

Kennedy Strips Civil Rights Bill To Secure Racist Votes for '64

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Castro: U.S. Can Aid Victims Of Storm by Lifting Blockade

By William Bundy

OCT. 23 — Fidel Castro reported to the Cuban people over radio and TV Oct. 21 on the effects in Cuba of Hurricane Flora. It was a sober, but fighting and inspiring report. Describing the storm as the worst natural disaster ever to hit the island, the prime minister said Cuba had received "generous aid from socialist countries, and aid from capitalist countries as well." Cuba had refused official aid, he said, from only "one single government, that of the United States, which the whole world knows is trying to destroy us."

"What we demand is not aid from the United States," said Castro, "what we demand is that they cease the blockade against our country. And we put the government of the United States on trial before world public opinion, to cease the criminal blockade which they maintain over our country, which has suffered a natural disaster."

The U.S. government, said Castro, "has created for itself a very delicate and difficult moral situation before the whole world, which knows their policy of blockade, and which is quite naturally extending to us solidarity and aid at this time. It is logical that the U.S. government would want to try to appear to have a heart. . . . They present themselves here with a few bottles of medicine and paint themselves as good hearted, as noble humanitarians. . . . But it is logical that the people of Cuba refuse this cynical and diagraetical whitewash."

Proof that the U.S. government is organizing raids on Cuba at the very time it is making its hypocritical offer of Red Cross aid appeared in an article in today's New York Times describing the strafing by Cuban planes of an American-owned ship, the *J. Louis*, off the western tip of Cuba. The article quotes "highly placed informants" in Washington — which means U.S. government spokesmen. They claimed the *J. Louis*

was mistaken for a ship from which a counter-revolutionary attack on Cuba was launched. They gave exact information about the location and size of this ship.

The Cuban leader said the hurricane had severely damaged over half the national territory, destroying or damaging all the roads in the area. Most of the damage, he said, came not from the winds, but from the rain which flooded nearly all lowland areas in Oriente and Camaguey provinces.

"It was a sea," said Castro, "as if the Amazon river flowed for three days over Oriente." So far 1,126 persons are believed dead, Castro reported, but the toll may be "some hundreds" higher when the final count is in.

Using a map, Major Castro, who was on the scene during the storm, gave a detailed description of the hurricane itself — including a popular explanation of its scientific aspects — the nature of the floods, the rescue operations, the plans for relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction.

He vividly described the activities of the population, the government agencies, mass organizations, and of many individuals during the disaster, comparing the action to a gigantic battle. "A battle the revolution is winning and which it will win," he declared. He gave special credit to the helicopter pilots who flew in dangerous winds and rain to pick up survivors from roof tops.

The population is being inoculated against typhus, he said, and "to date there is not one case that we know about of an epidemic disease, though the danger of epidemic was very great." The ability of a revolutionary people

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Linus Pauling, Bertrand Russell Urge Support for Indicted Young Socialists

The Committee to Aid the Birmingham Students has announced that both Linus Pauling, two-time Nobel Prize winner and prominent opponent of nuclear testing, and Bertrand Russell, famed British philosopher and pacifist leader, have lent their names as sponsors of the committee. CAIBS is a nation-wide organization to defend the civil liberties of three officers of the Young Socialist Alliance at Indiana University, indicted for allegedly advocating the overthrow of the U.S. and Indiana state governments.

The indictments were based on the attendance of the three students at a campus meeting where Leroy Meites, a Negro and a notable officer of the YSA, spoke on the civil-rights struggle.

Thus far, some 40 academic and

political figures have endorsed the purposes of CAIBS by becoming sponsors of the committee. These include such prominent persons as Prof. H. Stuart Hughes, Murray Kempton, Ray Ginger and Prof. Fowler V. Harper of Yale Law School.

CAIBS has reprinted an editorial from the Oct. 12 New York Times which discusses the case and quotes approvingly a statement against which-hunting by J.P. President Elvis J. Stahr. Another editorial on the case recently appeared in the Harvard Crimson student newspaper. CAIBS has a number of other reprints of material on this important civil-liberties case, available upon request. Contributions to defray legal expenses are solicited and may be sent to CAIBS, P.O. Box 213, New York, New York, (Zip Code) 10003.

DON'T LIKE WHAT KENNEDY IS DOING. Rev. Albert Cleage (left) and Rev. Martin Luther King have expressed ire at Administration's tanning down of civil-rights bill. Cleage is a leading Detroit spokesman for building a Freedom New Party. King, in Detroit, said such a party might be needed.

MOROCCO JOINS ATTACK New Squeeze on Algeria

By Steve Graham

The Algerian government had registered an impressive and bloodless victory, isolating the attempted armed uprising in the Kabylie mountain area when, on Oct. 14, the king of Morocco launched a "large-scale attack on Algeria's western border. The fighting has continued and is spreading.

The Kabylie uprising and the Moroccan attack are a joint and simultaneous effort of the internal and external counter-revolution to derail the Algerian revolution's quickening movement towards socialism.

The Moroccan monarch put heavy pressure on the Algerian border at the same time that the Kabylie uprising began. The day after the leaders of the "Front of Socialist Forces" (FSF) staged their rally in the Kabylie capital calling for the armed overthrow of the Algerian government, President Ben Bella announced that King Moulay Hassan of Morocco had concentrated troops "within ten yards of the Algerian frontier." Ben Bella also accused Belkacem Krim, a prominent Kabylie opponent of the Algerian government now living abroad but formerly a

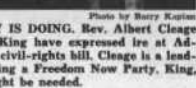


Photo by Barry Rustan

MOROCCO JOINS ATTACK New Squeeze on Algeria

leader of the Algerian National Liberation Front, of being in Morocco to get King Hassan's support for the Kabylie uprising. Other sources confirmed Krim's presence there.

From the beginning of this two-front crisis early this month, the Algerian government tried to avert fighting by negotiations. Algerian Foreign Minister Boumedienne met with his Moroccan counterpart at the border town of Oujda. Two days later, Oct. 1, an agreement to end clashes was signed. Morocco supposedly agreed to withdraw its troops. But a border incident occurred the next day and Morocco, instead of withdrawing troops, canceled further talks and mobilized its army.

Monitor Reveals

An Oct. 12 Christian Science Monitor dispatch from Morocco told how troops were being airlifted to staging areas near the Algerian frontier in "C-119 cargo and C-47 transport aircraft, some piloted by members of the United States Air Force training mission." It added: "Official sources said the American pilots, who are technically under Moroccan command, were asked to help out because Morocco still lacks enough pilots of its own. . . . to fly the C-119s." (It should be recalled that Hassan visited Washington earlier this year.) The State Department has denied that U.S. military personnel are involved in the attack on Algeria.

But by Oct. 12 Ben Bella was able to announce the effective defeat of the FSF uprising in the Kabylie. Government forces had not fired a shot but had continually appealed to the FSF forces for unity. Total government casualties from two-day campaign, in which its troops occupied three Kabylie towns in which the FSF had planned to set up its rival political center, were two dead and three wounded. From the attitude of the local population the government concluded that no large occupying force was needed and that the troops were withdrawn the day after entering the FSF "bases."

Contributing to the defeat of the FSF uprising were the policies of the Ben Bella government and the essentially counter-revolutionary nature of the FSF. The gov-

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By Fred Halstead

OCT. 23 — At the direct request of the Kennedy administration, "liberal" congressmen have agreed to cut the most meaningful sections out of the House Judiciary Subcommittee's version of the civil-rights bill.

In his appearance before the Judiciary Committee last week, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy pushed for the weakening of the voting provision of the bill — so that Negroes would receive some protection only in federal but not in state and local elections. In addition, he proposed Title III, which would authorize the Department of Justice to sue against police brutality in civil-rights cases. It also asked for more restricted coverage by the public-accommodations sections of the bill.

The excuse Robert Kennedy gave for his position is that the bill cannot pass if these sections are not removed. Rev. Martin Luther King's earlier statement of "poor excuse" for "political expediency." Even Senator Paul H. Douglas (D. Ill.) commented: "I fear it may concede too much too early as the bill passes through its successive stages, there will be progressive changes in the bill's terms." That is just what is happening.

Fake Claim

That Kennedy's "strategy" is not aimed at getting the best possible bill through is further revealed by the facts cited by Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP Washington Bureau. Mitchell declared that 214 members of the House were prepared to vote for the stronger subcommittee draft, and that there were an additional 117 "possible" supporting votes. It requires just 217 votes for a bill to pass the House.

"The administration," said Mitchell, "is in a tight fighting for the subcommittee bill. Instead, the Attorney General is trying to get the people who are committed to it to change their position."

Kennedy went before the Judiciary Committee to solicit a weakening of the bill despite warnings by Bishop Stephen G. Spottwood, NAACP board chairman. The provision of the subcommittee draft, said Spottwood, "are the minimum required for a meaningful bill," and "nothing less will persuade Negro citizens that the administration and the congress really understands the urgency of the civil-rights crisis."

Bishop Spottwood also warned that if Kennedy failed to support a strong bill, "Negroes must then conclude that the street remains the prime arena for pursuit of the objective of equal justice under law."

But the Attorney General made his proposals for weakening the bill. (Continued on Page 3)

3 Co-Eds Get Year In Miss. Kneel-In

Three college girls, arrested as an interracial test at a church in Jackson, Mississippi, have been sentenced to one year in prison and \$1,000 fine each. The three are Betty Ann Woods, a 19-year-old Negro from Chicago; Julie Zaugg, a 21-year-old white, also from Chicago; and Catherine Ida Hanna, a 20-year-old Negro from Tougaloo, Miss.

They were convicted of "trespassing" and "disturbing public worship."

Fidel Castro

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Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN
Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAL
Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

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... Squeeze Play on Algeria

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ernment forces refused to open fire despite FSF provocations. Political rather than military means had primacy in the moves to isolate the insurgents. The pace of nationalizations was stepped up, many upon the initiative of the workers themselves. At mass meetings throughout the country spokesmen of the revolution explained what was happening and reaffirmed the government's determination to continue on the socialist road.

On the other hand, FSF spokesmen expressed concern for the Algerian businesses being nationalized, voted anti-communist views, and called for adherence to the Evian agreements, which had ended the war with France and under which France retained military and economic rights in Algeria. The FSF has declared the Evian accords must be changed in light of Algeria's turn toward socialism.

Too Late

Thus as the Moroccan king mobilized his forces for the assault on the border, his allies within Algeria were already going down to defeat and withdrawing into the mountains. On Oct. 13 the Moroccan radio broadcast claims to Saharan areas rich in mineral resources, calling them "Moroccan lands under Algerian control." The long-existing borders were denounced as unfair demarcations drawn by the French and imposed on Morocco. (Both Morocco and Algeria had been French colonies.) But more than desire for the mineral-rich lands to be behind the conflict, the Moroccan monarchy, supported by a small wealthy class, has become more and more isolated. There is now a widespread demand for a republic. An agricultural country, Moroccan



Ahmed Belaraj

land is mostly owned by 100,000 Frenchmen and by big native land lords. French influence remains strong despite independence and Spain continues to rule several enclaves in Moroccan territory. Algeria's expropriation of French landholdings and industries and the creation of workers' committees to manage them thus sets an example for the Moroccan workers and peasants which is dangerous to the monarchy, to the small native ruling class and to the French and U.S. interests entrenched there. That is why Moroccan Foreign Minister Ahmed Belaraj declared that the "cravest answer to the whole affair" was Ben Bella's "plan" to spread "Castro-type socialism all over Africa."

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... Kennedy Trims Rights Bill

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bill anyway. He made them in the face of the unanimous opposition of civil-rights groups — and of such papers as the New York Times and such organizations as the National Council of Churches of Christ.

It is clear that the administration is not as frightened of the political power of civil-rights groups as it is of the political power of the Dixiecrats. Kennedy can count on the local police, both North and South, to "handle" the street demonstrations, unless they are so massive that they have been, and so far, the refusal of the major civil-rights leaders to break with the Democrats or Republicans. Kennedy leaves the Negroes politically impotent.

Political polls widely published recently have shown that Kennedy stands to lose much more support in the South, than he has gained in the North by his mild "pro-civil-rights" image. Thus, as long as the Northern Negro vote is considered a sure thing for the Democrats anyway, and that is the way it being effected by the administration at present.

So the Kennedys are concentrating on competing with Goldwater and the Republicans for support in the white South.

Rev. Martin Luther King said

at a press conference in Detroit, Oct. 17: "Democrats have capitulated to the undemocratic ideals of Southern Dixiecrats, and Republicans too often accept the blatant hypocrisy of right-wing Northerners."

At the same time, King answered a question about the Freedom Now Party, which the week before had announced intention of running a slate of candidates in Michigan in 1964. "I would tend to favor something like this," said King. "If it would increase the Negro's voice in politics and in interest in participating in politics."

Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker of the African Methodist Episcopal Church has again advised Negroes in the South to arm themselves for self-defense, according to the Oct. 18 Louisville Times. Bishop Tucker first made such a statement in 1958. He was shot and bomb-murdered and was subject to criticism from some quarters. "I want to re-emphasize that statement," Bishop Tucker told the annual Kentucky A.M.E. conference in Louisville Oct. 17. The Bishop said that while he believes in non-violent action, he also recommends that Negroes in certain Southern states acquire guns to protect their homes and churches against "illegal intrusion."

Zvezistia's Attack on Trotskyism

By Tom Kerry

An interesting aspect of the current dispute between Peking and Moscow is its injection by both sides, into the controversy of the issue of Trotskyism.

Each accuses the other of having succumbed to the Trotskyist "virus."

Both resort to the most outrageous fabrications. Each substitutes frantic abuse, vilification and slander, for reasoned argument.

Neither side dares tell the truth for the truth would be damaging to both. But truth on the march! For the very logic of the ideological-political confrontation inexorably leads to a re-examination of past struggles in the light of current, developing differences over theory, strategy and tactics "in the working-class struggle for socialism."

On Sept. 13, the newspaper *Zvezistia*, official organ of the Russian Soviet government, published an article attacking Trotskyism by S. Ivanovich which took up almost half the second page of the issue. The article purports to give its readers an account of the present status of the world Trotskyist movement. Its object is to identify the views of the present leaders of the Communist Party of China with those of Trotskyism, and thus bestow the Stalinist "title of death" on its proponents. Stalin was a past master of such amalgams!

The *Zvezistia* article charges that the facts book exists between the CPC and the Fourth International world party of the Trotskyist movement, on some of the basic points of dispute. Because of this "alliance," it contends, there has been a "revival" of the Fourth International which was organized in 1988 by Trotsky and his followers. After undergoing a split in 1953, the Fourth International recently held a re-unification congress which united together the overwhelming majority of the world Trotskyist movement. It is against this "menace" that *Zvezistia* sounds the alarm.

As a service to its readers the article has been translated into English by the Paris labor press service, *Work*. Under its title of "The Fourth International," 27 issue. The following issue, Oct. 4, contains a reply by Pierre Frank, a member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

(The full English text of the *Zvezistia* article and the reply by Pierre Frank will be obtained by writing World Outlook, 17 rue d'Aboukir, Paris 2, France. Subscription rate: \$7.50 for 26 issues. Checks or money orders should be made payable to Pierre Frank.)

Slander

According to *Zvezistia*, the Trotskyist Fourth International and its adherents are "rabid enemies of Marxism-Leninism, bearers of arch-reactionary conceptions," etc., etc. Proof?

"The Fourth International," it affirms, "invariably characterizes our epoch as the epoch of imperialism, of wars and of proletarian revolutions, leaving out of account the fundamental changes in the relation of forces in the world arena that came about through the liquidation in a series of countries of Europe and Asia of the rule of the bourgeoisie and the creation of a world socialist system. Recognizing the weakening of the forces of capitalism, it at the same time holds that the positions of the forces of socialism are precarious and denies the possibility of the victory of the latter in peaceful economic competition."

With all due apologies to the ancient Greeks, the *Zvezistia* article is was none other than Lenin who "invariably characterized" our epoch as the epoch of imperialist wars, colonial uprisings and pro-



Leon Trotsky

letarian revolutions. It was upon this premise that Lenin projected his strategy of world revolution embodied in the documents of the first four congresses of the Third (Communist) International.

The concept of "peaceful co-existence" in which socialism would conquer on a world scale through "peaceful economic competition" was and is almost pure Stalinism having nothing in common with either Marxist or Leninism. This key question of the road to power is central among the disputed questions in the Sino-Soviet conflict.

S. Ivanovich, author of the *Zvezistia* article, introduces an allegedly "new factor" which presumably renders Lenin's view on the character of our epoch out of date. In his reply, Pierre Frank deals at length with this crude revision of Lenin's concept.

Changed Relations

"S. Ivanovich," he observes, "sets in his article the power of the socialist camp as a new factor in world politics. We were pleased to note this, for the concept is quite familiar to us. In truth the Fourth International was the very first in the world to call attention to the change in the relationship of forces in favor of socialism following the victory of the Chinese Revolution."

"The Fourth International," he points out, "unlike Mr. Ivanovich holds that the imperialists are not ready to recognize that their days are numbered. Nowhere have we seen the capitalists prepared to abandon power to the workers in peaceful take-overs, desirable as this would be. We think that Fidel Castro was completely correct when he observed that the world has not yet seen a single example of a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism."

"What Marxist would deny," Frank adds, "that in a contest limited to economic competition the victory would inevitably go to socialism? The historic justification of more than a century of struggle by the working class against capitalist exploitation resides precisely in this economic superiority of socialism over capitalism."

"But the crucial question," Frank affirms, "is whether capitalism, with the forces and positions still at its disposal, has no alternative but to graciously accept the predetermined doom of the capitalist system and granting the future to world socialism with peaceful resignation.

"Imperialists of lesser size," Frank points out, "do not seem

inclined to demonstrate more peaceful intentions. This can be observed among the British in Kenya, the French in Algeria, the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique, the whites in South Africa (and, we may add, the whites in the deep South of the U.S.A.)

"Oppressed and exploited peoples in the world," concludes Frank, "today want their freedom now." They prefer to get it peacefully; but if peaceful means fail they will hesitate to resort to more effective methods. This is one of the outstanding conclusions to be drawn from the whole historical period since the end of the second world war. The Fourth International believes that revolutionary socialists should recognize it despite the opinion of S. Ivanovich that the conception is "arch-reactionary."

In reply to the allegation that there exist a *de facto* bloc between the Fourth International and the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party, Pierre Frank declares:

Stated Position

"The Fourth International has expressed without reserve exactly what it thinks about the dispute between the governments and parties of China and the Soviet Union, particularly our opinion that the Chinese position is more progressive than the Khrushchev line of the Soviet Union and the road to socialism. But the Fourth International has also made clear on what points it considers the Chinese positions to be gravely erroneous."

(Next week, The Militant will publish an analysis by E. Germain, member of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, of the article "On the Question of Stalin," published Sept. 10 by the editorial boards of the Peking People's Daily and Red Flag. Germain's article is entitled: *Forward to Lenin! — Not Back to Stalin in the Fight Against Khrushchev.*)

Not since the period following the death of Lenin in the Soviet Union have the views and criticisms of Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the October revolution, loomed so large as in the current period. It is necessary to shake the communist world. The body of Marxist revolutionary doctrine which Stalin stigmatized as "Trotskyism" and which he sought to bury under a mountain of filth and slander, is asserting its historic vitality.

We commend to the main antagonists in the Sino-Soviet dispute the admission contained in a letter from Trotsky to the Commission for the Study of Party History, set up by Stalin in 1926-27, to rewrite the history of the Russian Revolution:

"You can juggle citations, hide the reports of your own speeches, forbid the propagation of the letters and articles of Lenin, fabricate yards of dishonestly selected quotations. You can suppress, conceal, and burn up historical documents. You can extend your censorship to the photographic and moving-picture records of revolutionary events. All these things Stalin is doing. But the results will not justify the supply of a limited mind like Stalin's could imagine that these pitiful secretarial machinations will make men forget the gigantic events of modern history."

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring
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