

Duck Real Confrontation with Goldwaterism

By Fred Halstead

The Democratic Party national convention registered a shift to the right, in accommodation to Goldwaterism, on a number of major issues. Liberals, union officials and most of the Negro spokesmen within the party hardly protested as their positions were flattened by the Johnson machine in the interests of "na-

tional unity" — Johnson's theme at the convention.

The single point of relief to the suppression of the "progressive" forces was provided by the fight of the Mississippi Freedom Democrats for seats in the convention. Acting independently of the party machine, and finally even in opposition to their "liberal" supporters within the party, the pre-

dominately Negro group from Mississippi managed to keep the civil-rights issue before the nation's TV audiences for three days and upset Johnson's carefully laid plans to soft pedal it.

The convention showed that those progressive forces which put themselves in Johnson's pocket out of fear of Goldwater have simply lost all power to affect the course of events. The platform promises traditionally aimed at labor, the civil-rights forces and the peace movement were the mildest adopted by a Democratic convention since before Roosevelt's New Deal. On the issue of peace, for example, Johnson's agents in the platform committee ruled out even the most innocuous formulation of disarmament under "world law." The liberals also withdrew, on Johnson's order, a plank backing legislative reapportionment. Again — on orders from Johnson — they dropped a modest plank approving "peaceful dem-

onstrations" on behalf of Negro rights.

The way the party leadership handled civil rights and the seating of the Mississippi delegations clearly showed the role Johnson has cut out for the liberals. They are to subordinate liberal issues to "party unity" and to use their influence to keep the Negroes in line.

To keep the Mississippi issue from the convention floor, Johnson assigned liberal Hubert H. Humphrey — his vice-presidential choice — to work out a compromise. Humphrey's job was to pressure the 16 state delegations which had promised to support the Mississippi Negroes to go back on their promises to force a floor fight on the issue. He succeeded in this as Northern liberals and civil-rights leaders such as Martin Luther King, CORE National Director James Farmer, NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins, and March on Washington Vice

Chairman Bayard Rustin buckled under pressure.

The 68-member Mississippi Freedom delegation voted down Humphrey's "back-of-the-bus compromise" which recognized the regular racist delegation, seated only two Freedom delegates and did not recognize them as representing Mississippi.

Although the bulk of the regular racist Mississippi delegation had walked out, the convention adopted this "compromise." The Democratic Party showed that it would rather have empty seats in the Mississippi section than have Negroes seated there.

"The convention has just endorsed murder," was the bitter reaction over TV of Rita Schwerer, widow of Michael Schwerer, one of the three civil-rights workers murdered in Philadelphia, Miss., this summer.

James Forman, executive director of the Student Nonviolent

(Continued on Page 3)

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 28 - No. 31 Monday, September 7, 1964 Price 10c

People of South Vietnam Act To Oust U.S.-Imposed Rulers

By Barry Sheppard

SEPT. 1 — The student and Buddhist demonstrations against the tyrannical government in South Vietnam have once again exposed the whole system of lies and violence that makes up U.S. policy in Southeast Asia.

Johnson, like Kennedy and Eisenhower before him, has justified U.S. intervention in the Vietnam civil war with the hoax that the GIs are there to defend democracy. But ever since the French were driven out of Indochina in 1954 and the Americans stepped in, the U.S. has never defended democracy, but has installed one dictator puppet after another in a futile attempt to crush the fight of the Vietnamese people for control over their own country.

Corrupt Regimes

The regimes the U.S. has helped to set up and which the U.S. finances and maintains in power, have been rotten, corrupt, dictatorial and hated by the people of Vietnam. The Buddhist demonstrations of last year exposed the brutality of the Diem regime, and the demonstrations this year have exposed the latest U.S. puppet, General Khanh. Neither of these regimes had a ghost of a chance of maintaining themselves in power against the people without the guns and money supplied in gigantic amounts by the U.S. — and even with this "aid" they can't do it.

The U.S. and its puppet dictators can't win the war against the

peasant guerrillas, and the student demonstrations have shown why. The so-called Vietcong will continue to gain strength in spite of the \$1½ million the U.S. pours into South Vietnam every day because the people of South Vietnam hate the U.S. backed government that oppresses them.

Special Decrees

The current demonstrations began as a reaction to Khanh's decrees of Aug. 7 that gave him "special powers" of police state rule, and his Aug. 16 "Constitution" that made him "President" with dictatorial powers. These moves of General Khanh were fully supported by another general, Maxwell Taylor, U.S. Ambassador to South Vietnam.

The students marched through the streets of Saigon demanding an end to Khanh's one-man rule and a repeal of the Aug. 7 and 16 decrees. The demonstrations themselves were banned under the provisions of the Aug. 7 decrees. Khanh at first tried to sit the demonstrations out, but the students became more adamant in their demands for an end to military rule. After a few days of the demonstrations, which drew wider circles of the population into them, Khanh's troops began firing on them.

Made Concessions

During the course of the events, the government made one concession after another, dropping the decrees of Aug. 7 and 16, adding civilians to the government, changing generals in the ruling group, downgrading Khanh, but never giving up military rule or granting the demand of democracy. The U.S. stuck by dictator Khanh through it all, and frantically tried to preserve some kind of government to continue the war against the guerrillas. The shaky structure that is left can only hope to survive by virtue of American guns and money alone.

The organization of the people in Saigon appears to be developing at a higher level than in the past. In recent demonstrations, reported the Aug. 29 *New York Times*, "The throng at the market place showed clear military discipline after nightfall. The demonstrators threw up defensive perimeters, manning them with an elaborate system of whistled commands. They succeeded in turning away individual army trucks at the barricades until the paratroopers and policemen moved in."

'Aid' to S. Vietnam Helps the Haves

The Aug. 28 Chicago Daily News reported: "WASHINGTON — The blunderings of U.S. aid policy in South Vietnam are detailed with embarrassing precision in a little publicized report by the General Accounting Office . . . Its . . . indictment of U.S. Vietnam policy included these findings: Kerosene, used almost exclusively by low-income groups . . . was taxed at the excessively high rate of 40 per cent of the retail price . . . On the other hand, alcoholic beverages, traditionally a luxury, were relatively undertaxed . . . One thousand cars were imported into South Vietnam in 1960 and again in 1961 which further accentuated the disparity between the low living standard in the countryside and the opulence in the cities."

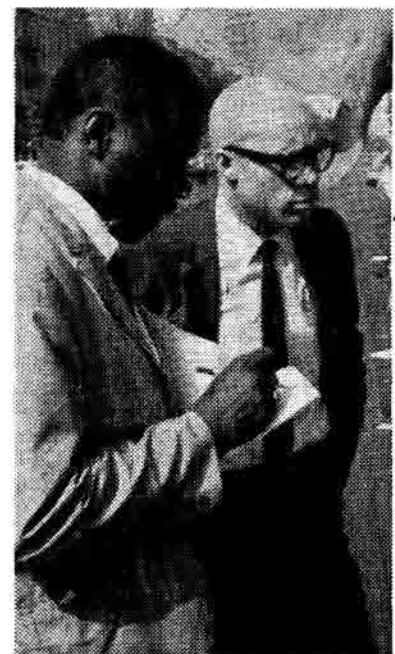
DeBerry Tells Harlem Rally: Get U.S. Out of the Congo!

NEW YORK — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, scored the Johnson administration's brazen intervention in the Congo as an attempt to turn that African nation into another Mississippi. Addressing an Aug. 29 street rally in Harlem Square (125th St. and Seventh Ave.) DeBerry demanded that Washington "immediately withdraw all of its troops, arms, planes and money from the hated puppet regime of Moise Tshombe."

Other speakers, who likewise demanded "Hands Off the Congo," were Lawrence Stewart, SWP candidate for U.S. senator from New Jersey, Richard Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. senator from New York, Robert Vernon, contributor to *The Militant*, and Peter Camejo of the Student Committee for DeBerry and Shaw.

Police would not permit representatives of the Freedom Now Party, who joined in a statement condemning Washington's Congo policy, to speak. Paul Boutelle, FNP candidate for state senator, protested this denial of his freedom of speech by mounting the speakers' stand. Police immediately arrested him. [See story below.]

When Congolese rebel forces took the major eastern Congo city of Stanleyville early in last month, Johnson hastily sent "trouble-shooter" Averell Harriman to confer with the former Belgian masters of the Congo on plans to shore up their harried puppet,



Lee Forest

CLIFTON DeBERRY interviewed by newsmen at Harlem rally.

Moise Tshombe. Then, G. Menen Williams, liberal Democrat and pretended "friend of independent Africa," was sent to inform Tshombe what the U.S. would do to keep him in power.

With Williams on Aug. 12 went four C-130 transport planes, three H-34 helicopters and over 100 U.S. servicemen. This was the concrete first installment of U.S. imperial-

ism's "emergency measures" to preserve its profitable and newly won hold on the heart of Africa.

The U.S. troops included plane crews, 50 paratroopers and "special-forces" men, who are attached to the United Strike Command — a new branch of the military designed to be thrown into "brush-fire" wars anywhere in the world.

Washington claimed the paratroopers had been sent only to guard the planes. But a U.S. embassy spokesman in Leopoldville revealed they would be flying missions in the helicopters. Apparently they will man the machine guns and rockets against African guerrillas as do their counterparts, the U.S. "advisers," in South Vietnam against the insurgent peasants there.

The Johnson administration had earlier "donated" more than 20 jet fighters, bombers and helicopters to the Tshombe regime. The only difference was that these were not openly manned by U.S. servicemen in combat against African freedom-fighters. They were piloted by mercenaries under "contract" to Tshombe's government — particularly Cuban counterrevolutionaries "released" by the CIA and then recruited for mass murder in the Congo by a "company" in Miami, Florida.

Mercenaries hired by or for Tshombe include former Belgian colonialist officers, former Nazi SS men, French Foreign Legionnaires — out of work since Algeria won its freedom, and Portuguese colonialists. White-supremacist Rhodesian and South African mercenaries, whom Tshombe is recruiting wholesale, are already reported flying missions against rebels in Kasai province and leading the drive against rebel-held Albertville.

The racist killers who are spearheading Tshombe's army are being highly paid and undoubtedly with U.S. tax dollars. Many of those now hiring out to help this "friend of the white man in Africa," previously killed and tortured for him when he was head of "independent" Katanga. At that time Tshombe carried out the murder of Patrice Lumumba, martyr of the African liberation movement.

The bankruptcy of Washington's policy in the Congo is revealed in the fact that it is the mainstay of the most hated traitor and despised puppet on the African continent.

Harlem Nominee Jailed Again In Free Speech Clamp-Down

NEW YORK — Paul Boutelle was jailed for the second time in Harlem while trying to exercise his right of free speech as a candidate for public office. He was made to leave the speakers' stand by cops while trying to address the Aug. 29 Harlem Square rally of the Socialist Workers Party which denounced U.S. intervention in the Congo. The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee had invited him to be a guest speaker at the rally.

Boutelle is the state senatorial candidate of the Freedom Now Party for Black Political Action in Harlem's 21st District. His arrest, like the previous one Aug.

8, when he also tried to speak at a Harlem rally, was based on the incredible ground that he is associated with a man who is attorney for a group that has been barred by court injunction from holding street demonstrations in Harlem!

In the wake of the July outbreak in Harlem, police obtained an injunction against street demonstrations in the area by the Community Council on Housing, the Harlem Defense Council, the Progressive Labor Movement and certain spokesmen for these organizations. Some legal brain on the police department then

(Continued on Page 6)

Red-Smear of Social Agency Protested by New Yorkers

By William Bundy

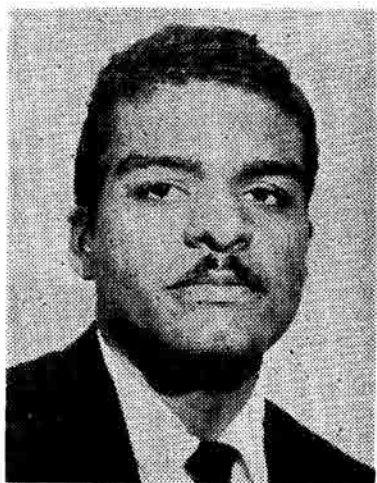
NEW YORK, Aug. 30 — A McCarthyite-type witch hunt against the experimental social agency, Mobilization For Youth, and a number of its employees is meeting resistance from civil liberties, labor and neighborhood groups.

The agency, financed in part by public funds, was set up to combat the effects of poverty and juvenile delinquency on Manhattan's Lower East Side. As part of its program to encourage self-help, the agency has lent assistance to neighborhood groups involved in peaceful protest such as rent strikes.

MFY came under a vitriolic smear attack early this month sparked by the rabidly reactionary New York Daily News, which asserted the agency had been "infiltrated" by "subversives" and that public funds were being used to foment "riots" and "disorders." In actuality, there have been no outbreaks or violence of any kind involving rent strikes or other action groups aided by MFY.

It was clear that this attack was being pressed by right-wing elements anxious to introduce a red scare into the political campaign and by such forces as slumlords who are opposed to action groups of slum dwellers. But the witch hunt of MFY began in the atmosphere created by the liberal city administration following the recent racial outbreaks in Harlem and Brooklyn. The liberal politicians gave birth to the new witch-hunt monster by invoking the ancient "criminal anarchy" law in Harlem and by their smear attack and injunction against demonstrations by the Harlem rent-strike organization and its leader, Jesse Gray.

The right-wing forces simply picked up the ball put into play by the liberals and ran with it, this time against MFY, a program



Leroy McRae

supposedly supported by Mayor Wagner and President Johnson as part of the "War on Poverty."

The city administration immediately surrendered to the right-wing attack by threatening to cut off funds to the agency unless it "cleaned out" the "infiltrators." An FBI report was finally released which claimed that a grand total of five (out of some 300) employees of the agency were "hard-core leftists." But the witch hunt is directed also at persons with past left-wing political affiliations.

The absurdity of the "infiltration" charge was indicated in the Aug. 27 New York Times which reported that one of the MFY employees under investigation was Leroy McRae, who, far from concealing his socialist ideas, was on the ballot as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for state Attorney General in the last election. The Times article reported that McRae had aided the Harlem rent strike before joining the MFY staff and is assigned to assist neighborhood housing groups involved in rent strikes on the Lower East Side.

ACLU Statement

The American Civil Liberties Union issued a statement Aug. 25 denouncing the attack on MFY as "a throwback to the discredited era of McCarthyism." The ACLU said "the response of some public officials administering public funds appropriated for the MFY experiment have so far lacked both courage and the guidance of an elemental sense of justice." The ACLU denounced threats to fire employees simply because of their political views.

The union representing MFY employees, Local 1707 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO, also denounced the attack on MFY. The union urges "protests through letters or petitions addressed to the Mayor's office demanding that the MFY program be supported and expanded and that all of us refuse to be intimidated by the reactionaries who seek to revive the era of the witch-hunt and McCarthyism."

A large group of clergymen from the Lower East Side are circulating a petition against the attack, and virtually all the local Puerto Rican community and tenant groups have denounced it.

One indication that the red scare is not catching on with the general public as much as it has among the liberal politicians, is what happened when the Daily News printed a picture of a rent-strike leaflet which advertised Jesse Gray as a speaker and carried the phone number of an MFY office on the bottom. The office is one of those MFY makes available to neighborhood groups. The News was trying to show a link between MFY and "disruptive" elements. But the office whose phone number appeared in the News picture was besieged not with calls denouncing MFY, but with calls from tenants in other parts of the city wanting to know how they, too, could join a rent strike.

Berman Gibson Faces Another Federal Trial

Berman Gibson, militant leader of unemployed coal miners in Eastern Kentucky, will be tried for a second time on Oct. 14 on framed-up charges of conspiring to blow up a railroad trestle during the 1962-63 struggle of the roving pickets against scab mine operators.

The first trial of Gibson and eight other miners, which ended on July 30 in the federal court in Lexington, Ky., had mixed results. The judge dismissed the charges against one defendant; the jury convicted four, acquitted two and failed to reach agreement on Gibson.

The four defendants awaiting sentencing are: Bige Hensley, 39; Herbert Stacy, 41; Clayton Turner, 42; and Charles Engle, 46. All four are married and their families include a total of 22 children.

These four men were held in jail for ten days after their arrest and before bail could be raised. At the trial they told how they had been tricked into signing false confessions during that period of imprisonment. Nevertheless, the judge allowed the repudiated confessions to stand as evidence.

Although they are charged with conspiring to blow up a railroad bridge — a federal offense, no explosion ever took place and the bridge was never damaged.

Plans are underway to appeal their convictions.

The defense attorneys for the framed-up miners are Dan Jack Combs of Pikesville, Ky., Philip Sipser of New York and Paul O'Dwyer, New York City Councilman, who is serving without fee.

Contributions for the defense expenses for the new trial of Berman Gibson and appeals for the four convicted should be sent to: The Committee for Miners, 1165 Broadway, N.Y. N.Y.

25% of Negro Youth Cannot Find Work

One fourth of all male Negro youth, ages 14 to 19, are out of work, according to government figures reported in the Aug. 23 New York Times. That's nearly double the percentage for white male youth in the same age bracket. Yet only a decade ago the number of jobless Negro teenagers came to 7.1 per cent while the figure for white youth was 6.3 per cent.

The figures — 25.4 per cent for Negroes and 14.2 per cent for whites — are conservative. They only include those jobless youth who are actively seeking work. Those who have quit trying aren't counted.

The Times correctly notes that the swift rise in unemployment — more than 350 per cent in ten years — as well as the dramatic jump in relation to white unemployment, is a major factor in building the frustrations that ignited the ghetto explosions of Harlem, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Rochester, Jersey City, Paterson and elsewhere.

But the Times is stumped in figuring out where the big differential of the past decade in Negro and white youth unemployment has come from. "There is no ready explanation," the paper complains. It overlooks the fact that white working people have enjoyed the benefits of the past decade's relative prosperity far more than Negroes. Far more white families have been able to keep their children in school for a longer period of time. This not only keeps them out of the job market longer but gives them a greater chance of getting a job when they do leave school. Added to Jim Crow hiring practices, this is proving to be quite a factor.

2 Ga. Rights Leaders Face Death Charge in Frame-Up

By Sean Bailey

ALBANY, Georgia, Aug. 19 — Two leaders of an increasingly successful Negro voter-registration drive here have been charged under a state "insurrection" law which carries the death penalty.

Rev. Samuel B. Wells, in charge of voter-registration for the Albany Movement, has been in jail under the charges since Aug. 18. Donald Harris, director of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's Southwest Georgia Project, was charged along with Rev. Wells, but has so far escaped arrest. This is the second time Harris has faced insurrection charges and the death penalty because of his anti-segregation activities. On Aug. 8, 1963, Harris and three other SNCC workers were jailed in nearby Americus and kept behind bars for 68 days until a three-judge federal panel ruled the law unconstitutional. The three were held without bail, since capital offenses are not bailable in Georgia.

Unconstitutional Law

The use of an obviously unconstitutional law against the two civil-rights fighters is clearly a device to keep them out of activity for a long period of time and temporarily to behead the movement, halt its action and divert it from its objectives. Rev. Wells and his "gang-busters," a group of Albany teen-agers, along with SNCC workers led by Harris, have registered over 1,500 Negro voters in Southwest Georgia during the last month.

In addition, the move by the racist city officials is designed to draw attention from the unprovoked police slaying Aug. 15 of Wilmont Jones, a 32-year-old Negro.

Jones was shot in the back at 1:30 in the afternoon by Albany city cops. They claimed Jones ran away from them when they approached him for questioning and they thought he was reaching for a gun. Jones was unarmed when killed.

Aroused Community

This was the fourth recent slaying of an unarmed Albany Negro and the Negro community became aroused. The evening of Jones' killing, a meeting was held at the Eureka Baptist Church addressed by SNCC Chairman John Lewis, Rev. Wells and Harris. After the meeting Rev. Wells led a march of 75 people toward the city hall to present a petition protesting Jones' murder. When the group was stopped by police, an onlooker threw a brick and some people broke some windows. The marchers dispersed and later met at city hall to present the petition.

It read in part: "We have petitioned the city officials of Albany time and time again to thoroughly investigate and fairly prosecute those responsible for these acts, but our pleas for justice and eradication of the brutal and savage tactics used by the Albany Police Department have gone unheard . . . For the sake of Albany — the total community — we demand a complete and thorough investigation of this killing and prosecution of the officers involved."

Using the brief and minor outbreak during the march as an excuse, police put on a huge show



Donald Harris

of force two days later when colored citizens attempted to hold a memorial service for Jones at a church. The area was sealed off and "riot guns" bristled from the windows of police cars," reports the Albany Times Herald. Police closed all shops and restaurants in the area and emptied the theater. The cops also held two pacifists overnight, without allowing them to use the phone.

Rev. Wells was arrested at his home on two charges: "attempting to incite insurrection" and "circulating insurrectionary papers." Harris, however, was out of town in Mississippi at the time, and the Albany police haven't found him yet.

Unsigned Leaflet

Albany Police Chief Laurie Pritchett said the "circulating" charge is based on an unsigned leaflet calling for attendance at the protest meeting after the killing of Jones. The leaflet was headed "Albany Police Have Murdered Another Negro," and said: ". . . Tonight is the time to act . . . Black man, are you tired of going to funerals?" The action it called for was to attend the protest meeting at the church.

At another protest meeting at the Eureka Baptist Church Aug. 18, Slater King, President of the Albany Movement spoke from the church steps and declared: "The Civil Rights Act of 1964 is now law, but there is still no freedom in this land." Pointing across the street where 25 cops armed with shotguns watched the meeting, King said: "We always come non-violent while they always come violent." He closed with a warning against being provoked into using bricks and fire bottles against the police while the enemy was armed with rifles and shotguns.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

THE FIRST in a series of public meetings on election campaign issues: HOW TO FIGHT GOLDWATERISM! Speaker, Everett Luoma, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota. Fri., Sept. 11, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

GOLDWATER, JOHNSON, AND DEBERRY — THE REAL ISSUES IN THE 1964 CAMPAIGN. Speaker, FRANK LOVELL, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor. Fri., September 11, 8 p.m., Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. September 15, 6:45 p.m. (Repeated September 16, 9 a.m.), KPFF-FM (90.7 on your dial).

MINNEAPOLIS

FIRST FORUM OF 1964-65 SERIES: JOHNSON'S POP-GUN WAR ON POVERTY. Speaker, John Benson, chairman Friday Night Socialist Forum. Fri., September 11, 8:30 p.m. Hall 240, 704 Hennepin Ave. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

FREEDOM SUMMER: MISSISSIPPI 1964, a report by RUTH SCHEIN, just back from two months as a Volunteer in the Mississippi Summer Project. Fri., Sept. 11, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

FRI., SEPT. 18 — Symposium: THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY & THE FREEDOM NOW VOTE. Panelists: PAUL BOUTELLE, Freedom Now Party candidate for State Senator banned from speaking in his District; CLIFTON DEBERRY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President; LEZ EDMONDS, Chairman Queens Freedom Now Party; and a Representative from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

State of Washington CONVENTION CALL

Registered Voters:
Attend the
Nominating Convention
of the
Freedom Socialist Party
Of Washington

PRIMARY DAY
SEPT. 15

Any-time — day or evening
Freeway Hall, 3815 5th Ave. NE
(Under the Freeway Bridge at
Northlake Ave. and 5th NE)

SEATTLE

Make your primary vote count:

Insist of voting
Republican or Democrat,
help place Socialism
on the Wash. ballot

For further information
call ME 2-7449
Aup. United Socialist Convention
Committee

SWP Files 21,000 Signatures For New York Ballot Place

NEW YORK, Sept. 1 — Representatives of the Socialist Workers Party today filed independent nominating petitions bearing 21,000 signatures with the Secretary of State in Albany. The petitions nominated Clifton DeBerry for President, Edward Shaw for Vice President, and Richard Garza for U.S. Senator.

A party spokesman said petitioners had met the most gratifying response in many years, particularly in the Negro communities, and that as a result the required petitions were collected in a record period of time.

It is extremely difficult for a minority party to win a place on the New York ballot. To be certified for the ballot it is necessary to secure the signatures of 12,000 registered voters, with a minimum of 50 registered voters from 61 of the state's 62 counties. Meeting this second proviso requires canvassing the most remote sections of the state including conservative rural areas where the petitioning must often be done in small villages or from farm house to farm house.

If it should be determined that a petition contains less than 50 valid signatures in any single county this invalidates the entire state petition even though it might contain many times the required total number of signatures. Major party politicians have frequently challenged minority parties on this basis.

To avoid such a possibility, the Socialist Workers Party secured at least twice the required minimum in each county as well as 9,000 over the required 12,000 statewide minimum.

Upstate canvassers reported



Richard Garza
Candidate for U.S. Senate

signatures were collected in greater numbers in a shorter period of time than previously despite police harassment and red-baiting by the local press in several places. They found that in a number of normally Republican communities there was a fear that Goldwater represented a threat on such issues as social security and medicare and consequently there was a greater willingness to sign an independent nominating petition.

In Harlem and other Negro communities, signatures were collected at an unprecedented rate. Canvassers reported that the idea of an independent Negro candidate for president had a very strong appeal. This was particularly so after the anti-police outbreak in Harlem.

Mississippi Summer Project To Be Made Year-Round

GREENWOOD, Miss. — The Mississippi Summer Project has ended and the Mississippi Freedom Project has begun.

The summer-long drive — involving over 900 college students, doctors, nurses, lawyers and ministers — began June 21 and ended Aug. 29. The Mississippi Freedom Project, a continuation of the summer's work, began immediately.

Over 200 of the summer work-

ers will stay in Mississippi. They join the 83 permanent staff members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) who have been working in Mississippi for the last three years.

The SNCC national office, located here through the summer, will move back to Atlanta, Georgia.

The summer's four main thrusts — voter registration, Freedom Schools, Community Centers and political action — will continue.

By the summer's end, there were 41 Freedom Schools in 20 communities throughout the state. Total enrollment was 2,165. There were 175 full-time Freedom School teachers.

Summer workers established 13 Community Centers, staffed by 61 workers, offering literary classes, art, music, drama, recreation, health and child care programs, and libraries. Two centers — in Harmony and Mileston — are being built from the ground up by local people and volunteers.

Over 55,000 Negroes registered on "Freedom Registration" forms for the Freedom Democratic Party, the group that successfully challenged Mississippi's all-white regular Democratic Party at the National Democratic Convention in Atlantic City.

Regular voter registration efforts were not as successful. For instance, only two of the 123 Leflore County Negroes who took Mississippi's tortuous registration test between June and July became registered voters. In contrast, 3,384 Leflore County Negroes registered on Freedom Registration forms.

SNCC workers hope to spread "Summer Project" activities throughout other deep South states also, especially in Eastern Arkansas, Central Alabama and Southwest Georgia where SNCC drives have been underway for several years.

The 2 Conventions and Civil Rights

Neither Party Met Demands of Negroes

By William F. Warde

One outstanding similarity of the Democratic and Republican conventions was more significant than all their differences. This was the fact that the civil-rights issue dominated both gatherings and neither party took a stand which comes anywhere near meeting the demands of the Negro people.

A Gallup poll this July reported that for the first time in its 30-year inquiries the citizens interviewed selected civil rights as the most burning domestic problem. The impact of the Freedom Now movement upon the capitalist party proceedings confirmed this opinion.

The issues presented by the Negro revolt subjected both parties to great stresses and strains. In San Francisco Republican moderates and liberals who opposed Goldwater's nomination because of his Senate vote against the Civil Rights Bill tried unsuccessfully to strengthen the position on its enforcement in the platform. They also failed to insert a clause affirming the constitutionality of the measure. The Goldwater camp was far more intent upon attracting Southern racist and Northern "white-backlash" support than with conciliating the Negroes or their liberal friends in any way.

The Democratic convention presented a different picture because it has long been the home of the Dixiecrats. It saw a walkout of Alabama and Mississippi die-hard segregationist delegates who couldn't stomach the least concessions to pro-civil rights sentiment. And, considering the gravity of the situation, the concessions made for electoral purposes by the Democratic managers headed by the President were small indeed.

The Credentials Committee sought to prevent any debate on the floor rather than render justice to the Negro Freedom Democratic Party of Mississippi. It did not dare seat its representatives even after the departure of the lily-white delegates. Under immense pressure it did no more than award two special delegate-at-large seats with full voting powers to its leaders and honored-guest status to the rest. This compromise was unacceptable to the Freedom Party which staged



Aaron Henry
Leader of Freedom Democrats

dramatic protests against it outside and inside the hall.

Johnson told the convention he was proud to stand on the platform it adopted. Although the civil-rights plank in that platform contains stronger language than the Republican's, it proposes to leave law enforcement to local authorities and initiate federal intervention only as a last resort. It echoes Johnson by equating Negro resistance to police brutality and injustice with the brutal and violent imposition of inequality. For the first time in many years it contains no promise of further legislation to remedy Negro grievances.

The Democratic high command apparently feels it has done and is doing enough for the colored people and is therefore entitled to their support. It counts on the fact that the flagrantly hostile attitude of the Goldwater team leaves Negroes no alternative but to back the Johnson-Humphrey ticket.

If the bulk of Negro votes does go to the Democratic candidates, this will not so much signify their satisfaction with the Democratic record as their fear of the setback their movement might suffer from a Goldwater victory.

The refusal of the Freedom Party to accept the Mississippi com-

promise, despite heavy pressure by Martin Luther King and other leaders, and its aggressive tactics at the convention was inspiring evidence of the heightened militancy and political awareness of the Southern Negroes. Mississippi has the same place in the Southern struggle as Harlem in the North. These organized freedom-fighters from the most benighted and oppressive state of the Deep South mobilized enough power to provoke the withdrawal of most regular lily-white Mississippi delegates and to exact official though token recognition of two of their own spokesmen as delegates-at-large. Their hard fight for the principle of the right of representation in Mississippi and in national Democratic affairs stirred up an otherwise tame and tedious convention.

Their impact upon the Negroes and the country that followed the proceedings over TV carried more weight in spurring the momentum of the Negro movement than the illusion that integration and participation in the Democratic machine is the best political way to get Freedom Now. This was a semi-independent Negro action within the formal framework of the Democratic organization. Such anomalies are an inevitable outgrowth of every major mass mobilization as it lifts itself from one stage of political development to the next. In the course of such experiences, fighters for Freedom Now will learn that they will have to break decisively from the Democratic Party to achieve their objectives.

McDonald's Dream World

United Steelworkers President David J. McDonald, a convention delegate from Pennsylvania, voiced the fervent hope in a TV interview that this convention would dispose of the troublesome civil-rights problem. One wonders what kind of dreamworld this union leader inhabits. If anything, the Democratic and Republican conventions demonstrated that the Negro revolt not only holds the center of the stage in our national life and politics but that it is there to stay for a long while. It will continue to disturb the parties of the ruling class because one is stone-deaf and the other nine-tenths deaf to the Freedom Now demands.

The increasingly militant and independent temper of the politically-minded Negroes, exhibited in distorted and unripe form in Atlantic City, should be more strongly asserted at state and local levels hereafter. It can build up into a far more impressive force by 1968. Wider and deeper disillusionment with the Democratic token-bearers and defenders of the status quo can impart such a stimulus to the totally independent Freedom Now political forces that they will then be able to give the Negro a genuine national political alternative to follow in addition to the Socialist Workers Party candidates.

... Democratic Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

Coordinating Committee, charged that the convention action "keeps racism in the Democratic Party."

Dick Gregory declared: "I'm very sorry the President decided not to seat the Mississippi Freedom delegation . . . As far as I'm concerned, he's going to suffer from the black backlash."

In a speech to the Mississippi freedom fighters and their sup-



James Forman

porters outside the convention hall, Bayard Rustin pleaded for votes for Johnson and said: "You are now leaving the arena of protest and entering the arena of politics where you must learn to compromise."

A TV interviewer asked for comment on this from Robert Moses, head of SNCC's Mississippi Project. Moses said: "But what is the compromise? We are trying to introduce principle into politics. The people want to vote . . . Not only in Mississippi, but all over. There hasn't been one vote at this convention. Everything is decided by acclamation . . . They kept the issue off the floor. Even the seated delegates at this convention can't decide issues. We want one man, one vote — all over."

But there is no democracy in the Democratic Party. It is controlled and its policies decided behind the scenes by the cold-war, racist, big-business interests which also control the Republican Party. The difference is that the Democratic Party is used to trap progressive forces in the country into a position of impotence.

The Mississippi Freedom Democrats now face a historic choice — to fall into that trap and undergo demoralization and betrayal, or to help inspire the progressive forces throughout the country to move to independent political action.

MUST READING

The Road To Revolution In Latin America

BY FIDEL CASTRO

Complete text of major policy speech delivered on tenth anniversary of the historic July 26 attack on Fort Moncada.

50 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

FREEDOM NOW

New Stage in the
Struggle for
Negro Emancipation

(Socialist Workers Party
resolution)

25 cents

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN

Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 8-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 28 - No. 31



Monday, September 7, 1964

THE JOHNSON-GOLDWATER RECORD

It's Hard to Out-Warmonger a Warmonger

By Theodore Edwards

[Theodore Edwards, Southern California chairman of the Socialist Workers Party, gives a bi-weekly news commentary over WPFK-FM in Los Angeles. The following are excerpts from his broadcast of Aug. 18.]

In his quest for the presidency of the U.S., Sen. Goldwater is endorsed by a variegated section of the American population. His supporters encompass layers of the labor aristocracy, composed of various nationalities caught up in the so-called "white backlash," as well as the "WASPs" — the white Anglo-Saxon protestant circles — that compose Goldwater's main shock troops and cadres.

Goldwater's support also ranges from poor white Southerners violently opposed to the freedom struggle of the Negro people to enormously wealthy sectors of the capitalist class that are opposed to labor unions and to social reforms of any kind. These ultra-reactionary and relatively new groupings of American big business in Texas and the Southwest seek a bigger voice in the tight-knit capitalist circles that rule over America. They furnished the millions of dollars required to take the Republican machine away from the Eastern money bags who controlled it heretofore.

Goldwater Backers

These Goldwater millionaires and those in the upper middle class who think like them are terrorized by the irresistible rise of socialist tendencies on a world scale. Despite their immense affluence, amassed during an economic boom that has been fueled by military orders and that has already lasted a quarter of a century without a major depression, these new-rich circles and the middle class influenced by them feel a deep insecurity in the face of world developments that imperil the capitalist system to which they owe their privileged positions.

This wide-ranging spectrum of the U.S. populace thus looks to Goldwater, the homespun conservative from Arizona, as the hero on a white charger who will exorcise the social forces that they do not understand and of which they stand in mortal fear.

However, Lyndon B. Johnson, the man from Texas enjoys the enthusiastic support of an even stranger assortment of blocs of voters. Johnson's supporters range from segregationist Southern Democrats who are afraid of losing their decisive committee chairmanships if the South really goes Republican to Negro Freedom Fighters struggling for equality against Southern terrorism.

LBJ Supporters

Johnson is supported also by the traditionally Republican Plutocrats of Wall Street as well as by various liberals, progressives, and labor leaders, and millions of union members who have voted for the Democratic Party since the Thirties under the mistaken impression that it is the party of social reform and human progress.

This even wider-ranging support for Johnson is all the more astonishing in view of Johnson's 20-year record in Congress on civil rights, a record that the moderate Negro leaders, who have called for a moratorium on civil rights demonstrations so as to help get Johnson elected, have conveniently forgotten.

From 1937, when he first came to Congress, until 1957, when he opened his push for the presidency, Johnson cast 18 House and Senate votes on civil rights. On each occasion, Johnson lined up with the Southern bloc in opposition to legislation that he termed "unconstitutional and dictatorial." Six times Johnson voted against proposals to abolish the poll tax. Twice he rejected measures to



President Johnson

make lynching a federal crime. Six times Johnson voted "no" on legislation to outlaw segregation in federal programs. On two other occasions Johnson voted to perpetuate discrimination in the District of Columbia and to reject a Fair Employment Practices Commission. An FEPC provision virtually identical to the one Johnson now purports to back was blasted by him as a police state statute in 1949.

In January 1946, arguing against the Fair Employment Practices Bill then before the Senate, Johnson revealed his true views as a dyed-in-the-wool Southern Democrat. The Congressional Record indicates that Johnson stated the following: "I notice when I go to New York, that the colored people have congregated in Harlem. That is due to an in-born instinct. It will be found that the members of races congregate together; they want to be together. They do not want other races to interfere with them. That is nothing but human nature. It has always been true in the past."

Change of Heart

After 1957, in his unsuccessful bid for the Democratic nomination for President, Johnson shelved these traditional Southern racist views that argue against banning discrimination in hiring by pointing to some mythical in-born instinct that supposedly makes Negroes want to live in Harlem! We leave it to any Negro to guess which are his real views, the ones Johnson now expresses to garner Negro votes or the ones he spouted for 20 years, from 1937 to 1957. The lack of federal enforcement of federal laws in Mississippi and elsewhere in the South speaks loud enough on this score.

As for all those people concerned with avoiding nuclear war and working towards a peaceful world, it should be quite clear after the Tonkin Gulf episode that there is precious little difference between Goldwater and Johnson on that score. If Goldwater has been shouting "Why not victory?" in South Vietnam and has advocated the war be deepened and extended and the atomic bomb used, then Johnson certainly has not let himself be outflanked by Goldwater in belligerency and warlike acts.

Same Policy

Johnson's foreign policy is the same as that of Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy. It consists of attempting to overcome the current nuclear stalemate through new weapons, by bolstering conventional arms and by expanding so-called "counter insurgency" operations to contain and reverse the socialist drive of the rest of the world.

This policy signifies continual intervention in the internal affairs of countries around the

globe, such as sending U.S. troops to the Congo, sealing off tiny Cuba, giving the go-ahead signal for the reactionary coup in Brazil, and expanded acts of war in Southeast Asia. Only in Goldwater's imagination, driven to fever-pitch by the anti-Communist mythology, can Johnson be described as a dove of peace. In reality, Johnson is just another of the war hawks of American militarism.

In attempting to outflank Johnson on the right in this field, Goldwater borders on the absurd and the ridiculous precisely because it is inconceivable to be any more war-like and belligerent than Johnson already is.

Big Business Support

In a June 1964 editorial, *Fortune* magazine put the case for big business support of Johnson as follows: "Businessmen could hardly fail to applaud Johnson's association of budget restraint and a tax cut . . ."

Fortune also wrote that Johnson "has gone further than any recent President — including Eisenhower — in praising the contribution of businessmen to the general well-being of this society," quoting Johnson's words at his March 15 television interview that he is "so proud of our system of government, of our free enterprise, where our incentive system and our men who head our big industries are willing to get up at daylight and get to bed at midnight to offer employment and create new jobs for people . . ."

Fortune continued: "Fair words such as these, welcome though they are, would not captivate businessmen unless the words were in some way reflected in practical concrete performance. Perhaps the best example thus far of Johnson's way of defining government-business relationship was the way he handled the threatened railroad strike . . ."

Fortune concluded that "American business would have to be a lot more narrow-minded than it is to withhold applause from a President who not only praises the enterprise system but who frequently acts as if he meant what he says about it . . ."

In 1964, the American people are asked to choose between an ultra-conservative militarist who openly woos racist votes and a Southern conservative Democratic businessman . . . The two potentially most powerful political forces in the country, the labor movement and the Negro movement, have allowed themselves to be caught in this major-party trap by failing to establish a national third-party alternative in time. The so-called labor statesmen and the moderate Negro leaders in effect have become responsible for the rightward drift of American politics by failing to establish that real choice between right and left of which Goldwater talks demagogically but which the Goldwater-Johnson major party contests fails to provide.

A Shameful Proposal by Wilkins

NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins disgraced the civil-rights movement when he responded to the outbreaks of Negro unrest in Philadelphia by demanding an FBI investigation. Wilkins said in a telegram to the U.S. Attorney General that the investigators should look for a "conspiracy" or "rabble rousers." Wilkins obviously thinks this is a clever means of disarming the racist opponents of civil rights and of taking the heat off his type of conservative civil-rights leadership.

But anyone with even a casual knowledge of the black ghettos knows that no instigators are required to spark explosions there. Each of the major outbreaks has begun around an incident involving the police in an area where police brutality is an old story and where the black masses are simply fed up with it. They are fed up with rat-infested slums; with rent-gouging and price-gouging. They are fed up with callous city officials and the empty promises of lying, hypocritical liberal politicians. They are fed up with low wages, dirty jobs and unemployment. It should also be noted that they are fed up with the ineffective, middle-class-oriented leadership provided by such people as Wilkins. And they are as yet without any effective leadership to take their protest into constructive revolutionary channels.

Wilkins' ridiculous call for an investigation of some mythical plotters will be welcomed by all those forces who are really responsible for the atmosphere of revolt — the slumlords, capitalists, racists, crooked politicians and brutal, prejudiced cops. These forces are looking for some scapegoat to hang the blame on. Mr. Wilkins should not be too surprised if such an "investigation" did occur and one of the frame-up victims turned out to be the NAACP.

The Food Crisis in India

Older people will recall the once familiar stories of famine in India and China. With the current news from India of acute food shortages and soaring food prices, it is worth noting that the age-old story of famine in China has not been heard recently.

It is true that the standard of living in China is still very low. This is due to a combination of factors, mainly the economic backwardness the Chinese Revolution inherited, and also the isolation of China by the capitalist world. These factors are compounded by bureaucratic rule in China. But famine has been eliminated in this giant and growing nation.

The reasons for the difference between India and China are simple. The Indian government has itself described its problem. Under the impact of bad harvest last year, food became more scarce and prices rose. The government attempted to localize the problem to areas of poor harvest, but grain speculators began to hoard grain in those areas where the harvest was not as bad, in an attempt to make big profits in the poor areas where the prices had soared, and to drive prices up in the better-off zones. Widespread hunger resulted.

In China, the Revolution drove out the rapacious grain speculators and established a system of planned production and distribution of food. The result has been that for the first time in Chinese history famine has been fought and brought under control and the planned system promises a steady increase in food production and consumption for everyone.

The food problem in India can be solved, too, but only by methods similar to those introduced by the Chinese Revolution — organizing the economy to meet the needs of the people, not for the profit of the few.

Local Directory

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

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

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, Telephone 222-4174.

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

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

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

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

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 381, Newark, New Jersey.

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

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Militant Labor Forum: 592 Lake Park Ave., Oakland. Phone 444-8012. Marxist literature available; write to Labor Book Shop at above address.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum P.O. Box 8412.

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

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

SEATTLE. 3815 5th N.E. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

If It's Postmarked Before Midnight Sept. 15

Your order will be accepted at the special pre-publication price of \$5 for

Labor's Giant Step 20 Years of the CIO

By Art Preis

(\$7.50 after Sept. 15)

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 University Place
New York, N. Y. 10003

Tenn. Racists Steal Election; Federal Gov't Looks Other Way

By Jay Garnett

In Fayette County, Tennessee, after a bitterly fought four-year voter registration drive, there are 4,300 registered Negro voters and 3,400 registered whites, reflecting the fact that Negroes are a majority of the population in the southwestern Tennessee county which borders on Mississippi. But in a non-partisan election Aug. 6 for sheriff and tax assessor, the candidates backed by the Negro community lost through harassment of voters and poll watchers, ballot-box stuffing, and the deliberate abstention of the U.S. Justice Department in the face of this fraud at the polls.

Fayette County made headlines in 1960 because of its "Tent City" which was set up to house sharecroppers evicted by landowners when they attempted to register to vote. The Aug. 6 election was a testing ground of the vitality of the right to vote in a "black belt" county where the Negroes actually succeed in becoming registered in significant numbers. The test proved that when the white racists control the polling places, the fact that Negroes have registered to vote is not enough.

Fraudulent Count

The final returns, as reported by the racist officials, gave L. T. Redfearn, a white farmer running for sheriff with the support of the Negro community, 1,670 votes against 3,366 for his segregationist opponent. They gave Rev. June Dowdy, first Negro to run for county tax assessor in almost 100 years, 1,693 votes against 3,306.

Prof. Charles Haynie, who worked with rights workers to try to ensure that the registered Negroes could actually vote, telephoned the Justice Department the day before the election to ask for protection of election workers and for a court order permitting Redfearn and Dowdy supporters to have poll watchers at the polls.

But the bureaucrats of the Justice Department referred him from office to office, until finally two attorneys said the Justice Department couldn't do anything about it. Then they hung up.

On election day, armed with letters from liberal Congressman Ross Bass, who was running in the primary against Gov. Frank Clement for the Senate, poll watchers tried to station themselves at the various voting places. Most of them were rejected. In one town just across the Tennessee-Mississippi border, two poll watchers were thrown out, and white election officials told northern rights workers "We'll do anything we want to at our election. We won't take any poll watchers at all."

Voters Harassed

While this was going on, Haynie was still phoning the Justice Department. Meanwhile, according to Drew Pearson, who described the situation in his syndicated columns of Aug. 11 and 12, a Vanderbilt University teacher from Nash-



Robert F. Kennedy
Had deaf ear for Tenn. Negroes

ville, Hans von Berger, was shot at while taking a Negro voter to the polls.

A white crowd harassed Negroes going to the polls in Williston. Students stopping to call on sharecroppers to take them to the polls were threatened with arrest for trespassing, because they had driven over property belonging to the plantation owners. White poll watchers were making Negro voters fold their ballots after leaving the booths so officials could read the ballots.

Prof. Haynie reported that ballot boxes were being stuffed; poll watchers were being thrown out; long lines of Negro voters were standing in the hot sun, at 110 degrees, waiting to vote.

Pearson quoted Ralph Naden, a law student from New York University. "They stole the election by stuffing the ballot boxes. In district 8 for instance, 51 whites and 88 Negroes were counted entering the polls during the entire day. Yet when the votes [for Sheriff] were counted, the tally showed 201 votes for Pattat [the segregationist] and 72 votes for Redfearn."

Socialist to Nominate At Seattle Conference

By R. Kirk

SEATTLE — Voters in the state of Washington will be able to vote for DeBerry and Shaw under the ballot designation of Freedom Socialist Party — if the United Socialist Convention Committee here is successful in holding a Primary Day Nominating Convention of 100 registered voters who will use their attendance at the convention as the means of casting their primary vote.

The decision to name the party now rather than at the Sept. 15 Primary Day Convention came as a result of discussion at a conference of the United Socialists, held Aug. 20th. As results of the first period of campaigning were assessed, it was generally felt that the tightening of the election laws, and other factors, made it mandatory to place the ballot name of the Party before the public as soon as possible.

United Effort

The United Socialist formation, now to be known as the Freedom Socialist Party, is composed of independent socialists, adherents of various socialist publications, and members of the Socialist Workers Party. In addition to supporting DeBerry and Shaw, the Freedom Socialist Party will attempt to place Wayman Ware and Frank Krasnowsky, chairman and vice chairman respectively of the party, on the ballot, running for the posts of U.S. Senator and Governor.

This socialist electoral coalition has adopted a militant socialist program featuring opposition to the bi-partisan foreign policy of the U.S. government and all-out support to the civil rights struggle.

WHY THEY HIRED TSHOMBE

Facts About U.S. Investments in Congo

By Fernand Charlier

BRUSSELS — Since the departure of the United Nations troops on June 30 a new situation has developed in the Congo. The totally discredited former premier Cyrille Adoula was replaced by one of the murderers of Patrice Lumumba, the sinister Moïse Tshombe. This "strong man" launched "Operation Miracle," a so-called "national reconciliation" (Tshombe even laid a wreath of flowers on Lumumba's tomb!), but this quickly came to an end, and he had to appeal for paratroopers and U.S. military matériel only two days after declaring at a press conference that the "National Congolese Army" would be able to handle the "rebels" conducting guerrilla warfare in many parts of the country.

Thus the UN had barely left when the United States was called on to openly carry out its role of gendarme of world capitalism, helped by Belgium, which speaks hypocritically of purely logistic aid. As if logistics did not constitute the scaffolding of war!

The discussions which took place between Averell Harriman, the representative of the State Department, and Paul-Henri Spaak, the Belgian minister of foreign affairs, at the beginning of August were held in the presence of representatives of the Belgian trust "la Société Générale." A plan was projected there that can involve American troops in Africa in a situation closely resembling the one in South Vietnam. The truth is that a colonial war has begun in the Congo, a war to maintain the lucrative profits of the Belgian and American capitalists, as we shall indicate. It would be a most grave error to believe that the thoroughly justified revolt against the Tshombe puppet government will be easily beaten down.

On the contrary — if Tshombe needs U.S. aid, it is because things are going very badly for him. UN troops sufficed to shield the weak Adoula against a badly organized and badly divided Congolese left. The leaders of the Conseil National de Libération [CNL] now seem to have overcome their former weaknesses and legalistic illusions.

The U.S. is not intervening out of love for the Belgian capitalists. The wealth of Katanga has been well publicized but it should not be forgotten that the entire Congo has enormous resources — cobalt, zinc, cadmium, germanium oxide, tin, wolframite, gold, industrial diamonds, platinum, palladium, copper, uranium, etc. The great interest imperialism has in the Congo is understandable.

In 1906 the Belgian king Léopold II conceded exclusive rights for mineral exploration to the American Congo Company whose headquarters were in New York. Although the company long ago gave up any active role in the Congo it still holds a minority interest in a series of Congolese companies. The Thomas Ryan and David Guggenheim group was also invited at that time (1906) to participate in founding the mining company Forminière. The group still holds a sizable block of shares, amounting to twenty-five per cent of the capital.

The powerful Forminière company, which is located at Tshikapa, Kasai, and which is mainly interested in industrial diamonds, has always had as chairman of the board a representative of the Société Générale, the biggest Belgian trust. Yet American holding of the company's stock are greater than those of the Société Générale. It is thus hardly astonishing that at the time of the Katanga secession, Albert Kalondji, friend and traveling companion of Tshombe, set up his "government" of the mining province of South Kasai in the buildings of the Forminière company at Bakwanga.



Adlai Stevenson
Does he have stake in Congo?

The role of the Rockefellers is less well known. According to certain researchers, the old John D. Rockefeller advanced part of the capital needed by the Rhodesian company Tanganyika Concessions Ltd. to finance its operations in Katanga and to found the Union Minière. Rockefeller may have carefully covered up his moves because the atrocities of the "rubber system" profoundly shocked American public opinion at the time.

However this may be, it is certain that the Rockefeller group acquired a large block of stock in Tanganyika Concessions in 1950 when the Bank of England unloaded its holdings.

Rockefellers Interests

Another interesting step of the Rockefellers was to buy into Filisaf, a spinning and weaving outfit. They hold a third of the capital, divided among the main members of the family. Laurence Rockefeller holds 26,438 shares, Nelson Rockefeller, the governor of New York, holds around 3,000.

In addition, the Rockefellers hold interests in Cegeac, an automobile company; Cico, a cement concern; Anacondo, a pineapple company, etc., etc.

In 1952 they participated in setting up a "syndicate for a geological and mining survey of the Congolese basin." The objective was to locate oil-bearing strata. As yet nothing outstanding has been reported. Petroleum products continue to be imported from abroad. But the Rockefeller trust, Esso Standard, has a Congo branch of course, Esso Central Africa.

When the revolt that was to lead to independence first broke out in 1959, the American financiers swooped on the Congo like genuine vultures, aware that Belgium would have to give in. David Rockefeller, the vice president of the Chase Bank, at once took a trip to the Congo. He picked up a good buy in Bauxicongo, a company engaged in digging bauxite, the aluminum ore.

Among other American companies with holdings in the Congo either before or since the country won independence, we can cite Texas Petroleum, the United States Plywood Corp., Pluswood Industries, Olin Mathieson Industries, Armco, IBM, General Motors, Otis Elevators.

The first financier to come prospecting in the Congo after the January 1959 events was John Ganshof van der Meersch, a partner of Dillon, Read, and Co. He was interested in the possibilities for American investments. A little later, through Whitney and Co., this Wall Street house set up an investment company, American Eurafrican Fund. (Ganshof was none other than the son of the former Belgian minister of African affairs!)

But it was after the Congo won independence that the American appetite became keen. Rockefeller

began by picking up eight per cent of the capital of the Compagnie du Congo pour le Commerce et l'Industrie [CCCCI], a holding company that has stock in companies and controls 40 others.

The Bank of America bought a 20 per cent interest in the banking outfit Socobanque. Union Carbide won a controlling interest in the mining company Somilu.

While the American capitalists were in open conflict with the Anglo-Belgian capitalists with regard to Katanga, it should not be forgotten that in the main their interests coincided, particularly in relation to the struggle against Lumumbism.

It has been rumored that the American ambassador personally helped Mobutu and his American advisers to recapture Lumumba when he escaped from his residence at the beginning of his incarceration. Ambassador Timberlake is said to have loaned his helicopter to Mobutu's police to help catch Lumumba. A few weeks later, the revolutionary leader was handed over to his mortal enemy Tshombe.

For a time there was a conflict between Anglo-Belgian capital and American Big Business (and the United Nations). This reflected a conflict in which two big American trusts, Anaconda, which is exploiting Chilean resources, and Kennecott, are opposed to Union Minière of Upper Katanga. The latter company is responsible for the low price of copper on the world market due to special advantages it enjoys. With copper being overproduced, the American trusts have to meet Katanga prices. That is why, outside of the Katanga lobby, the United States did not care to play the card of a big, powerful, independent Katanga.

This also doubtlessly explains why the Americans were primarily interested in the diamonds in Katanga.

In 1962 the big American company Tempelsman and Son (Adlai Stevenson, head of the American delegation at the UN was president of this company) succeeded in getting the Adoula government to concede the diamond mines to Katanga. American Metal Climax (Arthur Dean, delegate at the Geneva conference on disarmament, is a vice president) is particularly interested in the strategic minerals located in Katanga.

Role of UN

The UN operation was profitable to American big business in more than one way. Such companies as National Dairy products, General Foods, Reynold Tobacco, American Tobacco, etc., organized massive penetration of their products in the Congo under guise of helping the UN. Still better, they utilized the UN "mediators" to open the way for American cigarettes, whiskey and other products "made in USA."

In 1963, exports from the U.S. to the Congo were triple those of 1961, amounting to \$71,000,000. In the same period, investments doubled, reaching \$1,200,000,000.

It is this colonial market for the export of goods and capital which U.S. imperialism seeks to defend, by means of neocolonialism if possible, by military intervention if necessary.

This is what is behind the Belgian-American moves in the Congo. The public in both countries should understand that the soldiers who risk their lives there are not combatting "chaos" or "anarchy" but defending the most sordid interests. The Congolese revolutionists understand this. When they founded the Conseil National de Libération in October 1963, they declared in their program of action that it is necessary "to break the imperialist yoke of the USA in order to make possible a free, democratic national life."

Documents of the Negro Struggle

Texts of discussions on question with Leon Trotsky and of analytical resolutions adopted by conventions of Socialist Workers Party.

65 cents

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

MARXISM AND THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

Can White Workers Become Negro's Ally?

By George Breitman

Can Marxism be of help to black radicals in working out a program capable of winning freedom for the Negro people? The Socialist Workers Party says yes. Harold Cruse says no (*Liberator*, May and June). This is a question each person can check for himself by finding out what the Marxists say and do.

Especially what they say and do about the nature of the society we live in (capitalism), its strengths and weaknesses, and the relations its ruling class has with other forces at home and abroad.

The Socialist Workers Party says that American capitalism is a sick and unjust system, which has seen its best days and is slated to be replaced by a new, socialist system. This change will not be imposed by some force outside this country, although outside pressures will help, but will be brought about by internal forces, by classes and groups here inside the U.S., rebelling against capitalist domination and mismanagement.

One of the major internal weaknesses that will bring about the downfall of capitalism is its racism. The capitalists have no intention of abolishing racism, which benefits them politically by keeping the workers divided and economically by keeping down the wages of all workers.

It is doubtful that the capitalists

could abolish racism even if they wanted to, but nobody has to lose sleep over that question because they don't want to. The most they will grant are mild concessions and very gradual reforms (like the 1964 civil rights law) that may eventually make the South like the North, where racism is still supreme, despite all the laws, commissions and constitutional provisions.

Reforms will not end racism, now or a hundred years from now. Rocking the boat is needed to get concessions, but it is not enough to get equality. We need a new captain; we also need a new boat. There are only two ways to achieve Negro equality. One is through a socialist revolution that will end capitalist rule. The other is through leaving this country, separating from it to form a new nation or to migrate to a country free of racism. Neither way is easy.

But is a socialist revolution possible? The answer would probably be no if racism were the only evil bred by capitalism. It isn't. Capitalism spawns many other evils, which it would take a book to list. The most prominent—and they all generate opposition to capitalist rule—are unemployment, poverty, insecurity, thought control, the growth of ultra-right reaction and the danger of a war that may wipe out humanity.

Nothing to Lose

These evils, which are inherent in capitalism, create the conditions for an anti-capitalist movement which, properly led, can oust the bankers and corporation executives and four-star generals and white supremacists now in control. The members of this movement will come from the classes and groups that have most to gain and least to lose from profound and far-reaching change: revolutionary workers, young —

"Wait! Now wait just a minute," interrupts Harold Cruse, who has been sitting impatiently up to now. And he launches into his attack on the idea that the workers can play a revolutionary role in this country. His position is substantially this:

There was a period of labor radicalism in the 1930's but it has declined and ended. White workers have become conservative, pro-capitalist and hostile or indifferent to the Negro. There was a time when it seemed reasonable to expect that they would usher in socialism, but it's too late now. The only ones capable of revolutionary action in this country are the black people.

Labor Mystique?

Then, turning to the theme of his *Liberator* article, he lets the Marxists have it. They are so obsessed by this "working class-socialist myth," this "grand illusion," this "white labor mystique," that they have lost touch with reality and are virtually out of this world. He says:

"... the theory and practice of revolutionary Marxism in America is based on the assumption that white labor, both organized and unorganized, must be a radical, anti-capitalist force in America and must form an 'alliance' with Negroes for the liberation of both labor and the Negro from capitalist exploitation. No matter what the facts of life reveal to the contrary, no matter what the Marxists say or do in terms of momentary 'tactics,' this is what the Marxists believe, and must believe or cease functioning as a Marxist tendency."

If this means what it says, it certainly is a poor argument. When a man insists something "must be," and it obviously isn't, then everybody concludes that man is some kind of a nut, and everybody is right. But if he's obviously a nut, why spend so much space and time refuting him?

The truth is that the Socialist

Workers Party does not believe the workers must be radical and anti-capitalist. We are well aware that the overwhelming majority of white workers in this country today are not radical, thanks to capitalist brainwashing, relative prosperity, treacherous labor leadership and political immaturity. That is why socialism in general, and our party in particular, are not stronger and better able to back up the Negro struggle. What we believe is that the workers must become radical if they are to solve their problems, and that they will become radical under certain conditions and at certain times. "Must become" is a different horse from "must be."

Not Inevitable

Marxists have never believed that the workers in capitalist countries must be or have been radical all the time. We do not idealize the workers, knowing full well and from painful experience that they can be and often are infected, corrupted, demoralized, exhausted and disoriented. Their radicalism waxes and wanes, rises and sinks, depending on their conditions, leadership and level of consciousness. (Isn't this also true of the Negro masses?)

The American working class has not been radical during most of its existence. Even when it was more radical than today, during the 1930s and 1940s, it never reached the point of breaking with the politics of the capitalist whom it was battling on the picketlines and creating its own, non-capitalist, political party. The most radical sector of the working class today, the black workers in the ghetto, wasn't always as radical as it is now.

Socialists believe that the working class can become revolutionary — not always, but sometimes. And that on such an occasion, which does not occur all the time or last forever, it can, in cooperation with other non-capitalist forces, and with consistently revolutionary leadership, abolish the system that breeds racism, poverty, regimentation and war. The question of leadership is crucial precisely because such opportunities do not knock at the door often, or for long.

Radicalization Possible?

Our assumption, therefore, unlike the one Cruse imputes to us, is not that the working class can or will be radical all of the time or most of the time, but that the conditions created by capitalism must radicalize it some of the time, and that even though revolutionary situations occur rarely, one can be turned into a successful conquest of power. As the Cuban experience demonstrates, a successful revolution can then quickly alter conditions enough so that the revolutionary consciousness and will of most of the workers will remain high and become permanent.

Cruse does not consider such a working class revolution possible, like most Americans, or even new left professors like C. Wright Mills. With other sophisticated opponents of Marxism, he lives in a world that is changing with dizzying speed, but he thinks everything is going to change except the workers. Talk about a 'grand illusion'! Even the most ignorant capitalist knows better than that. That's why they distort the teaching of Marxism and try to isolate and suppress socialist ideas and movements.

The future of this country will be determined in large part by the relations among its three major forces: the capitalists, the white workers and the Negro people (mostly workers too). At present the capitalists dominate and have the support of most white workers. Cruse thinks this is going to last forever. It won't, because of the internal contradictions of this system.



SOLIDARITY. Striking Bethlehem Steel workers in Seattle combined fun with picket duty during 1946 shutdown that was part of post-war wave of union militancy. In periods of such militancy anti-Negro prejudices of white unionists have generally receded.

The central contradiction is the material readiness of our society for socialism and the ideological and political unreadiness of the white workers to fight for it. Tied up with this is another acute contradiction — the readiness of the Negroes to fight for jobs and justice by the most militant means and the unreadiness of organized labor and the white workers as a whole to support the black people.

From our analysis of the social structure, we conclude that the contradiction prevailing between white workers and Negroes is not absolute, but relative; not permanent, but transitory. The alienation between them is no more enduring than the political and ideological partnership between the white workers and their bosses.

Can Narrow Gap

In fact, these two states are interconnected. Any deepening of antagonism between the white workers and the ruling class, any cutting of ties between them, any opening or widening of breaches between them, objectively sets the stage for a lessening of the antagonism and a narrowing of the great gap between the Negro movement and the white workers.

The outlook of white workers is going to be altered from two directions. One is from the independent struggle of the Negroes, which tends to upset the status quo and introduce unsettling elements into class relations. The disrupted patterns of politics in this election year testify to the power of the independent Negro struggle to disarrange and overturn customary modes of thought and action. Is there any reason to think that white workers will not also be shaken up and divided, and some of them torn out of their ruts, as the Negro struggle continues to develop and explode?

The other and more basic modifying factor comes directly from the operation of the capitalist system itself. In the next decade automation will create vast armies of unemployed and undermine the security of all workers, even those of high seniority, skill and privilege. America's share of the world market will be shrunk by the colonial revolution and competition from other capitalist countries, and this will drive the capitalists to attack the wage rates and living standards of the employed workers.

Isn't this certain to provoke anti-capitalist sentiments and attitudes, not only among the youth and unemployed, but also among unionists still on the job? Won't such radicalization make white workers more susceptible to suggestions of joint action with the Negro movement? Won't the possibility be opened for a change in the present situation, for united action by the two anti-capitalist

movements against the upholders of the system responsible for their common insecurity and misery?

We hope that what we have just written will not be distorted. It is a perspective to be worked for, not an existing reality. We do not think the achievement of joint action will be easy or quick. We are not suggesting that the Negroes should wait until the white workers are ready for collaboration, before they build their own movement, with its own leaders, ideology and program. We are not proposing, and we do not favor, any alliance where the white workers call the shots and the Negroes comply.

We are talking about an alliance of equals. An alliance with radicalized, not conservative, white workers. An alliance against all capitalist parties, not one behind the Democratic Party. Therefore what we are talking about is the future (less distant than it may appear on the surface) and not today. We concur 100 per cent with the decision of militant Negroes to concentrate on building their own movement and working out tactics based first of all on the situation as it is today.

Coming Changes

What we add is that it will not remain as it is today. A correct over-all strategy has to take that into account too, be prepared for the changes coming, and promote them. For they will benefit Negroes as much as white workers.

The SWP's 1963 convention resolution (*Freedom Now: The New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation*) stated that the first stage of the alliance we foresee and predict will very likely be the knitting of ties between the black vanguard and the revolutionary socialist vanguard. We continue to seek such ties. We are on the side of the Negroes wherever they clash with prejudiced and privileged white workers. We support and work with black radicals even though they have crossed off the white workers forever as any help to their struggle.

We feel no inconsistency in doing so because we are confident their own experience will teach them, as it will teach white workers, that collaboration between both camps is ultimately indispensable if the power structure is to be toppled and not simply shaken and renovated. Experience will prove that the monopolists cannot be dislodged from their seats of power except by a transformation of the relations among the three main forces — a dialectical transformation of the capitalist-white worker partnership into a Negro-white worker alliance against the capitalist regime.

More on this subject in the next issue.

... Boutelle Arrest

(Continued from Page 1)

dreamed up the idea that the injunction also applies to Boutelle because he is the candidate of the Freedom Now Party whose national chairman is Conrad Lynn who is attorney for William Epton, one of those named in the injunction.

Boutelle was arrested on disorderly conduct charges both times. When arrested the second time he took particular care not to give the cops any pretext for such a charge. When he mounted the stand and was informed by the cops he could not speak he said quietly, "I thought this was the land of the free and the home of the brave," and got off the stand. He was promptly arrested on the disorderly conduct charge. Some cop with a twisted sense of humor included in the charge using "loud and boisterous language."

The American Civil Liberties Union is providing legal defense to Boutelle in his challenge of this outrageous suppression of his rights.

In a statement after his second arrest, Boutelle said: "I am a candidate for public office and should not be denied the right to speak on the streets of Harlem. My two arrests for trying to exercise my right of free speech exposes American 'democracy' as being a damn lie."



Paul Boutelle

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 brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Natural Justice for Miami?

Miami, Fla.

In a way it was ironical when Hurricane Cleo hit here. The local press and the Cuban exile community was right in the middle of joyfully applauding the devastation (fortunately minor) that the storm brought to the revolutionary island of Cuba.

These "partisans of freedom" and self-styled "patriots" labor under the illusion that a natural disaster can cause the fall of a government that represents the interests of the vast majority of the Cuban people.

Now the Johnson administration is recruiting Cuban *gusanos* for duty in the Congo to defend the neo-colonialist regime of Tshom-

be. This is fitting enough, since the lily-white exile community can thus transfer its disdain for black Cubans to fighting against the freedom of black Africans.

The Kennedy-Johnson administrations have brought these thousands of counterrevolutionaries, scabs and racists to the USA. It is upon such elements that the ruling class leans for support in its efforts to crush the world-wide struggle for justice and equality. DeBerry, Yes! Johnson-Goldwater, No!

A Reader

Miss. Freedom Delegation

Chicago, Illinois

I hope the next issue of *The Militant* can be devoted exclusively to the Mississippi Freedom delegation. They have more than earned the right to this tribute.

I am sure that the omission by the TV and press of news and pictures of the Mississippi Freedom delegation's exhibit was not accidental. Only Ralph McGill wrote of it in his column. With all the extensive travelling of the camera one would have thought it impossible for this most important factor to be overlooked.

The following identical night letters were sent to President Johnson and Senators Paul Douglas and Everett M. Dirksen after the disgraceful attempt to dislodge the Mississippi Freedom delegates from their rightful seats:

"Shabby and disgraceful treatment of Freedom delegates to Convention casts doubts upon sincerity of Democratic Civil Rights bill. After withstanding floggings, murders, bombings, shootings, jailing for registering thousands of people to vote for Democratic ticket, the courageous Freedom delegation deserved standing ovation from entire convention instead of attempted forcible ejection."

On the final night on channel 5, Chet Huntley disclosed the threat against the Freedom delegation's return to Mississippi.

The following night letter was dispatched to Pres. Johnson before he reached the exit:

"In your acceptance speech you asked for mandate from the people. We urge sending Federal troops to Mississippi to guarantee safety of Freedom delegates. American citizens must be free to vote without fear of intimidation or retaliation. Freedom delegation has more than earned right of protection from Federal government."

Nellie DeSchaaf

From Cuba

Havana, Cuba

We are receiving *The Militant* and *International Socialist Review* regularly. It would be impossible for us to express the importance for us of the paper, above all for the Freedom Now coverage.

You probably know that *Hoy* reprinted in full the *Prensa Latina* report of your editorial calling for withdrawal of the U.S. from Guantanamo.

There are some things on which we are not in agreement with the paper. But the time has long since passed when I felt it necessary to go into detail. If there is one thing you learn in the school of revolution, it is that among comrades there is not, nor can ever be, agreement on all issues.

Here in Cuba, the struggle goes

Thought for the Week

"The danger of bombing ports so close to Communist China had been impressed upon the president by Secretary of State Dean Rusk . . . Mr. Rusk argued against bombing Hongay . . . which is a bit over 50 miles from the Chinese border. The secretary of state asked Mr. Johnson how he would feel if the Chinese bombed a town just over the border from Laredo, in the president's home state of Texas. Despite Mr. Rusk's view, the president decided to bomb Hongay . . . Once the decision was made Mr. Rusk supported it fully." — The Aug. 20 New York Herald Tribune.

on, with its errors (ever fewer), and its successes. The dominant feature is *study*. Cuba is a country of ever-tired workers who spend their evenings studying and in organization work. At night on the bus, you see people in their work clothes, their heads inclined half asleep over their books.

This is not to say people don't have fun — weekends are *tremendous*. Cuba is truly a very happy country. If we work hard and study harder, we also go to the beach with more gusto, drink more beer, go to more dances than would seem possible.

As may be imagined (or maybe it has to be lived to be understood) worker students don't discuss much for lack of time. This includes university students, many of whom work full time. The lack is felt, expressed. But there is no time. We are living in a period that is exacting, stimulating, exhausting.

M.M.

P.S. I almost forgot, I wanted to say I think George Breitman's article in the magazine on the black struggle is really great.

Some Disagreements

Oxford, Pa.

I prefer your paper to all other socialist publications because it gives the best news about Cuba. *New America* is strong for the Negroes, but Cuba is not democratic enough for its editors.

I object, however, to the platform of the Socialist Workers Party, for which I suppose you

are not responsible. Why should the party spend its energies trying to make capitalism more tolerable? In trying for that the platform ignores the greatest evil of class rule — the private ownership of land.

As to the labor unions, forget them. They are a substitute and a competitor against socialism. Its leaders and most of its members prefer private employers, against whom they can use the strike as a bargaining nuisance, but they oppose public ownership of industry.

A little more talk about the principles of socialism would do *The Militant* no harm and might keep the evil of owning for a living before the public.

Archie Craig

Cuba's Record

New York, N.Y.

Today in the New Socialist Cuba, after all government officials from the premier and president on down to the last district official cut their salaries in half, and rents were cut in half, all these things have happened:

Socialized medicine for all (with drug prices cut to the utmost); modern houses for all those who used to live in huts and bohios; utility rates cut way down; free education for all (one-year campaign to erase illiteracy has left the U.S. behind in this field); prostitution, gambling and most other kinds of vice and corruption have been eradicated; civil criminals and murderers in uniform do not walk free on the streets as they used to; produc-

tion and distribution (although scarce in some fields due to sabotage, embargo, blockade and subversion of all kinds with the U.S. seal) have been made humanitarian since most of the profiteers of free enterprise have left the scene; free trade with all the nations of the world such as Cuba has never known before; freedom of religion as does not exist in some "democratic" countries allied with and in love with the U.S.; and civil rights as they do not exist in the U.S. or South Africa.

Of course, there have been errors of planning, production and distribution. Errors that may be committed by any human being or nation anywhere. The Cuban leaders have recognized and learned a good deal from these mistakes.

And, of course, there are Russians, Chinese, East Germans, Czechs, and many others disliked by Wall Street in Cuba. But those are the ones who came there when Cuba needed help. And there have been executions and there are people in jail — people who wanted to sabotage, subvert, kill Cubans, spy and help plan invasions. (Have there not been thousands of arrests in the U.S., not for any of the above reasons, but simply for citizens demonstrating peacefully for their sacred rights?)

And there is The Wall. The American Wall, erected to prevent Americans from travelling to Cuba. A wall erected in desperation to stop understanding and truth.

Jose (Chico) Cuba

10 Years Ago In The Militant

"ACT I OF THE DRAMATIC STRUGGLE to end segregation in the public schools of [the Hillsboro] Ohio community has ended. Philip Partridge, county engineer who set fire to colored Lincoln school July 5 to hasten the abandonment of the Jim Crow blight, has returned home from Lima State Hospital where a judge sent him for mental tests. He was ruled sane and now is free on bond pending grand jury action in September on an arson charge.

"The school board has rejected the petition of the Parents and Citizens Committee for School Integration and is repairing the fire-damaged Lincoln school for reopening in the fall on the old segregated basis. . . .

"Dr. R. E. Bushong, superintendent of the state hospital, said that Partridge 'knew arson was wrong, but his crusader's spirit will not let him consider the consequences of such an act.'

"Persons who know the young county engineer well commented to this reporter that it is those who preach Christianity and brotherhood but support segregation in the community who are 'poorly adjusted' and suffer from split personalities." — Sept. 6, 1954.

20 Years Ago

"PRESIDENT-ELECT DR. RAMON GRAU SAN MARTIN OF CUBA arrived in the United States last week to do obeisance to the Wall Street masters of his island homeland.

"By this demonstrative visit the new president intimates that he will, like his martinet predecessor, Col. Fulgencio Batista, do his level best to keep the Cuban people subservient to American imperialism which enslaves and exploits them.

"Back in 1933, Grau San Martin was elected president by the masses of Cuba on a program which promised a struggle against the Wall Street imperialists. Roosevelt refused to recognize him or his government . . . and encouraged his overthrow by the bloody Batista.

"Today Roosevelt receives him as an honored guest. It is not difficult to guess whose interests the new Cuban president will serve." — Sept. 9, 1944.

It Was Reported in the Press

Kids Will Be Kids — "BONN, Aug. 24 — Henry Cabot Lodge, President Johnson's special envoy who is touring European capitals to explain United States actions in South Vietnam, said today that he thought the student unrest in Saigon was an 'expression of youthful ebullience.'"

Another Sociologist Heard From — The recent outbreak in Dixmoor, the blighted Negro slum suburb of Chicago, had nothing to do with race relations, according to Sheriff Richard Ogilvie. "I do not think it's a civil rights dispute," he sagely observed. "I think there's a breakdown in family discipline in the area."

Castro Doesn't Get It — Fidel Castro has difficulty understanding democracy U.S. style, according to New York *Herald Tribune* correspondent Barnard L. Collier, who spent a week travelling around the island with the Cuban premier. Collier reported Aug. 20: "... he wanted an explanation of how presidential candidates are chosen . . . I did my best to explain it but representative government — U.S. style — was a total mystery to him. He listened curiously and with extreme interest, asking questions ('How does the representation go down to the local level?') and probing for facts. His naivete was enormous . . ."

The Fixers — The Internal Revenue Service has ruled that triple damages paid by corporations in anti-trust suits are tax deductible.

The amount that may be deducted includes not only the damage payments but court costs and lawyers fees as well. In a statement of protest, Senator Philip Hart of Michigan and Rep. Emanuel Celler of New York noted that the ruling will mean the loss of "millions of tax dollars." They also said the ruling gives "tacit assumption that a hard-core criminal price-fixing conspiracy is 'ordinary and necessary business.'"

Layoff at CIA? — Tony Varona, discredited old-time Cuban political hack and one of the front men during the CIA-led invasion of Cuba, has taken a part-time job as a car salesman in Union City, New Jersey.

Solid Foundations — Rep. Wright Patman of Texas suspects that tax-exempt foundations may be overly generous with their officers. He disclosed that, for example, Benson Ford received \$15,000 from the Ford Foundation for three years service as a trustee and did three days work for the foundation during that time. Bertram Harding of the Internal Revenue Service agreed that \$5,000 a day was pretty high

wages but said other trustees worked more days for their \$5,000 annual "honorarium," and, in fact, averaged only \$500 a day. "Five hundred dollars a day," he opined, "is not an unreasonable compensation for men like these."

Moonlighter — The Aug. 11 *Wall Street Journal* reported: "Until recently, a Texas insurance agent ranked as one of the nation's more imaginative moonlighters. By day he wrote large fire insurance policies on run-down buildings; at night he sent accomplices to set fire to the buildings. His arson ring then split the insurance proceeds with the building owners. He was caught when some cowboys he sent to burn a ranch house bungled the job." The paper said fraud fires are at a 24-year peak in the country and still increasing.

Kin — Senator George Smathers, the Florida segregationist, anticipates a major campaign effort by Johnson in the Southern states. In an Aug. 22 television appearance, Smathers predicted that Southerners would turn to Johnson when "the people get the feeling that here is one of our own."

SPECIAL \$1 INTRODUCTORY OFFER

To reach the widest audience with our coverage of the Freedom Now Movement we are offering a 4-month introductory subscription to *The Militant* for \$1. (\$1.50 outside of the U.S.)

Name

Street Zone

City State

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



Detroit Union Tops Go All-Out for Johnson; But Will Workers Get Anything in Return?

GM Racks Up Record Profits

According to the General Motors Corporation's 1963 financial statement, "between 1960 — the last full year before the current collective bargaining agreement came into effect — and 1963, the Corporation's sales increased by 29.5 percent. Its profits increased by 64.6 percent before taxes, and 66.0 percent after taxes. The dividends paid to its stockholders increased by a whopping 99.1 — virtually doubled. (The extra dividends paid in 1963 were equal to 73 cents per hour for every hour worked by the Corporation's U.S. hourly workers.) But the wages . . . paid to hourly rated employees in its U.S. plants increased by only 23.4 percent.

"Although 1963 was a record year, 1964 bids fair to break the 1963 records, and continue the same pattern." — The UAW Newsletter.

Reuther's Contract Offer Doesn't Meet Union Needs

By Jim Campbell

DETROIT, Aug. 29 — The United Auto Workers has set a new strike deadline at 10 a.m., Sept. 9, with Chrysler Corporation selected as the target for Reuther's demands.

The UAW objectives, as spelled out in the August issue of *UAW Solidarity*, are: 1) improved working conditions; 2) a fair share of industry profits; and 3) creating jobs for the unemployed and the youth.

Working conditions are given priority. Under this heading come more relief time, curbs against speed-up and relaxing of discipline. Under the fair-share demand are listed salaries and stock-purchase rights (Reuther's babies), increases in the annual improvement factor and in supplementary unemployment benefits, and full medical coverage.

To create jobs Reuther is proposing retirement at 60 (with economic incentives), longer vacations with extra pay and additional holidays.

These demands, as propounded by Reuther, are totally inadequate to answer the problems of workers today.

Auto workers and also workers in the other organized major industries — particularly the key production workers — are not unaware that their increased efficiency has produced the gargantuan profits of the last two years. Nor are they unaware that these are tied in with the "refinements" of factory discipline which have been worked out by "enterprising" factory officials over the years. To them, these are all part of the same game: Heads I win, tails you lose.

Working Conditions

The answer to this situation — the only way to call a halt to speed-up, unsafe working conditions, changes in production standards, discipline, which all come under the category of working conditions — is to retrieve the right to strike, the right to action on the job at the point of production.

Reuther is silent on this point. Because it requires the elimination of the "company-security" clauses firmly ensconced in all the Big Three contracts, clauses which protect the companies' right to hire and fire, to determine the size of their work force, location of their plants, etc. These clauses are generously used in matters of discipline. Reuther is firmly committed to these clauses which give life and sustenance to the whole fandango of "arbitration" and to

his ponderous administrative machine. They act, too, as a barrier to a resurgence of democratic action by the workers.

Reuther is silent also on the key to a "fair share in the equity of the industry," as he euphemistically phrases it! In view of the enormous profits of the auto companies, the only answer is a whopping wage increase. Such a demand would eliminate much of the finagling going on in the negotiations over "fringe" issues. Reuther, however, needs these to build a smoke-screen of confusion before the auto workers.

Company Game

This is not to say that improvements in such fringes as supplementary unemployment and medical benefits cannot or should not be sought. Here, too, Reuther plays the company game. What is needed in the crucial period of negotiation is an airing before the UAW rank and file of these huge funds: how much is in them, what premiums have accrued, what use they are put to? This would put an end to the penny-pinching proposals of the Big Three.

The answer to the third objective — creating jobs — still remains the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. Not only would this create jobs, but it would reinforce the other two demands by giving a genuinely fairer share of corporate profits to the workers, and at the same time serve as a substantial relief from speed-up. Such relief from the hazards, the dirt, the grind of factory life would profoundly alter the life and the outlook of auto workers. It would raise a new spirit of struggle in the labor movement.

It is no wonder Reuther runs scared on this issue. His substitute is to borrow from the United Steelworkers' contract, provisions which steelworkers are already assessing as wholly inadequate.

DETROIT — A meeting of the UAW's General Motors Council was held Aug. 29 to vote on Reuther's proposed extension of the GM contract to Sept. 9. Without ratification of the extension, GM locals could have legally struck Sept. 1. There was a bitter, heated debate for three hours before the ratification was voted. Opponents claimed they had been tricked by the UAW International leadership and had hoped that GM would be the strike target. Twenty delegates to the GM Council and members of GM locals picketed the hall urging a refusal of the extension.

UAW Strike Date Is Turned Into a Political Football

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — Michigan had the seventh largest delegation at the Democratic convention. A good number of the state's 192 regular and alternate delegates were labor people. The top AFL-CIO chieftains were there; United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther was very busy behind the scenes. What did Michigan workers gain from that convention? What can Michigan labor expect from the Democratic Party?

Reuther's convention-period activities give a good strong hint of what workers can expect from their labor leaders and the party they are pledged to support. He spent a great deal of time and effort persuading the Michigan delegation to sell out the Mississippi Freedom Democratic delegates with the compromise which sugar-coated the denial of seats to them with two token delegates "at large."

Michigan's Negro Congressman Diggs, who was on the Credentials Committee, stated that the compromise "had the stamp of the President." And Reuther didn't want to embarrass Johnson on the issue of civil rights. UAW attorney Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. reported that "Walter really turned the muscle on" and succeeded in getting the Michigan delegation to support the phony compromise.

Reuther likewise didn't want to embarrass Johnson with an ugly auto strike. Moreover, he obligingly chose Chrysler as the strike target — thus avoiding a clash with Johnson's most prominent business supporter, Henry Ford II. The UAW president, further, set the Chrysler strike deadline for Sept. 9 — two days after Johnson's scheduled appearance at Detroit's Labor Day rally.

The other AFL-CIO chieftains in Atlantic City were busy preparing a bigger-than-ever drive to corral labor votes for the Democrats. Union officials have expressed concern that the "white backlash" will lead many workers to vote for Goldwater. Union election propaganda, therefore, stresses Goldwater's anti-labor record. "Once we show our people that Barry is a threat to them on every gut issue," said one AFL-CIO aide, "they'll quit worrying about Negroes and vote for Lyndon Johnson." The union's Committee on Political Education (COPE) will turn out ten million leaflets comparing Goldwater's voting record with Johnson's. But here they run into trouble — because John-



Walter Reuther

son's record is hardly better than Goldwater's. In a 1960 test applied to senators by labor, Johnson scored below 50.

While a senator, Johnson, for example, sent a letter to his constituents boasting: "Throughout my public life I have favored strong, effective regulatory legislation . . . having voted for the Vinson Bill, the Smith-Connally Act, the Taft-Hartley Act, and in the last two instances, having voted to override a Democratic President to make these measures law . . . as leader of the Senate, I asked the Democratic 84th Congress to create the McClellan Committee . . ."

DeBerry Campaigns in Detroit; Is Endorsed by Henry Cleage

DETROIT — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, wound up a five-day visit here Aug. 28 by addressing a rally at the Friday Night Socialist Forum. A message read to the meeting from Attorney Henry Cleage, candidate for Records Court Judge endorsed by the Michigan Freedom Now Party, announced his support of DeBerry's candidacy. Henry Cleage is editor of the militant Negro publication, *Illustrated News*.

DeBerry's special visit here — in advance of his national campaign tour which begins early in September — was marked by his appearance at a series of three street-corner rallies which introduced the SWP presidential candidate to many Detroiters. Listeners were usually receptive and often enthusiastic that there was someone they could vote for as an alternative to the racist presidential candidates of the two major parties.

Shared Platform

At these rallies DeBerry shared the platform at various times not only with the SWP's Michigan candidates — Evelyn Sell for U.S. senator, Frank Lovell for governor, and Richard David for state legislator — but with high-school and college students belonging to Youth For DeBerry and Shaw.

Dr. Louis Cleage, candidate for Detroit's Board of Education, spoke at one of these rallies and appealed for votes to help end discrimination in the public schools. He, his brother who is running for Records Court Judge, and Richard Henry, who

The labor bureaucrats scream to high heaven about Goldwater's support of state "right-to-work" laws and his introduction of a national "right-to-work" bill in the Senate. Yet Johnson endorsed a "right-to-work" law as "necessary" for Texas and for "free enterprise" in general. Labor has to rewrite Johnson's unsavory history to portray him as a "true liberal and friend of labor." With such friends, workers don't need any enemies!

AFL-CIO President George Meany plans to campaign personally for Johnson at a number of union conventions and to send all of the federation's 27 vice presidents around the country to stimulate campaign activity. One of Meany's aides commented, "I've never seen him so immersed in an election as this one. We're thinking about nothing but the campaign; everything else has been subordinated to that." Everything — including working conditions, job security and wage demands.

The labor movement is expected to spend over \$2 million on this campaign. Over \$700,000 will go toward such things as enriching the campaign funds of "friends of labor." Another \$1.5 million will pour into COPE's voter-registration drives. All this money, time, talent and energy — to support Henry Ford's choice for president. The power and wealth of organized labor could have been and should have been channeled into a Labor Party that would wage a real fight for better minimum-wage laws, a shorter work-week with no cut in pay, more liberal unemployment compensation, repeal of all anti-labor laws and other needed legislation.

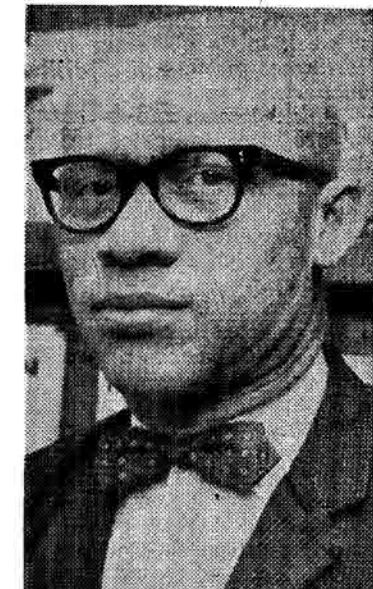
also is running for the Board of Education, have all been endorsed by the Michigan Freedom Now Party and were recently endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party.

Three TV stations showed portions of interviews with SWP Presidential candidate DeBerry. Two of these interviews had been filmed at a press conference at the SWP headquarters. Several radio interviews and reports of DeBerry's visit to Detroit were also broadcast.

DeBerry will return to Detroit Oct. 24 when he will appear at a conference of Midwest youth supporters of himself and his running mate, Edward Shaw.



George Meany



Clifton DeBerry