent of the board. Mr.



Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr.

Franklin insisted that the Conference could not consider the Freedom Now Party nor could it criticize the philosophy of non-violence. Mr. Cleage pointed out that Negroes everywhere are questioning the practicality of a philosophy of non-violence which precludes the possibility of self-defense. The Rev. Mr. Franklin stated that he had been disgusted by an article in the *Liberator* magazine criticizing Dr. King's philosophy and strategy. Mr. Cleage advised that the editor of the *Liberator* has accepted an invitation to serve on the Conference advisory committee.

Protested Change

DCHR board members protested the sudden change in Conference policy, and the meeting adjourned in general confusion.

In explaining his resignation Mr. Cleage stated that in his opinion the DCHR has already outlived its very limited usefulness. It lacked the vision necessary to maintain the fleeting spectacular June 23 Freedom March, and essentially the Freedom March itself was a hollow thing without substance.

The same fear of offending white people which crowded its first platform with white "liberals," labor leaders and politicians, now forces it to repudiate the black revolution and the aspirations of black men and women who fight to be free.

The DCHR cannot stop independent Negro political action by forbidding discussion of the Freedom Now Party nor can the DCHR destroy the black man's new image of himself by calling it "black nationalism." The DCHR can only destroy itself in a futile effort to curry the favor of the white press and the white community.

Like Prairie Fire

The Negro revolt sweeps across the nation like a prairie fire, Mr. Cleage stated. Everywhere the Negro masses are demanding FREEDOM NOW, and they are willing to march, to protest, to sacrifice and to go to jail if need be in support of their demands. However, much of its energy is being dissipated in empty gestures designed only to dramatize the fact of protest . . .

The DCHR faces the basic decision which must be faced by every Negro civil-rights organization. The empty protest of the freedom march and the mass rally must be replaced by independent black political action, and by regional and national economic action by united Negro communities. Effective united action must also be taken in the areas of school and housing discrimination. The instruments for effective action are ready at hand but Negro "leaders" are being frightened by a concerted campaign in the white community to make the Freedom Now Party appear dangerous and subversive.

Independent Negro political ac-

tion threatens the political status quo which offers the Negro no hope for the future. The white man must fight this kind of effective action. Slater King's candidacy in Albany, Ga., frightened the entire South. Gloria Richardson's refusal to support a referendum on constitutionally guaranteed civil rights for the Negro also frightened the white community, as does the Detroit Negro's opposition to millage until Negro children are given equal education opportunities in the Detroit schools. The empty protest of the freedom march must now be replaced by such effective economic boycotts as the proposed national Christmas boycott.

Lumped Together

All of these effective instruments for Negro liberation are lumped together and called "black nationalism" and Negro "leaders" are cautioned to avoid them at any cost. But the Negro masses have learned that they have the power to force concessions in those areas of American life from which they are excluded or in which they are denied equality of opportunity through the use of political and economic sanctions. Negro organizations must recognize this power and be willing to use it for the accomplishment of Negro objectives.

"In renouncing the independent black political action represented by the Freedom Now Party and the new Negro image which is called 'black nationalism,' the DCHR has renounced any reason for its existence," Mr. Cleage concluded.

DETROIT — Rev. Albert B. Cleage has accepted the state chairmanship of the Michigan Committee for a Freedom Now Party. The committee also announced that the State Board of Elections has approved its petition form and committee supporters are now opening a drive to secure the signatures of 30,000 voters in the state (double the required minimum) in order to place a Negro ticket on the state ballot for the 1964 elections.

Ban U.S. Travel by 2 Indicted for Cuba Trip

NEW YORK — Two of the students indicted for travel to Cuba have been forbidden by a federal judge to travel within their own country to speak on their case.

The judge had previously ruled that the two students, Phillip Luce and Levi Laub, could not leave New York City while they are under bond on the indictments. Leonard B. Boudin, counsel for the students, filed briefs Oct. 28 asking the judge to reconsider the restriction, but federal district attorney Frank Hoey said the government doesn't want the students making speaking tours challenging the constitutionality of the travel ban. The government refused to file briefs on the question until after Nov. 7, so the ruling stands for the time being.

This prevents appearances by the students, said Luce, on a tour of East Coast colleges under sponsorship of the National Student Association. It also prevents them appearing at a meeting scheduled at the University of Chicago Nov. 8.

"Our voices will be heard in Chicago, however," said Luce. "We'll use a tape recorder and we'll talk precisely on how the travel ban is an unconstitutional outrage."

In another development, charges of felonious assault against Fred Jerome, editor of *Progressive Labor*, were dismissed Oct. 25. The complainant failed to appear in court. Jerome was accused of injuring a Cuban counterrevolutionary who had attempted to disrupt a meeting at Town Hall here Sept. 15 at which the indicted students spoke.

'No More Cheeks to Turn' Says Group in Ann Arbor

By R. Caulfield

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — Among the many militant Negro nationalist organizations springing up around the country is the Ann Arbor Direct Action Committee. DAC is made up primarily of young Negro students and workers.

For it the key weapon in the Negro struggle for equality, justice and jobs is protest actions. When complaints of job discrimination are brought to the committee, it investigates then negotiates. If its demands are not met, it is ready to engage in protest demonstrations. DAC has held joint picket lines with Detroit's militant civil-rights organizations, Uhuru.

DAC evolved as the action arm of the Ann Arbor Friends of the Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating

Committee around a local case of police brutality. An Ann Arbor cop shot a young Negro in the back because he thought the youth had stolen his brother's car. Luckily the youth lived. No disciplinary action was taken against the cop until DAC demonstrated three weeks later against police brutality. On that day the cop suddenly resigned.

DAC's next success was with the city's three A & P stores. After investigation and considerable negotiation, DAC threatened to demonstrate against the chain. The stores immediately changed their racist policy and began hiring Negroes for responsible positions.

In DAC's newly adopted program there are three important points. 1) Its members consider themselves a Negro vanguard trying to organize Ann Arbor blacks against white oppression. 2) They believe in organized self-defense. They say, "We have no more cheeks to turn; if we are attacked we will defend ourselves." 3) They are for independent political action and the Freedom Now Party. They feel that political action is the only way that the Negro people will really be able to gain equality, justice and jobs.

Charlie Thomas, chairman of DAC, feels that 400 years of waiting and hoping are already too many. "We have no need for steering committees and discussion clubs. We need action. Democrats, Republicans and white liberals have all sold us down the drain. We must begin to organize to lead our struggle. Black people must decide their own future."

... CHICAGO

(Continued from Page 1)

symbolizes was a demonstration by some ten to 20 thousand marchers at City Hall and the Board of Education building late Tuesday afternoon. The marchers, mostly grade and high school students and adults, circled City Hall carrying picket signs and then brought rush hour traffic to a standstill while jamming the sidewalk and street at the front of the Board of Education building where they were addressed by civil rights leaders of local and national prominence, including James Forman, Dick Gregory, Lawrence Landry, Rose Simpson and representatives of NAACP.

The call for removal of Willis was the point most emphasized by the chants and signs of the spirited demonstrators. However they also made clear their opposition to the School Board, Mayor Daley, and Chicago's Jim Crow school system with such slogans as "Freedom from Willis and his Boot-Licking School Board," "Willis Down Now, Daley Down Later," "Do Away with Ghetto Schools."

The Student Advocates of Negro History carried signs reading "Willis — Wallace — What's the Difference?" "History is not All-White. Teach us about the Black Man!" "Teach us about Frederick Douglas, Harriet Tubman, Ida Wells."

Other signs called for a break with the Democratic and Republican representatives of the white power structure by building an all-black Freedom Now Party. Several thousand copies of the Call for a Freedom Now Party were distributed by representatives of the Committee for a Freedom Now Party. They stated that response was enthusiastic.

Cleveland Teacher Gives Series on Negro History

CLEVELAND — A series of six Sunday night lectures on "The History of the Negro in the United States" are being given here by Bernard Mandel, author of *Labor: Free and Slave* and a biography of Samuel Gompers.

Dr. Mandel, a teacher and president of the Cleveland Negro History Association, will indicate in these talks the extent to which the role of the Negro in American history has been distorted and denigrated, when not completely ignored, in history books.

The demand for integrated schools, his lectures point up, means not only physical integration but recognition that the history lessons taught our children are incomplete and biased and must be changed to include the contributions of the Negro people.

The lectures are being given at Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave., at 7:30 p.m. each Sunday, continuing through December 1st.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

THE NHU FRONTIER — U.S. Imperialism in South Vietnam. Speaker, Joyce Daniels. Fri., Nov. 8, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, Room 210, 302 South Canal St. Aisp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE SINO-SOVIET RIFT. Speaker, Tom Kerry, editor, *International Socialist Review*. Fri., Nov. 8, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c.). Aisp. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN DIEGO

CLIFTON DE BERRY, Socialist Workers candidate for New York City Council, speaks on *The Negro Revolution*. Tues., Nov. 19, 8 p.m., Elks Hall, corner Hensley & Commercial (west of 28th St.) Aisp. San Diego Labor Forum.



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➤ In 1953, at the same time that Senator McCarthy began his "investigations", Washington correspondent I. F. Stone launched his now-famous *Weekly*, a crusading one-man periodical dedicated to political sanity, honesty and human dignity.

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THE MILITANT

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

Vol. 27 - No. 39 345 Monday, November 4, 1963

Lift the Blockade

Two days after Cuban Premier Fidel Castro placed the U.S. government "on trial before world opinion" to end its criminal economic blockade of the disaster-stricken island which had suffered five days of unparalleled destruction by Hurricane Flora, the State Department announced with cold brutality that the blockade would go on. It's reason? Cuba's alleged "efforts to overthrow governments in this hemisphere by violence, terror and subversion."

But the world knows that it has been the men in Washington, not Havana, who are guilty of this. They sponsored the Bay of Pigs invasion and threatened a full-scale invasion of Cuba last year. The Kennedy administration uses its economic, military and diplomatic might to try to bring down the Cuban government. In addition to barring U.S. trade, Washington continues its policy of economic blackmail against any Western country that engages in shipping to Cuba. This slows down the shipment of aid from those countries that do want to help the Cuban people in their hour of great need.

The present situation rips the masks off the hypocrites in Washington — from Kennedy on down — who piously declare they are only opposed to the Castro government and don't want to do anything to harm the Cuban people.

The Cuban people have suffered one of the worst natural catastrophes of recent times. The floods wiped out entire towns, demolished a large part of the island's crops, destroyed roads and sewage systems.

Yet the Cuban people do not ask for charity to overcome this disaster. They welcome with gratitude all help freely given. But all they ask of the government of the U.S. is that it permit freedom of the seas to those who do want to ship needed materials to their country.

On the basis of elementary human compassion alone, the American people should speak out and demand an end to Washington's barbaric efforts to exploit the hurricane devastation for its reactionary ends. In the tradition of fair play and simple decency, Americans of all political viewpoints should join in demanding of the Kennedy administration: *Don't stand in the way of aid to Cuba. LIFT THE EMBARGO!*

Drive Nets 800 New Militant Subs In 2 Weeks; Chicago Sets the Pace

By Karolyn Kerry

The response to our appeal in the Oct. 21 issue of *The Militant* to complete our campaign quota of 5,000 new subscribers by Nov. 15 — one month in advance of the original deadline of Dec. 15 — has been most gratifying.

In the two week period from Oct. 21 through Oct. 30 we received approximately 800 introductory subscriptions. In addition, a number of area groups have voluntarily raised their original quotas, lifting our total accepted quota to over 6,000.

The Chicago group, pace-setters from the beginning, has doubled its quota — from 750 to 1,500. Sub director Bev writes:

"We discussed the sub quota last week and decided to double it. The way things are looking now, we will have no trouble at all meeting the new quota. Chicago would like to challenge all other cities to double their quotas too. Certainly we are no exception and I'm sure they are now finding out, as we did, how easy it is to get introductory subs to *The Militant*."

In line with the Chicago action other areas have already upped their quotas. Newark, which began with a quota of 150, has already exceeded that number and has raised its quota to 250.

San Diego, with an original quota of 50, went over the top and doubled it with a new target of 100. Denver jumped from 25 to 150 after exceeding its initial quota. Detroit lifted its quota from 500 to 650.

All of the above-mentioned areas are confident they can meet their new and higher quotas by Nov. 15, the 35th Anniversary date of *The Militant*. It is this

spirit that impels us to predict that we can all look forward to commemorating 35 years of publication by being able to announce that we have added 5,000 new readers to our roster on target date: Nov. 15.

Most encouraging are the subs and comments from areas where there are no organized groups and which are listed in the scoreboard under the designation: "General." Typical of the observations made are that *The Militant* is unique in its coverage of the civil rights struggle and as a paper of record publishing important texts of speeches and pronouncements by leaders of the Cuban revolution.

We would like to hear from all areas what their response will be to the Chicago challenge. Especially from those areas which are still lagging very badly behind.

City	Quota	Total
Chicago	1500	1177
New York	1000	780
Detroit	650	461
Twin Cities	300	207
Newark	250	180
Boston	250	155
Oakland/Berkely	375	110
Cleveland	100	99
San Diego	100	83
Milwaukee	150	73
Madison	100	71
Seattle	100	68
Philadelphia	150	67
San Francisco	250	38
Ann Arbor	50	31
Denver	150	31
Baltimore	50	22
Los Angeles	500	21
Connecticut	75	9
St. Louis	15	4
General		111
Total (Oct. 30)	6115	3798

Wanted: New Name for Labor Bureaucrats

By George Breitman

DETROIT — Would some thought and attention result in the coining of a term to describe the misleaders of the labor movement that would be as apt and popular as "Uncle Tom" is for misleaders of the Negro struggle?

If so, let us give it the necessary thought and attention. Because the popularity of the term "Uncle Tom" is not only a result of the long struggle for equality — it is also a weapon in the mass communication of ideas to promote that struggle. It is a weapon of exposure and ridicule, just as badly needed in the unions today as in the Negro movement.

Of course there are disagreements about the use or misuse of "Uncle Tom."

P. L. Prattis, in the Sept. 21 *Pittsburgh Courier*, complains that the character in Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel really was a fine fellow, and that it is unfair to apply his name to compromisers, opportunists and traitors.

Cleage's Definition

Rev. Albert B. Cleage, in the course of a penetrating article on the dilemma of black leadership in the Sept. 16 *Illustrated News*, argues that, strictly speaking, an Uncle Tom is one who deliberately and for his own personal gain betrays the Negro's best interests, and that compromisers and gradualists don't deserve the name unless that element of personal gain is involved. (He concludes, however, that gradualist leaders who can't understand the new moods of the Negro masses deserve to be called Uncle Tom, if only as a punishment for being slow-witted.)

The use of the term has now been debated in a courtroom too. On Oct. 16 a jury in Akron ruled that it is a libelous term when applied to a Negro and awarded Bertha B. Moore \$32,000 in damages against a Negro weekly, the *Cleveland Call and Post*.

False Report?

Mrs. Moore, a local Democratic Party vice chairman and state auto license registrar, charged the *Call and Post* with falsely reporting that ex-Gov. DiSalle, also a Democrat, had called her an Uncle Tom at a meeting in 1962. DiSalle supported her version by deposing that he had not called her a Tom.

In the five-day trial, Mrs. Moore said an Uncle Tom is one who "sells out" his convictions and others of his race for money, prestige or political preference. The *Call and Post* publisher, William O. Walker, argued that the term means "one with whom you disagree" but implies no disloyalty to the Negro race.

The judge asked the jury (all-white!) to decide whether the term was derogatory and imputed to Mrs. Moore "conduct that tends to harm her reputation and lower her in the estimation of the community and deters persons from



George "....." Meany

associating or dealing with her." They decided that it did.

If the Akron jury decision is upheld in the courts generally, it may make people a little more cautious about using the term in writing. But it will not make it any less popular among the Negro masses. They are not much interested in fine points about its history, etc. They know what it means and how to use it appropriately. The Uncle Toms know what it means too and how effective it can be; and so do all the aspirants to leadership and influence in the Negro community.

But let me get back to the point I started out with: Can't we find a similarly appropriate name for the present leaders of the labor movement?

As a type, they certainly are clearly distinguishable. George Meany and Walter Reuther have different styles and different backgrounds. But on the basic things they are alike.

They are as subservient to the capitalist class as any Uncle Tom ever was to his master. They dampen, discourage and stamp out rank and file militancy wherever they can. They believe in, advocate and practice moderation, compromise with the employers

and gradualism in their most blatant forms. They try to prevent strikes. They restrict union democracy. They are unwilling or afraid to fight racial discrimination. They turn labor into a tail on the Democratic donkey. They defend and support every twist and turn in U.S. imperialist foreign policy. And for their betrayals of the workers' interests, they are rewarded with enough "money, prestige or political preference" so that they constitute a caste separate and apart from the working people in conduct and consciousness.

What should this type of union leader be called?

It was Daniel De Leon, I believe, who introduced the expression "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class." Scientifically, this is correct and even good. But it's not the kind of term that rolls off your tongue easily. It's too long. It's not colorful enough. The same criticisms apply to the term "labor bureaucracy" which seems to be favored by writers for *The Militant*.

Other Attempts

There have been other attempts. "Piecard" is one. "Porkchopper" is another. For some reason they never caught on widely. They are still used in certain unions and cities, but not generally.

I am not claiming that finding the right name for the union leaders will make the labor movement as militant as the Negro movement has become; obviously, more than a new name is needed. But every little bit helps. And if someone can hit on a name for the Meany and Reuthers as fitting as Uncle Tom, which will help to expose them and lower them "in the estimation of the community" and "deter persons from associating or dealing" with them, he will be doing a service to the labor, civil rights and radical movements.

Socialist Education Fund

Cleveland Ups the Ante

By Marvel Scholl
Fund Director

Good news from Cleveland this week — an increase in their quota from \$500 to \$650! And they pledged this increase even though it dropped them three percentage points and put them next to the bottom of the list. But with such spirit we are certain they will soon be vying with Chicago for top billing.

The rest of the news this week was not so good, as noted in the scoreboard below. Since last week we increased only three percent. Since the Fund time-span is more than half over it behooves our friends to hurry a bit.

I would like to make a special appeal this week to those readers of *The Militant* who have been subscribers for a long, long time.

Most of you respond generously to our fund appeals. You recognize that this is one way you can continue to do your share in helping to educate the new young generation which is just now awakening to the need for a basic social change in this country, if any of the real problems are to be solved — civil liberties and equal rights for the embattled Negro people; civil rights and liberties for all the rest of us — the right to travel, for instance; a solution to the growing problem of unemployment as workers are displaced by push-buttons; Medicare for the aged; better schools for our children; adequate housing at reasonable rents so that workers will not have to live in rat- and roach-infested slums.

Young people newly awakened to the socialist answer to these problems are wonderful. Their verve and energy is inexhaustible. But unless they develop a solid understanding of what they are doing and why, and how, much of this energy and enthusiasm can be dissipated. Your dollars can make the difference in this necessary educational process.

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Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Chicago	1,300	700	54
General	100	54	54
Milwaukee	250	132	53
Minneapolis-St. Paul	850	425	50
St. Louis	100	50	50
Connecticut	200	88	44
New York	4,300	1,634	38
Detroit	700	251	36
Boston	600	205	34
Oakland-Berkeley	600	179	30
San Francisco	650	130	20
Los Angeles	4,300	870	20
Seattle	500	85	17
San Diego	300	42	14
Denver	100	13	13
Philadelphia	300	38	13
Newark	200	22	11
Cleveland	650	60	9
Allentown	150	00	00
Totals to Oct. 28	\$16,150	\$4,978	31

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An Answer to the Chinese Comi

By E. Germain

The article "On the Question of Stalin," published September 13 by the joint editorial boards of the Peking *People's Daily* and *Red Flag* as the second in a series of answers to the "Open Letter of the Central Committee of the CPSU," [Communist party of the Soviet Union] is undoubtedly the worst contribution of the Chinese Communist Party [CCP] in the present discussion in the world Communist movement, the one which does most damage to the favorable reception given up to now to the CCP and the one which most seriously hinders the progress of Communist cadres and militants towards revolutionary Marxism insofar as it is being advanced by this discussion.

Full of factual errors and distortions, it is also loaded with contradictions either within the article itself or with other important documents of the CCP or recent declarations made by Mao Tse-tung.

But the most striking aspect of the article is its complete divorce from reality. Nobody with the slightest knowledge of the opinions or aspirations of the masses inside the Soviet Union or the East European workers states can take seriously a statement like this: "This great majority of the Soviet people disapprove of such abuse of Stalin. They increasingly [!] cherish the memory of Stalin."

Any attempt by the leaders of the CCP to build their tendency within the world Communist movement on such a line can only lead to rapid and increasing isolation, greatly facilitating the efforts of the Khrushchevite tendency to re-establish monolithism and some kind of central bureaucratic control over the greater part of the world Communist movement.

We are convinced that the leaders and members of the left-wing oppositional tendencies inside the CPs of the colonial and imperialist countries will also rapidly discover this through their own experience. We are convinced that they will warn their Chinese comrades with increasing insistence that a fight against right-wing revisionism that at the same time attempts to revive the cult of Stalin is doomed from the beginning. We are convinced that they will raise the slogan, "In the fight against Khrushchev's revisionism, let's not go back to Stalin but move forward to full-fledged Leninism." And we are convinced that with the help of experience and fraternal discussion, this slogan will find increasing echoes within the Chinese CP itself, including its leadership. For that reason, we think it worth while to submit the article "On the Question of Stalin" to much more searching criticism than it intrinsically deserves in hope that it will help speed the process of clarification among left-wing Communists, in China as well as everywhere else.

Some of the arguments advanced in the article "On the Question of

Stalin" are so self-defeating that they seem almost naive. The authors write:

"Khrushchev has maligned Stalin as a 'despot of the type of Ivan the Terrible.' Does not this mean that the experience of the great CPSU and the great Soviet people provided over 30 years for peoples the world over was not the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but that of life under the rule of a feudal 'despot'? ... Khrushchev has maligned Stalin as a 'fool.' Does not this mean that the CPSU, which waged heroic revolutionary struggles over the past decades, had a 'fool' as its leader?"

They seem to forget a detail. The Soviet people and the CPSU have been led for nearly ten years now by a group headed by Khrushchev whom this very same article denounces as a slanderer, a maligner, a falsifier of history, a fool, a coward, a splitter of the world Communist movement, an objective agent of revisionism that serves as a bourgeois agency within the working-class movement. Other CCP documents have compared Khrushchev and his group to the social-patriots of 1914 whom Lenin termed "bourgeois agents within the working-class movement." Yet these repellent figures have been at the head of the CPSU for some ten years and have been part of the top leadership of the Soviet Union for 30 years! Why should this be assumed to be a self-apparent absurdity in the case of Stalin and yet be taken as perfectly logical in the case of Khrushchev?

The authors of the article "On the Question of Stalin" say that Khrushchev maligned Stalin in his secret speech at the Twentieth



Stalin

Congress of the CPSU when he admitted that Stalin had murdered the main cadres of Lenin's Bolshevik party. They dare to say that this admission is a "distortion of historic truth." But facts are facts! Let the leaders of the Chinese CP answer these questions:

Yes or no, did Stalin execute the majority of the members of the Leninist Central Committee that led the October Revolution, founded the Soviet state and the Third International, and won the Civil War?

Yes or no, were these great Communist leaders murdered under the vile slander and absurd accusation that they were "spies and agents of fascism and imperialism" not only from the moment they opposed Stalin but even before the first world war?

Yes or no, did Stalin murder not only thousands of Communists in the political opposition but also the majority of delegates to the Fifteenth and Sixteenth party congresses of the CPSU; i.e., the majority of Communist cadres who had supported him against the Trotskyist Opposition but who were still too much tied to the old Bolshevik tradition to accept the monstrous Moscow trials and the systematic use of lies, slander and physical violence to "solve" inner-party discussions?

We venture to predict that the authors of the article "On the Question of Stalin" will not attempt to answer these questions. No honest answer is possible but "yes." Yet if the answer is "yes," then it follows that Khrushchev did not "malign" and "slander" Stalin in his secret speech at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. What he did was to admit part of the historical truth and reveal some fresh details. Against this truth, sophisms evaporate like snow in the sun.

The authors of the article even dare to approve an old speech made by Khrushchev in January 1937 in which the present first secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU said of those who opposed Stalin, "In lifting their hand against Comrade Stalin, they lifted it against all of us, against the working class and the working people!"

Have the authors of the article forgotten that the first one to "lift his hand" against Stalin was no one but Lenin himself? Have they forgotten Lenin's testament, in which the founder of Bolshevism advised the Central Committee to remove Stalin from his post of general secretary? By making this judgment of Stalin, calling for his removal, did Lenin "lift his hand against the working class?"

An "Error"

The leaders of the CCP fall into another glaring contradiction when on the one hand they try to defend Stalin against Khrushchev's "maligning" him as a murderer and a despot while on the other hand they themselves state:

"On certain [!] occasions and on certain questions, he [Stalin] confused two types of contradictions which are different in nature, contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, and contradictions among the people, and also confused the different methods needed in handling them. In the work led by Stalin of suppressing the counter-revolution, many counter-revolutionaries deserving punishment were duly punished. But at the same time there were innocent people who were wrongly convicted, and in 1937 and 1938 there occurred the error [!] of enlarging the scope of the suppression of counter-revolutionaries."

What was the scale of this "error"? Zinoviev, first head of the Communist International, was shot as a counter-revolutionist. So was Bukharin who succeeded Zinoviev as the leading figure of the Comintern. So was Kamenev, member of the Leninist Political Bureau. Trotsky, founder of the Red Army, was murdered by an agent of Stalin. Rykov, another member of the Leninist Political Bureau and former chief of the Soviet government, was executed as a counter-revolutionist. Piatakov, Radek, Sokolnikov, Rakovskii, Smilga, Serebriakov, I. N. Smirnov, Muralov and many others were similarly liquidated.

Do the leaders of the Chinese CP believe that all these Communists, these comrades-in-arms of Lenin, the majority of the members of the Central Committee in which Lenin sat from 1917 to 1923, were really counter-revolutionaries? Do the leaders of the Chinese CP believe that the top staff of the Red Army, executed after a secret mock "trial" in 1937, were really counter-revolutionaries? Do the leaders of the Chinese CP believe that the majority of the delegates of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth congresses of the CPSU were really counter-revolutionaries?

Their dilemma is insoluble. If they say "yes" then the only possible conclusion is that the Soviet Union was founded by counter-revolutionaries and Lenin himself guided the Communist party and the Soviet Union until he died with the help of a majority of

"counter-revolutionists, spies and fascist agents." In that case, by the logic used by the leaders of the Chinese CP, he was a fool if not worse. The banner must then be raised for the "rehabilitation" of Lenin against the authors of the article as apologists for the crimes of Stalin!

If they say "no," if they decide that these slaughtered comrades were innocent victims of Stalin's purges, "innocent people wrongly convicted," then how can they reduce this mass slander and mass murder, often accompanied by mass torture, of thousands of old



Lenin

Bolsheviks and the majority of Lenin's closest collaborators to a mere "error" and react indignantly when someone speaks the truth and calls Stalin what he was, a despot and a murderer?

The authors of the article "On the Question of Stalin" declare: "Khrushchev has maligned Stalin as 'the greatest dictator in Russian history.' Does this not mean that the Soviet people lived for 30 long years under the 'tyranny' of the 'greatest dictator in Russian history,' and not under the socialist system?" By stating the question in this form, the authors only prove that they have not yet learned how to distinguish between the socio-economic foundations of society and its political superstructure.

In the history of capitalism many different forms of state and government have appeared, from the extremes of autocracy and fascist dictatorship to what Lenin called "the most advanced forms of bourgeois democratic republics" (including those in which citizens keep arms in their homes as in Switzerland or Nineteenth-Century America). In the Soviet Union, capitalism was overthrown by the October Revolution and has not been restored since. Property relations remain those of socialization, of a transition towards socialism. The bourgeoisie has completely disappeared as a class.

But just as political counter-revolutions proved possible after the decisive victory of the bourgeois revolution and the definitive establishment of capitalist property relations (for example, the Restoration of 1815 in France) so, experience has shown, a political counter-revolution can destroy the political power of the working class after the destruction of capitalism without qualitatively modifying the socialized property relations.

Such a political counter-revolution occurred in the Soviet Union under Stalin. The social layer that dispossessed the Soviet proletariat in the exercise of political power was the bureaucracy. That there exists a deep antagonism between this bureaucracy and the proletariat is not a "Trotskyite" invention. In his last years Lenin had deep misgivings about the increasing power of the bureaucracy and he was constantly warning about it and preparing for the coming struggle with it. In the final codicil to his testament, which was published for the first time in the Soviet Union only two years ago, Lenin proposed that several hundred workers should be

brought into the Central Committee while remaining on the job.

The majority of the Central Committee decided not to act on this advice. They completely misunderstood or underestimated the danger of the bureaucracy as a social formation. Unwittingly they thereby facilitated Stalin's destruction of Soviet and party democracy and the establishment of his bureaucratic dictatorship. When they finally grasped the danger, it was too late. For this mistake they paid with their lives.

Left Opposition

It will remain the eternal merit of Trotsky and the Left Opposition to have correctly understood the gravity of the danger from the time of Lenin's death. They correctly defended a policy of industrialization and the maintenance of Soviet democracy. Success in this could have limited the bureaucratic deformation of state and party. Although they suffered defeat, their struggle saved the honor of Bolshevism and the program of communism, making it possible to transmit these precious assets to a new generation. The cause of the Left Opposition became the cause of the Fourth International. It is the cause of revolutionary Marxism today, the cause of Leninism.

Khrushchev and the ruling strata of the Soviet bureaucracy, it is true, are trying to transform Stalin into a scapegoat for the collective crimes committed by the bureaucracy and the leadership of the CPSU in the 1930s and later. When the authors of the article "On the Question of Stalin" recall Khrushchev's declarations in 1937-38, when they refer obliquely to Khrushchev's own role as a butcher of Ukrainian Communists and intellectuals during the *Yezhovchina*, they do well, be it for obscure reasons of their own.

They write, for instance: "Why does Khrushchev, who was in the leadership of the party and the state in Stalin's period, and who actively supported and firmly [!] executed the policy of suppressing counter-revolutionists, repudiate everything done during this period and shift the blame for all the errors on to Stalin alone, while altogether white-washing himself?"

This scores a good debating point and at the same time serves the more serious purpose of warning Khrushchev that if the fight becomes rougher, the Chinese, or people allied to them, might at a certain point begin disclosing specific crimes committed during the period of the purges by Khrushchev and other associates of his now on the Praesidium of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

If this approach is pursued, two possibilities are open. One is to whitewash Stalin which also whitewashes Khrushchev and the whole Soviet bureaucracy. The other is to indict Khrushchev and the rest of his colleagues for their joint responsibility in Stalin's crimes. The Chinese leaders seem — for the time being — to have adopted the first course. This leads away from the truth, away from Leninism, away from the Soviet masses. As for us, we prefer the other course.

Un-Marxist Theory

The authors of the article under examination satisfy themselves with denouncing the completely un-Marxist theory of the "personality cult," without attempting to offer a Marxist, dialectical materialist explanation of the contradictions of Soviet society. Indeed, they even maintain that these contradictions are essentially nonexistent and that all that is involved is the "interrelationship of leaders, party, class and masses."

This is all the stranger in view of the fact that Mao Tse-tung himself, as late as 1957, i.e., after the Hungarian Revolution, in his

Moscow

vs.

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Communist Leaders' Defense of Stalin

speech entitled "On the Contradictions within the People," came close to a "Trotskyist" — that is, a Marxist — analysis of these contradictions. Mao's view was quite different from Khrushchev's ramblings on the "personality cult," which cannot be taken seriously by any Marxist. (A cult that dominated society completely, yet had no roots whatsoever in its infrastructure!) Mao's view was different, too, from that of the authors of "On the Question of Stalin" with their vulgar platitudes about the "leaders" and the "masses."

In his well-known speech Mao reduced the basic contradiction "within the people," in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the contradiction between workers engaged in production and "administrators." (We prefer the term used by Marx and Lenin, "bureaucrats.") From this analysis it is but a step to understanding the crimes of the Stalinist era as resulting from a temporary defeat of the workers by the bureaucracy under specific conditions of isolation of the revolution, backwardness of the country and lack of understanding by the "subjective factor" (the party) after the death of Lenin.

Instead of taking this step forward in the direction of Leninism, the Chinese leaders seem today to be taking a step backward to an absurd denial of social contradictions "within the people" during the dictatorship of the proletariat, to an absurd denial of the crimes of Stalin. The stream of history is moving in a direction opposite to these new errors!

Hungarian Revolution

It is in the light of this same contradiction between the workers and peasants on one hand and the bureaucracy on the other that the working-class uprisings in East Berlin and East Germany July 16-17, 1953, and the demonstrations in Poland and revolution in Hungary in October 1956 must be viewed. The contradiction between the social forces in these countries was rendered all the more violent by economic exploitation and national oppression practiced in these countries under Stalin.

In their first article of reply to the "Open Letter" of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the editors of the *People's Daily* and *Red Flag* implicitly recognize this fact, for they state: "By moving up troops in an attempt to subdue the Polish comrades by armed force, it [the leadership of the CPSU] committed the error of great-power chauvinism."

The authors also reveal (a fact widely known in Communist circles) that the leaders of the Chinese Communist party strongly opposed Kremlin intervention in Poland and thereby probably saved the Polish working class and Gomulka from a repetition of the Hungarian tragedy. All the more astonishing is their pride in having pressed for counter-revolutionary intervention against the Hungarian workers: "We insisted on the taking of all necessary measures to smash the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary and firmly opposed the abandonment of socialist Hungary."

The main social force in rebellion in Hungary was the working class. A couple of facts prove this to the hilt. After Soviet troops smashed the Nagy government, the workers organized one of the longest and most solid general strikes in the history of the international workers' movement. The freely elected leadership advanced the following purely socialist demands: "We state expressly that the revolutionary working class considers the factories and the land as property of the people . . . We ask for free elections, but only those parties should be allowed to participate in them who recognize and have always recognized the socialist order."

The authors of "On the Question of Stalin" did not, of course, compose a pure and simple apology for Stalin, as some people have incorrectly assumed. They note many "errors" committed by Stalin in many fields. Among other things they censure Stalin for "also giving some bad counsel in the international Communist movement. These mistakes caused some [!] losses to the Soviet Union and the international Communist movement."

When the authors turn to their own country and their own Revolution, this heavy veil of discre-



Marx

tion and understatement is replaced by a thinner curtain. We learn that "in the late 20s, the 30s and the early 40s, the Chinese Marxist-Leninists represented by Comrades Mao Tse-tung and Liu Chao-shi resisted the influence of Stalin's mistakes . . ."

In other words, in Chinese affairs, Stalin was wrong for 20 years! A slight error, of course, especially if you happen to know, as the article admits for the first time — at least by implication — that the right-wing errors that led to the tragic defeat of the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 were directly inspired by Stalin's "bad counsel."

Instead of repeating the tired phrases about "Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and other bourgeois agents," the leaders of the Chinese Communist party would do better to make an objective study of the real positions held by L. D. Trotsky and the movement founded by him, both in the past and at present. Thus they would discover that Trotsky correctly opposed both the "rightist" and "leftist" errors of Stalin and the Comintern leadership up to 1932, even before Mao Tse-tung felt that something was wrong.

Surely the leaders of the Chinese Communist party must know that the Trotskyists everywhere in the world have been the staunchest defenders of the great Chinese Revolution and the great People's Republic of China against the attacks of Nehru's capitalist regime and its apologists. Surely they must know that these same Trotskyists everywhere in the world defend the Chinese Communist party against the slanders of the Khrushchevites who have suddenly discovered that it is Mao Tse-tung and his comrades and not the American imperialists who are "warmongers" and people desirous of "provoking nuclear world war." At a moment when the Chinese CP is under a constant barrage of slander of the purest Stalinist type; at a moment when Khrushchev and his henchmen are labeling the Chinese comrades "splitters" and "wreckers" because they dare introduce their Communist literature into the Soviet Union, even printed — what blasphemy! — in the Russian language, it is scarcely a good example of proletarian morals for the Chinese comrades to employ the same kind of slanders against the Trotskyists. Please don't do to others what you don't want done to you, comrades!

When *Izvestia* devotes a half

page to proving that the Fourth International favors the side of the Chinese CP on some important points in the dispute with Moscow and hence a "bloc" exists between Peking and the Trotskyists, shouldn't it prove embarrassing to the leaders of the Chinese CP to claim that these supporters are "bourgeois agents?"

But Stalin's "bad counsel" was not limited to Chinese affairs. Let us recall a few examples. Isn't it well known that Stalin opposed the Yugoslav Communist party's fighting for power from 1943 on, as in 1946 he opposed Mao Tse-tung's turning toward the struggle for power? Isn't it well known that he advocated the same capitulationist line for Vietnam? How do the Chinese leaders judge the fact that every revolution that achieved a dictatorship of the proletariat by its own independent force in Stalin's time had to do so against his opposition?

Some of Stalin's "errors" happily did not prevent final victory. But what about the more disastrous "errors" that continue to bear consequences to this very day? Do the Chinese leaders believe today that Stalin was right in the criminal line he advocated in Germany from 1929 to 1933, according to which not fascism but the social-democracy was the main enemy and the main target to be attacked by the German Communist party?

Do they approve of the class-collaborationist, right-wing, opportunist line applied by Stalin in Spain in 1936-39 which strangled the Spanish social revolution and thereby greatly facilitated Franco's military victory? And what about participating in and upholding capitalist governments, aiding in reconstructing the bourgeois army and the bourgeois state apparatus in France and Italy after the second world war, a course carried out by the Communist parties under direct instructions from Stalin which ended up by destroying highly favorable conditions for the victory of the working class in Western Europe?

The balance sheet of these "errors" is indeed staggering. Repeated over such a long period, in so many countries, can they still be called just "errors"? For a Marxist, wouldn't it be more correct to call it a fundamentally wrong policy? And in that case, isn't it necessary to probe for the social roots of Stalinist opportunism, just as Lenin probed for the social roots of reformist opportunism?

Feeble Control

It is true, as the authors of the article claim in passing, that the leaders of the Chinese CP succeeded in correcting or preventing some of these "errors" and essentially kept their own counsel. They were able to do so and finally lead the Chinese Revolution to victory because of the feebleness of Comintern control due to their relative geographical isolation. But they know that Stalin intervened directly in the leadership of the Chinese CP several times to try to put people in charge whom he considered sufficiently subservient to himself.

It is scarcely cause for wonder then that in most Communist parties, ruthless intervention by the Stalinist international apparatus succeeded in eliminating from leadership genuine revolutionary figures, rooted in the labor movements of their own countries. The Kremlin replaced these revolutionists by servile, spineless executors of Stalin's orders, no matter how contradictory or how they subordinated the interests of the international revolutionary movement to the diplomatic maneuvers and passing needs of Soviet foreign policy.

Ever since the Tito crisis of 1948, and more especially since Stalin's death in 1953, the world crisis of Stalinism has continued to deepen. In order to save what

they rightly consider to be the essence of their rule — economic privileges and a monopoly of politics — the Soviet bureaucrats have been forced to make one concession after another to the Soviet masses as they press for restoration of Soviet democracy. The abandonment of the Stalin cult in 1956 at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU was the most important of these concessions, the one that created the most contradictions within the international Stalinist apparatus itself.

Today no objective basis whatever exists, either in the Soviet Union or in the East European workers' states, for a return to that cult. The Soviet masses are not much interested in Byzantine speculation about what Stalin said or really meant by this or that statement about the party and its cadres. But they are extremely interested in preventing any return to the system under which workers could be condemned to hard labor for being as little as 20 minutes late to the job. They are extremely interested in preventing a return to a system under which their standard of living was ruthlessly sacrificed in the name of an industrial "giantism" in which heartbreaking waste occurred due to bureaucratic mismanagement. They are very interested in overcoming the inhuman housing shortage that began in Stalin's time. They are more and more interested in participating directly in control and management of the economy and state — rights, the exercise of which was utterly destroyed under Stalin.

When they hear the Chinese leaders say, "Long live Leninism!" they think of Lenin's teachings on socialist democracy, on the highest functions being exercised by sim-



Khrushchev

ple workers, on the dictatorship of the proletariat being the first form of the state destined to wither away from the moment of its creation. On all these great themes of Lenin's work *State and Revolution*, the Chinese leaders are, however, strangely silent.

Faced with this deepening mood of the masses, no sector of the Soviet bureaucracy that keeps in touch with reality dares to play with the "defense of Stalin," for this would be the most certain way of cutting themselves from the rank and file of the party and the masses of workers and peasants, and most likely precipitating an immediate violent political crisis in the country. For the same reason, any policy geared to "rehabilitate Stalin" bars a "bloc" with any part of the Soviet bureaucracy. It is a sterile attempt to make an alliance with the shade hanging over the bureaucracy in opposition to all the real social forces of the Soviet Union, including the bulk of the bureaucracy itself.

To seek such an "alliance" can lead to nothing but isolation and utter failure. In the same way, no objective basis exists today for the creation of an international faction in the world Communist movement that would prove subservient to the Chinese state or any other state. The Yugoslavs

found this out at some cost to themselves.

On the other hand, it is perfectly true that ever since the Twentieth Congress, a dual process has been affecting the leadership of the world Communist movement. Parallel to the so-called "de-Stalinization" process a more and more pronounced right-wing orientation has appeared among the leaderships of nearly all the Communist parties in the capitalist countries, imperialist and colonial alike.

Because they rightly criticize the neo-reformist, neo-Bernsteinian theory and practice of a "peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism through gradual structural reforms"; because they condemn the criminal policy of trying to convince the American workers and Negroes that they should support the Democratic Party, which also happens to be the party of the most rabid Jim Crow Southern Bourbons; because they violently and correctly condemn the shameful capitulation of the Dange leadership before the Indian bourgeoisie; because they advocate that the Latin-American masses should follow the road blazed by the Cuban revolutionists; in brief because they in general advocate in most capitalist countries a more leftist policy — albeit often not a completely correct revolutionary Marxist one — and defend the ABCs of Lenin's teachings on the state and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Chinese Communists have already won much sympathy among the rank and file of the world Communist movement and they can win more.

Poor Policy

But the rank and file of these parties are well aware that it is utterly impossible to advance the cause of socialism by "defending Stalin." They can only feel embarrassment over anyone who tries it. To try to "rehabilitate Stalin" will neither help them win Communist militants to the Chinese position nor facilitate the task of winning stronger positions among the masses of their respective countries. This line also cuts them off from the genuine left-wing Communists in the workers' states, who are against Khrushchev, not because he has carried out "de-Stalinization" but because he doesn't go far enough with it! Since the elements most sympathetic to the Chinese CP are generally the most independent-minded in all these Communist parties, the strange "campaign" advocating a "return to Stalin" instead of a "return to Lenin" insults their intelligence, clashes with their class consciousness and proletarian instincts and arouses an opposition which they will most certainly express.

The bureaucratic maneuver of speaking up for Stalin thus only leads into an impasse. In China itself, the Communists who come to understand this will increase in number from month to month. In the case of China, as has already been shown in the case of the Soviet Union, the effort to build an international faction will have important consequences through the introduction of strong pressures and contradictions within the movement of those who start it. It is very important to have a correct program!

For Chinese Communists the choice today is very clear: either backward to Stalin, to complete isolation from the masses in the "socialist" camp and growing isolation from the advanced militants and left Communists of the capitalist countries; or forward to Lenin, to full restoration of Leninism in correspondence with the needs and aspirations of the great majority of Communists in the workers' states as well as the capitalist states and in correspondence with the objective needs of the world socialist revolution today.

REPORT FROM SPANISH UNDERGROUND

Mine Strikers Tortured by Franco's Cops

[The report that follows was obtained from the Spanish anti-fascist underground by *World Outlook*. The shocking facts it presents squarely repudiate the recent lying claim of the Franco tyranny that police brutality was not practiced against coal mine strikers in Asturias, northern Spain. The regime's denial of brutality came in response to a protest manifesto by 102 Spanish intellectuals. A court inquiry has now been launched with an eye to charging signers of the manifesto with spreading "tendentious" news.]

The principal director of the repression is a captain of the Civil Guard, Fernando Caro, 28, son of an army colonel and a native of Melilla [Morocco], who until recently was a captain of the Civil Guard in Málaga. It was because of his talent as a torturer that he was transferred to Asturias. One of his assistants, well-known for his cruelty, is Corporal Pérez, a Galician.

On Sept. 3 at four o'clock in the afternoon, a miner, Rafael Gonzalez, 36, died at police headquarters in Sama de Langreo following torture.

The same day at the same place another miner, Silvino Zapico, 34, was castrated (presumably by the system in general use of burning the hair and skin in the genital area). He is in a hospital in grave condition. This miner was accused of being a "Communist." His wife, similarly accused, was submitted to having her head shaved.

Still another miner, whose name we have not yet learned, is also in the hospital in grave condition from burns in the genital area.

Vicente Baragaña, who lives in the Lada, a quarter of Langreo, was reduced to sexual impotency by burning of the testicles during a torture session.

Alfonso X., a former watchman at the Fondón mine, retired because of silicosis, who is at present a cashier in an insurance company, Previsora Bilbaino, was savagely beaten during the strikes last year. This year after his arrest he was tied up and then beaten by Corporal Pérez in the presence of his wife.

The wife was incapable of enduring the sight. She attacked the corporal.

Leaving the unconscious husband, the corporal beat the woman brutally. She is at present in prison in Oviedo, her head shaved like many other wives of miners.

Later in the day, her badly-beaten husband was released to a man named Senén. After taking the victim home, Senén, a fellow worker, called a doctor. The tortured body of the worker was in such shape that the doctor said he scarcely knew where to begin.

Antonio Zapico of Lada was brutally manhandled. His cheekbone was broken and his mouth



Franco

torn open during torture. He is in the hospital.

Jerónimo Fernández Terente, married and father of a son, and Jesús Ramo Teva, together with ten other miners are now in the Carabanchel prison at Madrid after having been brutally mistreated.

Everardo Castra, married and the father of three boys, is in La Cadellada, a provincial mental hospital, following the ferocious torture inflicted on him. He had climbed up the rainspouts of the Duro Felguera Company to paint the slogan, "The people will avenge themselves. Franco, murderer."

Surprised by the Civil Guard while he was doing this, he was ordered to climb down. The miner had the coolness to reply, "Wait until I finish." He was terribly beaten.

Tina Martinez, who lives in the quarter of La Jocara in Sama de Langreo, was tortured and her head shaved. Her husband has been in prison since the strikes last year.

Juan Alberdi of Lada was arrested along with another miner nicknamed "Chocolatina." To amuse himself Captain Fernando Caro ordered them to fight each other. Since the fight, naturally, was not carried on in earnest, the torturers of the Civil Guard took over and completed the beating which the two miners had sought to evade. Later they were brought before Captain Caro who ironically reproached them, "But what beasts you are to beat each other like this!"

A woman, whose name has not

yet been learned, tried to escape the ill treatment they were preparing to inflict on her at police headquarters in Sama de Langreo, by revealing that she was pregnant. Captain Fernando Caro punched her with all his force in the stomach, shouting, "One Communist less!"

It should be added that this captain wears sport clothes to "work" more comfortably during his "interrogations."

Out of the miners who have been arrested, the whereabouts of more than five hundred is unknown. Some sixty miners of Huelera Española in the Aller basin asked for death in order to end the torture and bad treatment.

On Sept. 10 twenty miners were arrested at the Camocha mine in Gijón. They were brought to police headquarters where they were beaten until three of them lost consciousness.

María del Rosario García, 55, was arrested for lodging a miner, her brother-in-law. On being asked where she was being taken, they replied, "First to police headquarters and then to jail."

If companies not on strike hire a striker, they are punished by a first fine of 1,000 pesetas, a second of 6,000. On the third offense the place is padlocked.

Captain Fernando Caro utilizes an "original" system to select his victims. He calls in the watchmen of a mine and orders each one to bring in five men to go to work. Since they generally show up the next day without any recruits, the captain asks them whom they went to see. The watchmen report the names of the miners who did not respond and Captain Caro orders these men to be brought in immediately and then begins the session of torture.

On Saturday morning, Sept. 4, some 50 per cent of the miners went down into the Camocha mine. Once inside the workings they decided that rather than come out and expose themselves to the police repression they would stay in the mine, but without working. Although they had made no preparations for this tactic, most of the miners agreed to accept the collective decision. They stayed in all day and night. The demonstration did not end until Sunday morning. The police reaction to this move is not yet known.

Peruvian Peasant Leader In Aid Appeal from Prison



PEASANT LEADERS. Hugo Blanco, center, before his arrest, with fellow fighters against rapacious Peruvian land barons.

[The following letter was written by Hugo Blanco, main peasant leader in the Convención valley of Peru, from his cell in the Mariscal Gamarra barracks at Arequipa. In his letter Hugo Blanco appeals for contributions to help his legal defense. Due to communication difficulties, we are unable to specify an address to which funds can be sent. We hope to provide this in an early issue.]

To the People of Peru:

This trial is not against me personally but against the Peruvian revolution. The reaction claims that it will place the guilty ones in the dock. We will not admit this. In the dock must be placed the oligarchy.

It is precisely because the judgment will not be levelled against me personally, that the Peruvian people and not the camarilla of officers and spokesmen in the service of the monsters must be the judge. And before this judge we must make our exposure of the betrayals of our country, the murders, robberies, thefts and violations committed by the entire oligarchy, especially the landlords in all corners of the country.

This is the most favorable time to do this. The Peruvian people are following the trial, ready to

listen and to judge. Whatever we are able to do in this sense will be insufficient. The unions, the federations of peasants, of workers, students, employees, etc., must join to the utmost in this task.

It is my fate to be the one to sit in the prisoner's dock. It will be converted into a tribune of the revolution to accuse the accusers. That is why I must have a record of the crimes of the landlords and of the whole oligarchy to throw it into the faces of the accusers who symbolize the reaction. I ask the comrades to send me this record.

Unfortunately the trial room is not large enough to hold ten million people — which means that the real judges will not be able to be present. They are in the streets of the cities and towns, in the fields . . . If we want our accusation to reach them, now that history has given us the possibility, it is necessary to prepare millions of leaflets, of pamphlets, perhaps a book. Unfortunately money is required for this and I do not have any. I have never asked for financial assistance, but now I do it not for myself but for the denunciation, for the accusation.

Land or death! We will win!

Hugo Blanco

World Events

Dominican Student Rallies Assail New Military Junta

The military junta in Santo Domingo, which overthrew legally-elected President Juan Bosch on Sept. 25, has not been able to stabilize its rule or find a base of popular support. Sensing this weakness, U.S. diplomacy — which sees in the military a friend — has been quietly urging the brass hats to make some concessions in the way of "democratic" window-dressing to try to appease the populace.

The mass of Dominican workers, peasants, students and professional people, who suffered through 30 years of poverty and dictatorship under Trujillo, have no stomach for a government of the same generals who supported Trujillo. From the first, young people have led demonstrations against the military usurpers, drawing support from the city workers, peasant unions, and those political parties which opposed the takeover.

A significant demonstration was held Oct. 20 in a worker's district of Santo Domingo led by students and workers of the pro-Castro 14th of June Movement. On Oct. 28, as many as 8,000 Dominicans attended another meeting to denounce the seizure

of power. U.S.-trained police broke up an attempted march afterwards.

Besides the mounting wave of demonstrations, the regime's instability showed when the two parties that had supported Bosch rejected the compromise offered by the military to give their representatives some posts in the government.

A good example of the spirit of popular resistance was the anti-government rally held Oct. 13 at Santo Domingo University. The meeting was described by the Dominican paper, *Listín Diario*, as "a noisy demonstration" in which "hundreds of university students proclaimed that they would fight to the end against the present government." The meeting was punctuated by cries of "Down with the government," "Assassins," and the Cuban slogan, "Country or death: we will win!" The newspaper report regretted that the large gathering was led by two left-wing student groups, Fragua and FURR, with no "moderates" represented.

The speakers made such statements as these:

"The university youth, conscious of their historical duty, march in the vanguard against the dictatorships which day after day are crushing Latin America."

"This government has prescribed our methods of struggle to us. It has taken away our rights; it obliges us to fight with arms."

"The government has decreed a state of siege, but we will show that we have sufficient strength to fight the siege of this state." (The state of siege was lifted Oct. 24, in an effort to win favor.)

"Legal means have been closed to us. There remains only one way: to take arms in our hands, everyone, without distinction, women as well as men."

Nuclear Reactor for Diem

While the Kennedy Administration made noises about cutting aid to the Buddhist-killing tyranny of the Diem family, President Kennedy sent a message of congratulations to Diem on the ninth anniversary of his rule and Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge accompanied dictator-president Diem to the dedication of South Vietnam's first nuclear reactor. Also present at the dedication was a representative of the Atomic Energy Commission. The reactor was built at a cost of \$350,000 by General Dynamics Corporation.

Will Mme. Nhu have this new "toy" at her disposal, so she can "clap her hands," imagining king-sized "barbecues"?

WORLD OUTLOOK

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Letters From Our Readers

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

God Raises Wheat?

Lakeside, Calif.
Today (Oct. 18) Army Coach Paul Dietsel was Hugh Downes' guest on the "Today Show." Mr. Dietsel said, "The U.S. can raise wheat because God is on our side."

How does Coach Dietsel account for the production of wheat in 1959? USSR, 69,100,000 metric tons — USA, 30,704,000 metric tons. And barley in 1959? China,

19,720,000 metric tons — USA, 9,148,000 metric tons. (Information Please Almanac for 1962, page 594).

Life, Sept. 13, 1963, page 56, reads: "Since 1953 farm output in the USSR has gone up a solid 60 per cent . . . Nobody is really going hungry . . . The agricultural system is turning out enough food to give everyone an adequate, if not abundant or varied diet . . . 1963 has been shockingly low." And he gave several basic reasons: "Savage climatic conditions — extremes of heat, cold, drought."

The USA too is having extreme droughts at the present time. Drought is a disaster and disasters happen to every nation on earth, whether it be earthquake, fire or flood or hurricane.

Christian Dietsel should humbly pray for greater wisdom.

Leda Ferguson

Facts on Vietnam

Bronx, N.Y.
A Reuter's article in the *New York Post* the other day said that the Viet Cong reported 600 Americans annihilated or captured in 1963 alone. The American public has only been informed of about 100 American deaths for the entire war. Captures are never mentioned. This gives us food for thought. How much aren't we being told?

H.L.

Plan DuBois Memorial

Cambridge, Mass.
The recent death of Dr. W.E.B. DuBois on the very eve of the historic March on Washington, represents a grave loss to the world-wide struggle for freedom and justice. Yet here in New England, where he was born and educated, there is danger that Dr. DuBois' life and works may pass relatively unnoticed. It seems most appropriate that Harvard University, which granted him three degrees and published his work as Volume One of the *Harvard Historical Studies*, should be the location of a memorial meeting, assembling notables from around the world, university faculties, students, and interested people from the surrounding communities to pay tribute to this great man.

With such a program in mind, we of the Harvard-Radcliffe Socialist Club, an independent organization, have reserved Harvard's famed Sanders Theater for the evening of Nov. 20. Invited to participate are Shirley Graham, widow of Dr. DuBois; Alex Quaison-Sackey, Ghanaian Representative to the United Nations; Drs. John Hope Franklin and Herbert Aptheker, both leading scholars in the field of Negro history; Roy Wilkins of the NAACP; James Farmer of CORE; John Lewis of SNCC; Langston Hughes, James Baldwin, Bayard Rustin and others. There will be extensive publicity and press coverage, including perhaps a telecast by the local educational television outlet.

The only obstacle at the moment, as is so frequently the case, is money. The cost of plane fares and lodgings for the speakers, the cost of publicity and printing programs are clearly beyond our limited means. We are turning to people such as your readers, confident that the import of this

meeting will bring generous results. Please make checks payable to the Harvard DuBois Memorial.

Henry S. Kahn,
President, Harvard-Radcliffe Socialist Club, Adams House, Box F-2, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.

Kennedy and Vietnam

Fort Bragg, Calif.
The Kennedy Administration's policy of using American tax money and our armed forces to "prop up" the Catholic-dominated Diem dictatorship in Vietnam is making many enemies for our country, both at home and abroad. It is incredible that, of all the people in Vietnam, the Diem family should be considered the only people capable of managing the political affairs of that country.

The Vietnam fiasco should be taken out of the jurisdiction of President Kennedy and placed in the hands of a committee of Congress where the people would have some voice in it. President Kennedy is under too much pressure from his religious superiors to favor the regime that is dictated by their fellow Catholic. This places our president in an untenable position. He is torn between a desire to serve the best interests of his country and a fear of punishment by his religious superiors if he does not support the Diem dictatorship.

As the situation now stands we are becoming the most hated nation in the world as seen by anti-American demonstrations in many parts of the world. This flagrant discrimination in favor of the Roman Catholic Diem family is causing many sincere people to wonder who is dictating the Viet-

nam policy of our government. Millions of dollars of American tax money is handed over to a secret Gestapo-like police system that is not required to give any accounting of how this money is spent. Is it used to check the spread of Communism in Vietnam or is it used to promote religious persecution of the Buddhist people there? IT IS TIME THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WERE FINDING OUT.

Jack Odom

New Definition of Liberal

Detroit, Mich.
I came across an interesting definition of "liberal" in a small newspaper called *Community Vues*. This paper is the voice of a number of inner city block clubs. In the Oct. 12 issue, Dr. J.H. Bruce wrote an article blasting Detroit's Common Council for defeating an open occupancy ordinance. The ordinance was quite a weak one and would not have changed much in housing discrimination but it was a test for all the city officials — a test they flunked miserably.

The ordinance was introduced by William Patrick, the only Negro member of the Council, and was supported by Councilman Ravitz. On Oct. 9, the Council defeated the ordinance seven to two. One of the seven was Phillip Van Antwerp who ran against a Negro in the last election and who was supported by some of the city's Negro leaders because he was supposed to be a great liberal. He was also supported by the labor officials and ended up getting about 25 per cent of the Negro vote.

Here's what Dr. Bruce wrote:

"Van Antwerp calls himself a liberal. Negroes should know exactly what a political liberal is. A political liberal is one who straddles all moral religious and controversial issues hoping to gain the plaudits of everyone after the issue is settled — one who smiles in your face privately, but who will disembowel you before your enemy. Van Antwerp is alleged to have said, 'You can't legalize morals. You have to improve people and bring them up to a certain level before they can be accepted.'"

"This statement should insult every Negro throughout the world! Certainly every Negro in Detroit. What he really said was that Negroes are on a lower level morally, educationally, culturally and economically than white people . . ."

Dr. Bruce also exposed another great "liberal" who won office through the votes of Negroes, "Mayor Cavanagh's 'johnny-come-lately' endorsement of the Patrick-Ravitz proposed ordinance was ludicrous . . . Only after the public hearing, and after being convinced of the sentiment and consensus of religious, civic, business and union leadership in Detroit, including the press and TV, did Mayor Cavanagh venture to express his approval of the ordinance."

"He then blatantly announced the necessity for Detroit going on record in this matter as a matter of 'principle and policy.' Why, in heaven's name, did he not lead out on the issue as Executive leader in Detroit? No, he intentionally waited until he saw the victory was imminent; then he grabbed the flag and attempted to wave it in front of the march for equality and progress."

Evelyn Sell

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"BUFFALO — Police terror once again hit the Negro community in this city early in the morning of Oct. 10. This time it took the form of an unmerciful beating of two young workers, Norman and James Daniels, by six club-happy policemen . . . a beating which apparently continued in two police vehicles en route to the jail. Both men were hospitalized with severe injuries.

"After reading the distorted account in the Big Business press . . . this reporter went to the home of Norman Daniels, one of victims. 'You're the first reporter that's been here,' Mrs. Daniels told me. . ."

"The public has got to do something about police brutality," Mrs. Daniels said. "We're taught democracy, but we get just the opposite in practice. We pay taxes to support a police department and instead of protecting us they make it bad for us to walk the streets."

"That corner (where the men were beaten) is a big intersection . . . It's in the Negro district. Where else have colored people got to go? Restrictive covenants keep them from living anywhere else in the city. The whites should be made to realize that!" — Nov. 2, 1953.

20 YEARS AGO

"Roosevelt, in his headlong drive toward reaction, has enlisted more and more big businessmen as his direct aides . . ."

"Recently Roosevelt dumped Summer Welles, Under-Secretary of State, and replaced him with E. R. Stettinius, ex-chairman of U.S. Steel, a Morgan millionaire. The President appointed the railroad and mining magnate, W. A. Harriman, as ambassador to the Soviet Union . . ."

"Nelson Rockefeller, Coordinator of Latin-American Affairs, has become increasingly prominent in administration circles. Leo Crowley, Wisconsin banker and utilities president, is given Wallace's powers as czar of all foreign economic dealings. Ernest Fisher, ex-research director of the American Bankers Association, is put in charge of 'future economic operations' in the Low Countries. Chester Bowles, advertising tycoon who serviced General Foods Corp., is made head of the OPA. . ."

"In 1932 Roosevelt promised 'to drive the money-changers out of the temple' at Washington. Today the finance capitalists dominate his administration. Under cover of the war, Wall Street has taken personal charge of the key government agencies in order to tighten their stranglehold on the national economy and to supervise the administration's plans to subjugate the world." — Nov. 6, 1943.

It Was Reported in the Press

The Press at Work — Reporting Eisenhower's disclosure that he had opposed the atomic bombing of Japan, the Oct. 25 *New York Times* stated: "Many scientists who had helped develop the bomb raised the same moral question, and the civilian and military leaders of the Truman administration were aware of the frightful damage it would inflict on civilians within range of the military target selected." (Emphasis added.) This is a lie. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were not military targets. In fact women and children had been evacuated from other parts of Japan to these two cities precisely because they were free of military targets and were therefore presumed to be safe from bombing attack.

Might Roll Em in the Aisles — An Oct. 25 *New York Times* dispatch from Vietnam reported: "An offer by Bob Hope to entertain American troops in South Vietnam has been regrettably declined, a United States military spokesman disclosed today. He said it was considered that big audiences of American servicemen would offer inviting targets to Communist guerrillas."

Justice at Work — A year ago Joseph Page, who contracted to provide watchmen for New York State construction projects, was accused in a 145-count indictment of grand larceny, forgery, fraud and tax evasion. It seems Page

had been padding his payroll with "phantom" watchmen. The prosecutor claimed Page had a cool quarter of a million tucked away somewhere as a result of the swindle. Yet the charges against him were reduced, without explanation, to one of second-degree larceny and last week Page drew a suspended sentence.

Free-World Forces — The Army, Navy and Air Force have all officially rejected a proposal by the President's Committee on Equal Opportunity that, as a last resort, the military should have its men boycott bars and other places that refuse to serve Negroes.

A Problem — *New York Times* correspondent Max Frankel devoted an Oct. 25 column to the problems arising from the U.S.-Soviet thaw. He reports there is "real concern" in Washington about how to maintain "the vigilance so carefully developed in the non-Communist world." But,

he adds, "It is neither easy nor prudent to voice this concern out loud. No one here wishes to contend that the United States has a stake in tensions."

Giving His All for England — "In London this week a forceful, plain-speaking Scottish nobleman put his name to a document which changed the name by which he will be known in the future. By this simple, three-second performance . . . the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Home, Baron Douglass and Baron Home in the Peerage of Scotland and Baron Douglas in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, Knight of the Thistle, Prime Minister of Great Britain, divests himself of titles, many of which have been in his family since the Battle of Flodden in 1513 . . . In future the Prime Minister will be known as the Right Honorable Sir Alexander Douglas-Home, K.T., — 'Sir Alec' for short." — An Oct. 25 news release from the British Information Services.

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Thought for the Week

"WASHINGTON, Oct. 24 — The difference between what public men here say in public and what they say in private is greater today than any time since the war . . . This is creating a major problem for President Kennedy . . . while he and his associates go on talking publicly about the progress they have made, privately they are beginning to fear that, given the existing form of American society, and the existing balance of political power, the evils they complain about simply cannot be remedied." — James Reston in the *New York Times*.

A MILITANT INTERVIEW

The Frame-Up in Albany, Ga.

By Fred Halstead

Last August nine Albany, Ga. civil rights fighters were indicted by a federal grand jury, three of them on charges of "conspiracy" to intimidate a federal juror, and the other six on charges of perjury in connection with the case. Among the nine are the leaders of the Negro protest organization, the Albany Movement. This is the first case in which the federal government has indicted persons for their civil rights activities.

The noted civil rights attorney William Kunstler has characterized the indictments as "a bone thrown by the Kennedy Administration to the segregationists. They are looking to the 1964 elections. When they are attacked by the segregationists they can say, 'Look, we arrested these people too; we are not one-sided' . . . It is a sinister and dangerous trend."

One of the "Albany Nine" now awaiting trial is Joni Rabinowitz, a 22-year-old Antioch College student who was in Albany last summer working on the Student Non-violent Co-ordinating Committee voter registration project. She is the only white among the defendants. Miss Rabinowitz visited her parents (her father is the civil liberties lawyer Victor Rabinowitz) in New York recently, where I interviewed her for *The Militant*.

First, I asked her to explain the case.

"The whole thing started long before I went to Albany. A Negro man named Charlie Ware had been arrested by the sheriff of Baker County. Ware was handcuffed by the sheriff and then the sheriff shot him four times. Ware was later released and he brought suit in federal court for damages against the sheriff. The jury decided against Ware.

"One of the jurors was a man

Monroe Defendant On Speaking Tour

Harold Reape, a 19-year-old Negro youth, who as a result of his fight for civil rights now faces a 20 year-to-life sentence, is making a national speaking tour to inform the public about the events in Monroe, North Carolina.

Reape's activity in building the Monroe Non-Violent Action Committee in the summer of 1961 when the Freedom Riders came to Monroe brought him to the attention of that KKK-dominated city's officials. After a police-encouraged mob of 5,000 racists rioted against the MNVAC pickets and Freedom Riders, Reape was one of those singled out by police for indictment for a "kidnapping" which never took place.

Two other equally innocent young men were similarly charged. All three are out on bail arranged by the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants. Another victim of the racist frame-up, Mrs. Mae Mallory, is still fighting extradition from Ohio. The main target of the whole frame-up, Monroe's former NAACP president, Robert F. Williams, found political asylum in Cuba.

Harold Reape's coast-to-coast speaking tour is being sponsored by the Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants. Reape has already appeared in Baltimore. He is now in Ohio, being scheduled for Akron and Cleveland from Oct. 31 to Nov. 4. He will be in Detroit Nov. 5-10 and Chicago Nov. 11-13.

Those who wish to book meetings for him or to inquire where meetings addressed by him will be held, should write or wire CAMD, P.O. Box 1314, GPO, New York, N.Y.



Joni Rabinowitz

named Carl Smith, who owned a supermarket in Albany. Later, the Albany Movement had a campaign to get Negro clerks hired in markets. They negotiated with a number of markets, including Smith's. Smith had refused to hire Negroes except in jobs like sweeping floors. Some of the stores were being picketed and boycotted, including Smith's, when I was in Albany last summer.

"I didn't picket any of the stores. I was new in town and was not on any actions then. I did observe some of the picket lines from across the street.

"Smith's market went out of business, because of the boycott, I suppose. Then Smith complained to the federal authorities that he had been boycotted, not because he refused to hire Negro clerks, but because of the way he had voted as a juror in the Ware case. Then the federal authorities, the FBI and all, moved in with a big investigation of the Albany Movement. Finally about 60 people were subpoenaed before a federal grand jury.

"I was one of them. They asked me if I had seen the picket line in front of the Smith store. I told them I didn't remember. It is the simple truth. I had watched picketing at some stores, but I just don't remember if the Smith store was one of them."

"What did they indict you for then?"

"I was one of the six indicted for perjury. They say I lied when I said I didn't remember. It is as simple as that.

"The others indicted for perjury were Slater King, acting president of the movement, Mrs. Goldie Jackson, secretary, Rev. Samuel Wells, Thomas Chatman and Robert Thomas. They say the six of us were trying to cover up the 'conspiracy.'"

Those indicted for "conspiring to injure and influence a federal juror" are W.G. Anderson, who was president of the movement until he moved out of town, Robert Colbert, and Luther Woodall.

"What is the penalty if you are convicted?"

"It could be five to 10 years I think. We are out on bonds of from \$2,500 to \$5,000. It's ridiculous. The federal government has never touched any of the whites who have intimidated voter registration workers in Albany. The movement's lawyer, C. B. King has been beaten by the sheriff. Slater King's wife was beaten and lost an unborn child. There have been literally hundreds of illegal arrests to intimidate civil rights workers. The movement has complained about all that, but the federal authorities

just file the complaints. But when a white man lost some business and made a complaint, then the FBI was all over the place, and there was a grand jury and the whole bit."

"Were you arrested on anything beside the perjury charge?"

"Yes, by the local police. Once it was for distributing handbills urging Negroes to vote down a bond issue because of segregated facilities. I stayed in jail 15 days waiting for trial. Eight of us fasted nine days."

"When I was arrested, the police chief had his secretary search me for cigarettes. I was made to strip to the skin in view of the male prisoners. We complained about that to the federal government, but nothing happened.

"I was arrested a second time just walking down the street. They were arresting all the white kids on the SNCC staff then for 'vagrancy.' That time I was in jail seven days. I was convicted both times and given suspended sentences. In jail they took everything away from us but we managed to hide one tooth brush and a copy of James Baldwin's 'Another Country.' We shared the tooth brush and tore Baldwin into 10-page sections and passed it around.

"Another time, the chief of police threatened to arrest me on the morals charge of 'soliciting' if I didn't stop canvassing on the street for voters registration. We complained about that to the federal government too, but they didn't convene a grand jury."

"How did the voter registration project work?"

"We would just talk to people and try to get them to go down to the registrar. Part of the SNCC program is to explain that voting is a way to improve living conditions, by such things as getting Negroes in office, getting streets paved in the Negro neighborhood, and the sewers fixed and so on. In that part of Georgia, Negro neighborhoods just don't get much city services, streets are muddy, no street lights, no sidewalks.

"What were the other SNCC people there like?"

"The SNCC kids are pretty much like ordinary teen-agers. They like parties and rock and roll, but they'd rather go to a mass meeting. They are very dedicated. Most of them are local people, almost all Negroes. SNCC goes into an area only on invitation by local people, to help give some organizational know-how and direction."

"What about the adults?"

"Well, Slater King is about 35. He has six brothers, one of whom is C.B. He and his family are the most courageous people in Albany. The young people I met in Albany will never be satisfied with things as they are. They will find one way or another to get equality. The nonviolent demonstrations in 1962 didn't get anywhere, so the people are wary of going through that again. They generally look up to Martin Luther King, but at the same time the majority of the Negroes, particularly the young people, are disillusioned with nonviolent tactics.

"Their faith in the federal government is changing too. They are much more critical now. They know they have to rely on themselves."

"Now that you are in all this trouble, have you any regrets?"

"Well, we've got good lawyers on the case — C.B. King, Don Hollowell, Hal Witt, and Victor Rabinowitz. And no matter what happens, I'll never be sorry I went to Albany."

DeBerry Raps Union Brass For Backing Rich Republican

NEW YORK — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers candidate for councilman-at-large in Brooklyn, in a statement Oct. 29 denounced the New York City Central Labor Council endorsement of Republican Richard S. Aldrich for councilman-at-large in Manhattan. The Central Labor Council announced last week its endorsement of Aldrich, a cousin of Governor Nelson Rockefeller and — like Rockefeller — a millionaire businessman.

The Central Labor Council failed to endorse the only trade unionist candidates for councilmanic seats in Manhattan and Brooklyn in the coming elections. These are DeBerry, a trade union member and a member of the Negro American Labor Council (NALC), and Richard Parrish, Socialist Party candidate for Manhattan councilman-at-large, likewise a trade unionist and national treasurer of NALC.

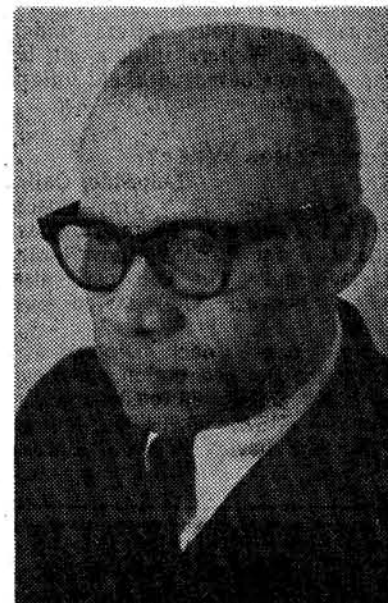
DeBerry issued the following statement on the Central Labor Council's action:

"The endorsement of the millionaire Republican Aldrich is an act of political scabbery.

"This strike-breaking policy by the heads of the New York AFL-CIO is an arbitrary and bureaucratic act.

"The endorsement of Aldrich over Richard Parrish, a union man and a Negro, is one more example of the blind and reactionary national AFL-CIO policy of boycotting the civil rights struggle. The most dramatic example of that was the refusal of the AFL-CIO Executive Committee to endorse the Aug. 28 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

"This is also an indirect attack on the Negro American Labor Council. The well-heeled white



Clifton DeBerry

officialdom of the AFL-CIO has taken a dim view of the NALC since its inception because it was organized to free the unions, as well as industry, of discrimination.

"A. Philip Randolph, a vice-president of the AFL-CIO, president of the Sleeping Car Porters union, and president of the Negro American Labor Council, is one of the sponsors of Richard Parrish's candidacy. But the so-called trade union 'leaders' on the Central Labor Council prefer to support a rich white businessman.

"Speaking for the Socialist Workers Party I will gladly join with the Socialist Party and with Mr. Parrish and Mr. Randolph in a joint statement to protest the Central Labor Council's failure to support the Freedom Now struggle and represent labor's true interests in the political arena."

New Haven Negro Candidate Blasts Both Major Parties

Raymond H. Paige, independent Negro candidate for mayor of New Haven, in a recent speech assailed charges by Democratic Town Chairman Arthur Barbieri that he was a "stooge" for the Republican Party.

In replying to Barbieri's charge, Paige said: "In my first statement to the press, I made it clear that I felt neither party, Democrats or Republicans, was a friend of the Negro."

"The Republican Party is known," he continued, "as the spokesman for Big Business and the open instrument of the banks, the big corporations and the real estate interests. The Democrats are a tool of the racists and the

power structure in a more deceitful way. They get popular support by paying lip service to the cause of Negro equality. This should be apparent in the recent sell-out of the Civil Rights Bill in Congress accomplished by Robert Kennedy . . . but the Republican party is no better.

"Certainly the role of Henry Townshend [Republican candidate] in the power structure of New Haven should not be neglected when the voters go to the polls. What are his banking connections, and what are the relations of these banks to Negroes who apply for loans? How many Negroes are employed in businesses in which Henry Townshend has connections? How many Negro tenants are there in real estate in which Henry Townshend has connections?"

Paige said that Townshend's campaign had "failed to indicate or dramatize the main issues in which Negroes are interested such as housing, education, the high unemployment rate and all the problems that are part of continuing poverty.

"We cannot expect any kind of positive results to improve these conditions from either party," he said, "and it is for this reason that I am running . . . as an Independent. I anticipate that large numbers of Negroes who have voted Democratic or Republican in the past, will vote for me and I expect that honest white liberals and progressives will see through the Tweedle Dee and Tweedle Dum political shell game of both parties."



Raymond H. Paige