

# THE MILITANT

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## Johnson Continues Line Of Former Administration

By Charles Gardner

DEC. 4 — President Lyndon B. Johnson's public statements and the reports of his meetings with foreign and domestic political figures all point to one fact: the continuation of the policies of his predecessor. This can be seen in his Nov. 27 speech to Congress and in his Thanksgiving Day speech to the nation, as well as from accounts of his conversations with foreign dignitaries, figures in the administration, civil-rights and labor leaders.

On Nov. 26 President Johnson directed "that there be no letup in pursuing the objective of President Kennedy's legislative program." In his speech next day to Congress, Johnson said: "No words are strong enough to express our determination to continue the forward thrust of America that he began."

In foreign affairs Johnson reaffirmed Kennedy's policy on the Atlantic Alliance and his Far Eastern policy. He reaffirmed "commitments" in West Berlin and South Vietnam. He reaffirmed the policy of the "Alliance for Progress" in Latin America and support for the United Nations. Also reaffirmed were the *détente* or relaxation of tensions with the Soviet Union begun with the Test-Ban Treaty, continued non-recognition of China, and economic squeeze on Cuba.

### Kennedy's Bills

Domestically, the new President called for early passage of the civil-rights and tax-cut bills, the main planks of Kennedy's legislative program. Johnson also committed his administration to numerous lesser points of Kennedy's domestic program — the Peace Corps, federal aid to education, etc.

The continuity of Johnson's policies with those of his predecessor is a complete confirmation of what Marxists have always maintained about assassination or individual acts of terrorism. If, in the twisted



Lyndon B. Johnson

mind of whoever killed John F. Kennedy, there was any expectation that his death would alter government policy, Johnson's course clearly demonstrates the folly of such an idea. The passing of a single man does not basically affect the course of events. A government's policy is the product of a ruling class and its governing apparatus, not of an individual leader.

President Johnson's continuation of the Kennedy policies confronts the American people with the same basic political problems as before. The same half-hearted token solutions to race discrimination are offered. The only answer to unemployment and automation is a tax-cut proposal that primarily favors business. The labor and civil-rights movements can expect no solutions to their problems from the Democratic Party to which they are now tied. They will have to rethink all the issues with an eye to finding their own independent alternatives.

## World Press Still Points to Contradictions

## Continuing Cloud Over Oswald-Ruby Cases

By William Bundy

DEC. 4 — Serious doubts continue to be raised by observers both here and abroad about the circumstances surrounding the assassination of the late President and the murder of the accused assassin, Lee Harvey Oswald.

Some of these questions were read into the Congressional Record Nov. 20 by Rep. Charles E. Goodell (R., N.Y.) as follows: "Was Lee Oswald perhaps the man who knew too much?" queried the Socialist Party's organ, *Vooruit*, from Belgium. In the *Beirut Daily*, Al Hadaf raised the identical question.

"The *Washington Post* foreign service reports that 33 per cent of the French public interviewed believed that President Kennedy had been 'murdered by a racist organization' and only ten per cent believed the assassination was related to a pro-Castro organization. More significantly, well over half of the French public believed that Ruby shot Oswald to stop investigation of the crime."

These things require an answer."

Then the Congressman pointed out that doubts are acute even in this country. "Nor is it necessary," said Goodell, "to phrase the many questions being asked by our own people about those now infamous 48 hours. We are all aware that they are many, serious and some say even sufficient to shake the very foundations of belief in the validity of our system."

The doubts were given further impetus by the statement of Oswald's mother this week that an agent of the FBI had shown her a photograph of Jack Ruby 17 hours before Ruby shot her son in the basement of the Dallas police station. The FBI reportedly denies the picture shown Mrs. Oswald was of Ruby. But Mrs. Oswald insists she can't be mistaken and has demanded to see the picture the FBI showed her.

Mrs. Oswald also said her son told her that the FBI interviewed him three times during the eight-month period prior to the President's assassination.

## James Baldwin's Views on Perspectives Of the Negro Liberation Struggle

— See report on page 3 —

## Young Rights Leaders Map Stepped-Up Fight

By Fred Halstead

WASHINGTON, D.C., Dec. 2 — The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee will proceed without interruption with the civil-rights struggle in the South and, where possible, will intensify it. It will also deepen the economic and political aspects of the struggle and direct its appeal primarily to the poor and the humble of the South.

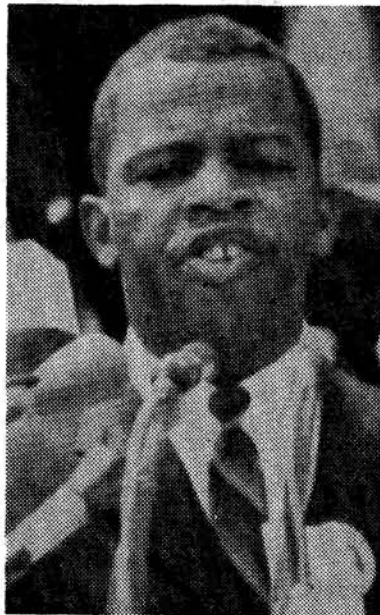
This was the consensus arrived at in SNCC's Fourth Annual Conference "On Food and Jobs" which was held at Howard University here over the week end.

The leadership gathering, SNCC's largest so far, was attended by some 400 persons, including observers, Northern supporters and delegates from action groups in Washington and the South. The large delegations from Deep South areas — overwhelmingly young Negroes, many dressed in the SNCC "uniform" of blue-denim work clothes — set the tone for the conference.

Formally, the gathering was scheduled to acquaint SNCC staff workers in the field with government and union programs that might help provide food and jobs for people in depressed rural areas of the South. Most of the sessions, particularly the workshops, were devoted to speeches and discussions by spokesmen from federal agencies and officials from AFL-CIO unions. But the conference proved to be far from a routine affair.

On the first morning of the gathering, SNCC's Mississippi Project Director Robert Moses departed from the scheduled subject matter of his "preview" speech to deal with an attack on SNCC in an article in the Nov. 29 issue of *Life Magazine*.

The article, by Theodore H. White, is a survey of the current



John Lewis

state of the Negro struggle from a conservative point of view. Flying in the face of the recent appeals by President Johnson and Supreme Court Justice Warren to avoid hysteria and fanatical bitterness and hatred, the *Life* article characterizes SNCC workers as "lunatics" and "aliens." It hysterically declares that SNCC has been penetrated by "alien" radical elements and that "agents" of SNCC have attempted to convert peaceful demonstrations into a "putsch."

By contrast, Moses — who organized SNCC's historic first voter-registration drive in Mississippi back in 1961 — replied to the *Life* attack in a constructive and reasoned manner. And he met the attack head on. "We must decide," he said, "whether or not we are going to contribute to the hysteria against what are sometimes called alien ideas." SNCC, he declared, would support free association and would defend its own autonomy to "pick and choose" its associates and its ideas on the basis of its own needs and struggles and not on the criteria of the white power structure.

Moses also explained SNCC's nature. SNCC, he said, is primarily engaged in training and holding together a tested group of civil-rights fighters. The task of the group in the next period, he said, is to keep these people together, to strengthen them, and let the tested fighters themselves collectively decide what they are organized to do. The specific limited objectives of the struggle, he said, "are not to be put off" because of the crisis in the country or in the civil-rights movement. But these crises, he added, also require that the broader goals be worked out.

SNCC, he said, is working for "a political overthrow of the Southern system as we now know it."

Moses quoted the *Life* article as saying the militant civil-rights fighters were trying to force the federal government into a direct confrontation with a Southern state. "That's true," said Moses. "We have found out in the Deep South that it will not change until the federal government makes the change. What we are asking is just

such a confrontation . . . This is not a lunatic move. It's not a move by aliens or an alien ideology."

"The cards are on the table," said Moses. "We, SNCC, believe that the two-party system, as it functions now, doesn't work . . . There is a crisis. Any political administration in this country to bring about such changes would be putting itself out of office . . . SNCC has reached a point where it must stand and say what it wants and how it is going about getting it."

The SNCC workers in "the lonely towns" of the Deep South have to make their own decisions, he said. And SNCC as a group, must have the same courage to make its own collective decision on where the movement is going, and choose its associates on its own criteria. "In order to become effective we must continue as people who are disciplined and keep strongly in mind what we are trying to do," he said. "The problem for us is overcoming the power structure in the South."

The Keynote Address of the conference was delivered by James Baldwin. [See article page 3] The largest crowd at any single meeting of the conference listened to Baldwin and gave him a standing ovation of several minutes as he called for an uncompromising continuation of the struggle.

The second day of the conference was largely devoted to speeches and discussions by government officials and spokesmen

(Continued on Page 4)

## Venezuela Feeds Anti-Cuba Hysteria With Arms "Find"

The Betancourt regime's accusation that Cuba supplied arms to Venezuelan guerrillas was designed to further whip up the anti-Cuba campaign. Claiming it had definite proof that a cache of arms "discovered" on a Venezuelan beach in October had come from Cuba, Venezuelan officials called for a meeting of the Organization of American States, citing the Rio Treaty of 1947, which provides for joint military action to repel "aggression."

As everyone expected, Washington immediately backed up the Venezuelan charges and declared readiness to work with other "American republics" to end "further attempts by the Castro regime to export arms."

But the Venezuelan charges have little plausibility. The timing is itself suspicious. Why a month from the "discovery" of the cache until the charge? Wasn't it convenient that the accusation came just two days before the Venezuelan elections?

As for the "Cuban Army markings" and "serial numbers" of the Belgian manufacturer, the Central Intelligence Agency has all the technical facilities to fabricate such "evidence." After all, Cuba is ringed by U.S. navy patrols and systematically observed by U.S.

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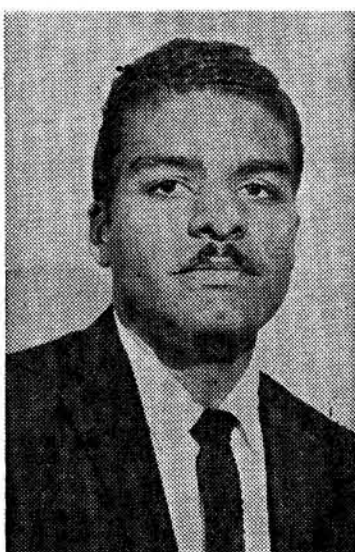
## PAMPHLET REVIEW

## A Speech That Was Branded 'Subversive'

THE INDIANA "SUBVERSION" SPEECH. Published by the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, Box 213 Cooper Station, New York, New York, 10003, 25¢. (Proceeds to student defense.)

Now you can read the complete text of the talk on civil rights given at Indiana University in Bloomington last March 25, by Leroy McRae, a young Negro socialist. That talk was made the basis for the indictment of three IU students on charges of "assembling to advocate" the violent overthrow of the U.S. and Indiana state governments. Ralph Levitt, James Bingham and Tom Morgan, officers of the Young Socialist Alliance chapter at IU — which sponsored McRae's campus meeting — now face up to six years imprisonment if convicted.

McRae, national organization secretary of the YSA, on tour last spring, gave the same speech at campuses from Seattle to Boston, Los Angeles to Baltimore. But only in Bloomington — where the Young Socialist Alliance was under fire from local right-wing



Leroy McRae

elements and where a newly-elected county prosecutor was looking for a way to open a legal attack on the group — was the speech deemed "subversive."

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students has made the transcript of a tape of McRae's talk available in pamphlet form. Interested persons can now judge for themselves how serious a travesty of justice is involved in this precedent-setting civil liberties case — the first time in U.S. history that American students have been charged, in effect, with treason, and the first test case of the McCarthy-type Indiana Communism Act of 1951. Similar laws in other states have been declared unconstitutional.

What strikes one especially upon reading this transcript is not only that McRae in no way calls for the violent overthrow of the government but that he clearly asserts in a number of places that he and the organization he represents do not advocate any such thing.

## Ideas Are Basic

For example on page 19 of the pamphlet McRae states:

"The socialist movement does not give anything to the majority of the people. It does not give them the means of force and violence, either. All that the socialist movement contributes to the people are its ideas, program, its call for change indicating what is

the cause of the present status quo and what we think the new society will be like. Now the alternative means of struggle will be decided by the people themselves . . . the thing I'm trying to point out to you, you see, is that we do not advocate the forceful overthrow of the government, and I think you understand that, and your attempts to suck the speaker into such a thing, I think, should be recognized by the audience here."

McRae was obviously aware of attempts by several questioners to make it look like he advocated violence. Even in his prepared talk he referred to the witch-hunt atmosphere surrounding the YSA in Bloomington.

This makes it all the more shocking that the Prosecutor, Thomas A. Hoadley, should have brought his indictments precisely on the basis of McRae's speech.

## Fresh, Immediate Picture

There is another thing about this pamphlet. It gives a fresh, immediate picture of what political discussion is like on the American campus of the 1960's. Many of the remarks are off-the-cuff, especially in the question period. There are some parts — also in the question period — where words are not picked up clearly or are transcribed incorrectly. But in the tone of the speech, the kind of questions, the viewpoints exchanged—the experience of young people discussing the issues of their own future is vividly captured.

It is this kind of vital discussion that the high school and college youth of our nation today want and have the right to expect. And the gravity of this case lies in the attempts of Prosecutor Hoadley to punish students for practicing such freedom of speech.

This prosecution strikes at the heart of civil liberties and academic freedom. It deserves the support of every American concerned with preserving our democratic liberties. One way to express that support is to get in touch with the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students and help it give the factual material on this case, including this pamphlet, the widest distribution possible.

—George Saunders

## ... Venezuelan Arms Claim

(Continued from Page 1)

planes. It is virtually impossible for a vessel leaving Cuba to go undetected. Nor would the Cubans be foolish enough to risk such a venture since arms are easily purchasable in Latin America from commercial gun-runners and corrupt government officials and army officers who will sell anything for the right price.

On the other hand, Betancourt's secret police, and the CIA, which works closely with it, could easily bury arms on a Venezuelan beach for convenient "discovery" at an appropriate moment.

## Not First Time

Betancourt has used frameups before. In Sept. 1962 he suspended constitutional guarantees, charging leftist snipers had shot civilians from a hospital roof. The hospital director denied any shots had come from there. In early 1963 Betancourt, charging an attempt to assassinate him, had hundreds rounded up. The Monsignor of the Catholic church where the attempt allegedly took place publicly cast doubt on the charge.

Late in October the government arrested leftist members of congress despite their parliamentary immunity, charging that they were leaders of the Armed Forces of National Liberation, the anti-Betancourt guerrilla organization, on the false charge that it had robbed

passengers and killed some national guardsmen in a train holdup. The FALN, which carries out its actions as political demonstrations and always makes a point of taking public credit for them, denied it had staged the holdup.

The Cubans have denied Betancourt's charges and denounced them as a frameup intended to pave the way for a new invasion of Cuba. The U.S. press, taking advantage of the hysteria caused by Kennedy's assassination, accepts the "arms cache" fabrication as good coin and blames Castro for the struggle in Venezuela. But the Venezuelan guerrillas are not foreign-based saboteurs. They could not carry on their widespread, prolonged campaign without the sympathy of a large section of the population. The crisis in Venezuela has its roots within that country.

"There are revolutions that are sweeping the world and we in America have been in a position of trying to stop them. With all the wealth of America, with all of the military strength of America, those revolutions cannot be stopped. Those revolutions are revolutions against a form of political and economic organization in the countries of Asia and the Middle East that are oppressive. They are revolutions against feudalism." — William O. Douglas (1898- ).



A large number of unorganized workers turned out for an organizing meeting with representatives of the Textile Workers Union of America and the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department in Charlotte, North Carolina. The planning session reflected the "determination of these workers to have a union, regardless of the risks," according to TWUA president William Pollock.

"They know that the company cannot keep out the union forever," he said. Pollock said that Southern workers have recognized the weight that TWUA's voice carries in textile regions.

"Before we started our agitational campaign, there was no indication of a wage increase for Southern workers. Now, a wage increase has been announced by the industry leaders, proving that workers need a genuine union if their interests are to be protected."

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A compulsory arbitration panel has authorized the country's railroads to go ahead with a job-cutting program starting next January which will eventually eliminate 30,000 firemen's jobs.

The panel was established under provisions of the Railroad Labor bill passed by Congress last August to head off a possible strike by operating trainmen's unions. According to the law the decision of the panel is legally binding for two years, during which railroad unions will not be allowed to strike against its findings.

Two union members of the

## SWP Candidate Stirred Voter Interest in Hibbing

Everett Luoma, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Hibbing, Minn., spoke at a Nov. 14 candidates' meeting sponsored by the League of Women Voters. Instead of the usual dozen individuals in attendance, this meeting attracted an overflow crowd. Hibbing, with a population of 17,700, is the largest town in the economically depressed Iron Range area of Northern Minnesota.

Although he was competing with seven other candidates, Luoma's presentation of the SWP program immediately became the center of attention and held the interest of the audience throughout the evening.

Luoma accused his rivals of believing that the iron-ore miners on the Range have a right to work only insofar as the mining companies think they should work. Luoma challenged them to "correct me if I am wrong!" No one took him up on the challenge.

## Divide Work

Luoma further proposed that all work on the Range be divided evenly among the workers and all of them paid a living wage. He challenged the other candidates to disagree that this country was wealthy enough to afford that.

In the village primary election, Luoma received 159 votes or 3.1 per cent of the total vote of 5,182. This was in an area which has not heard a socialist program since the 1930s at least. Moreover, Luoma's campaign was further handicapped by the fact that his opposition widely publicized that he only moved into the area last Aug. 27.

The campaign of the SWP was heard not only in Hibbing; Luoma's press releases received excellent coverage in the Duluth News Tribune which is read throughout the Range area. In addition, 2,000 Militants and 2,000 copies of a campaign platform were distributed in Hibbing.

panel, H. E. Gilbert, president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Firemen and Enginemen, and Ray McDonald, vice president of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, voted against the decision. Gilbert said a suit would be filed in federal district court in Washington, protesting the constitutionality of the arbitration law and the validity of the panel's decision.

Some of the powers granted to job-slashing railroad companies by the panel include: 1) A policy of attrition whereby companies would not have to fill firemen's jobs vacated for any reason; 2) Firemen with less than ten years' seniority could be forced to take other jobs or relocate to new areas; 3) Some 3,000 young, or part-time, firemen can be arbitrarily laid off with varying amounts of severance pay.

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Women office workers in Chicago will face fiercer job competition from men if Office Man Inc., a new employment agency, has its way. The agency purportedly finds temporary jobs for men who have been replaced by automation but admits that some jobs become permanent. Mrs. Donna Workman, head of the agency, denies she discriminates against women workers. In attempting to sell the "greater efficiency" of men, however, she says of women: "Emotional upsets at home — husbands, money, in-laws and a wealth of other responsibilities distract them from full attention to their work. And all through the picture runs the annoyance of periodic illness."

The immediate refutation of Mrs. Workman's attack on women office workers is her obvious efficiency in organizing and maintaining her employment office. The pity is her talent is wasted in the service of bosses who thrive on divisions among workers — be they sex, color, or age.

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In a radio interview an AFL-CIO spokesman stated that 1963 is the "worst year for the unemployed" since the start of the compensation program in 1937, due to cutbacks in unemployment benefits by the legislatures of 12 states.

This new state trend comes in the face of a 150 percent rise in long-term unemployment over the last five years.

## Weekly Calendar

## CHICAGO

America's Program for War, 1963 — An analysis of current U.S. military tactics. Speaker, Richard Roberts. Fri., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 South Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

## DETROIT

Politics and the Struggle for Black Equality — Speaker, CLIFTON DE BERRY, Negro socialist candidate for councilman in New York. Fri., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

## MINNEAPOLIS

RAILROAD WORKERS FIGHT JOB SLAUGHTER. Which Way to Victory — in the Courts or on the Picket Line? Fri., Dec. 13, 8 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

## NEW YORK

WILLIAM F. WARDE, contributor to The Militant and International Socialist Review, speaks on Where Is America Going? — Our National History and Present Problems. Fri., Dec. 13, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1 (students, 50c). Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## PHILADELPHIA

Politics and the Struggle for Black Equality. Speaker, CLIFTON DE BERRY. Fri., Dec. 20, 8:15 p.m. Garvey Hall, 1611 W. Columbia Ave. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

## The First 10 Years Of American Communism Report of a Participant

By James P. Cannon

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

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344 pp. — \$6.00

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**James Baldwin Tells SNCC Parley:**

**'To Free the Country You Must Change It'**

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The keynote address at the Fourth Annual Conference of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was delivered by author James Baldwin on Nov. 29. Baldwin spoke in Howard University's Rankin Chapel which was filled with some 400 persons, a large part of them Negro youth from the Deep South. He spoke in an informal manner, and many of his remarks were in answer to questions from the audience.

Of the singing, which preceded his speech, he said: "These songs have an eloquence coming all the way from the auction block down to 1963 . . . The captive black people here in this country have brought forth black culture through their many years of suffering and degradation . . . This struggle by these black people for self-recognition and self-understanding is now this country's only hope."

White Americans, said Baldwin, have "cultivated the illusion that they were immune to the oppression and social castigation of the black people in this country . . . They thought it couldn't happen to Mr. Charlie . . . In a way my presence, the Negro's presence, insured their abundance. I suffered, my people suffered, and therefore you could call it a democratic country . . ."

**Terrible Things**

"This delusion," said Baldwin, "did terrible things, of course, to my fathers, to me, to my children . . ."

This delusion, said Baldwin, did terrible things to Negroes, but it did even worse things to whites. He described his recent experience in Selma, Alabama, where he watched two SNCC workers, Chico Neblett and Alvery Williams beaten by white police. Baldwin pointed to Neblett, present in the hall, as he continued: "I looked into the white sheriff's eyes and realized the man we were facing was terrified . . . made less than a man . . . As between the sheriff and the boy, the only human choice is to be that boy. He has what the whites cannot have — a sense of his own human value."

"These white cops were less than human," said the author, but the fact to realize is that the white power structure in the South put these prods, guns and clubs in these white cops' hands . . . These persons have no sense of human value."

Because the country has denied Negroes their humanity, said Baldwin, it is losing its own. "You do become what you think other people are . . . You do become your own victim. When I find out that you invented 'nigger' and why you did, then I ask — and it is a very big question: 'Who is the nigger here?'" The audience applauded at this and Baldwin continued:

**Delusion's Price Paid**

"Part of the price Americans have paid for this delusion was shown to us in Dallas, Texas, something like a week ago . . . This happened in a civilized nation . . . a lunatic blew the President's head off . . . I don't want to sound rude . . . We all know that for many generations black men's heads have been blown off and nobody cared . . ."

"We need a clear understanding of reality in this country — by reality I mean that another human being is another human being. With this kind of understood reality, then the assassination of Medgar Evers would have aroused the country . . . He was a man, he had a wife, he had children . . . Six kids were murdered in Birmingham, in a Christian country, in a Christian church, in Sunday school, and nobody cared!"

Such things, said Baldwin, have created an atmosphere of lunacy.



**James Baldwin**

But, he continued, "I am suspicious of these lunatics or so-called lunatics that crop up strangely and very appropriately for the forces of the white power structure."

President Kennedy, said Baldwin, was not a John Brown nor a leader of the freedom struggle. "Let us tell the truth," he said.

But, said Baldwin, Kennedy was being blamed in the South for breaking the long-standing agreement between the Southern oligarchy and the Northern power structure by which Southern Negroes were disfranchised after the Reconstruction period. This led to the Dallas atmosphere, Baldwin declared. "One man, one vote," said Baldwin, repeating the SNCC slogan, "means the end of the Democratic Party as we now know it."

**Freedom Songs**

Referring again to freedom songs, Baldwin said: "That music is all that can save this country now!" The struggle must continue, he said, and everything must be re-examined. "If, for example, you don't think you can work within the Democratic Party you don't have to," he declared. "To free the country you must change it." He continued:

"This notion of change, is the issue. Presently they try to label dissenters and to continue labeling and getting rid of dissenters. This country was built on dissent and real change . . . America now distrusts dissension as much as any totalitarian government can . . . Safety, security, and money comes first now. The continuation of the phony lesser-of-two-evils theory . . . In order for me — a black citizen — to be free, I cannot be fitted into the social structure as it now stands . . ."

There was loud applause as he declared: "It is not a matter of giving me this or that, or of giving or not giving me my freedom. I will take it!"

The author continued: "The United States is so locked in internal dissension that it cannot look out and see the world. The majority of the people of the world are struggling for freedom and our nation is not able to see and understand this because of the internal dissension in this country . . . This country does not produce to satisfy the needs of the majority of the people. The huge expenditures for war armaments and the vast industries producing war weapons do not satisfy the needs of the people in this country . . ."

"The economy itself right now can't employ all the white people . . . For me to get a job I must figure out a way to get everyone else a job . . ."

Commenting that there was a lot of talk about freedom from

whites in this country, he said: "I'll tell you what I know about freedom. James Forman, for example, and Chico are much more free than most of the white people I know in this country. They know exactly what they are and where they are going . . . People are as free as they wish to become! . . . The simplest way to lose your freedom is simply to stop fighting for it . . ."

"We must make it known that the terrible events of the last week have done nothing to alter the struggle and, if anything, have made it more important to proceed . . . because we have seen what happens when you can get away with anything against a human being . . . The hesitation that existed before — the hesitation to liberate oneself — this hesitation has vanished. We have seen with our own eyes what happens to a country when this country allows itself to be ruled by the most abject, the most incompetent, the most inhumane, etc. This is what happens when a country confuses its politics with a popularity contest! . . ."

**Open Discussion**

"What endangers us far more than Khrushchev or Castro is what we do not know about ourselves. What we do not know about ourselves, we do not know about the world." With that, Baldwin concluded his opening remarks and the audience gave him a standing ovation, lasting several minutes. The floor was then opened for discussion.

A student asked what counsel Baldwin would give civil-rights fighters in the South who are beginning to regard the opposition to integration as entrenched, inhuman and criminal and are beginning to consider different methods than the non-violent ones presently being used.

Ask who put the brutal white cop or bigoted white official there, replied Baldwin. "Then go after that force — the cause . . . Get another government that will not involve people of such total incompetence."

Does he advocate a third party, Baldwin was asked and if so, any particular one? "It is a question which much occupies my mind," the author replied. He had no concrete proposal at present he said, "but this I know: As long as Eastland is in the Democratic Party, I cannot become enthusiastic about the Democratic Party."

**No Moratorium**

Baldwin was asked about a moratorium on civil-rights demonstrations, proposed by some leaders, either as a period of mourning for the late president or until Johnson is re-elected. "I profoundly disagree," answered Baldwin.

A white student asked what the place of the white man is in the civil-rights movement. Replied Baldwin: "A white man is a white man if he says he is and thinks he is . . . But he doesn't have to be . . . The role of the white man in the movement is obviously none as long as he remains white. When he places human values before all else, sees the struggle as human beings struggling for liberation and self-dignity, then there is room for him in the movement."

Another student said it was easy to reach working-class Negroes in the South but wanted to know how the movement could appeal to the white middle class. Baldwin replied that he didn't expect much help from either the white or Negro middle class. "They don't support any revolution," he said. The movement, he continued, must neutralize the middle class. But the civil-rights fighters at this stage, he said, cannot — and should not try to — appeal to all classes. "You will only get demoralized and not get the job done," was his advice.

**Highlights and Sidelights Of SNCC Conference**

Percy Williams, a Negro member of the President's Committee on Equal Job Opportunity, had barely finished giving facts and figures about how his agency was "concerned" with the problems of jobs and unemployment when he was confronted by a barrage of questions from SNCC field secretaries.

A young man stood up and asked, "How many contracts has the government rescinded in the South for industries which discriminate?"

The official replied, "Well, you will understand that this is a very complicated question." The SNCC worker repeated his question with even more determination to get a concrete answer. Whereupon the official remarked, "Why that is like asking, 'do you beat your wife,' or something like that. One can't answer without giving an understanding of some of the problems encountered in such complicated contractual relations."

After a third demand for an answer to the question as to whether the government has rescinded contracts with firms which discriminate, the official meekly said, "None." The audience simply hissed.

Comment heard during a discussion on area-redevelopment at one of the workshops: "The area that needs redevelopment most in this country is six acres on Capitol Hill."

On display at the conference was a cartoon strip whose hero, "Tom," works as a janitor in the basement of the huge building housing the headquarters of the White Citizens' Council. "Tom" is in reality "SUPERSNICK."

Only JD [Justice Department] knows Tom's secret. JD takes careful notes on everything that happens to the hero, but is constitutionally forbidden to intervene. JD demands the facts — "Tell me only what you know to be true," he says scribbling on a pad as the hero is beaten by police, poked with cattle prods, etc. Among SUPERSNICK's enemies is Sheriff McCruel of Run'emout, Mississippi. But Sheriff McCruel has failed to reckon with SUPERSNICK's secret weapon "soul force." The last panel shows SUPERSNICK disintegrating McCruel with a stare marked "ZAP."

After hearing Jack Conway, executive director of the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, laud the work of the Democratic administration and indicate his "confidence in Johnson," a veteran Freedom Fighter of Selma, Alabama, walked out of the meeting shaking her head. This young woman who had been tortured with one of the infamous electric cattle prods simply for trying to register to vote remarked, "He [Conway] proposes that the Negro-Labor alliance 'marry itself to the Johnson administration.' I



**James Forman**

can't help but wonder what kind of bastard that would produce."

James Forman, who — as SNCC's executive director — has the most responsible position in the organization, bussed dishes in the cafeteria after the delegates and guests finished eating. He wore the Southern worker's traditional blue jeans, chambray shirt and blanket-lined denim jacket throughout the conference.

A rally was held Friday night in honor of the three SNCC workers who had recently been released by federal court order from jail in Americus, Ga. They had been held without bail for some 80 days on trumped-up charges of "inciting to insurrection," a capital offense in Georgia. The three — John Perdue, Ralph Allen and Donald Harris — were indicted again Nov. 26, this time on trumped-up charges of "assault with intent to murder." Thomas Daniel was also indicted on this charge.

The rally was rich with song and memories as Forman introduced veterans of the many historic struggles since 1960, when SNCC was founded. He called them to the microphone for a short speech, or a song, or sometimes both. The rally also remembered Herbert Lee, the McComb, Miss. farmer who aided SNCC's first voter-registration project, and was shot dead for it by a local white official.

One SNCC worker from Selma, Alabama, who was in downtown Selma when the news of the assassination of President Kennedy broke, said some whites near the courthouse cheered, gave "rebel yells" and shouted, "One down, one to go!"

Another Selma SNCC worker, who was attending classes in the segregated Negro high school at the same time, said the students at first wanted to "storm the courthouse." But the SNCC people in the school talked them out of that idea. Instead, the students stayed in class, singing freedom songs. The teachers objected, said the SNCC worker, for fear they would lose their jobs. But the students spent the afternoon singing anyway.

When asked what the effect of the President's death would be on the civil-rights movement, Mrs. Gloria Richardson, leader of the movement in Cambridge, Md., commented: "Right now it has created a delicate situation. It shows an atmosphere where there is no respect for power. As far as the Negroes are concerned, their patience is running out. If the new president doesn't take effective measures on civil rights by summer, violence could break out."



**Gloria Richardson**

# THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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## Another Source of Violence

There has been considerable documentation of the atmosphere of hate and violence which formed the setting for President Kennedy's assassination. This evil atmosphere was largely the product of the officially-instituted witch hunt which flowered into McCarthyism and then was reincarnated in the present hate-mongering ultra-right movements. Its other principal domestic source was the wave of white-supremacist violence — sanctioned in the South and tolerated by federal authorities — against Negroes seeking their rights.

But there is another, overlooked source of this hate and violence. That is U.S. foreign policy. Mass slaughter, on a scale undreamt of before Hiroshima, has become a commonplace assumption in the thinking of Americans. Washington has repeatedly threatened to use nuclear bombs when "necessary."

U.S. participation in the Korean War, its "Operation Meat-grinder," its napalm bombings, have been glorified in countless movies and TV shows. The Bay of Pigs invasion and the CIA's continued sending of saboteurs and terrorists to Cuba are justified and praised.

Finally there is the current U.S. participation in the dirty war in South Vietnam, where to assure the U.S. taxpayer that he is getting his money's worth, corpses of guerrillas are collected after each engagement and laid out like a hunting "bag" for an official count by U.S. officers and photographers.

All this brutality and killing has had a tremendous reflex action at home, further poisoning the American mind with images of hate and violence.

## The Presidential Commission

In an effort to mitigate the world-wide shame and disgrace brought by police conduct in Dallas, President Lyndon Johnson has appointed a special commission, headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, to investigate the assassination of President Kennedy and the murder of Lee H. Oswald while in police custody.

Washington correspondents report that Johnson appointed the seven-man commission to forestall "investigations" by the Eastland Committee, the House Un-American Activities Committee and possibly other committees. These Congressional committees are notorious for their reactionary aims, their cheap publicity-seeking, and their disregard of truth and the rights of witnesses. To permit them to make a Roman Holiday of the investigation would only deal another disastrous blow at home and abroad to the reputation of American legal procedures.

While the Presidential commission will undoubtedly conduct the investigation with more decorum, there is no guarantee that it will avoid the temptations to stage a witch hunt, to heat up the anti-Cuba campaign, or to spare vested interests which may be involved.

The commission's composition is remarkable. Apparently no allegations of liberalism have ever been made against any of the members other than Warren and Senator Cooper of Kentucky. Five of the seven are Republicans. The two Democrats are leaders of the Deep South bloc in Congress — and as such have condoned white-supremacist violence against Negroes. Two members are important architects of cold-war policy. One, John J. McCloy, former U.S. High Commissioner in Germany, is now board chairman of the Chase-Manhattan Bank. The other, Allen Dulles, former CIA head, master-minded the invasion of Cuba.

Johnson instructed the commission to ascertain the truth as far as it can be discovered and to report its findings to the American people and the world. That is an outcome all fair-minded people desire. Whether they will get it remains to be seen.

## Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Baltimore	\$ 120	\$ 120	100
Chicago	1,300	1,300	100
Detroit	700	700	100
Minneapolis-St. Paul	850	725	85
Connecticut	200	168	83
St. Louis	100	75	75
Boston	600	440	73
General	100	71	71
New York	4,300	3,023	70
Cleveland	650	432	66
Allentown	150	95	63
San Francisco	650	390	60
Milwaukee	250	150	60
Los Angeles	4,300	2,404	56
Philadelphia	300	162	54
Newark	200	95	47
Oakland-Berkeley	600	265	44
Denver	100	34	34
San Diego	300	101	33
Seattle	500	85	17
Totals through Dec. 3	\$16,270	\$10,835	67%

## THEATER REVIEW

# A Brilliant Dramatization of Negro History

IN WHITE AMERICA, a play at the Sheridan Square Playhouse in New York City by Martin B. Duberman. Directed by Harold Stone.

"We seem to feel, at bottom, that the truth about white and black men in America is so terrible that it cannot really be told. But the truth about the past is really all we have to guide us in the present."—James Baldwin.

Quietly, the actors take their place on the low stage. It is as though the audience were sitting with them. There is a beautiful young Negro woman, strong and proud looking, an older and a younger Negro man, a white, middle-class woman, a youngish red-headed man, an older man with a worn, pale face and a boyish folk singer with a guitar and a banjo.

One of the actors comes forward and from today's press reads a few excerpts from letters to the editor, pro and con on the Negro struggle for equality. Then another actor reads from "Account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa, 1788." It is a letter written by a doctor who was on a vessel and among other horrors describes the blood and stench of the space between decks where the slaves were carried. Then other documents are read: from the Annals of Congress; Thomas Jefferson is shown walking back and forth

## Tickets Still Available For Theater Party

NEW YORK — Some tickets are still available for the "In White America" theater party sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum. The party is for the 7 p.m. performance on Saturday, Dec. 14.

Tickets may be obtained at \$3.45 each (no advance over box-office price) from the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y. Phone AL 5-7852.

pondering his "Notes on Virginia"; A slave tells his reminiscences of the old days; Thomas Wentworth Higginson tells about "Army Life in a Black Regiment"; Frederick Douglass calls on President Johnson — altogether, there are 28 brief, but moving readings and episodes.

For this play consists of historical documents and biographies, read or acted out so perfectly that the illusion of being in the presence of Nat Turner, Sojourner Truth, John Brown, W.E.B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, Haywood Patterson, and other heroic figures is overwhelming. The actors are so good that their names must be

given: Gloria Foster, Moses Gunn, Claudette Nevins, Michael O'Sullivan, Fred Pinkard and John Wardwell. Their material is so dramatic that the slightest hamming would be fatal. There is none. Each scene starts quietly; sometimes a muted song is sung, and the voices are tender, or sad or defiant, depending on the scene which is to follow.

There is a dramatic tension in the impact of the second act. The first act covers the period to the end of the Civil War. It seems remote, although so moving. All of a sudden, we are in the modern period. Reconstruction brings the Ku Klux Klan; Woodrow Wilson's infamous interview with Monroe Trotter on segregation in the federal services; the French directive in World War I; scene after scene, rushing forward to a 15-year-old girl's heartbreaking account of trying to enter the Little Rock High School.

The play ends as it starts with the reading of contemporary letters to the editor, showing the same old arguments continuing today.

How wonderful it would be if *In White America* could be performed in every school in the United States.

Live actors seem to me more eloquent than the movies for stirring the imagination of even the most indifferent audiences.

—Constance Weissman

# ... SNCC Parley Maps Stepped-Up Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

of the AFL-CIO officialdom. The atmosphere in these sessions and workshops was generally strained, as few of the speakers offered concrete aid to the SNCC workers and many of the delegates seemed in no mood to listen to platitudes or condescending advice. The SNCC leaders moderating the discussions, however, did their best to maintain a constructive interchange of ideas.

The consensus of these workshops was that fundamental political changes, union organization and economic planning would be necessary for a solution to the problems of the South.

The strained atmosphere reached a high point Saturday evening with a speech by Jack Conway, executive director of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO. Conway is a crony of UAW President Walter Reuther and recently returned to the union officialdom from a post in the Democratic administration.

The first third of Conway's

speech was devoted to highly exaggerated praise for the civil-rights record of the administration. Though respectful toward the late president, the rights fighters in the audience resented praise for a Justice Department which has indicted them in Albany, Ga., and which has done nothing effective to protect them from the beatings and jailings they experience as they attempt to register Negroes to vote. Conway lost his audience.

But he blundered on, advising these seasoned young veterans of Southern jails that they must guard against getting "across-grain" with society, that they shouldn't make the "mistakes" of the Chartist movement, of the Populists, of the IWW, of the Socialist Party of Debs. He advised them to take the road of the present "leaders" of the labor movement, who, he said, have "institutionalized" their movement, and "do useful work" within the present institutions of society.

The essence of Conway's speech was an appeal for SNCC to sup-

port a Negro-labor-liberal alliance behind Johnson and the Democratic Party for the 1964 elections. He coupled this with the thinly-veiled threat: "You depend on the generosity of others."

The SNCC leaders had some difficulty maintaining a constructive atmosphere in the workshops which followed this speech.

Bayard Rustin, deputy director of the March on Washington, commented in his speech the following morning: "I wish that Jack Conway had not spent the first one-third of his talk on Kennedy. People did not listen to the remaining two-thirds of his dynamic talk. He clearly outlined your support of the trade union movement."

Following the report of the consensus of the workshop discussions, SNCC Chairman John Lewis, 23, delivered the final remarks. He was speaking, he said, particularly to the delegates from the "Deep, Deep South."

The Southern masses are losing patience, said Lewis, and "if this movement that we are involved in is to continue to maintain non-violent discipline, then it must develop a program radical enough to inspire the most oppressed Southern masses."

Lewis referred to the *Life* article. No one needs search for "agents" in SNCC, he said, "We are the agents."

The SNCC executive committee, he said, would meet soon in Atlanta to digest the conference and to prepare a program. "We must become a people's movement and not a leaders' movement," he declared. "We must develop pockets of power where the masses can satisfy their needs . . . I don't know how long the people will follow non-violence . . . The people in Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi, no longer listen to our dreams . . . we've been promising pie in the sky . . . we must have a program to satisfy the needs and aspirations of these people."

He called for Northern students to go into the ghettos of the North and for whites to go into the depressed areas and build a movement, too. "Let's get a real nationwide mass movement going this time," he urged. "We want freedom, justice and equality now, not tomorrow!"

## Socialist Education Fund

# 3 Cities Ring the Bell

By Marvel Scholl  
Fund Director

This week three cities have reached the top of the scoreboard — Baltimore, Chicago and Detroit. This is good news indeed, but entirely to be expected from the groups represented. Almost every other city has written to assure us that "they will be in — in full and on time." But it would be much more comforting if the cash came in along with the assurances. Time's awasting.

The power of all forms of capitalist media has been amply demonstrated during the last terrible ten days. They have money in inexhaustible supplies. We do not.

Did you ever stop to think what a powerful socialist press would mean to the working class — to all of America, for that matter? A press that could regulate its frequency of publication on the basis of the needs of the moment; a press with a wide enough circulation to reach millions of peo-

ple, not just thousands? A press that specialized in printing the truth, not a hodgepodge of slanted speculation designed primarily to cloud issues?

That is the kind of a press, in all its various forms, which we must have. No one imagines that we are going to accomplish this aim with only \$16,000. But this sum will keep what we now have going during the next period. And the value of that cannot be denied. Someday we will have to raise a far larger sum to once again expand the paper, the International Socialist Review, the publication of pamphlets through Pioneer Publishers. But for this period, we only ask our friends and supporters to make it possible for us to continue coming out with the truth every week without fail.

Send your Freedom Dollars to 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003.

**Socialist Spokesmen Set Record Straight**

**Refute Lie that Marxists Favor Terrorism**

[The following article by Peter Kihss appeared in the Nov. 27 *New York Times* under the headline: "Accused Assassin Belied Tenets of Marxism, Experts Here Agree."]

Political groups that consider themselves to be the exponents of Marxism contended here yesterday that Marxism opposed assassinations or individual terrorism. Thus they argued that the man accused of assassinating President Kennedy was not a true "Marxist" despite his own assertions to that effect.

The groups expressed concern over misconceptions that might arise because Lee H. Oswald had styled himself a "Marxist" in a much-discussed telecast in New Orleans. They also noted that an engineer whose wife had befriended Oswald's wife and children had said that Oswald "refused to eschew violence."

Norman Thomas, six-time Socialist candidate for President, and leaders of the Communist, Socialist Workers and Socialist Labor parties and the Progressive Labor Movement all contended that true Marxism opposed violence against individuals.

They cited Karl Marx, the German socialist, as having long battled terrorists such as Mikhail Bakunin, the Russian anarchist who believed in destroying the state.

Marx's program for achieving socialism, they held in substance, envisioned a class struggle, with the individual counting for relatively little. In contrast, some of them pictured the idea of the individual as architect of his fate, and reactionaries as believing that destruction of individuals might affect social change.

Apart from the socialistic leaders, Dr. Sidney Hook, professor of philosophy at New York University, agreed that "Marxist theory does not believe in individual violence as a method of social change and transformation."

**Condemn Violence**

"However," Professor Hook said, "many Marxists would on occasion not condemn an individual act of violence if it served some important social purpose. But they would condemn most actions of violence, especially on the ground that they would act as provocations or pretexts for repressive measures."

Professor Hook as well as others consider the late Joseph Stalin, Soviet dictator, responsible for the killing of his rival, Leon Trotsky. Trotsky was killed while in exile in Mexico in August 1940 by an alpenstock plunged into his brain.

Dr. Hook said there had been "hundreds" of such individual killings and said that "some people who call themselves Communists" were using such individual violence at present in democratic Venezuela.

Earl Browder, expelled former general secretary of the United States Communist Party, who was its Presidential candidate in two elections, said he was sure that Stalin had "practiced" individual terrorism, although Stalin "never defended it."

Farrell Dobbs, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and its Presidential candidate in the last four elections, said that the killing of Trotsky had "refuted Stalin's contention that he had remained a Marxist."

Arnold Petersen, national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, said that Marx held Bakunin and other anarchists in "supreme contempt."

He quoted a letter Marx wrote to his daughter Jenny on April 11, 1881, in which he said that another anarchist, John Most, "and other childish whimperers preach tyrannicide as a 'theory and panacea.'"

An editorial in the forthcoming



**Farrell Dobbs**

issue of *The Weekly People*, edited by Eric Hass, Socialist Labor candidate for President in the last three elections, expresses horror over the assassination of President Kennedy.

"It is this deep-seated, guilt-inspired, ruling class fear," the editorial says, "that created the climate in which it is commonplace for overwrought, unstable and mentally unbalanced characters to commit irrational acts of violence."

"They have had it drilled into their weak minds by the incessant propaganda of capitalism that, on the one hand, the individual is the architect of his own fate, and, on the other, that evil men, (or those whom the irrational victims of capitalist madness imagine to be evil) are responsible for their private miseries and for the world's woes."

Arnold Johnson, a spokesman for the Communist Party of the U.S.A., said the party's constitution advocates a peaceful road to socialism through "the developing constitutional process."

It calls for expulsion of anyone "who advocates force and violence or terrorism."

"We constantly," Mr. Johnson said, "see the role of the working class and of the mass movements and mass struggles of the people as decisive. We always warn against any short cuts, any methods of individual terror, individual acts which divert from and would basically prove defeating both as to immediate as well as to ultimate objectives."

Mr. Johnson quoted Lenin, first leader of the Soviet state, as having written against "the theory of single combat" in an article "On Revolutionary Adventurism" published Sept. 1, 1902.

This was against Social Revolutionary Party rivals who were contending that "terrorists will win Russia's freedom against autocracy."

**Dobbs' View**

For the Trotskyites, Mr. Dobbs said Trotsky had written a pamphlet in 1934 on "The Kirov Assassination," in which he cited "the negative aspect of Marxism towards the tactic of individual terror."

In this, Trotsky quoted an article he wrote in 1911.

It said that "the capitalist state is not founded upon ministers and cannot be destroyed with them," because "the classes it serves will always find new men, the mechanism remains whole and continues its work."

"The only way that the political and basic social problems of the human race can be settled in a civilized way," Mr. Dobbs said, "is for society to be guided by majority decision, which is reached after full and free public debate in which all points of view are heard."

"Individual acts of terrorism in the last analysis can serve only the forces of reaction who want to repress political and constitutional liberties because they seize upon the individual terrorist act as a pretext to attack the rights of society as a whole."

Miss Betty Elkin, national secretary of the Socialist Party, described the party as a "multi-tendency" and with non-Marxist as well as Marxist members. Then she said:

"The Socialist Party has always firmly and unequivocally rejected violence such as assassination and terrorism, against political opponents, as being utterly contrary to Socialist principles and incompatible with membership in the Socialist Party."

"Such violence is abhorrent to Socialists; it is rather the familiar weapon of rabid reactionaries, lynch mobs and demented fanatics."

"Assassination, terrorism and all such forms of personal violence contribute nothing to social progress. It only strengthens the forces of reaction and repression."

Milton Rosen, chairman of the Progressive Labor Movement, perhaps as left-wing as any political group now here, asserted that an attempt was being made "to utilize the alleged acts of Oswald to whip up further the anti-Communist hysteria in the country."

**Reject Assassination**

"This," Mr. Rosen said, "is all part of the atmosphere that lends itself to these acts of violence. Marxist-Leninists find it necessary to reject assassination as a conceivable form of political struggle. The killing of a man cannot alter the course of history."

Mr. Rosen contended that "assassination and individual violence is part and parcel of the capitalist system." He said that President Kennedy's Administration had "openly acknowledged its role in the assassination of its friend Diem in South Vietnam," and "welcomed with great enthusiasm the assassination of Patrice Lumumba, the great nationalist leader in the Congo."

Mr. Browder, the former Communist Party chief here, said Marx had written a eulogy of President Lincoln, after his assassination, for the Central Council of the International Working Men's Association on May 13, 1865.

This, Mr. Browder said, was an example of a general principle Marx has "always held" against assassination.

Marx's eulogy, Mr. Browder said, "could be applied to Kennedy."

He quoted it in part as follows: "Even the sycophants who year after year and day by day stuck at their Sisyphean work of morally assassinating Abraham Lincoln and the great republic he headed stand now aghast at this universal outburst of popular feeling and rival with each other to strew rhetorical flowers on his open grave."

"They have now at last found out that he was a man neither to be browbeaten by adversity, nor intoxicated by success, inflexibly pressing on to his great goal, never compromising it by blind haste, slowly maturing his steps, never retracing them, carried away by no surge of popular favor, disheartened by no slackening of the popular pulse, tempering stern acts by the gleams of a kind heart, illuminating scenes dark with passion by the smile of humor, doing his titanic work as humbly and homely as heaven-born rulers do little things with the grandiloquence of pomp and state, in one word one of the rare men who succeed in becoming great without ceasing to be good."

"Such indeed was the modesty of this great and good man that the world only discovered him a hero after he had fallen a martyr."

**New Protests in S. Vietnam Worry U.S.-Backed Junta**

By Steve Graham

A growing wave of demonstrations, climaxed by the self-immolation of a 20-year-old girl, Tran Bath Nga, is rocking South Vietnam: The deep unrest of the people of that unhappy nation was not eased by the substitution of a gang of power-hungry generals for the tyrant Diem.

Tran Bath Nga, whose name means White Swan, set fire to her gasoline-soaked clothing Nov. 30 at a Saigon intersection facing the residences of members of the International Control Commission. That commission, set up under the Geneva pact of 1954 to ensure the neutrality and peaceful reunification of Vietnam, was supposed to prevent the entrance of foreign military personnel, such as the nearly 17,000 U.S. "advisers," into the country.

**Suicide Note**

Tran Bath Nga was reported to have left a note saying that her suicide was to protest "Vietnamese fighting Vietnamese," that is the war against peasant guerrillas. The man for whom she had worked reported that she had earlier planned to protest Diem's brutal oppression of Buddhists, but then had "started worrying about the war." Police quickly concocted an official version that she burned herself either out of "gratitude" over the freeing of Buddhists or over a "love affair."

Elsewhere in the country, demonstrators are demanding the removal of officials implicated in the atrocities of the Diem dictatorship. This could mean nearly all the officials, police and military of the new regime. Greatest unrest is in the university city of Hue, where government troops massacred peacefully demonstrating Buddhists last May. That incident touched off the nation-wide mass protests of the past summer.

The protest movement is still going on and is utilizing the anti-Diem claims of the military junta to demand the punishment of all former Diem henchmen. Student demonstrations in Hue are demanding punishment of the officials who gave the order to shoot last May. They also demand removal of Gen. Do Cao Tri, military commander in the central coastal region. Tri was closely associated with Diem, and troops under his command committed some of the worst atrocities of the past summer.

**Hated Overlord**

Moreover, after Diem's overthrow, Gen. Tri put Ngo Dinh Can, hated overlord of the central region and Diem's brother, out of the people's reach by sending him

**That Cambodia 'Aid'**

In case you're worried about the hardships the Cambodian people might suffer as a result of their government's decision to cut off the U.S. aid program, just forget it.

The New York Times mentioned in passing last week that only five per cent of the Cambodian population will be affected by the aid cutoff. Ninety-five per cent of the people there never saw a red cent of the money. All of it went into the hands of import-export dealers, contractors, government officials and other grafters.

to Saigon ostensibly to be tried for "corruption and abuse of power." (Estimates of the property of the Diem family now show they amassed a fortune of some \$50 million during their rule.)

Gen. Tri unsuccessfully tried to placate the demonstrators. Two top junta generals, Tran Van Don and Ton That Dhm, had to make a special trip from Saigon to confer with Gen. Tri in Hue. Talk of transferring Gen. Tri to a new command resulted. But fear of encouraging further popular demands and of altering the delicate balance of power among the jealous and suspicious warlords gave the junta second thoughts. The idea has been dropped.

**Demonstrations Continue**

Continuation of the mass demonstrations and self-immolations, that were the beginning of the end for Diem shows that the Buddhist protest expressed a deep and powerful mood among the Vietnamese. The unusual growth of the Buddhist movement, even before May 8, had troubled the Diem government and was one reason it cracked down with the kind of brutality that produced the original Hue incident.

The Buddhist movement expresses the desperation of a people subjected to year upon year of senseless war imposed by the intervention of the U.S. and year upon year of reactionary and oppressive rule by a native elite which is entirely subservient to that foreign power.

The crisis of Vietnam will be resolved only by the withdrawal of American troops and the end of U.S. intervention in that country's affairs, when the people of South Vietnam will be free to determine their future for themselves.

**... The Oswald-Ruby Cases**

(Continued from Page 1)

More information comes forth about Oswald's erratic political behavior. The Nov. 30 *Times* reports that persons in New York's Greenwich Village have been questioned by federal agents about an extreme right-winger from Mississippi who lived in the village and was reportedly a close friend of Oswald. He and Oswald had been in the Marines together, the report says, and both participated in right-wing demonstrations in New York. Did Oswald contact any of the right-wing organizations which abound in Dallas?

It was also reported by Pauline Bates, a public stenographer in Fort Worth, that Oswald brought her a manuscript to type shortly after he returned from the Soviet Union in 1962. The manuscript was critical of the Soviet Union. Mrs. Bates said she worked only three days for Oswald when he took the unfinished manuscript and all the notes and even

the carbon papers away. Mrs. Bates said Oswald implied to her that he was a U.S. secret agent.

Commenting on the special commission created by President Johnson to investigate the Dallas events, Scripps-Howard reporter Richard Starnes points out in his Dec. 3 syndicated column that the commission will be dependent on the FBI, the Secret Service and the Dallas police for its information.

Said Starnes: "It is manifestly naive to expect these cops to bear witness against themselves, or indeed, each other . . . Will the presence on the panel of Allen Dulles, erstwhile headmaster of the Central Intelligence Agency, assure us that the truth of Oswald's sojourn in the Soviet Union will ever be known? The Russians suggest they suspected him of being a spy. Can any realistic person believe any tentacle of the nation's elephantine espionage apparatus will own up to ever having Oswald on its payroll?"

## Dutch Guiana Nationalists Wage Independence Struggle

[The following report was written by a member of the Nationalist Movement of Surinam, the South American colony better known to Americans as Dutch Guiana. We are reprinting the report from The Bulletin: An Information Service for Socialists, published in Nottingham, England, to which it was originally sent.]

British socialists, and even the whole British nation, should know what is happening in this part of South America which is called Guiana, so that they can make up their minds to take concrete steps to support the freedom movements in their struggle for full independence and social reform. Believe me, there is need for that.

### Colonial Name

As you know, Surinam or, to call it by its colonial name, Dutch Guiana has been dominated by Dutch colonialism and imperialism for more than 300 years. These two evils still exist in our country and have led to United States' domination of Surinam's economy (this despite the Monroe Doctrine!!). Surinam is the main producer of bauxite for the U.S. market (84 per cent of Surinam's exports consist of bauxite). It is used to produce aluminum in large quantities for U.S. rockets and missiles.

Our problems are, in general, similar to those of neighbouring British Guiana: we have in common a very mixed population (much more mixed in Surinam), a small population (a little smaller than British Guiana at some 300,000) and a poor, backward economy. But there is this difference: that in Surinam the East Indians are a minority group and the Negroes (creoles) form the majority.

Our struggle is now sabotaged by internal reactionaries, egged on by U.S. imperialism, who are creating racial troubles. These haven't, so far, taken the same proportion as those in British

Guiana. The colonialists oppose our slogan of Independence Now because — and now comes the old, old story — we are a specially Negro organization, because our party president, Dr. Eddy Bruma (a lawyer), is a Negro, only wanting to bring Russian Communism to our country, etc., etc.

In 1954, after some campaigning by our movement — the Nationalist Movement of Surinam (NBS, our ideological wing) — the Dutch granted home rule to Surinam but excluded us so that the reactionary forces came to power.

In 1959 we established a political party, the Party of the Nationalist Republic (PNR) and we are now operating under very difficult circumstances because of the repressive measures of the bourgeois government of Premier J. Pengel. The principal aims of our party are: 1) Full and immediate transfer of independence to the Surinam people; 2) Nationalization of all foreign industries (most U.S. and Dutch) that are of importance to the country's economy; 3) Socialisation and reform of the land; 4) Social Justice; and 5) a foreign policy of neutralism, according to the principles of the Belgrade conference. Also a policy of revolutionary socialism.

### Government Hostile

This is why the colonial and bourgeois government is very hostile to us and this month took the following steps against our party: a) a PNR representative in Holland, after completing his studies has been forbidden to return to his country; and b) two leading members of the NBS, R. Ravales and Th. Uiterloo, have been sent to jail, accused of revolutionary activities. Surinam seems now to be South Africa!!

We are now busy in Holland collecting money for the families of the arrested men. We also have a cadre school in Amsterdam for the teaching of elementary socialism.

## "Spies for Peace" Irk British Bobbies

Ever since the Aldermaston ban-the-bomb march of last Easter when a group calling itself Spies for Peace exposed the locations of the secret shelters for British politicians and military brass, for use in case of atomic war, the police have been disregarding British civil liberties and bearing down hard on members of peace organizations. So far, they have no clues to the identity of the Spies for Peace.

Peace News, an English weekly, reports instances of police harassment of peace demonstrators. It tells how Donald Room was framed by a police officer who placed a brick with Room's property after he arrested him, and claimed to have found it in Room's pocket. He also beat Room in the police-station cell and gave perjured evidence at the court hearing.

The charges against Room were dismissed, however, because he had had the presence of mind (and the money) to have a chemical analysis of his pockets made immediately after he was released from the police station. No traces were found of the dust or particles the brick would have left.

Also, according to Peace News, members of the Committee of 100 (a militant peace group) in the Hampstead section of London found that letters to them were taking three, and in one case six, weeks to cross the city. After complaints and letters to the press, the co-secretary of the group received the following letter, signed "Well-wisher," in a Board of Trade (equivalent to the Chamber of Commerce in the U.S.) envelope:

"Dear Miss Buxton, I shall have to do this anonymously in view of the Official Secrets Act. You may have guessed, or perhaps you knew, but anyway I confirm, that the postal authorities can intercept letters at the final delivery office. They are sent to the Investigation Branch at GPO headquarters by a special messenger who waits while they are examined and then returns the letters for normal delivery. No doubt this is what is happening to your mail; this one may slip through in view of the envelope, and it is worth a try. You could put another letter in the paper of your choice if it does . . ."

## Algerian Position Firmer After Oil Pact With Tunis

Algeria and Tunisia signed an economic agreement Nov. 28 for joint utilization of Sahara gas and oil deposits in Algeria "to meet the needs of both countries." The agreement represents a diplomatic gain for Algeria as a step toward guaranteeing good relations with its eastern neighbor, Tunisia, at a time when its western border is threatened by the Moroccan monarchy.

There was a danger that other African countries might follow Morocco's example and lay claim to mineral-rich lands near their borders in Algeria's Sahara. Morocco had first carried on discussions with Algeria about joint exploitation of western Sahara mineral resources. But at a time when Algeria was economically and militarily weak and threatened internally by the Kabylie rebellion, Morocco made a military attack to gain exclusive control of some areas.

### Eases Danger

The government of Tunisia has not much more reason than monarchial Morocco to befriend the Algerian revolutionary government. Headed by Habib Bourguiba, whose name has become a synonym for neo-colonialism, the Tunisian government has had both political and border differences with Algeria since its independence. This new agreement, however, eases the danger of renewed border troubles.

France has reacted with "concern" to the development, fearing it will affect the exploitation privileges of French companies over Saharan oil and gas. France hopes to develop its own fuel trust independent of the international cartel on the basis of the Saharan deposits.

The Tunisia-Algeria accord emphasizes joint use of Saharan gas and oil to industrialize North Africa rather than to export to Europe. This attitude was expressed in the Algerian paper *Revolution Africaine*, which said: "Gas has burned almost ten years in Algeria. It can still burn a long time, rather than let a single principle of the revolution be betrayed." The Tripoli Program, the codification of aims of the Algerian Rev-



Ahmed Ben Bella

olution passed by the FLN in June 1962, foresees the industrialization of the country mainly on the basis of its petroleum industry.

Pierre Guillaumat, director general of the French *Union Générale de Pétroles*, is to visit Algiers soon, to discuss Franco-Algerian oil agreements. Jean de Broglie, France's Secretary of State for Algerian Affairs, warned recently that "respect of the oil accords is the keystone of our co-operation."

This was a reference to the financial assistance France is pledged to provide Algeria under the Evian accords, while Algeria is pledged to guarantee French oil rights. Algeria is no longer entirely dependent on French aid, however, despite its continuing economic difficulties. Recent sizable loans from the Soviet Union and China give Algeria some room for maneuver even on the touchy oil question.

"Socialism is neither an aspiration of angels, nor a plot of devils. Socialism moves with its feet firmly planted in the ground, and its head not lost in the clouds; it takes science by the hand, asks her to lead, and goes whithersoever she points." — Daniel De Leon (1852-1914)

## WINTER BOOK LIST

### BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS ON NEGRO HISTORY AND CIVIL RIGHTS

- BLACK JACOBINS by C. L. R. James. The classic on Toussaint L'Ouverture and the slave revolution which established the Republic of Haiti. Revised edition. Paper, \$1.95.
- LIFE AND TIMES OF FREDERICK DOUGLAS. The complete autobiography of the slave-born abolitionist leader. Paper, \$1.50.
- BLACK BOURGEOISIE by E. Franklin Frazier. Paper, .95.
- BLACK MUSLIMS IN AMERICA by C. Eric Lincoln. A history of the group and its origins. Paper \$1.75.
- NEGRO SLAVE SONGS IN THE UNITED STATES by M. M. Fisher. Paper \$1.95.
- SOULS OF BLACK FOLK by W. E. B. DuBois. Paper, .50.
- LAY MY BURDEN DOWN (A Folk History of Slavery) edited by B. A. Botkin. Paper, \$1.65.
- REVOLT IN THE SOUTH by Dan Wakefield. One of the first surveys of the current civil-rights upsurge. Paper, .95.
- FACING MOUNT KENYA by Jomo Kenyatta. A study of the Kikuyu tribe by the man who is now Kenya's Prime Minister. A classic of anthropology and African nationalism. Paper, \$1.45.
- FREEDOM RIDE by James Peck. The story of the first freedom rides by a participant. Paper, .50.
- JOHN BROWN by W. E. B. DuBois. Paper, \$2.25.
- NEGROES ON THE MARCH by Daniel Guerin. A survey of the Negro struggle in the U.S. to 1954 by the noted French Marxist scholar. Reduced price. Cloth, \$1.50. Paper, .50.
- THE WEST INDIES AND THEIR FUTURE by Daniel Guerin. Cloth, \$4.
- LABOR PARTY AND FREEDOM NOW PARTY by Tom Kerry. Paper, .15.
- FREEDOM NOW — Socialist Workers Party resolution on the current stage in the struggle for equal rights. Paper, .25.
- WHY WE NEED A FREEDOM NOW PARTY. Answers to questions by Michigan supporters of Freedom Now Party. Paper, .15.
- REUNION AND REACTION by C. Van Woodward. Scholarly work on the agreement between Northern capitalists and Southern Bourbons that ended the Reconstruction period. Paper, .95.
- THE STRANGE CAREER OF JIM CROW by C. Van Woodward. Paper, \$1.50.
- 100 YEARS OF LYNCHING by Ralph Ginzburg. Paper \$1.75.
- MONROE, N.C. — TURNING POINT IN AMERICAN HISTORY by Conrad Lynn. Paper, .25.
- THE WALL BETWEEN by Ann Braden. The story of courageous white Southern integrationists. Carl and Ann Braden. Paper, \$1.85.
- NEGROES WITH GUNS by Robert Williams. The case for self defense by the militant Afro-American leader from Monroe, N.C. Paper, \$1.95.
- PEOPLE WITH STRENGTH by Truman Nelson. The noted novelist on the Abolitionist movement upholds the right of Negroes to self-defense. Paper, .35.
- BLACK MOSES — THE STORY OF MARCUS GARVEY by E. D. Cronon. Paper, \$1.95.
- BLACK RECONSTRUCTION by W. E. B. DuBois. The classic on the revolutionary period following the Civil War. Cloth, \$7.50.
- DOCUMENTS ON THE NEGRO STRUGGLE. Texts of discussions with Leon Trotsky and Socialist Workers Party convention resolutions. Paper, .65.

### BOOKS BY LEON TROTSKY

- LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION. Cloth, \$2.98. Paper (Special price) \$1.
- IN DEFENSE OF MARXISM. Classic exposition on the class nature of the Soviet state and dialectical materialism. Written in 1940. Paper, \$2.50.
- THE STALIN SCHOOL OF FALSIFICATION. Paper (Special price) \$2.50.
- DIARY IN EXILE. Cloth, \$4.00.
- MY LIFE. Paper \$2.45.
- THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN. Cloth, \$4.00. Paper, \$2.50.
- RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. Selected chapters of the classic history of 1917. Paper, \$1.45.
- STALIN. A biography. Cloth, \$3.50. Paper, \$2.25.
- FIRST FIVE YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Trotsky's writings, speeches and reports at Comintern meetings. Vol. I: Cloth, \$3.50. Vol. II: Paper, \$3.00.

### BOOKS BY JAMES P. CANNON

- HISTORY OF AMERICAN TROTSKYISM. Cloth, \$2.75. Paper, \$2.00.
- STRUGGLE FOR A PROLETARIAN PARTY. Companion work to Trotsky's In Defense of Marxism. Cloth, \$2.75.
- NOTEBOOK OF AN AGITATOR. Vivid, colorful compilation of articles beginning in days of defense of Sacco and Vanzetti. Cloth, \$4. Paper, \$2.50.
- THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM. Report of a participant. Cloth, \$6.00.

## World Events

### Hunger Strike in S. Africa

Nineteen defendants accused of sabotage in South Africa announced in the Supreme Court Nov. 13 that they would launch a 100-day hunger strike.

The ten Africans and nine Indians will protest the ban on one of their attorneys, R. Arenstein, from traveling to South Africa for the trial. The racist government of Hendrik Verwoerd has declared Arenstein a "banned person" under the totalitarian "Suppression of Communism" law.

The court adjourned the trial until Nov. 22.

Meanwhile, Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress and nine other defendants whose case had earlier been thrown out by a judge on a technicality appeared before another Supreme Court judge on "sabotage" charges.

### Unions Defy de Gaulle

In the wake of a 24-hour strike by French labor unions which tied up all public services, Gaullist Premier Georges Pompidou has threatened further government restrictions on strike actions. Pompidou said the de Gaulle government would not yield to wage demands but would continue in its economic "stabilization" program.

Rising living costs have provoked labor to demand wage hikes, especially in government-owned services, where wages are lower than average. The workers, unimpressed by Gaullist threats, continue to talk in terms of strikes to enforce their demands.

### Strike in Hungary

A provincial newspaper in Hungary recently reported sympathetically a one-day work stoppage in Fejer County, Hungary. The paper, *Fejer Megyer Naplo*, said "the workers put down their tools in order to protect their rights, which they believed had been violated. It was not their fault that they decided to take such a step."

According to the paper, the "fault" lay with "poor information" and when a party secretary explained to the men that new wage scales were not meant to cut wages but to "improve work performance," the strike was ended.

### U.S. in Latin 'War Games'

U.S. armed forces took part in military exercises with five Latin American countries near Tolu, Colombia, on Nov. 27-28. About 1,600 troops of the U.S., Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia participated.

A news report from the Panama Canal Zone, where the U.S. operates a counter-guerrilla training

school for Latin American officers, said the purpose of the exercises was "to test teamwork in repelling an invasion." An earlier report said it was "to standardize operations and military terminology." The operations themselves had the ominous look of a practice amphibious invasion.

A U.S.-Colombian team "landed" and "cleared" an area into which Venezuelan, Peruvian and Bolivian paratroops then jumped. A 200-man U.S. unit followed up with an amphibious landing and "secured" an airport, where Ecuadorian troops were later flown in.

Colombian patriots protested these military maneuvers. Women members of the revolutionary Army of National Liberation called news agencies and police stations to announce that 40 bombs would explode throughout the country in protest against the "invasion of North American troops on our coast."

### Dominicans Fight Military

A group of about 70 Dominicans is reported to have taken up armed struggle against the military regime which last September overthrew the elected government of Juan Bosch. The military regime says the rebels are led by Manuel Tavares Justo, head of the 14th of June Movement, and Juan M. Roman, another 14th of June leader.

# 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.]

## Oswald's Fate

New York, N.Y.

Since the killing of Lee Oswald I've heard a number of people say that it would be a terrible thing if it's later established that he was innocent of killing President Kennedy. That's true enough, but for me there is an even bigger issue involved.

I remember a film about Southern "justice" called "They Won't Forget." A man is charged with murder, tried in an atmosphere

of whipped-up hysteria, and convicted. In the course of the trial enough circumstantial evidence is presented to suggest the man might well have committed the crime, but when the picture is over the audience still has no way of knowing whether he did or not. And that's the whole point of the picture. What was crucial was not the chance that an innocent man may have been wrongly convicted but that an accused man did not get a fair trial.

I think Lee Oswald, guilty or innocent, got a similar unfair trial by the press and TV and by the Dallas officials. This crime was made more ugly by the lynch executioner.

H.C.

## A Tribute to Kennedy

New York, N.Y.

This is the small voice of another American who places great store in the father of social science, Karl Marx.

You may not fully agree with the following, but I submit it humbly requesting its publication — perhaps even in somewhat the same spirit that Karl Marx possessed when he eulogized President Lincoln, namely, to take rest from his great political battle with all of its attendant necessities for the highest, most uncompromising critique of men and things, to pay homage to a man's relative measure of greatness as it existed within a qualifiable historic context.

### My Eulogy

Towering in spirit John Kennedy walks bareheaded and fearless among the people to shake their hands with such a nameless smile as though he shook the hands of kings. This hatless, smiling state, so rare, was symbolic of a special kind of fineness beyond compare. And true to the mark of such quality were his many tributes to art, literature, and all that longs for excellence in the mind and spirit of a still barbarous humanity. For he, although a man of the wealthy class, was transcendent within the confines of a dying aged. Rooted, though he was, by a tenuous, complex web of social circumstances to a vanishing historical stage of man, his may well be the last great, clear voice of an American president to ring out across our land.

I felt a full measure of high affinity with this wonderful being while he lived, and now in this haunting hour of his death amidst even nature's sad requiem of rain and darkness, my soul cries out: Oh! Brother of an ancient day, I love you well!

George R. Clauter

## Point of Evidence?

Cincinnati, Ohio

On Sunday evening the New Orleans CBS affiliate broadcast a tape-recorded interview with the manager of the book warehouse from which President Kennedy was assassinated. He said that he and a policeman dashed up the steps seconds after the shots were fired and that in a second-floor vending machine room they saw Lee Oswald drinking a soft drink, not out of breath, about 30 seconds after the assassination.

This story is potentially so im-

portant that it certainly should be confirmed or discredited.

J.C.

## Shorter Work Week

Rutland, Vt.

I congratulate you on the stand you take to reduce the work week without any cut in the take-home pay. This would create new jobs for thousands replaced by the automated machines.

I would like to suggest that in addition to providing more jobs to avoid misery and poverty in this country, the reduction would also increase the purchasing power of the people so as to make business better in the country. The increased amount of business engendered would offset the cost to business of increased wage payments.

Furthermore, without speed-up techniques the efficiency of the workers under such a system would be increased due to a greater amount of rest for the worker by his shorter working hours.

I.H.R.

## The SNCC Parley

New York, N.Y.

I attended the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee's Fourth Annual Conference in Washington during the past week-end. One of the most striking impressions that I received there was the feeling that I was meeting the real combatants, the cadre from the front lines of the freedom struggle.

I am presently working hard in the North in civil rights and doing my part in attempting to support the Southern struggle, a struggle much more naked and fierce than

the one here in the Northern ghettos.

But the solidarity and warm relationships that these young fighters from the South bring with them permeated the conference. The SNCC field workers and field secretaries that came to the conference seemed to enjoy themselves and responded to one another in a free and friendly way. It made me feel warm inside and reinforced my confidence that we shall overcome and do it with some real strong people.

It resembled a leave from the front lines of the no-quarter-given struggle presently being conducted by the SNCC cadre against the Southern white power structure. They had fun, good food, and a fruitful exchange of experiences and ideas of where they have been and where they are going.

The conference laid stress on trade-union organization of the unorganized Southern workers, both industrial and agricultural.

When the buses lined up outside the Howard U chapel, destinations southeastern Georgia, the Mississippi delta area, central Arkansas, I sincerely felt that the troops of the freedom army were returning to the battle lines, more determined than ever to overcome a formidable and entrenched opposition. I stood there feeling deeply moved. I realized there is a real perspective for the Northern civil-rights fighters and support groups, and I felt great. Like I told some of the SNCC workers I met there: "My job is to go back North and educate the white man about the freedom struggle and raise some of that much-needed green stuff."

Jack Marsh

## Baltimore Integration Fight

Baltimore, Md.

Baltimore employers — like most employers — will hire Negroes only when they are forced to. Until three years ago none of the department stores hired Negroes in any capacity other than as broom-pushers. Token change came about only when the 37 percent of Baltimore's population which is Negro threatened a boycott.

Token integration had remained more or less static until October of this year when Baltimore CORE raised the demand of equal job opportunities now and enforced their demand with a picket line at Stewarts Department Store — the worst offender.

Stewarts management claims that they are integrated and now assigns their token Negro police force to the first floor — front — to "prove" it. When CORE challenged Stewarts to really prove it by showing them a breakdown of their employe list by race and salary, Stewarts indignantly fell back on the sanctity of private property rights to hide these statistics.

At a recent CORE meeting it was reported that in those few instances where Negroes were "promoted" it was at a salary of \$15 to \$20 below what they were paying white workers doing the same job.

It was reported that at another large store, Hambergers, only one and a half Negroes were employed — one was a part time worker. A store official asserted that in their 113 years of existence, they were unable to find more than 1½ Negroes who "qualified."

A.R.K.

## 10 YEARS AGO

### IN THE MILITANT

"What has McCarthyism already accomplished in the United States? Here is a partial box score on how America has been turned into a land of fear, a land where the stoolpigeon has become the glorified symbol of 'Americanism,' a land of trial by accusation and execution by headline:

**"In government:** The witch hunt politicians vie with one another in purging workers from government employment . . .

**"In the schools:** . . . The stifling atmosphere of thought-control reigns on the American campus.

**"In the professions:** . . . Careers have been ruined at the whim of the red-baiters . . .

**"In industry:** Tens of thousands of workers have been fired, blacklisted, driven from their trade and disgraced . . . The plants are swarming with FBI stoolpigeons who finger the best unionists.

**"In the unions:** . . . Union bureaucrats . . . get rid of their opponents by smearing them as 'reds' . . .

**"Among the churches:** A vast segment of the Protestant clergy has been smeared wholesale as 'reds' by the McCarthyites . . .

**"Among the minorities:** . . . The McCarthyite mob is shot through with Klansmen and race baiters waiting for the opportune moment to unleash race hate in America on a scale never before seen . . ." — Dec. 7, 1953.

## 20 YEARS AGO

"And when the government continued its persecution of the Trotskyists by taking away the second-class mailing rights of *The Militant* and suppressing some issues of the paper, it revealed again how much it fears any criticism of its anti-Negro policies.

"Hassel, the lawyer for the government, said that 'to urge Negroes to fight for their rights at the present moment' justified the withholding of any issue of a paper from the mails. And as evidence to deny *The Militant* its second-class mailing rights, the government presented an article from *The Militant* which reported the speech of A. Philip Randolph at a conference of the March-on-Washington Movement.

"If *The Militant* can be suppressed for advocating that Negroes fight for their rights, then the majority of Negro papers can be suppressed for the same reasons. If it is a crime to quote A. Philip Randolph . . . how long will it be before Randolph himself is charged with promoting racial discord [and] 'lowering the morale of Negroes' . . ." — Dec. 11, 1943.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Resigns** — The chairman of the ultra-right Kentucky Young Americans for Freedom resigned after the Kennedy assassination. Thomas G. Aaron, 28, said: "I am now satisfied that the climate of political degeneracy and moral hysteria masquerading as 'true Americanism' bears substantial culpability for the murder of the President of the United States."

**Model Example** — A manufacturer of children's wear, Alyssia, Inc., made a new departure when it ran an ad in the *New York Times* with a Negro child as a model. The company reports that in the few weeks since the ad appeared it has received almost 500 letters of commendation and "only a very few" critical ones.

**Feeding a Phantom** — New York State Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz has announced action against a man who, he charged, has been collecting handsome sums in five years of operations from a cluttered East Side New York office, headquarters of a "non-existent church." Lefkowitz said the "phantom church" has been collecting approximately \$30,000 a year from the public since 1957.

**The Matchers** — *New York Times* reported that high-priced fashion designers are turning their attention to uniforms for airlines hostesses, etc. And a buyer at Bloomingdale's in New York disclosed that "stylish notes" are even being added to domestic

workers' uniforms. "As a change from the traditional black serving uniform . . . Miss Tejral suggests a slate gray, blue or green uniform to match the decorative scheme of one's dining room."

**Fort Knox Next?** — A gunman tried to hold up the savings bank at McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey.

**Called to Order** — Rep. Tom Steed (D-Okla.) acceded to a Senate demand for an apology after he charged a Senator had two call girls on his payroll. Steed had asserted: "I personally know of a Senator who keeps two call girls on his payroll. I know because I've been at parties where they've been."

**National Waste** — Despite the need for U.S. products throughout the world a significant portion of the American productive machine has fallen into disuse. The National Industrial Conference Board reported, according to the Nov. 28 *New York Times*, that while there is presently an eco-

nomie boom "the country is still not using all its economic resources." It added: "The gap between the availability of resources and their use appeared right after the Korean war. It widened significantly during the late 1950s and has not shrunk since then."

**Custodians of Public Health** — New York liquor dealers who are waging a vigorous campaign against proposed state legislation to eliminate fixed minimum prices for whiskey say that in addition to the possibility of a cut in profits they fear such a measure would result in an increase in drunkenness. A spokesman for the liquor lobby grimly said: "This is a life and death struggle for us."

**Going Down** — Despite the building boom in New York, the number of elevator operators in the city has dropped from 35,000 in 1950 to 10,000 today, according to Thomas Shortman of the Building Service Employees Union. He estimated that automatic elevators will make operators "a thing of the past within the next decade."

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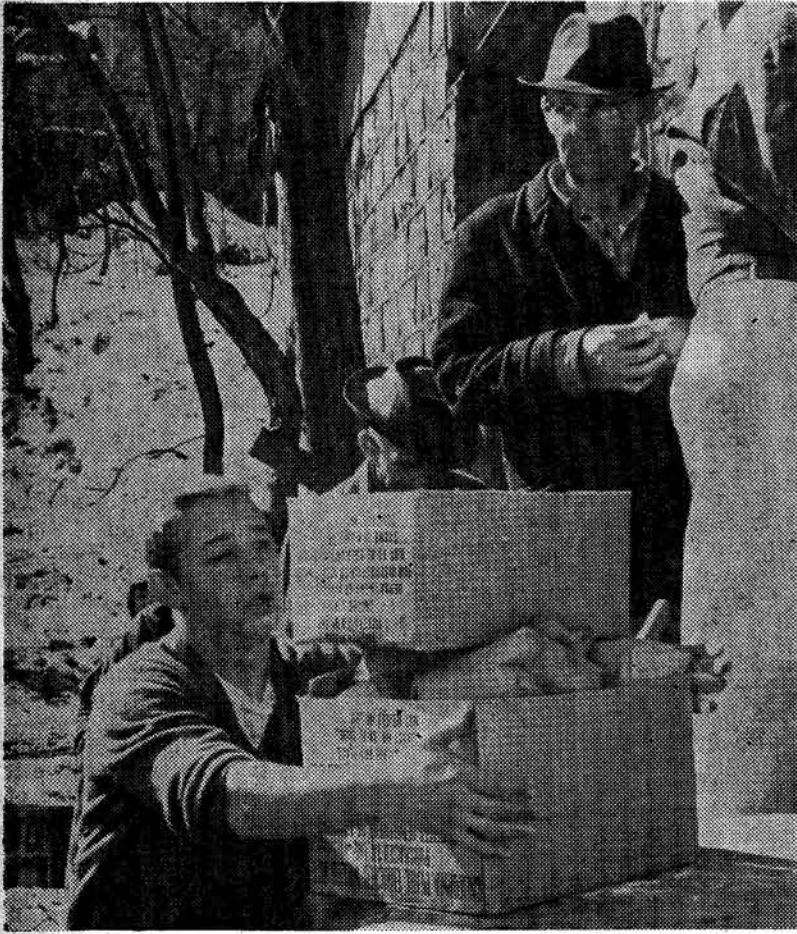
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## Thought for the Week

"Cigarettes have been under indictment for a decade as a menace to public health . . . Surprisingly the furor over smoking and health failed to send the industry into a slump. Instead, it sent it into an upheaval that has resulted in unforeseen growth and profits. Behind the growth has been the anxiety of the average smoker and the agility of the major tobacco companies. The industry has worked to assuage the fears of the smoker — and to keep him smoking . . . In short, the tobacco industry has made a success of the anxieties that surround it." — The Nov. 29 *New York Times*.



**ON THE DOLE.** Unemployed miner in Hazard, Ky., obtaining his meager monthly ration from distribution center for federal surplus commodity foods. Rations consist mainly of flour, beans and powdered milk. In one Eastern Kentucky area — Leslie County — the jobless can't even get that. The county government claims it's too poor to maintain a distribution center.

## Students Solicit Donations To Bring Xmas to Kentucky

By Tom Leonard

Berman Gibson, Southeastern Kentucky miners' leader, is currently touring Eastern campuses, appealing for student support for an emergency aid program called *Bring Christmas to Kentucky*. He is also explaining to students why he and seven other leaders of the Hazard Roving Picket Movement are under federal indictment on the frame-up charge of conspiring to blow up a railroad bridge.

In a statement requesting student support Gibson said:

"I invite all students to come to Eastern Kentucky to see for themselves the impoverished conditions we live under.

"Miners with 20 and 30 years of seniority have lost their jobs, their rights, and accrued pension and hospitalization benefits.

"With the aid of the courts and anti-labor laws, the coal operators have succeeded in smashing the United Mine Workers Union in our area.

"Without union protection, the miners have been forced to work in scab mines for wages as low as \$5 a day. This is not enough to live on and federal surplus food handouts do not begin to meet the unemployed miner's needs.

"Added to all this, the House Appropriations Committee has just rejected a limited federal public works program which would have provided 1,000 jobs for a four-month period.

"I have been helping to organize and lead a miners' rank-and-file movement to protest these intolerable conditions. In turning to students for support we know we shall find an audience which will intervene sympathetically to aid our fight, in the same spirit we support the Christmas (Civil Rights) Boycott."

So far the following campuses have responded to Gibson's appeal: Bryn Mawr, Columbia, CCNY, and Sarah Lawrence. In Pennsylvania, committees are being organized at Haverford, University of Pennsylvania and Swarthmore.

The student committees are call-

ing for nation-wide student participation in the following five-point program to *Bring Christmas to Kentucky*: 1) Collection of food, clothing (especially children's), and money before Dec. 20. 2) Organization of a car pool to take students to Kentucky to help distribute goods. 3) A request to unions to donate trucks to transport goods. 4) Raising of money to pay for students' stay with miners' families. 5) Organization of an emergency student conference in Hazard, Ky. (Dec. 26-27) to discuss local conditions, the pattern of poverty in an "affluent society," and the question of unemployment and automation.

The Committee for Miners, was set up in response to appeals from Berman Gibson for legal aid for miners, endorsed "the students' initiative to act where Congress had failed."

Further information may be obtained by writing the committee at 96 Greenwich Ave., New York 11, N. Y.

## Atlanta Students Demonstrate to Free White Minister Jailed by Racist Cops

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 20 — Attorneys for a 67-year-old white minister — held in jail here since Aug. 28 — were scheduled to press motions for a new trial this week.

The minister, the Reverend Ashton Bryant Jones of San Gabriel, Calif., is being held in Fulton County jail, under \$20,000 bail. Jones, a native Georgian, was jailed in July after he accompanied an integrated group to all-white First Baptist Church here. He was tried in August and sentenced to 18 months in jail — six at hard labor — and fined \$1,000.

### On Appeal

Since his case is being appealed, his time behind bars since Aug. 28 is "dead time" and does not count against his sentence. For one month, he was on a hunger strike.

## FNP's Statement On Assassination

NEW YORK, Dec. 1 — Attorney Conrad J. Lynn, acting chairman of the National Committee for a Freedom Now Party, declared today that the South's "ruthless disregard for law, order and justice has escalated into the wanton killing of President Kennedy."

Expressing "indignation and sorrow" at the assassination in Dallas, Lynn asserted:

"The conscience of the country is at half mast. As black people we have seen this, unfortunately, for years. In just a six-month span during 1963, the country and federal government witnessed indifferently the assassination in Alabama of white postman William Moore, NAACP leader Medgar Evers in Mississippi, and of the six children on a Birmingham Sunday."

Lynn, a veteran civil-rights attorney, called for an immediate intensification and consolidation of the Negro freedom struggle.

"The fight is yet to the living, however much we mourn the dead," Lynn added. "Because we feel that the same forces of immorality arraigned against us struck down the President of the United States, let not this evil act cause us to slacken the struggle. The desperation which is manifesting itself in certain privileged segments of our society is rapidly converting our legal system into one where lynch law is the order of the day."

The National Committee for a Freedom Now Party, located in Harlem at 81 East 125 St., was organized in August. Local groups have since been formed across the country. In Michigan last month a campaign was launched to obtain the required 15,000 signatures to win a place on the 1964 ballot.

As the party's founding congress next year a decision will be reached on entering a national ticket for president and vice president.



Conrad Lynn

## Miss. Negroes Defy Racists To Advance Balloting Rights

"There's a fire burning in here, all right, but those firemen will never put it out," declared Aaron Henry as lily-white officials in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, tried to drown out his campaign rally with horns and fire sirens.

This is just one of the incidents in Jeannine Herron's excellent account of the "Underground Election" (*Nation*, Dec. 7), describing the mock campaign which drew some 82,000 unregistered Negro voters to cast "Freedom Ballots" for Dr. Henry, a Negro pharmacist, and Rev. Edwin King, white Tougaloo College chaplain.

Bullets, beatings, arrests and fines, Miss Herron explains, drove the Henry-for-Governor campaign underground. It was just too outrageously "uppity" for the white power structure to ignore it. The dramatization of the totalitarianism of Southern society undertaken by the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO — made up of NAACP, CORE, SCLC, and SNCC) was just too serious.

### More Than Margin

The drive managed to collect more than the margin of difference between the Democratic and Republican votes in less than three weeks of campaigning. But, besides this, two other items worried the racists: 1) the integrated ticket and 2) the platform of Henry's "Freedom Party" which raised the economic and social issues with which official Mississippi elections never concern themselves.

To be able to remain flexible and adapt to the offensives of the racists was the task of resourceful leaders like Robert Moses, who contrived "votemobiles" for areas where Negroes could get neither churches nor stores in which to cast their ballots and "underground ballots" or mail-in votes for areas where "votemobiles" couldn't reach.

The campaign also made use of a contingent of out-of-state students, mostly from Yale, who joined local workers to canvass and poll most of the small towns in the state.

In the face of nearly 70 arrests and bonds as high as \$1,000 for fictitious traffic violations, the COFO goal of 200,000 was not realized.

### Started Singing

Miss Herron tells of how Willie James "Preacher" Shaw polled Negroes in Belzoni, where two have been shot in the last eight years for registering to vote. Standing on the hood of his votemobile, he started singing freedom songs. Local Negroes stood by silently in the presence of several cops.

"What's wrong with you?" Shaw shouted, "Negro, don't you know you got nothing left to lose? White man's got everything. Stand up and tell that white man you gonna be FREE!" The atmosphere of fear became more intense — but Shaw preached on; he seemed to have put himself, the crowd, and the cops in a trance . . . One by one, the Negroes began to vote. Thirty-eight ballots were cast for Henry and King but Belzoni police confiscated them.

However lacking the effects of the Freedom Campaign on the actual gubernatorial race, "the image of thousands of Negroes casting ballots for the first time for candidates they believed in could not be taken lightly by the white elite." Although the racists did all they could to cover up the significance of the campaign to the outside world — and they had the co-operation of the national wire services in this respect — they know it is but a portent of things to come.

Miss Herron concludes that "the final tally for Henry and King proved that Negroes are capable



Aaron Henry

and willing to engage in the political affairs of their state, that they are vitally interested in a better society . . . and that they will have even greater resistance to overcome before the make-believe becomes real."

## N.H. Probers Grill De Gregory Again

A New Hampshire man, who for nine years has challenged the authority of a New Hampshire legislative committee, again refused to answer questions concerning his personal beliefs and associations on Nov. 12. This was the fifth time Hugo De Gregory had been subpoenaed. He answered one question he had previously refused to answer — saying that he is not a member of the Communist Party. He faces continued harrassment although his answer cleared him of an earlier charge of contempt.

De Gregory's case parallels that of Dr. Willard Uphaus, who was imprisoned for a year under similar circumstances in a case that brought world-wide protest. Dr. Uphaus had refused to turn over to the same committee the guest lists of World Fellowship, a summer camp in Conway, N.H.

De Gregory, an office worker in Nashua, was first subpoenaed on July 12, 1954 before a one-man legislative investigating committee headed by the then Attorney General of the State, Louis C. Wyman.

Since 1954 De Gregory has been subpoenaed four times before the New Hampshire legislative committee headed by Wyman, has taken his case seven times to the New Hampshire Supreme Court and twice to the U.S. Supreme Court.

On Nov. 12, Judge Thomas Morris in New Hampshire Superior Court overruled Wyman's attempt to force De Gregory to answer other questions after De Gregory had said he was not a member of the Communist Party.

The fifth subpoena brought a new legal mechanism onto the scene, a 1957 law which authorizes the Attorney General, acting as the legislative committee, to conduct an investigation if he has "information" of certain persons' membership in the Communist Party. Under this law on Nov. 22 Wyman asked the questions which Judge Morris ten days earlier had not allowed him to press.

De Gregory refused to answer at that time, saying that even within the scope of the 1957 law (which plainly opens the door to all sorts of professional witch-hunters) Wyman had no basis for his interrogation.