

THE MILITANT

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Democrats Try to Bar SWP From the Ballot in New York

By Fred Halstead

NEW YORK, Sept. 15 — The Democratic Party machine in New York state is once again attempting to deprive the Socialist Workers Party of a place on the state ballot. Democratic Party State Chairman William H. McKeon filed a challenge with the Secretary of State in Albany Sept. 10.

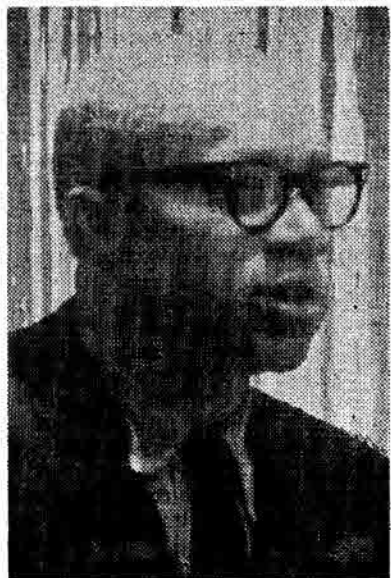
The challenge, which is not expected to succeed, is based on an obscure residency question. McKeon claims that the 12th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution makes the Socialist Workers Party ticket ineligible because both Clifton DeBerry, the Presidential candidate, and Edward Shaw, the Vice-Presidential candidate, presently reside in New York.

Legal authorities point out that the 12th Amendment does not deal with the ballot status of presidential or vice-presidential candidates but only with the proceedings of the electoral college which meets after the elections. The flimsiness of the challenge is also indicated by the fact that in previous elections, both members of the SWP presidential ticket on the ballot were also residents of New York, and the issue was never raised.

Difficult Petitioning

In previous elections, the Democratic Party machine has sought to keep SWP candidates off the ballot by challenging the signatures on petitions turned in by the SWP.

It is extremely difficult for a minority party to get on the New York ballot. To do so, it is necessary to secure the signatures of 12,000 registered voters, with a minimum of 50 from each of 61 counties. Many of these counties are in remote and conservative rural areas where petitioning must be done in small villages or from farm house to farm house. If it should be determined that less than 50 valid signatures have been filed from any single county, the



Clifton DeBerry

entire state petition is thrown out.

Major party politicians have frequently challenged minority parties on this basis. In recent years, however, the SWP has successfully beaten such challenges by obtaining well over the required number of signatures and by exercising extreme care in the technical details connected with filing. This year, the SWP filed 21,000 signatures. So far they have not been challenged, instead, the obscure "residency" issue was raised.

Commenting on the challenge, Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senator from New York, declared: "The New York State Democratic Party machine has a lot of gall objecting to the fact that our top candidates happen to live in New York, at the very time it is running Robert F. Kennedy — also known as 'Boston Bobby, the man from Virginia' — as its candidate to represent New York in the Senate. One might conclude that the New York Democrats just don't like candidates who live in New York."

SYMPOSIUM:

How Can You Make Your Vote Count Nov. 3?

— See page 4 —

Chrysler Pact Brings No Joy To Workers

By Jim Campbell

DETROIT — Reuther's three-year contract settlement with Chrysler Corporation Sept. 9, which the newspapers have ballyhooed as a "historic" union victory, has produced a mood of angry frustration among UAW members at Chrysler.

Chrysler workers were angered over three issues: failure of the UAW brass to do anything about production standards; settlement for a piddling 12-minute increase in relief time; and the freezing of their annual-improvement-factor wage increases.

Eight of Chrysler's 47 plants went on strike for a day Sept. 9, and almost half the bargaining units (40 out of 106) are still at odds with the company over local working conditions. The strikes occurred because the International Union failed to conduct a serious struggle over speed-up in the basic assembly and stamping plants.

The atmosphere was especially bitter Sept. 9 at the Dodge Main plant in Detroit, where one-sixth of Chrysler's 75,000 employees work. They are a key indicator of rank-and-file reaction to the contract. The workers came out en masse at 10 a.m., threw picket lines around the plant, and plastered a huge strike poster (seen over local TV stations that night) across the overpass to the plant, reading: "Another Sellout By Weasel Reuther."

The key issue, speed-up, is now a dead letter for three years. Not one thing was done about production standards, on which Reuther made bombastic promises during negotiations. The drive for a 36-hour work week is in the ash can. Chrysler workers now know that the company will take the added six minutes of relief time per half-shift out of their hides by increas-

(Continued on Page 2)

DeBerry Hits Johnson Stand on Ghetto Riots As "Goldwaterism"

By Clifton DeBerry

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for President

President Johnson's order for an FBI report on the recent social explosions in Harlem and other black ghettos is, in my opinion, a smear and an attack on the Negro communities.

That Johnson orders the FBI — a police agency — to make the probe, is an insult implying that the thousands of Negroes involved in these disturbances were criminals of some kind or were the dupes of some sort of criminal element.

The truth behind the order to the FBI is that Johnson, having pretended to be a friend of the Negro and civil rights, now wants to "balance" his image in order not to alienate Southern whites and Northern racists. Thus he seizes opportunities to strike a blow at the militant Negro struggle. In his speeches, he has taken up the line which Goldwater so ominously enunciated at San Francisco — the thinly-veiled references to the militant struggle of Negroes for equality as "disorders in the streets" which would not be tolerated.

Johnson parrots Goldwater on this — even topping him by emphasizing it in a threatening tone of voice and a grim look on his face when referring to the subject.

Incidentally, the policing of city streets is supposed to be a local or state affair. Yet these politicians — Johnson and Goldwater — who are so devoted to "states' rights" that they can't see their way clear to intervene against lynchings and racist terror in the South, both emphasize federal responsibility and power to act when the "disorders" — of a much less bloody kind than in the South — occur in the black ghettos of the North.

As far as I am concerned, it makes little difference that Johnson's order for the FBI probe followed a request by NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins, who also knows better. Wilkins simply played into the hands of all those forces seeking to drag the red herring of "outside agitator" over the real problems faced by working-class Negroes.

Those who shout "outside agi-



Johnson

tators" at the outbreaks in the black ghettos are doing what Mississippi's white-supremacists do when Negroes there show they are not satisfied with segregation.

Neither the underlying cause nor the immediate spark of the explosions in Harlem and elsewhere are secret or obscure. Johnson doesn't need an FBI report to find out if there is a "pattern." There is a pattern, all right. It has already been well documented — and the explosions accurately predicted — by some of the country's best sociologists, and by some of its most widely-read writers such as James Baldwin.

The guilty parties are the slumlords, the cheating businessmen — both large and small — who sell shoddy goods at gouging prices, the financial interests that grow rich off the misery of the ghetto, the hypocritical liberal politicians who make big promises but do absolutely nothing effective to eliminate the slums, the rats and roaches, the unemployment among youth, the low wages, the corruption, the inferior schools, the police brutality and the all-pervasive anti-Negro prejudice.

The sparks which set the explosions off, in almost every case, were incidents involving the police. In Harlem it was the killing of a 15-year-old Negro boy by an off-duty cop. In Rochester, it was the alleged mistreatment of a Negro man arrested at a party. In Philadelphia it was the alleged mistreatment of a woman by a cop — in this case a Negro cop.

The press claims that some of these incidents were exaggerated or falsified by rumor. But, that is not the point. Such rumors spread and are readily believed because incidents of actual police brutality are common in these areas, and are part of the personal experience of most of the people who live there.

That is the real "pattern" involved. The FBI probe is only part of the same pattern of repression, insult and prejudice. It is precisely the kind of measure which can only further embitter and enrage ghetto dwellers. It is the system which Johnson and Goldwater represent which is the real instigator of the social explosions in the black ghettos.



Goldwater

THE VIETNAM CRISIS

Washington Clings to Its Puppet

By George Saunders

After high-level conferences with General Maxwell Taylor, "our man in Saigon," President Johnson told the nation Sept. 9 that U.S. policy in South Vietnam was enjoying "continued progress." A few days later Saigon underwent its fourth major governmental crisis in a year as General Lam Van Phat tried unsuccessfully to oust the U.S. favorite, Gen. Nguyen Khanh. Khanh was at a mountain resort for his second "health cure" in three weeks at the time.

The notorious political instability in Saigon reflects the extreme unpopularity of U.S.-sponsored regimes in South Vietnam. Washington carries out its thinly disguised intervention in that country's civil war through a gang of corrupt generals and politicians who have no popular support whatsoever. Their various factions, equally hated by the mass of the people, spend most of their energy intriguing against each other for Uncle Sam's support — and his pay checks.

The slicksters in the American Embassy in Saigon are toying with the idea of manufacturing some popular support for puppet Khanh by bringing Buddhist organizations into the government; however, Washington has suspicions and fears of the nationalist, popular and "neutralist" elements in the Buddhist movement.

U.S. Has Problems

The situation appears to be reaching the point where Washington can no longer dictate with certainty who will run the "legitimate government." A decisive revolutionary blow by the guerrilla units which virtually control the countryside, or another mass upsurge in the cities, could quickly leave the U.S. without "its side" to back in the civil war. Then Johnson would either have to order the departure of the U.S. forces or send huge numbers of American boys to die trying to conquer another people's country. And Johnson may face that choice before November.

A number of signs show how this prospect has the administra-

tion worried. For one thing, obscure sounds about the possibility of peace negotiations have been leaking out of Washington, a sign that things really must be going bad for U.S. imperialism. A year ago, Secretary of Defense McNamara and General Taylor were confidently predicting victory by 1965. Today, top officials admit to the press that the guerrillas cannot be defeated in the foreseeable future.

But the bi-partisan warmakers are far from taking any concrete steps toward negotiations. They shrink from this because they have staked so much on this war, American imperialism's first big venture into "counter-insurgency," that is modern colonial warfare.

Johnson hopes to hang on "as is" at least until after the elections. Secretary of State Rusk has said that "our commitment [in South Vietnam] is flat and firm." And Ambassador Taylor, before returning to Saigon, declared: "We are on a given beam and we are going to stay on that."

(Continued on Page 2)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Strikes and lockouts reached the lowest level last year since 1945, according to recently released figures. For the first time in the Post World War II period, the number of workers involved in such disputes in the nation during a year was below a million — 941,000. In 40 per cent of the strikes, wages were the main issue in dispute, and this was the largest single cause of stoppages. Second largest — one sixth of the stoppages — was working conditions. Only seven strikes begun in 1963 involved 10,000 or more workers — the lowest number in post-war years.

United Auto Workers staff man Horace Sheffield, denied the newspaper reports that Walter Reuther at the Democratic Convention in Atlantic City "dressed [Sheffield] and the other Negroes down" be-

cause of their fight within the Michigan Democratic delegation for full seating of the Mississippi Freedom Democrats. In a statement in the Sept. 15 *Michigan Chronicle* Sheffield said he did not see Reuther at Atlantic City.

Reuther was there, however, and was reported in the press to have met with Martin Luther King. According to Joseph L. Rauh, counsel for the Mississippi Democrats, Reuther "really turned the muscle on" to get the Michigan delegation to support the "compromise" proposed by Senator Humphrey which denied recognition to the Mississippi Freedom Democrats as delegates from Mississippi.

Charles Cogen, newly-elected national president of the American Federation of Teachers is moving to Chicago in line with his new duties. Cogen has been president of the New York City local of the union, which succeeded in becoming bargaining agent for New York City public school teachers in 1961. He defeated Charles O. Smith, Jr. for the presidential post at the union's recent convention in Gary, Ind. In his campaign, Cogen promised a widespread organizing drive, while Smith emphasized consolidating positions already held.

The unification of two-graphic-arts unions, the Amalgamated Lithographers of America and the Photo-Engravers Union, was celebrated this Labor Day. The spirit of labor unity, however, was not present in the Toronto printing trades. There, the photo-engravers are crossing the picket lines of the International Typographical Union which is in the fourth month of a strike against Toronto's Big Three newspapers.

The typos' strike, like the historic one in New York two years ago, involves automation and job security. In the third week of the strike, the photo-engravers' leadership accepted a contract containing several clauses which the typos have been striking against.

Another attempt is being made to organize New York City's 30,000 taxi drivers. This time the drive is led by the Taxi Drivers Organizing Committee, which is sponsored by the New York City Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO. Jack Townsend, president of Local 15 of the Bartenders Union, is serving as chairman of the Taxi Drivers Organizing Committee. The Council claims 11,000 signatures have been obtained so far from taxi drivers who want to join the union.

Dozens of attempts have been made previously to organize New York City's taxi drivers. The last major effort was made in 1960 by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. It was unsuccessful.

Slain Boy's Mother Sues City and Cop

NEW YORK — Mrs. Annie Powell — whose 15-year-old son, James, was shot twice by off-duty Police Lieutenant Thomas R. Gilligan last July — is suing the city and Gilligan for \$200,000 for negligence. This is the only legal redress open to her since a specially chosen grand jury white-washed the killing of her son.

Her attorney, Judge Hubert T. Delaney, the distinguished Negro jurist, said: "We just don't understand why a man who is an experienced cop, who has disarmed adults, has to shoot twice to disarm a boy — even if the boy were approaching with a knife. And I have adult white witnesses who say that the boy had no knife."

Lamont Carries Mail-Ban Fight To High Court



Corliss Lamont

Dr. Corliss Lamont, humanist philosopher and civil-libertarian, has appealed his suit against the Post Office to the Supreme Court. Lamont and the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which is supporting his case, are challenging the constitutionality of a law permitting the Post Office to destroy mail from abroad, which it arbitrarily designates "Communist propaganda," unless the addressee signs a statement saying that he wishes to receive such "Communist propaganda."

Lamont sued the Post Office for withholding a copy of the *Peking Review* addressed to him. After he began the suit, the Post Office sent him the magazine, although he had not filled the form declaring he wanted to receive this "Communist propaganda." A three-judge federal court ruled 2-1 that this action by the Post Office invalidated Lamont's suit. The dissenting judge pointed out that this was an obvious dodge to prevent suits challenging the law's constitutionality.

.. Vietnam Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

The greatest danger is that these men, in their anger and arrogance, may seek a desperate way out of a desperate situation. Johnson has already experimented with direct air attacks on North Vietnam. There are ominous reports of plans to "extend the war" also into Laos and Cambodia.

U.S. jets reportedly received orders to attack any Cambodian aircraft which interfere with South Vietnamese military operations along the Cambodian border. Cambodian forces recently repulsed South Vietnamese violators of their borders. While in Washington, Taylor was asked about reported plans to bomb so-called Vietcong "sanctuaries" in southern Laos and in Cambodia. He denied any specific plans but admitted that "peripheral actions are always under study."

Opponents of the war in Vietnam and of the dangerous inclination of our rulers to "extend" that war, thereby risking nuclear catastrophe, should express their opposition by voting against both war-minded major parties in the coming election. They should vote for the Socialist Workers candidates who unequivocally call for an end to the Vietnam war and withdrawal of all U.S. troops and aid from South Vietnam's dictators — whoever they may be from week to week.

Joseph Wilson, president of the Xerox Corp. says businessmen need great "courage and integrity" to face "the slow, remorseless trends, like socialism, which threaten the base of the society in which he lives."

Breathing Spell for Washington

The Election in Chile

(World Outlook) — It was reported in Washington that when the results of the Sept. 4 election in Chile were announced, the sighs of relief in the State Department and White House were the loudest since the 1948 election in Italy when it was thought that the Communist Party there might win a majority. (At that time President Truman was rumored to be readying the armed forces; and the U.S. was swept by one of the most intense war scares of the whole post-war period.)

The Johnson administration, visualizing the possibility of the FRAP (Frente Revolucionario de Accion Popular) winning a majority in Chile, saw one more major crisis looming on the international horizon. Even though the FRAP was only a Chilean version of the "Popular Front," its victory could touch off a revolutionary process that might end in a situation comparable to the one in Cuba.

The official returns, as announced by the Chilean Ministry of Interior, were as follows:

Eduardo Frei Montalva, candidate of the Christian Democrats, received 1,404,809 votes.

Salvador Allende Gossens, candidate of the FRAP, received 975,210 votes. Julio Duran, candidate of the Radicals, ended up with only 128,350 votes.

These results registered popular repudiation of the government of President Jorge Alessandri and a shift toward the left, although a more moderate one than the leaders of the FRAP had hoped for. (Followers of Khrushchev were even under the illusion that the election might demonstrate the feasibility of actually achieving, for the first time in history, a so-

cialist overturn along the "peaceful" road.)

Allende campaigned for nationalization of the holdings of American imperialist interests in Chile, for "socialism," and for a radical agrarian reform. Frei advocated only that Chile should receive a bigger share in American exploitation of the country's resources and that some mild social reforms should be undertaken. He was especially careful not to antagonize the American interests.

The main factor that determined the outcome of the election was the exclusion of a big part of the electorate from the ballot box because of literacy requirements. In addition, landholders, capitalists and agents of American imperialism — the whole camp of reaction, in fact — rallied behind Frei as a "lesser evil" in order to block a victory by Allende.

Agrarian Problem

The counter-revolutionary victory in Brazil last April also acted as a depressing factor in Chile as it has throughout Latin America.

Frei and his well-wishers in the State Department gained more time for capitalism in Chile but also received notice that it is only a breathing spell. The new president is faced with problems of crisis proportions inherited from Alessandri. These include industrial and agricultural stagnation, massive unemployment, bitter poverty, illiteracy, utterly inadequate housing and all the associated evils of these scourges. The agrarian problem is eloquently indicated by the fact that 2,800 holdings of more than 1,000 hectares each (one hectare = 2.47 acres) cover 75 per cent of the arable land.

... UAW's Chrysler Contract

(Continued from Page 1)

ing production standards, a game at which they have become highly proficient through time-study methods perfected over the years. This is a bitter, bitter pill for the Chrysler workers to swallow.

On the third count, the freeze (ostensibly for one year) of the annual-improvement-factor wage increase — in order to "divert" this money toward financing increases in the pension, supplementary-unemployment-benefit and insurance funds — constitutes, not a wage freeze, but a wage loss.

Effective Sept. 1, Chrysler workers will lose from seven to 12 cents an hour in wages every hour they work. Nor will they even get a wage increase; only a bare hint of one, as indicated by Reuther's Sept. 9 statement of "a possibility that pay boosts would be given Chrysler workers in the first year because there were 'fractions' left over from the costs of benefits that are to be paid for out of what would have been first-year raises!" A double wage freeze is what the Chrysler workers are offered for dubious fringe benefits.

The wage sacrifices by the Chrysler workers are supposedly made to compensate for Reuther's great "victory" in his pension settlement.

A Fraud

Close examination reveals this as a fraud on the auto workers. Involved is a 50% increase in pension benefits (\$1.45 a month for each year of service), full medical coverage, life-time coverage for survivors of retirees at half-pay, and \$2,400 over a two-year period to survivors of workers who die.

The key "gain," however, is the proposal to pay workers, who retire at 60 with 30 years of service at Chrysler, 70% of their base pay. The catch here is that it won't take effect until Sept. 1, 1965.

There are now 13,000 pensioners

at Chrysler, and 6,000 workers aged 60 or over. It can be safely assumed that only a small minority of the latter are eligible under the 30-year requirement. Under these circumstances, the loss of more than \$1,200,000 a month in wages to Chrysler workers (besides, there is no flat wage increase!) will more than amply cover these proposed retirement increases.

Generous Profits

The company therefore stands to gain by the transaction; even more, its generous profits and executives' bonuses remain untouched! Further, the fringe funds from which the benefits are taken remain the private patrimony of the corporation, a secret from the Chrysler workers and a source of added increment to the company.

The plain fact is that Reuther's "victory" just barely brings the UAW contract into line with the 1961 Steelworkers agreement, not more so and maybe slightly less: one more holiday, but no wage increase; slightly better pension settlement, but less vacation time; about the same medical benefits. And that's about it!

The lesson for auto workers is that these "gains," which were ostensibly to "create" jobs, have proven a failure to steelworkers in this respect. Few, if any, workers have been added to the work force in the steel industry. The opposite has occurred: vacancies are not filled with new workers, and the drive to increase production continues to gain momentum, partly by adding a few workers, as "pushers," to the incentive plans.

It is doubtful that the strikes at the General Motors Ohio and St. Louis plants will effect any changes in the pattern set by the Chrysler settlement. The Ford and GM workers, faced with similar results Sept. 15 and 16, are now "hedged in" by Reuther's deal at the expense of the Chrysler workers.

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten per cent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

BOSTON

CLIFTON DeBERRY, Socialist Workers presidential nominee, and NOEL DAY, independent congressional candidate in the Ninth District, speak on *The Road to Negro Equality*. Thursday, Sept. 24, 8 p.m. Tremont St. Methodist Church, 740 Tremont St. Contrib. 50 cents. Ausp. Youth for DeBERRY and N.O.W. NOW.

Listen to Clifton DeBERRY on Friday night, Sept. 25, on the Jerry Williams Radio Show, WMEX, 1510 on your AM dial.

CHICAGO

JOHNSON'S WAR ON POVERTY — PROMISES VS. PERFORMANCE. Speaker, I. Warwak. Fri., Sept. 25, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

EDWARD SHAW, Vice-Presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will speak on *Unemployment and Racial Discrimination*. Fri., Sept. 25, 8:30 p.m. 7102 East Fourth St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

JOHNSON'S WAR IN VIETNAM. Speaker, Doug Jenness, chairman Minnesota Youth for DeBERRY, Shaw and Luoma. Fri., Sept. 25, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin, Hall 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

REPORT ON CUBA by panel who visited Cuba this summer: Joel Agee, Anne Kramer, A. Krebs, Sharon Krebs, and William Sumner. Fri., Sept. 25, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. MILITANT LABOR FORUM.

FRIDAY, Oct. 2 — THE "TRIPLE REVOLUTION" AND THE U.S. ECONOMY. A talk by Dr. OTTO NATHAN, economist, lecturer, editor of "Einstein On Peace."

PHILADELPHIA

THE 1964 ELECTIONS — THE STAKES FOR AMERICA. Panelists: JAMES ARONSON, editor *National Guardian*; M. S. ARNONI, editor *Minority of One*; FRED HALSTEAD, associate editor *The Militant*; PAUL BOU-TELLE, Freedom Now Party candidate from Harlem. Wednesday, Sept. 23, 8 p.m. Hotel Philadelphia, Broad & Wood Sts. Contrib. Ausp. Phila. Election Forum.

PUBLICATIONS

UNION AND LABOUR SPEAKERS' HANDBOOK, by E. Vowles, a Bala press publication. This comprehensive book is a "must" for union and political speakers, particularly those who are interested in more pay, better conditions and full employment. Send two dollars to Bala press, Bala, N. Wales, the United Kingdom; for your copy. (bound copies \$2.50).

THE MILITANT

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345

Monday, September 21, 1964

Duopoly on Racism

Liberals and most civil-rights leaders are trying to depict the presidential campaign as a contest between Goldwater and the anti-Negro forces on one side and Johnson and the civil-rights forces on the other. This is undiluted hogwash. The Republicans have simply broken the former Democratic monopoly on the support of out-and-out racists. This was well symbolized Sept. 12 when ex-Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi endorsed the Goldwater-Miller ticket.

What was once a monopoly has become a duopoly, to use the term economists apply to the sharing of the field by two giant companies. But a glance at the list of this country's white-supremacist politicians shows that the Democrats retain the lion's share.

This was emphasized — also on Sept. 12 — when Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas, running for a sixth term, endorsed the Johnson-Humphrey ticket. Both Johnson and Humphrey are scheduled to visit Arkansas and will be greeted by their gubernatorial running mate there.

This is the same Faubus, remember, who in 1957 used the national guard to defy desegregation of Little Rock High School; who inspired white gangs to beat Negroes; who forced Negro children to make that long, terrifying walk back from the school entrance through screaming, spitting, racist mobs. Yes, that's the endorser of the Johnson-Humphrey ticket, the Faubus who became the internationally notorious symbol of — and inspiration for — the resistance to school integration which has plagued this country ever since.

Where are the cries of outrage from the liberals who emitted shocked breaths when Goldwater hesitated about repudiating the endorsement of the Ku Klux Klan? We await their demands that Johnson and Humphrey repudiate the demagogic, racist extremist — Orval Faubus.

The New York School Boycott

Some of the parents involved in the white boycott of the New York City schools may not have fully realized it, but this movement is anti-Negro in thrust and intent. As yet the effectiveness of the white boycott is an open question. School-attendance figures show it was less powerful than the boycotts led by Negroes last year against segregated schooling.

One thing is clear, however. New York City's Democratic administration bears the responsibility for the development of this white parents' movement. In the first place, it was the administration which permitted segregated schools and inferior education for the millions of Negro and Puerto Rican children of New York City. In violation of the constitutional rights of minority peoples, the city administration refused to enforce equal and adequate education for all children.

Only after it was subjected to the pressure of the mass demonstrations of the Negro boycotts did the administration agree to do anything at all — and that only the token concession of busing a few Negro children to white schools and a few white children to Negro schools. This was such a grudging and inadequate gesture that it made clear that the sympathies of the politicians and school-board officials were not with the Negroes, but with those whites who oppose even token integration.

By failing to take a firm and resolute stand to wipe out inferior schools and enforce equal education for all, but rather by supporting and maintaining the present segregated system, the administration of New York City has aided, abetted and fomented the present reaction to the Negro struggle for equal education embodied in the white parents' boycott.

Local Directory

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

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 303 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 323-4174.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, TEmpire 1-5135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

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 340. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, 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, book store. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

HUBERT THE HUSTLER

A Glance at Humphrey's Real Record

By David Herman

Liberals (and radicals of the social-democratic and Communist Party variety who support capitalist candidates) are trumpeting their joy over the nomination of Hubert Humphrey as vice-presidential candidate of the Democratic Party. They argue that Humphrey's liberalism makes up for Johnson's conservatism and that the selection of Humphrey as his running mate shows "how liberal Johnson has become."

They have made Humphrey the ticket's big selling point, especially to labor and Negroes. But examination of his record shows that Humphrey is one of the shabbiest liberals — even in a time when official liberalism has degenerated so that its main ingredient is hypocrisy. Humphrey has made a political career of espousing liberal positions favored by labor, Negroes and farmers only in order to sell out these positions when he could advantage himself thereby. Let's look at his record.

Humphrey's national reputation stems mainly from his leading role in the Senate's mock battles over civil rights. But he has consistently used his prestige with pro-civil-rights forces to get them to slow down their fight.

Thus Humphrey played the leading role in arranging the "compromise" over the seating of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegates at the recent Democratic convention. The delegations of nine states had pledged to carry the fight to seat the Freedom delegates to the convention floor. But a floor fight would have embarrassed Johnson. So vice-presidential-nominee-to-be Humphrey was given the assignment of keeping the issue from the floor. He accomplished his mission. In the course of the job, unwilling delegates got the word that their patronage jobs and federal contracts for their states were at stake if they remained stubborn.

Humphrey has a long record of sell-outs. Consider his sell-out of the fight against Senate Rule 22 in 1955 when he first had the vice-presidential itch. Rule 22, which permits filibustering, can be changed by a simple majority vote in the Senate when each new Congress opens — when the rules are adopted by the body. In every election campaign all the Northern liberals, including Humphrey, promised to fight against Rule 22 on opening day. Traditionally the Senate liberals put on at least a mock fight each time. But in 1955 the promised attempt was not even made. Humphrey, leader of the Senate's civil-rights bloc, had decided that in the interests of



Humphrey

Democratic Party unity it was best not to offend the Southern Senators (whose support he just happened to be courting for the 1956 convention).

Liberal, progressive and radical supporters of the Democratic Party stress the difference between the Johnson-Humphrey ticket and the Goldwater-Miller ticket on civil liberties. Many go so far as to assert that a Goldwater victory would mean the beginning of fascism in this country. There is not space here to explain what fascism actually is and why reactionary Goldwater is not a fascist, despite the fact that he is supported by most of the ultra-right. But we can look at the record and see what kind of a bulwark of civil liberties Humphrey was during the McCarthy era.

Humphrey's strategy at the height of McCarthyism was to outflank the witch-hunters from the right. His legislative contribution took the form of two amendments. He offered an amendment to the Communist Control Act which would have specifically outlawed the Communist Party, that is, made it a crime to be a member of that party, which the act did not specifically do.

Humphrey's amendment to the McCarran Act was accepted and passed. It provided that concentration camps be set up in the U.S. (and they have been set up) to be available in case of need. It authorized the Attorney General to apprehend and detain indefinitely and without trial, "persons as to whom there is reasonable grounds to believe probably will conspire with others to engage in acts of espionage or sabotage," whenever an emergency is declared by the President.

Humphrey's sell-out on this occasion was so blatant that even fellow-liberal Dorothy Schiff, publisher of the *New York Post*, could not stomach it. This is what she said about "Hustling Humphrey" in her column of March 27, 1955:

"Last August I was horrified to learn that our friend the 'liberal demagogue' whose term was about to expire, had seized upon the passions aroused by McCarthyism and appeared to be attempting to turn them to his own political advantage. This formerly ardent civil-libertarian had introduced an amendment to the Communist Control Act which seemed to outdo McCarthy at his worst."

"When he was re-elected to the Senate last fall, I thought he would no longer feel it was necessary to out-McCarthy McCarthy. How wrong I was! At the beginning of the new session, the demagogic twins, Humphrey and Morse, led in the decision not to fight for anti-filibuster legislation. And last week Hubert pulled another fast one. He tried to butter up liberalism's arch enemy, William Randolph Hearst, Jr."

Miss Schiff's last comment refers to Humphrey's attempt to get Hearst's support for his vice-presidential aspirations by putting Hearst's articles on the Soviet Union into the *Congressional Record*, calling them "extraordinary" and "valuable," and their author, "the distinguished American Editor."

"But Humphrey is a man of peace," declare his supporters in an effort to find something good about him. The following statement of his, made since this campaign started, shows that he differs little from other capitalist politicians on the question of war.

"Free government cannot stand unless it is prepared to defeat aggression from without or within. Liberalism becomes a mockery when it is spineless and cowardly. No slogans, no long-range policies offering economic and social progress can defeat the threat of immediate naked force... Only force itself and the willingness to use it swiftly, powerfully and courageously — can maintain a government in power when subversion and terrorism are used against it."

Humphrey Hits School Busing

On Sept. 14, the day white parents' groups opposed to anti-segregation measures in New York City schools began a school boycott under the misleading slogan of "no busing," Senator Hubert Humphrey was asked for comment. He declared:

"So that the record will be straight, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 does not ask for busing of students; in fact to the contrary. There is a proviso in the act saying that the act shall not be applied for the purpose of busing students from one district to another... My own personal view is that we should improve the quality of our neighborhoods. I personally do not feel that we ought to be giving students long-distance rides at the expense of families and students."

This statement was on a par with those made recently by New York Senatorial candidates Kenneth Keating and Robert F. Kennedy, who were scored by the NAACP on Sept. 11 for "repeating the distortions embodied in the slogans and clichés" of "Northern-style segregationists." Actually, the longest distance any student will be bused under the New York City desegregation measures now under attack by the white boycotters is a mile and a quarter, that is, a ten-minute ride.

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Symposium: "Which Road to Soc

[We publish below excerpts from a transcription of a symposium sponsored by the New York Militant Labor Forum Sept. 4 on "Which Road to Social Progress in the '64 Elections?"]

The participants were David McReynolds, secretary of the War Resisters League and 1958 Socialist Party congressional candidate; Russ Nixon, general manager of The National Guardian; Harry Purvis, maverick Republican and NAM member and 1960 independent peace candidate for Congress; and Edward Shaw, vice-presidential nominee of the Socialist Workers Party.]

David McReynolds: . . . I am voting for Johnson in November. I am urging all radicals to vote and work for the election of Johnson in November, and I am as surprised to find myself in this position perhaps as some of those who have known me in the past.

Now I am far from being a captive of the lesser evilism theory and as was already pointed out, I was a candidate for Congress in 1958 for the Socialist Party against the Liberal-Democratic Party candidate in the 19th district. In 1960, far from being an automatic tail being wagged by the Democratic dog, I backed Congressman Lindsay in the 17th Congressional district against what I considered a phoney liberal on the grounds that if we had to have someone in Congress who wasn't a Socialist that I would prefer to have an honest man to a dishonest liberal, as I thought the man was. . . .

The forces that Goldwater represents openly are the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society, the American military, the diffused racism in this nation — these are the forces for which he does now speak. . . .

Johnson, again, whatever his personal past, his financial corruption, his shady dealings, his past as a Southern Democrat as one of the outstanding conservative forces in the Senate at the present time, is the political symbol, the political spokesman for the trade union movement, for the great mass of American Negroes and for what we have of American liberalism, bad as that may be, ineffectual as that may be. . . .

I'm not here tonight to make a speech in favor of Hubert Humphrey or of Johnson, their record and their background. I'm talking about how they are viewed by the American public and to the American public Humphrey is a symbol of the ADA and what the American public views as the left wing. Johnson by nominating him made it clearly a left-right contest in the eyes of the overwhelming majority of the American people. . . .

"A Referendum"

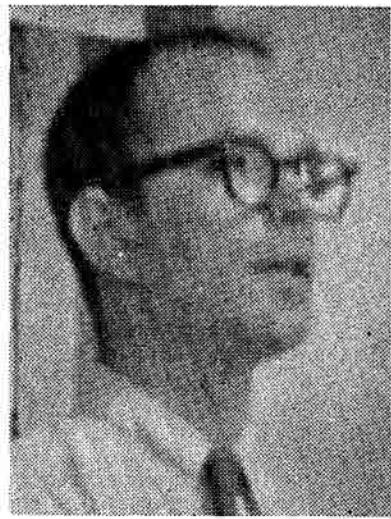
I know that we have now in this year a referendum on politics the likes of which we have not had in the lifetimes of most of you present in this hall. . . .

There is only one way to take an effective part in this referendum and that is by defeating Goldwater by voting for Johnson. In voting for Johnson I repeat I do not consider myself voting for the Democratic administration or for the Democratic record nor do I feel bound or silenced from attacking that administration. I am voting for Johnson in order to vote against the things that Goldwater represents in this country. . . .

Why am I sufficiently concerned to abandon my traditional position of not voting for or supporting a major party candidate for the Presidency, why am I coming out and supporting the election of President Johnson? Because Johnson's election must be by a decisive margin. If Johnson wins by fifty-five to forty-five, we have all lost. The brakes will have been put on further demands for

federal intervention in the civil rights movement in the South. . . .

If Goldwater, having said all that he has said, representing all that he represents and, I repeat, in open alliance with the Ku Klux Klan and the John Birch Society, if in the face of these things he can get forty-five per cent of the vote, Johnson then, the administration, the forces in that administration would be totally paralyzed for the coming four years



David McReynolds

but not only will they be paralyzed, we shall also be paralyzed. . . .

The topic for the evening was "What Road to Social Progress?" You know, friends and comrades, I am not sure that in this election there is a road to social progress. I think the question might have been put better if we had said, can we build a roadblock to fascism in the '64 election? I think in some respects we will be lucky if we come out even in this election. . . .

Now, the second point I would make is that I don't want merely to make it a referendum against Goldwater. I also, even as I find myself committed to voting for Johnson, I want to make it a referendum for my issues. . . .

Now, the last point that I would make in the time that I have got would be to remind each of us of the awesome reality of the nuclear bomb. . . .

We're living in an age of the nuclear bomb. We have a government which, despite what I consider a criminal war in Vietnam and criminal action in terms of the bombing of North Vietnamese bases, we have a government which nonetheless is not eager to wage a war, which has entered into a detente with the Soviet Union for its own reasons but as my friend, Mike Harrington, used to say, we are opposed to imperialist peace but we always prefer imperialist peace to imperialist war, particularly when that war is fought with nuclear weapons. . . .

Please be reminded that those same forces of nuclear destruction, which now make the radical position on peace and war the only, the ultimately only sound position, also require from those of us who are radicals a new kind of responsibility in terms of how we vote and how we work. There are in this room not only votes but there are potential workers not merely to work for Johnson's election or for Goldwater's defeat but workers and votes in this room to help lay, create the climate for a referendum on the issues in which we believe, a referendum which can only be voted on by voting yes for Johnson, no on Goldwater and by turning that referendum by our leaflets, our speeches, our campaigns, our work into the referendum that we want it to be.

(The following is from McReynolds' summary):

Let me make one thing clear which I should have indicated in the beginning — that I am not

speaking for the Socialist Party which is neither officially nor unofficially supporting Johnson nor am I speaking for the War Resisters League. There are others in the Socialist Party who are supporting Johnson but we do not have a majority on the National Committee. . . .

Russ mentioned the fear that we would move in a steady process of modification to voting reluctantly for Johnson instead of voting enthusiastically for him to finally working for him in a critical way and then we would be working for him in an uncritical way. In Russ' mind that may follow. It does not follow in my mind. . . .

I don't intend to stop protesting on Vietnam between now and November. Not in the least. And I don't intend to stop calling for the end of the draft and a number of other points that might embarrass Johnson and might favor Goldwater, since he is apparently for ending the draft.

Now there is a discussion on the end to demonstrations. . . . Figure what demonstrations will accomplish. You can integrate restaurants, you cannot create jobs with demonstrations. And at some point we have to get it through our minds that demonstrations per se are not necessarily radical though they may well be militant. They may be reactionary in relation to the needs of our people. To create jobs is an economic and a political issue and it will not be accomplished simply by demonstrating. . . .

"A Difference"

I don't like being forced to vote for Johnson in order to vote against Goldwater but it does make a difference whether we merely send in CIA agents to bomb that island or whether we send in the armed forces and destroy it. It may not make a difference to you, but by God it makes a difference to the Cubans.

Now finally, November shall determine very, very little because if we win all that has been said, it is correct, we lose. I cannot disagree: If we win, we lose. But finally it is not the election which determines the road to progress. If we win that permits us to continue the day by day struggle in the community and that is the road to progress.

Russ Nixon: . . . I think we have to begin the debate, and I don't just mean the one this evening, but we have to conduct the debate in this case with a good bit of consideration for those amongst us in the progressive forces who have different points of view.

We need to recognize that there is a genuine dilemma that confronts progressive people here, only partly of our making, primarily imposed upon us by the circumstances of 15 years of cold war and McCarthyism, creating in America an almost unique situation in which the people of the country are deprived of meaningful alternatives such as anyone can find if he is a citizen of Great Britain or France or Italy or Japan or of almost any other country in the world. . . .

Now, obviously, I am going to spend very little time on Mr. Goldwater — I'm not going to vote for him. I feel just as seriously as anyone about the threat, and the general threat which is represented by the extremists of the ultra-right, the fascist-oriented elements in our country, a majority of which are now backing Mr. Goldwater, only some of which are now backing Mr. Johnson but the majority is backing Mr. Goldwater. . . . Certainly there is, as we have said in the *Guardian*, a new element introduced into the American situation by the consolidation of the coalition of the ultra-right in the candidacy of Goldwater and Miller and the capture

of a principal apparatus of the Republican Party. This is a new and serious threat.

It is not the threat of fascism in the sense that Goldwater is a fascist, although many of his supporters are. But it is a dangerous step in the direction of fascism and it should ring a loud alarm about the danger of fascism in this country. And it should tell us that if present trends continue and the present shift to the right continues unblocked in America then the course toward the ultimate of fascism is a very grave danger.

We in the *Guardian*, and I personally, would not belittle in any degree the enormous danger I think has unfolded during the long period of cold war and fascism. And because I am so deeply concerned about the danger of fascism in America and because I think it is so desperately necessary that a roadblock be set up against fascism and the things that bring fascism, it is for these reasons that I must tell you I will not vote for Lyndon Johnson either.

I appreciate and understand your applause. But I will tell you right away that I am not a purist. If Mr. Johnson were to announce that he's decided to accept U Thant's proposal to end the Vietnam war and that he's decided to ask for the repeal of the McCarran Act, I would change my vote. Don't be worried about it.

My differences with many of my friends and, I think, with the majority of the readers of the *Guardian*, is indicated in a way by a phrase that Dave used. He spoke of Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic administration as a roadblock to fascism. I consider the policy of the cold war, the vast extension of the cold war, the continuation of all the acts of democratic repressions, the extensive brinkmanship of the administration and the accelerated policy of counter-revolution throughout the world — I consider this the



Russ Nixon

road, and not a roadblock, to fascism. . . .

I find difficulty in discovering how a vote for Mr. Johnson can be a referendum. Perhaps I will learn how it can be a referendum in the next 60 days. I would like to engage in a referendum for the issues in which I believe — I agree with Dave about that — it's a desirable thing. But I must tell you frankly — given all my feelings about Mr. Goldwater and all the things he represents — I don't know how to cast a vote for Mr. Johnson without casting a vote for the war in Vietnam and the death of a thousand people a week or so who die in that war. . . .

I have been interested to hear often references to the German parallel — in a very superficial way — to teach me to vote for Mr. Johnson. I read the German experience of this period differently. Hitler did not come to

power overnight. He came to power over a period of time in which the opposition to him was divided, primarily because the Social Democrats of Germany said, we will not develop unity against Hitler. But we will organize and unite with the center in a common anti-Communist bloc and anti-Hitler program. And in the years of '30, '31 and '32 this provided the path for Hitler's triumph. This is the lesson I think we need to learn and apply very quickly.

I am concerned about the state of politics in the American left and the absolute necessity that we must give a viable alternative to people. And I don't know how to do this at the same time that I campaign for Mr. Johnson. There are a very complicated series of approaches to this problem. Some of my friends say, well, they are concerned that Goldwater will win. They're not going to do anything for Johnson they're just going to hold their nose and vote against Goldwater by voting for Johnson. That's one approach.

But already a new addition is coming into this picture. They now say it's not enough to beat Goldwater. You have to have a landslide for Johnson. So you have to get the maximum amount of votes for Johnson. There will be no limit to this of course except total unqualified support for the candidate.

Then there begins to develop a third development here. And that is: be practical, be political, be sensible, we've got to beat Goldwater. Lay off the issues that are troublesome. Don't raise the embarrassing questions. Don't have any demonstrations for two or three months on civil rights. We don't want to embarrass our friend Johnson.

In Atlantic City last week, accept the administration's back-of-the-bus proposal for the Mississippi delegation because we don't want to embarrass Mr. Johnson or hurt the chances of Mr. Humphrey of becoming the nominee for vice president. The Mississippi delegation, of course, voted 68 to nothing against taking that position.

I got a letter from a very fine woman active in Women Strike For Peace — a very important area — saying, "we're urging our gals to drop all else to get into Democratic clubs and steer our course from there, and to put all efforts into the election."

"Regressive Current"

This is beginning to be the principle regressive current of emphasis following from the conception of having to go all out for LBJ. . . .

Pretty soon it begins to seem that Johnson really isn't so bad, and Humphrey isn't so bad. They've got some liberal things that they say. And we find ourselves caught in the trap of political immobilization on the issues. . . .

I think our main task is to build that alternative. And we have to act this year so that we do nothing to undermine that alternative. And that means a certain, minimum reliance on principles. And that does not permit me at least to vote for Johnson.

(In the question period Mr. Nixon said he did not intend to vote for president. He said he felt that the socialist opposition to the major parties could not poll a large enough vote to make it a significant protest. The following remarks are from his summary):

We're in a situation where we had only two votes against what Morse called the pre-dated declaration of war, only two votes against 535 members of Congress. We're in a situation where the voice of dissent is almost totally stilled in the country. In this situation it is true, there is a serious danger of fascism in the country and danger of war. . . .

Facts suggest that since this

al Progress in the '64 Election?"

langer arises from cold war and McCarthyism it can only be countered by something that is anti-cold war, anti-McCarthyism, that cannot be countered by something that is moderately McCarthyite, moderately cold war . . .

The Democratic Party boasts that it has increased the counter-revolutionary program and activities of this country all over the world. It boasts of this fact. It has taken every opportunity to re-institute all acts of repression under the repressive legislation whenever they've been thrown out by the courts. It has not repeated one bit from the implementation of McCarranism, and McCarthyism . . .

I think that there is a minimum stand that progressives have to tick with if they're going to carry out the historic role that they have in this country. And I cannot square that minimum stand with a rationalization of support or the program that Mr. Johnson represents.

Harry Purvis: I told Priscilla King when she invited me to peak here that I didn't know whether she really wanted me because I really hadn't made up my mind. And she said she thought that would be quite interesting to have somebody that hadn't made up their mind. And I've been listening very carefully to Dave McReynolds and Russ Nixon to see if they'd help me to make up my mind. And I'm still hinking.

Peace Issue

I share Russ Nixon's criticism of Dave on this question of getting a referendum on the war in Vietnam. That to me is one of the prime questions. I don't see how we're going to vote in a referendum on the war in Vietnam except to vote for our candidate here tonight. The platform of the Socialist Workers Party is very good in the Vietnam question.

Two years ago Dave McReynolds came out and spoke for a number of the National Association of Manufacturers and supported him for Congress because he thought the peace issue transcended domestic issues of economics. And I appreciated that very much. And my Long Island neighbor, Norman Thomas — he's really Dave McReynolds' senior in a way — spoke in favor of my candidacy, even though I wouldn't come out for Medicare. The peace issue was the transcendent issue.

I think I'd like to spend my time, first complimenting the Socialist Workers Party for filing their petitions this week — an amazing job that we in Voters for Peace thought about and didn't do anything about. Complimenting them for that and complimenting them for their plank on Vietnam but perhaps scolding them for not coming out for a few more things in their platform.

Where is any mention of the United Nations? What do you want to do about the world community? Are we going forward in this world anarchy? Are we going to cry for peace and against the weapons of war and not come out for any constructive suggestion to eliminate this international anarchy and reliance on an old-fashioned international law. International law that represents the old-fashioned idea of outlawing people and punishing their sisters and their cousins and their uncles and aunts and punishing the children for the crimes of their parents — blowing up the babies in their bassinets along with the aggressors . . . You can't just criticize U.S. policy toward Vietnam without a more constructive suggestion of what you think should be done.

I come back a disappointed man from the Democratic convention last week. Of course I cling to that straw that Hubert Humphrey

was nominated. I wonder if Russ Nixon would feel different if Hubert Humphrey were the head of the ticket? . . .

Of course I was down in Atlantic City and joined with Dave McReynolds in that demonstration outside Convention Hall about Vietnam and when Dave went home I took one of his leftover signs that said "Free Elections for Vietnam — 1954 Geneva Convention," and on the other side I painted the words, "Wayne Morse for Vice President." I walked around Convention Hall and I wangled tickets for the next night to Convention Hall and although I was threatened a couple of times with lynching — one fellow flashed what looked like a Texas badge at me and told me I'd have to get out of the hall with it and he grabbed for it — I managed to survive.

The real thing that impressed me was the favorable response both to the message on the sign and to the idea Morse for Vice President. The people said, "That's a great idea. He's the smartest man in the Senate." Many, many comments of this nature . . .

Now I can do no more than confess in my conclusion, our chairman of Voters for Peace out on Long Island . . . a year ago thought that we should nominate a slate of electoral candidates pledged to a person who wasn't committed to the Bay of Pigs type of thing and we suggested that we ought to get an electoral college pledge of Linus Pauling for President, Martin Luther King for Vice President. We noised this around a little bit, went to some state conventions, but we didn't seem to be able to stir up any interest . . .

Then Wayne Morse began to speak out more and more against the admission of the military machine that overthrew Juan Bosch in the Dominican Republic, military aid to the overthrow of Goulart in Brazil and then he spoke out so strongly against extending



Harry Purvis

the war in Vietnam and we tried to rally support around Wayne Morse. We were told what political dreamers we were and so forth. We thought we were getting real practical when we changed to Linus Pauling and Wayne Morse so we ended up with a sign "Wayne Morse for Vice President," and we got licked . . .

I hope that our final speaker, Mr. Shaw, will speak out on not only what he's against in present U.S. foreign policy but what he's for. What kind of a world organization does the Socialist Workers Party really want? When there are amendments up before the United Nations that have been proposed in the UN General Assembly to change the voting power in the Security Council, what is the Socialist Workers Party saying? How should the United Nations be revised so that we can have a peaceful if not a socialist

world community? I would just like to hear more of that. And I would like, while I'm on it — I would perhaps swallow my propensities for supporting the National Association of Manufacturers if I could hear a clear, positive platform and some affirmative policies for a neighborly world community.

(The following is from Purvis' summary.):

Now what is the real road to progress in 1964? I think that on election day we have to make our final judgement whether there's a real danger that a man might be elected who would send the Marines into Cuba to turn on the water at Guantanamo or want to defoliate Southeast Asia with nuclear weapons. If there seems to be a real chance that he might be elected on election day then I think we have to consider carefully that we can strike twice as heavy a blow against those principles that he stands for by voting for the other major party candidate than we can by registering a protest vote.

If on the other hand he looks the way he does now, on the skids, if it looks as though he isn't going to get any real support then I think that it's very worthwhile to register a protest vote against the incumbent's policies of the attack on the bases [in North Vietnam]. I hope, Dave, they were only an attack on bases and I don't know why we can't have facts as to how many were killed in what they call a measured raid on five places.

Edward Shaw: I see that it is not incumbent upon me tonight to give most of the reasons why we should not vote for Goldwater. And having listened to Mr. Nixon's presentation, I think we can see several reasons, at least, why we shouldn't vote for the Democratic candidate . . .

We should not support Goldwater not only for all the reasons given, but also because he has the same basic interests and goals as does Johnson. If we don't understand that, that is the point from which we can be led astray . . .

The aims of both the parties can be summed up, perhaps, in one phrase — we must have law and order. We have to have law and order in the streets of Harlem, in the cotton fields of Mississippi, in the industrial plants of Detroit, in the coal fields of Kentucky, and also in the cane fields of Cuba or the copper mines of Chile, the rubber plantations or the rice plantations of the Far East . . .

Law and Order

Law and order in Mississippi is the law and order of the semi-feudal gentry. Law and order in Harlem is the law and order of the tenement landlords. Law and order in Kentucky is the law and the order of the coal barons. In Detroit it's the law and order of the manufacturing corporations. And abroad, in Latin America, Europe, Africa, Asia, the law and order they speak of is the law and order of that almighty that has its finger in every other pie — the law and order of finance capital of the imperialist United States.

The great and, overwhelming unity of the two major parties in this election campaign in the service of that master overcomes all small differences of tactics or personality. The power of this master has already been shown over the personality of Johnson. In a few short weeks after he assumed the presidency last November he and the ruling class of this country accomplished a miracle heretofore accomplished only in the realm of fiction by Robert Louis Stevenson in *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. A Southern, reactionary Democrat was transformed over night into

a Northern, liberal friend of labor and civil rights . . .

These two parties compete in the electoral field. They compete for the right to run the store for the ruling class. They compete for the right to put into practice a program already clearly mapped out. They needn't make any new programs on this score. Defeat the colonial revolution is first on the agenda right now. Save Asia. Keep it from going further out



Edward Shaw

of the capitalist orbit. Africa must be made safe.

At home there's not much trouble right now. But the program is, and has been, as we can see through the past Democratic and Republican administrations, more and more repressive laws aimed at the labor movement in this country. Not a single piece of pro-labor legislation since the '30s when it was gained in the mass struggles of the working class of this country in building the big labor movement.

Keep the union power down is part of the program. Prevent the rise of any independent formation and above all, right now, keep the Negro struggle in its place.

But there are superficial differences. Goldwater has proposed even harsher measures both at home and abroad to carry out this bi-partisan program. He proposed a measure and Johnson moved in that direction. We at first were presented with, it seemed, a slight difference in approach over the war in Vietnam. The question was going to be asked of us, Do you want a continuation of this costly, inhuman stalemate in the war in Vietnam or do you want to extend it? Send more troops, send more money and extend it to the North.

Before we even had a chance to vote in that referendum, Johnson removed the difference and attacked North Vietnam. He removed that point from the agenda . . .

The development in American politics, ever since the cold war began right after World War II especially, has been to give aid and encouragement to the development of a neo-Nazi and a neo-fascist movement in this country, whether it has been a Democratic regime or a Republican regime. Both parties have moved in the same direction — to the right . . .

The lesser-evil policy, regardless of what you call it, in the name of social progress has resulted only in social retrogression. Truman was worse than FDR. Eisenhower was worse than Truman. Kennedy was worse than Eisenhower . . . Johnson was worse than Kennedy. And now Johnson, however, is better than Goldwater.

Mr. Johnson has appealed to the biggest sectors of the American ruling class. They have apparently rallied to his support. They feel that he can best carry out the program which is in their interests.

I think that if I looked at it

from their point of view, analyzed the situation carefully, looked at what Johnson has been able to do, I too would join the Johnson camp. That is, I think I would if I owned copper mines in Chile and oil wells in Arabia . . .

I propose, my party proposes, that a vote against the war in Vietnam will weigh against it. But a vote for it will not. And we do not see how you can vote for either one of the two parties without voting for the war. We propose a vote for socialism. We propose a vote of protest even though it be no more significant than a protest that a pacifist would make walking independently of the great mass of the people or the labor movement on a picket line. It's just as important. And it will have a great deal more effect than a vote for either of the other two parties.

(The following is from Shaw's summary.):

One of the main reasons given for support to Johnson boils down to this: that it will give us more time to build an opposition to the current Democratic program, platform, and actions, as well as that of the Republican, and prevent an immediate holocaust, a world war that would destroy us all. And it's true that by supporting this — whether you call it lesser evil or referendum politics — we could perhaps stall off an ultimate challenge of the system in which the United States rules the world. We could placate the demands of the American financial powers, but we could only do it at the cost of making our position much worse, and making the point from where we have to start to recover much further from our goal.

Final Choice

We could, if it were in our power, give them Cuba, Congo, Asia. If it was in our power, we could give them low wages at home, the Negroes could stop the struggle for freedom. And this would gain some time while the American economy sat back and digested its gain. But it wouldn't placate its hunger nor would it help the situation or make our position any better.

As a referendum it would appear that this is a question of democracy vs. totalitarianism, dictatorship. Would we rather live in a democracy or a dictatorship? Unfortunately, as long as we accept the social system in which we live that choice will not be ours to make. That choice will depend upon the needs of the system . . .

It was in 1932, in March, that the socialists, the Social Democracy of Germany supported a reactionary Junker general, Von Hindenburg, for the presidency of the republic for precisely that reason. He was the representative of the democratic republic against the Nazi threat of totalitarianism and racism. He won, they won, they won the referendum. They saved the democratic republic. They then began to support the different premiers. One after another, a month apiece almost. They supported a Brüning against a Von Papen. Then Von Papen against Von Schleicher. Then Von Schleicher against Hitler and they won. But their stop-war candidate, Von Hindenburg, who was to save the democratic republic, took over and appointed Hitler as chancellor. And that was the beginning of the end.

If anybody here thinks that Johnson in a period of stress, if we faced a crisis — and we don't yet as Germany did at that time — wouldn't appoint Goldwater as Secretary of Defense is sadly mistaken.

In the name of national unity, in a period of crisis, Goldwater could be appointed Secretary of Defense just as McNamara was . . .

MARXISM AND THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

Can White and Black Radicals Collaborate?

By George Breitman

Marxism so far has done more than any other theory to shed light on the nature of the Negro struggle and the direction in which it is moving. Since Marx, it has illuminated the economic roots of racism, and the workings of the capitalist power structure which oppresses the Negro people and must be toppled if their oppression is to end. Since Lenin and Trotsky, it has clarified and shown the progressiveness of the nationalist and racial aspects of the Negro movement. And in our time the Socialist Workers Party is working hard to understand and explain current trends and to combine them into a realistic program for emancipation.

Harold Cruse (in *Liberator*, May and June) accuses us of harboring a "white labor mystique," which it was not hard for us to disprove because we are against mystiques of any kind or color. In the same breath he creates a mystique of his own when he speaks of the "unknown qualities" of the Negro movement, as though they somehow defy rational and scientific analysis.

In our 1963 convention resolution, which Cruse persistently refuses to confront, we have made an analysis of the very qualities he calls unknown (separatism, assimilationism, nationalism, self-determination, independence, etc.). Our analysis may not be perfect or complete, but it has already proved fruitful. Further progress can be made by testing, deepening and extending this analysis, not by labeling the conditions it studies unknown and implying they are unknowable.

Historical Science

In another place, Cruse says that "if 'historical science' or 'dialectics' is to be considered really scientific it must be developed and verified in life by the inclusion of the social experiences, the history, the ideas and political philosophies, the points of view of the backward peoples" (among whom he includes the American Negroes). Well, that's what we've been saying too, before Cruse did. That's just what we've been trying to do when we undertake to Afro-Americanize Marxism. Robert Vernon's writ-

ings on the black ghetto in *The Militant* are a striking example of the value of this approach.

But when we do it, Cruse refuses to even comment on the result. We hope that other black radicals, who don't have any anti-Marxist axes to grind, will become acquainted with our work in this field and join in on it.

Theory

While we recommend Marxism as the best theory now available and defend it against Cruse's type of attack, we know that no theory, not even the best, is perfect. That would mean knowing everything about a given situation, which is impossible. No theory automatically provides all the answers; that takes work. No one gains access to the answers merely by adopting a theory, or by saying I am a Marxist, or a black nationalist, or any other ist.

Even the best theory in the world does not safeguard anyone or any movement against making mistakes and lagging behind changes in reality. The question is whether their theory enables them to avoid fatal mistakes, whether it enables them to learn from mistakes, correct them and avoid repeating them. In this respect too, the Marxist record is superior to others.

Years of isolation and attack by backsliders and refugees from Marxism as well as by capitalist spokesmen, and the need to stand firm against them, have unfortunately tended to create the impression that Marxists are rigid people who think they know it all: "Here is a finished science with all the answers worked out, sit down and study it." But this is not the case, and mature Marxists do not think it is.

We don't have all the answers. We think we have the method for finding them, and we have no patent on that. In seeking the answers and using the method to find them, we urgently need and want the active collaboration and aid of those who have most to gain from revolution, the people who are least privileged and least corrupted by this society — the black masses and the radical thinkers who most authentically represent them. We think Cruse's article does harm because it tries through misrepresentation of Marxism to discourage this collaboration.

"White" Theory?

Another impression which we hope to dispel is that Marxism is a "white" theory and philosophy. We know it isn't, but that's how it looks today to many black people, especially in this country, who are justifiably suspicious of white ideas and influences because they are usually oppressive to Negroes. Cruse tries to fan this suspicion against Marxists in order to prevent a fair examination of our ideas.

It is true that Marx was classified as a white, and that the early development of the Marxist movement occurred mainly among white people in the advanced capitalist countries. But Marxism is, and is meant to be, a tool and weapon for the revolutionists of all races, and should not be rejected out of hand any more than a gun should be rejected by black rebels in South Africa merely because it was manufactured by white workers.

In any case, things have changed since Marx's time, and in the world today the millions of non-whites who consider themselves Marxists and supporters of Marxism outnumber their white co-thinkers. As Clifton DeBerry asked, in an article which *Liberator* asked him to write but has not printed, "if Marxism is white, western and obsolete as Cruse contends, how can he account for the fact that from China to Cuba,

where capitalism has been abolished by mass revolution, this was done under the banner of Marxism? How does he explain the fact that socialism is becoming the most popular mass creed in almost all the countries and continents where colored peoples are fighting for freedom?"

Because Cruse considers the American Negro struggle a semi-colonial revolt, DeBerry asked further: "If Marxism has been so helpful and correct as a guide in the fight against imperialism and white supremacy in the colonial world, what prevents this method from being equally useful in the Freedom Now struggle here in the heartland of imperialism and white supremacy?"

Cruse says that "the real issue is: Who is destined to be the dominant and decisive radical force in America — Black Radicals or White Radicals?" We don't see that as the real issue at all. Far more important is the question of how black and white radicals can pool their forces to promote their common aims against their common enemies.

Black Leadership

Cruse's assumption here is that Marxists are opposed to black leadership, but it simply isn't so. We don't care what the color of the leadership of the coming American revolution may be — only that it be a leadership with a correct program and be capable of guiding the masses to the abolition of capitalism.

We expect that such a leadership will include members of all races in this country, whether they are organized in a single revolutionary party, or an alliance of such parties; that Negroes will contribute more than their proportionate share to this leadership; and that they may well be a majority. In any case, it is absolutely certain that the struggle of the Negroes today, in the revolution that is coming, and afterward, will be led by Negroes.

When we say black and white radicals have common aims and therefore should be able to work together, we do not mean to minimize the differences that do exist between many black radicals and the Socialist Workers Party. Besides our differences over the future role of the white workers, there are three others that should get mention here:

A weakness of some Negro intellectuals, like Cruse, is that they proceed with their analyses and arrive at their conclusions by assuming the indefinite perpetuation of the present conditions of the struggle and of the relations of social forces on a national and world scale. They do not see further than the initiating stages of the Third American Revolution.

They are empirical in their reasoning — a method consistent with liberalism and reformism, but inconsistent with a thoroughly revolutionary outlook. This method is faulty and can be fatal because it leaves its practitioners unprepared for sharp turns and liable to be caught by surprise. This is one reason for their rejection of Marxism, which views all things in their contradictory development.

Basic Perspective

Another difference Marxists have with some black radicals concerns a basic perspective. As we have said, we believe that Negroes will not achieve equality or freedom in a capitalist America; they will get it through socialist revolution or through separation or migration. This flows from our analysis of American capitalism in its monopoly stage and from our analysis of the combined national-proletarian character of the Negro question.

What about those who see only one side of this dual character,



SOURCE OF BLACK NATIONALISM. New York cops bust into apartment of Harlem rent striker and haul him off to jail. Brutality by cops and their zealous defense of rent-gougers and other moneyed interests have fed growing nationalist mood in black ghettos.

only the national-racial side and not the proletarian? (Let us call them pure-and-simple nationalists, to distinguish them from black nationalists with a broader view, including socialist-nationalists.) Some of them think Negro equality can be won in this country without abolishing capitalist rule; others leave this open as a possibility. Neither, in our opinion, has thought the question through.

If the capitalists can give employment, education, housing and an end to police brutality, segregation and discrimination to 20 million Negroes, at the bottom of the social structure, then American capitalism would have succeeded in eliminating the most fundamental and urgent economic and social evils of our time. This would even enable it, some would even say entitle it, to endure indefinitely.

Reformist Line

Acceptance of such a possibility, or even a half-hope of it, implies the adoption of a non-revolutionary perspective and a reformist line of thought. It then would not be necessary to wage an uncompromising struggle for basic change in the power structure and in social relations. It would be enough for the crew to rock the boat so as to exert pressure on the captain — instead of organizing a mutiny to get rid of the captain and his slave ship.

A pure-and-simple nationalist outlook, which ignores the working-class element of the Negro struggle and its dynamics, that is, its implicitly anti-capitalist tendencies, runs the risk of being derailed at some point along the way because it fails to foresee the direction of the mass movement, both black and white, and the kind of resistance it must encounter from the capitalists. Negroes will play a leading role in any anti-capitalist revolution in this country, but it will not be successful if they are the only anti-capitalist force involved.

A third difference exists between us and those like Cruse who assume that not only the ideas and attitudes of white workers, but the ideas and attitudes of militant Negroes, will remain substantially unchanged. They underrate, even exclude, the influence of socialist ideas as formulated by Marxism in the coming stages of the fight for freedom.

There are actually three components, very unequally developed at this point, at work in the Negro movement: its proletarian composition, its nationalism and its socialism. The first two are already obvious; the third is still largely latent although distinctly implicit in its orientation in practice. The socialist element is small and embryonic at present, just as the conscious and avowed socialists are few. Will it remain this way?

Those black nationalists who

slight the socialist element inherent in their movement commit an error comparable to those who today slight black nationalism. Here the colonial revolution they feel kinship with has something to teach them. Cuba and Algeria have recently shown how a nationalist, democratic, revolutionary mass movement can, through conclusions derived from direct experience in struggle with imperialism and its agents, grow over into a consciously socialist movement, party and government.

We believe that this dynamic of the permanent revolution will be operative in the evolution of American black nationalism too. The further it goes in a revolutionary and anti-capitalist direction, the closer it comes to socialist, Marxist, policies, methods and outlook. We can be all the more confident of this because black nationalism in this country is far more urban and proletarian than rural and peasant.

A final point: despite differences and the critical exchange of views, black radicals and Marxists are both engaged in finding the solutions to the evils bred by capitalism. These specific answers are not given in any books. But Marxism is our method and it is too useful for us to surrender it until we can be shown a better one.

Compare Results

Let the non-Marxist black theoreticians try other methods and let's compare the results. Whatever they come up with that is good and useful we shall gladly adopt, as we have done in the past. There is plenty of room in Marxist theory to accommodate and incorporate everything progressive that develops out of the theory and practice of the Negro revolt. At the same time we believe the non-Marxist nationalists should try to think out their positions to the end and state them plainly, so that everybody can check and learn from the conclusions of both their tendency and ours as the struggle moves from one stage to the next.

While awaiting such tests, we proceed in the conviction that Marxism is relevant to the Negro struggle; that Marxists have much to learn from the black working-class ghetto that can make their theory more effective and complete; that black radicals have much to learn from Marxism that can be used to formulate a program to win freedom for the Negro people; that non-Marxist black radicals and white and black Marxists have so many things in common that they can and should work together in as many areas as possible, despite their differences; and that their common needs and further experience will bring them closer together and into genuine collaboration before, during and after the coming American revolution.

Fall Issue International Socialist Review

The Labor Bureaucrats and the 'White Backlash' by Tom Kerry. Why the labor officialdom kowtowing to the Democratic Party can't cope with the so-called "backlash."

Peking Curbs Union Struggle — A Letter from Japan by Eiichi Yamini. The eminent translator of Trotsky's works in Japan reports how the Japanese Communist Party betrayed a general strike to pave the way for better trade agreements between Japan and China.

Radicalism: Black and White — The NAACP and the Communist Party by Robert Vernon. Reviewing the recent book by Wilson Record, Vernon traces the zig-zag course of the CP, outlines the role of the NAACP in the Negro struggle, contrasting both with the emergent forces of black nationalism.

Popular Frontism in Ceylon by Ernest Germain. A detailed analysis of why the principal leaders of the Ceylonese Trotskyists abandoned their revolutionary principles and entered the capitalist Bandaranaike government.

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**INTERNATIONAL
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Letters From Our Readers

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

The Brazil Coup

New York, N.Y.

How low can some right-wing socialists sink in their departure from the elementary principles of socialism? Such a question may be naive after decades of treason of the right-wing social-democratic leaders in their international and domestic policies. Nevertheless, from time to time some special

shocking "exploits" of the right-wing "socialists" have to be brought to the attention of the working people.

We want here to divulge an appalling fact that a right-wing socialist magazine came out recently in an open defense of the military dictatorship in Brazil. The magazine in question is *Unser Tsait* is published in the Jewish language in New York as an organ of groups of the former members of "Bund" (the pre-war Jewish Socialist Party in Poland), who are now scattered throughout the world.

In its issue No. 6 there appears an article (or a correspondence) which gives a typical McCarthy-like, lying, reactionary description of the Goulart government as having been dominated or infiltrated by Communists. Goulart himself is accused that he "incited the soldiers against their officers, in order to execute the planned overthrow in May." According to the author of this article, the military fortunately foiled the red menace, chased Goulart out of the country and started to "renovate" Brazil.

The article is very apologetic about the activities of the new government. Even the mass persecution of all democratic elements is referred to as "purging the military and administrative apparatus of the Communist elements." The smashing of the labor organizations is described as an action "to build a no-party trade union movement like in the democratic countries." As a result of those wonderful achievements of the Brazilian military "the average citizen has been breathing freely!"

It is below the dignity of any decent person to argue with this despicable presentation of the character of the Brazilian military, reactionary coup which was condemned by all the Democratic shades of public opinion in the world (including even the "reservations" of the solid *New York Times*). The shocking fact is that a magazine, which calls itself "socialist," could print such an article without any protest from their own ranks.

A.B.

Scoop from Baltimore

Baltimore, Md.

What does Mayor McKeldin mean by his new position that there is no longer cause for alarm over possible riots?

I have personally "received reliable reports" that "outside agitators" plan to invade Baltimore and "prey on the minds" of the "flower of our youth" by appealing to "wild emotion." These "foreign agitators" plan to "foment riot" for their "own ends."

We must continue to stress with new vigour, the "extreme danger of following the rabble-rousing summons of destruction, which is the war-cry of the enemy seeking to infiltrate into our peaceful city."

These "unshorn," "alien," "agitators" have secured "through misrepresentation" the largest public hall in the city, and have been known to use the alias, "The Beatles."

A. Robert Kaufman

Farm Facts

Minneapolis, Minn.

The American family farmer is being driven into bankruptcy.

Democrat farm policy, essentially no different from Republican, is fostering the rapid growth of agricultural factory monopolies. Production per acre increases, farm land increases in value; but the farm ownership is concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. At the same time, Agriculture Secretary Freeman has admitted that two-thirds of the groceries are sold by ten per cent of the total retail food outlets. This growth of food production monopoly forces the individual farmer to the wall. These facts are illustrated, while sometimes hidden, in the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1962, published by the U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of Census. While by no means up to date, the trends in farm ownership and its relation to agricultural production and value are clearly shown.

In 1920, farm population was 30.1% of total U.S. population. In the most prosperous year since the Depression, 1944 (peak war production), the percentage was 18.5. In 1961 it was 8.1%.

In 1930, there were 6,546,000 farms in the U.S. In 1945 there were 5,967,000. In 1961, there were 3,811,000. Even President Johnson, a mouth-piece for capital, says the situation is getting worse. We hasten to add — worse for WHO?

Average value per farm acre in 1930 was \$48.52. In 1940, before the war "effort" pulled the economy out of depression, the value was \$31.71. In 1961 the value per acre was \$117.64. Total

value of physical farm assets in 1940 was \$53 billion. In 1962 it had become \$211.3 billion. The rich are truly getting richer.

We do not have to be reminded that the most fortunate geographic position together with all the economic and political advantages of U.S. imperialism has made it possible that U.S. agriculture could feed the entire world. However, because we live in a system that produces food for profit, the system cannot even feed its very fortunate native working people, while billions of more tragically exploited foreign workers face more cruel starvation.

Colonial people are saying "ENOUGH!" to foreign domination and starvation. The Negro (or Afro-American) is saying "ENOUGH!" to slave-citizenship. On the farm front of the fight for justice, the National Farmers Organization and the U.S. Farmers Association are two groups that are developing programs that cannot help but illustrate the fundamental antagonism between property rights and human rights. The National Farmers Organization (NFO) is attempting to organize on the basis of collective bargaining with the middleman. The U.S. Farmers Association has given much support to the Freedom Now Movement. In their press and on their platform they have supported the defendants in the framed-up kidnapping case of Monroe, North Carolina and others. The poor are truly getting wiser.

Jim Krahn

The Left in Venezuela

New York, N.Y.

Izquierda, official newspaper of the Movement of the Revolutionary Left of Venezuela (declared illegal by the "democratic" regime there) has resumed publication as an underground weekly. Recent issues have reported on the activities of the guerrillas in the countryside and in the cities. According to *Izquierda*, there are guerrilla units now fighting in several states.

The Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) is calling for aid from the cities to the "Ezequiel Zamora" front which is under heavy attack by 1,500 government troops. MIR called on the people to collect medicine, money, arms, etc. Pictures have been shown of U.S.-made B-25 planes which are reported by *Izquierda* to have bombed areas sympathetic to the guerrillas.

The guerrillas of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) claimed the government forces have suffered 60 casualties and so far there have been none for the FALN.

Also, it is reported that in the recent student election at the University of Caracas, for the seventh time in a row, the left won the vote. The last election increased the margin for the MIR-Communist Party bloc. The rightists came in second and the ruling government party, *Acción Democrática*, got only a handful of votes. Of the nine schools at the university, the left won solid majorities in seven.

P.V.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

"THREATS OF VIOLENCE, ECONOMIC PRESSURE, AND SWIFT LEGISLATIVE ACTION" were prominent features of the Jim Crow movement to preserve segregation in the Southern schools as children returned to class for the fall term this month.

"Most of the Southern states stood pat, thanks to the Supreme Court's failure to order the abolition of segregation this autumn. It will be October before the Supreme Court will even begin discussion of when and how its anti-segregation decision of last May should be put into effect. The Southern white supremacists are using the time to work out various schemes for evading eventual desegregation orders.

"In some of the border states, local officials, deciding that evasion would be too difficult and costly, voted to allow Negroes to begin attending some previously all-white schools . . .

"But in White Sulphur Springs . . . the enemies of Negro equality stirred up a 'revolt.' They induced 300 of the high school's 400 students to walk out of class and march through the streets carrying placards that said, 'No Negroes wanted in our schools.' — Sept. 20, 1954.

20 Years Ago

"GRAND RAPIDS, MICH. — THE MORE THAN 2,300 DELEGATES TO THE CIO United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers Ninth Annual Convention, in day and night session since last Monday at the Civic Auditorium here, last night adjourned the stormiest national gathering of the union's history.

"They are returning to their locals with the key convention issue, the no-strike pledge, placed for final decision in the hands of the entire membership through a referendum to be held within the next 90 days. This final disposition of the no-strike issue was voted overwhelmingly by the militant rank-and-file delegates in opposition to most of the top leadership, after a precedent-shattering four-day bitter conflict.

"Most important and decisive development of this history-making convention of America's largest and most dynamic industrial union was the rise of a new, militant force, led by the recently established Rank-and-File Caucus, which in its first struggle against the entire International leadership not only made the no-strike surrender the dominant issue of the convention but rolled up a vote of 36 percent for outright scrapping of the no-strike pledge." — Sept. 23, 1944.

It Was Reported in the Press

Advertisement for America — It was reported in Stockholm, Sweden, that a Swedish housewife was stopped from corresponding with a Negro prisoner in the death cell in Louisiana State Prison. Prison authorities informed her that white people are not allowed to write to colored prisoners. The prisoner, Edgar Labat, has been in the death cell for eleven years and has received eight stays of execution through appeals. He was convicted of raping a white woman. His Swedish correspondent, Mrs. Solveig Johansson, read about his case in the paper four years ago and began the correspondence. She is convinced he is innocent.

You Should See the Old One — Reporting on the several thousand New York Negro and Puerto Rican parents who enrolled their children in better schools outside their neighborhood, the Sept. 15 *New York Times* described this incident: "One Negro mother, after enrolling her son at Public School 46 in the Bronx, at which most of the students are white, turned to the principal with awe and satisfaction and said, 'It's a beautiful school.' P.S. 46 was opened 53 years ago."

Socialist Gradualism? — Polish officials are concerned about the country's consumption of alcohol, which is said to have doubled since the pre-war period. But they are trying to cope with the problem flexibly. "We are conducting the struggle against alcoholism in a realistic way," said the Deputy Minister of Health, "We do not aim

at prohibition or abstinence, but first of all the liquidation of the custom of becoming drunk."

A Question — A white family from Massachusetts toured Harlem accompanied by newsmen, photographers and a sound truck. One newsmen reported that as the entourage made its way a man leaned out of a tenement window and yelled down to a woman he knew, "Hey, baby, what's going on down there?" "It's Visit Harlem Week," she answered. Came the rejoinder: "Who'n hell wants to visit Harlem, baby?"

Oops! — Senator Kenneth Keating, Republican incumbent in New York made a tour of the eateries of New York City's East Side to suggest to the residents of the area that he was practically one of their own. Winding up the tour at Ratner's famed Delancey St. restaurant, he ordered a corned beef sandwich. Ratner's is the city's best known dairy restaurant. Keating settled for blintzes.

Pitchmen — The Rev. William Glenesk of Brooklyn took a whack at Norman Vincent Peale and Billy Graham, the "matinee idols" of

the church who succeeded by "playing it safe." "The salesmen of religion," he said, "must boil it down, remove the rough edges, wrap it up and put a handle on it so it is easy to carry if this product is to sell." Noting that neither Peale nor Graham have done anything for civil rights, he said they are "too much the matinee idols of a nation under compulsion to believe in a God they have adjusted to a system. Both gentlemen stick to the outskirts of social justice . . . they play it safe."

Campaign Specials — Tiffany's is peddling gilded silver "LBJ" and "Goldwater" campaign buttons at \$5 each. Although not available at Tiffany's, tin "De-Berry" buttons may be obtained at his campaign headquarters at 15 cents each.

Help Wanted — In large measure this column depends on the contributions of its readers. When you come across an item in your local paper which you think lends itself to use in the column why not clip it out and mail it to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003. It will be appreciated.

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Thought for the Week

"This summer we beheld a pair of gatherings at the summit of political power, each of which was completely dominated by a single man; the one a man of dangerous ignorance and devastating uncertainty, the other a man whose public house is splendid in its every appearance but whose private lack of ethics must inevitably introduce termites at the very foundation. The electorate is left homeless, then, by such a pair of nominees." From a Sept. 14 sermon by the Very Rev. Francis B. Sayres, Jr., Dean of the National Cathedral (Episcopal) in Washington, grandson of Woodrow Wilson.

Detroit SWP Candidate Withdraws In Favor of Freedom Now Nominee

DETROIT — The Wayne County Convention of the Socialist Workers Party on Sept. 12 decided to endorse the full county ticket nominated by the Freedom Now Party.

Delegates to the convention voted unanimously in favor of a motion that the SWP "not run candidates for State Senate, State Legislature or Wayne County offices," and that the party "support and actively campaign for the Freedom Now Party candidates in these races."

Richard T. David, who had previously announced his candidacy in the 23rd State Legislative District and had campaigned extensively, declared his withdrawal in favor of Hugh Cleage, Freedom Now Party candidate in that district.

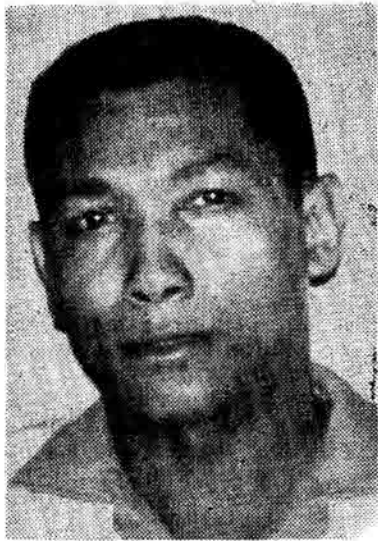
Important Step

Said David: "The formation of the Freedom Now Party, in my opinion and in the opinion of the Socialist Workers Party, is an important step forward for the black people of this state . . .

"As long as working people and black people remain tied to either of the old parties, there can be no real progress toward racial equality, jobs for all, economic security, or peace.

"The unions ought to break with the old parties and create an independent labor party, instead of being a tail to the Democratic donkey. The Negro people ought to turn their back on the old parties too, create their own party, and run their own representatives for office who will be independent of the old party machines and responsible only to the Negro community.

"The Freedom Now Party has



Richard David

taken the first step in this direction . . . I welcome this step and want to encourage it. I am withdrawing from the 23rd District race in order to unite the anti-Democratic and anti-Republican vote behind the Freedom Now Party candidate. It so happens there is no Republican in this race. When I withdraw there will be only the Freedom Now Party candidate, Hugh Cleage, and the Democratic Party candidate, Maxine Young. Mrs. Young represents a party that has betrayed the Negro people over and over again. I urge the voters to vote for and elect her Freedom Now Party opponent on Nov. 3."

The Michigan SWP is holding its convention Sept. 19 to nominate its candidates for state-wide offices and to file its national ticket — Clifton DeBerry for President and Edward Shaw for Vice President.

Negro Independent Polls 24,000 Votes In Detroit Election

DETROIT — Dr. Louis J. Cleage and Richard Henry, independent Negro candidates for the Detroit Board of Education, received 24,261 votes and 23,153 votes respectively in the Sept. 1 primary election.

Attorney Henry W. Cleage, militant Negro candidate for Judge of Recorder's Court, received 11,516 votes, running eighth in a field of 14 candidates.

All three candidates ran independently of the two major parties and with the endorsement of the Group On Advanced Leadership (GOAL), the Michigan Freedom Now Party and the Michigan Socialist Workers Party. Although they did not get enough votes to qualify for the November elections, the three independent candidates got the support of a substantial section of the Negro community. This was despite the opposition of the "responsible Negro leadership," the labor leadership and the Democratic and Republican Party machines.

In addition to calling for support in the September primary to independent Negro candidates, the Michigan Socialist Workers Party called for the defeat of the so-called 'Home-Owners' Ordinance put forward by racists to legalize housing discrimination. This racist ordinance won with 137,671 yes votes to 111,994 no votes. It will now be tested in the courts.

Thomas L. Poindexter, author of the ordinance and leader of the white homeowners' forces, was nominated for the one vacant Common Council seat with 63,683 votes. His opponent in November will be Jackie Vaughan III, a Negro and former head of the Michigan Young Democrats.

Demands Gov't Not Balk Farmers' Holding Action

MINNEAPOLIS — Everett Luoma, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota, accused those forces which are attempting to break the livestock holding action of the farmers with the murder of two National Farmers Organization pickets. He also demanded that Governor Rolvåg declare publicly that he would not send the Minnesota National Guard against NFO members attempting to stop shipments of cattle during this holding action.

"Those that would ship cattle during this holding action are scabs and should be treated as such," Luoma said. "The basic aggression involved in this struggle between the farmers and the chain stores," he continued, "is the artificially low prices the chain stores are paying the farmers. The farmers have every right to defend themselves against this aggression. The only way they can defend themselves is by organizing and gaining control of pricing their own production."

The two pickets killed Sept. 9 were Melvin L. Cummins and Howard Falk, part of a group of some 500 NFO members and supporters who tried to halt a truck at the Equity Livestock yards in Bonduel, Wis. They were crushed to death by the vehicle. The driver, a part-time deputy sheriff, thereupon aimed a pistol at the crowd of infuriated farmers and was whisked to safety by police. He has been charged with homicide by reckless conduct.

The holding action began Aug. 19 and involves farmers in 23 states from the Rocky Mts. to the East Coast. It is especially strong in the Middle West. Its aim is to force the meat packing companies to sign contracts setting satisfactory minimum prices for livestock. To compel the packers to sign up,



Everett Luoma

the farmers are holding their animals off the market.

The farmers are very militant in picketing and manning checkpoints along the highways. They have had numerous clashes with local and state police and scabs. Firehoses were turned on 400 pickets in Chippewa Falls, Wis.; police with dogs guarded the stockyards in Sioux City, Iowa. NFO members have been arrested in various Midwest states for "trespass," "boycott," and alleged damage to scab trucks. State police have been ordered to "get tough" with the NFO and use of the national guard has been threatened in a number of states.

Luoma, the SWP candidate in Minnesota, has been visiting NFO checkpoints and farm festivals, distributing leaflets expressing SWP support of the holding action. He has received hearty welcomes.

YPSL Wouldn't Go for Johnson

Socialist Party Suspends Youth Group

Barry Sheppard

The Socialist Party on Sept. 8 suspended indefinitely its affiliated youth organization, the Young Peoples Socialist League (YPSL), because the youth group at its Labor Day convention came out against both Johnson and Goldwater.

The YPSL is demanding the same right to present its viewpoint publicly as the right wing of the SP has to present its pro-Democratic Party views. At its convention, the YPSL passed a resolution declaring that it would not consider itself under the discipline of the Socialist Party as long as that party did not discipline its own members who are publicly supporting Johnson. For example, Norman Thomas, honorary national chairman of the SP, has been speaking around the country, advocating support of Johnson and the Democrats, and so have other SP spokesmen.

All-Inclusive?

The Socialist Party claims to be "all-inclusive" and tolerant of many different tendencies having the right to present their views publicly. But its consistent practice has been to bend over backwards in allowing the right wing to do and say anything at all but to come down hard on the left wing and to stifle and silence it.

Even though the openly pro-Johnson group in the SP failed to gain a majority at the last party convention, the SP has no trouble in living with the public activities of these campaigners for the Democratic ticket. But when the YPSL merely passes a resolution stating its opposition to the two capitalist parties (an elementary duty of

socialists) the SP leadership within the week suspends them for taking a position "outside the basic framework of democratic socialism." That's almost on a par with the clause in the SP constitution which provides for the expulsion of any SP member who supports the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

YSA Invitation

In view of the stand taken by the YPSL on independent political action and opposition to the capitalist parties, the National Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance has sent a letter, inviting it to join with the YSA in supporting the campaign of Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw for President and Vice President on the SWP ticket.



Norman Thomas

The leading body of the YSA pointed out that the SWP campaign is the only national electoral opposition to the two capitalist parties in 1964, and that a central issue of the SWP campaign is independent political action by Negroes and working people. One YPSL local and several individual YPSLs have already joined YSAers and others in supporting Youth for DeBerry and Shaw committees.

Young Socialist Paper To Become Magazine

The editorial board of the Young Socialist has announced that the monthly youth newspaper will be changed to a magazine. The Young Socialist newspaper was founded in 1957, and quickly became a pole of attraction for young people seeking a socialist solution to the problems of war, racism, poverty and witch-hunt. The group which grew around the Young Socialist was by 1960 strong enough to establish the Young Socialist Alliance, a national youth organization.

The new Young Socialist magazine represents a step forward for the YS. It will carry more discussion and articles of interest to young people. The first issue, just off the press, contains articles on the election campaign, Vietnam, Harlem, an interview with students who went to Cuba, book reviews, and other features. Appearing five times during the school year, the magazine will cost 25¢ per single issue, \$1 for five issues. It can be ordered from: Young Socialist, Box 471, New York 3, N.Y.

How 'Birdman' Died

A Prison Revelation

By Constance Weissman

Robert Stroud, the Birdman of Alcatraz, need not have died in the federal prison medical center in Springfield, Missouri, last November. A fellow inmate, Paul Salstrom, has revealed that Stroud, who died of a heart attack, had unsuccessfully begged for medical attention because, as he told a friend, he thought he was dying.

At midnight Nov. 20, 1963, guards coming on duty were informed by those going off that the doctor-on-duty should be called for Stroud. Salstrom relates in an article in *The Peacemaker*, the pacifist journal published in Cincinnati. At 1 a.m. Stroud again called for medical help to no avail. Only after he was found dead in his cell next morning was the doctor called. The doctor's demand why he had not been called during the night was overheard by a number of inmates. The man whose tragic but inspiring story of life imprisonment became known to millions of Americans through the movie, *Birdman of Alcatraz*, might not have died if he had been given medical attention since heart failure can often be prevented by heart stimulation.

Salstrom wrote from prison about Stroud's death at the time but the letter failed to pass the prison censor. Now free, he has revealed the facts and he also documents other cases of mistreatment of prisoners at Springfield. In the summer of 1963, a young man named Glenn May apparently starved to death in solitary con-

finement in the acute psychiatric ward after being transferred there by a psychiatrist who thought that if May were ignored he might eat. "Psychological factors of some sort apparently were making it hard for Mr. May to eat," Salstrom writes, "but he had eaten small amounts of oatmeal and ice cream almost regularly when coaxed by other inmates while he was in a medical ward. He was apparently never force-fed."

In another instance, a prisoner named Cox, who was unable to work because he would black-out on occasions, was put in "the hole" for refusal to work. He died the same day he was transferred while completely isolated. "The medical staff had been cognizant of his disease, a brain tumor, but it was nonetheless possible for a guard to transfer him to isolation in 'the hole,'" recounts Salstrom.

The almost daily incidents of brutality on the part of the guards included the breaking of a prisoner's jaw by five guards attacking him simultaneously. The victim was not transferred to a medical ward for two days, when a psychiatrist found his jaw was broken.

There is no doubt that there is more violence in the acute psychiatric ward (isolation) than elsewhere in the prison. Says Salstrom: "I would not be exaggerating if I said that there is no respect in which the treatment of inmates on that ward is as humane as the treatment accorded the hogs up at the prison farm piggery."