

DeBerry Hits FBI Smear of Negroes

By Clifton DeBerry
Socialist Workers Party
Candidate for President

I urge every black person in this country to read the full text of the FBI report on the summer "riots" in the Negro ghettos which was released Sept. 26. It is a real education in the workings of the police mind — and the anti-Negro prejudiced police mind at that.

This report marks the entry of

the FBI into a new field. At the direct order of President Lyndon B. Johnson, plans for meeting the monumental problems in the country's black ghettos are now being drawn up, not by the trained sociologist, the expert in race relations, the educator, the city planner, but by the narrow-minded flat foot.

The main answer to the social explosions of the summer, ac-

cording to the report, is increased police repression, specifically, riot-training for local police forces. This recommendation was immediately picked up by President Johnson who ordered the FBI to provide such training at its National Academy. Johnson also ordered the army to provide special riot-training for the national guard units of the various states as well as to local police forces. Among those to whom the offer is extended are, of course, the lily-white, openly racist forces of such states as Mississippi and Alabama.

To read the FBI report, one would think that black citizens have no reason whatever to fear or distrust the police, that there are no economic or social problems which are not being adequately dealt with by existing programs and plans, that the thou-

sands upon thousands of Negroes, young and old, men and women, employed and unemployed, who participated in the summer revolts in the ghettos were common criminals or completely irresponsible people with child-like minds who got stirred up by "rabble rousers" and went on a spree of destruction "without purpose or object."

Social Problems

In the entire 5,000-word report, only two paragraphs mention any social or economic problems, and these passages simply insult the black community in the following fashion: "Drunkenness, narcotics-peddling, prostitution, idleness, frustration, poverty and lack of opportunity are part of the atmosphere that many people in these districts breathe." The report contains not a single reference to

racial prejudice or exploitation.

A huge section of the report is devoted to providing arguments against charges of local police brutality. In dealing with the Harlem explosion, the report doesn't even mention how the fighting between police and Negroes started, or how it proceeded. That section is devoted almost entirely to a slanderous description of the 15-year-old Negro boy, James Powell, and to a completely one-sided and inaccurate account of the incident in which Powell was killed. (It was the killing of Powell by an off-duty cop that precipitated the Harlem revolt.) The cruel slander against the dead Powell youth (made up of such assertions as "he had begun indiscriminate fighting as early as seven years of age") is put there

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African Nations Demand End Of US Intervention in Congo

By Dick Roberts

SEPT. 30 — The leading organization of the independent African nations last week pointed the finger of blame for the situation in the Congo directly at the U.S. To make clear to the world that Africans do not support Moise Tshombe, Washington's and Brussels's reactionary Congolese puppet, or the war he is waging with white mercenaries against his own people, the organization of African Unity is sending its African Reconciliation Commission to the U.S. Its mission is to tell President Johnson to stop sending military personnel and supplies to the Congo.

Washington was thrown into a fury and the State Department, dispensing with usual diplomatic courtesies, announced that the African delegates would not be received. President Johnson, it said, just couldn't find the time and there was "no further comment."

But Washington's alarm over the Organization of African Unity's action was revealed Sept. 25 when Secretary of State Dean Rusk was sent to address the American Negro Leadership Conference on Africa. This was the first time in recent years that a Secretary of State (and a Georgia-born one, to boot) has condescended to appear before a predominantly black group.

Bigwigs

Rusk's assignment was to head off opposition to U.S. policy on the Congo among this country's Negroes and to induce the Negro leaders to line up behind it. The importance Washington attaches to this was indicated by the galaxy of bigwig officials sent along to the conference with Rusk. These included Averell Harriman, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs; Adlai Stevenson, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations; and G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs.

Despite Washington's rude announcement that the five-man commission from Africa would not be received, the OAU had no intention of allowing the Johnson administration to evade a confrontation. Kenya's Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta made it clear that despite Washington's rebuff, the delegation was leaving for the U.S. Its membership consists of the Foreign Ministers of Guinea and Ghana, the United Arab Republic's Minister of Cultural and Technical Relations, and Joseph A. Murumbi, Kenya's Minister of State.

Murumbi, head of the delegation, left Nairobi by plane Sept.



Jomo Kenyatta

24. He is to be joined by the others in Washington.

So far, U.S. imperialism is known to have supplied Tshombe with C-130 troop transports, B-26 medium-range bombers, C-47 cargo planes, T-28 trainers, and a contingent of paratroopers. In addition, Cuban counter-revolutionary pilots were released or lent out by the Central Intelligence Agency for service with Tshombe's mercenary forces.

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See Him Best Bet To Keep Unions, Negroes in Line

By Barry Sheppard

Early in September a group of important capitalists, many of them Republicans of long standing, met at the White House to organize a National Independent Committee for President Johnson and Senator Humphrey. The meeting was crawling with board chairmen, presidents and top executives of major corporations and banking firms — Texaco, Ford Motor Co., Kaiser Aluminum, Curtiss-Wright, Inland Steel, Burroughs, American Machine & Foundry, Western Pacific Railroad, etc., etc.

These magnates are representative of an unprecedented swing-over of big businessmen from what had been their favorite capitalist party, the Republican, to their alternate capitalist party, the Democratic. These men, who in large measure own and control the U.S., had looked over the presidential candidates and decided that Johnson is the better man for them in 1964.

Both Goldwater and Johnson are loyal to big business' policies of hot and cold war, of keeping the Negroes at the bottom of the nation's social and economic pyramid and the unions in their



Lyndon Johnson

place, and of stifling dissent here at home. But despite Goldwater's daily hosannas to "private enterprise," the more perspicacious capitalists see that Johnson is by far the slicker, and consequently the more suitable, candidate for them. They prefer his subtler technique in carrying out their program domestically and internationally. They fear that if Goldwater were elected his outspokenness and brashness might stir up that sleep-

ing giant, American labor, fire the Negro revolt to even greater heat, and lose ground for U.S. imperialism in the many delicate and difficult situations confronting it abroad.

John T. O'Connor, co-chairman of the National Independent Committee for President Johnson and Senator Humphrey and president of Merck & Co., the huge drug company, praised Johnson's policies as beneficial "to the business community" and credited the present boom in profits "in large measure" to them (Sept. 4 *New York Times*). Doubtlessly he had in mind such acts as Johnson's tax cut for big business and his intervention on the companies' side in the railroad negotiations to force a defeat on the unions and the loss of thousands of jobs to automation.

And, also, in addition to the deserved support he is getting in return from industrialists and bankers, there has been a mass migration of conservative newspapers onto his bandwagon. The two most influential newspaper chains in the country — the yellow-press Hearst papers, which haven't supported a Democratic presidential ticket in 32 years, and the reactionary Scripps-Howard chain, which hasn't supported the Democrats in 28 years — have come out strongly for Johnson's re-election. Such popularity, as the masters of ceremonies say, must be deserved.

Champion of Poor?

Most liberals, labor bureaucrats and Negro leaders are trying to paint Johnson up as a friend of labor, a defender of the Negro people, a champion of the poor, and a lover of peace. But the big-business support he is getting, as well as his voting record in Congress against labor and civil-rights, and his recent bellicose acts in the Gulf of Tonkin — refute such claims.

Basically Goldwater and Johnson stand for the same things. Goldwater is cruder, Johnson has more finesse. The differences between them are matters of technique and degree — not differences of kind.

The only candidates to offer the American voters a chance to vote for a program fundamentally opposed to that of Johnson and Goldwater — on unemployment, labor, housing, civil rights, the witch-hunt, nuclear policy, Vietnam, the Congo, Cuba and on many other issues — are Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw, the presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party. A vote for them is not a vote for a lesser or greater evil but a vote for a positive good

THE QUESTIONS REMAIN

Lane Argues Assassination Still Unsolved

By George Lavan

Upon receiving the Warren Commission's report on the assassination of Kennedy, President Johnson commended the Commission for its determination to get "the whole truth" and expressed the hope that it would allay the widespread suspicions at home and abroad regarding the bloody events in Dallas last November.

Though the publication of the Commission's report on Sept. 28 has largely persuaded American public opinion to the official version of Oswald's guilt, it has by no means dispelled all doubts nor silenced the foremost critics of the official version such as Attorney Mark Lane. He charged the report leaves the assassination unsolved. Abroad, the report has only broken the near-unanimity of public and newspaper disbelief in

Washington's explanation of the case.

In France, for example, both *L'Humanité*, the Communist newspaper, and the conservative *Le Figaro* were skeptical of the Commission's findings. The latter said that the report "does not provide a decisive refutation of the serious criticisms made up to now of the official theory of the assassination." In Switzerland the *Gazette de Lausanne* wrote that "far from clearing up all the obscure points, the report adds some confusion."

Doubts Linger

A conservative paper in Copenhagen declared the report "does not bring us one small step closer to the real truth about the assassination." Tokyo's *Mainichi Shimbun* stated: "Doubts still linger as to whether or not the

Warren Commission was successful in getting to the bottom of the Kennedy assassination."

Similar citations could be multiplied from papers in almost every country and from the whole range of the political spectrum.

Prominent individuals like Bertrand Russell in England, who organized a "Who Killed Kennedy Committee," emphatically reject the Commission's report. Russell declared it was a "sorrily incompetent document and covers its authors with shame."

In New York Mark Lane, the attorney, who — with only the possible exception of the members and counsel of the Warren Commission itself — has delved deeper into the Dallas events than any other American, was unsparing in his denunciation of the report. He

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THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

A cut in the size of longshore gangs on the East Coast was recommended Sept. 26 by a federal mediation panel as the International Longshoremen's Association prepared to strike for a new contract. The panel recommended a gradual reduction of three men per gang (from the usual 20-man gangs) by 1966. The companies demand an immediate reduction to 14-man gangs. The union points out that such a reduction would mean a loss of over 3,000 jobs in the Port of New York alone. The mediators' recommendation includes a provision for a guaranteed annual wage for longshoremen with a certain amount of time in the industry. In any case, it is likely that the companies will succeed in getting some reduction in gang size from this year's negotiations.

Even the U.S. Dept. of Labor agrees that longshoremen loading cotton in the Port of Galveston, Texas, work too hard for their own good. Because of a piece-rate system of payment for loading cotton in that port, a tradition has grown up whereby longshore gangs work so fast that only young men in top shape can keep up. In addition, the gangs number only 15 men each, instead of the usual 20, so that the bonus money is divided among less hands. The companies, local union officials and some of the "working fools" on the gangs themselves, resist any seniority system which would keep men on the job when they get older because that would slow the pace of work, and hence keep down the amount of bonus to be divided. The "working fools" can make \$6 per hour under this system — until they become sick or old, which they do, long before their time.

Teamster Local 707 in New York City rejected the settlement accepted last month by negotiators for several New York City locals



James Hoffa

and the trucking employers. Local 707 will try to get more. The settlement called for a 34-cent-an-hour wage increase over three years plus fringe benefits. The national general freight contract signed last January by International Brotherhood of Teamsters President James R. Hoffa called for a similar package, but the direct wage increase was only 28 cents an hour.

These facts, relatively small news in themselves, are causing a muffled stir within the Teamsters Union where considerable quiet jockeying is going on in the wake of the recent Hoffa convictions. Some area Teamster leaders have long been chafing under the trend to centralization pushed by Hoffa, and the fact that the New York area locals did somewhat better than the national contract — and that at least one local is going for even more — is expected to become a factor in the sparring now going on. The New York area Teamsters, under John J. O'Rourke, head of Joint Council 16, had refused to enter the national-contract negotiations.

Capacity Audience Hears Cuba Panel At N.Y. Meeting

NEW YORK — Five young people, who went to Cuba this summer in defiance of the State Department's ban on travel there, discussed their trip before an overflow crowd at the Militant Labor Forum on Sept. 25. The forum indicated wide interest among youth about Cuba. About 250 people, most of them young, jammed the hall at 116 University Place to hear the first-hand reports from Cuba. The panelists, who answered questions raised by moderator Barry Sheppard and the audience, were Joel Agee, son of the famous author and formerly a student in East Berlin, Anne Kramer, student from Los Angeles City College, Allen Krebs, a sociologist, Sharon Krebs, a Columbia University student, and William Sumner from San Francisco State College.

The speakers gave their impressions of Cuban life, from food rationing to art. All agreed that their trip to the revolutionary island had made a profound impression upon them. They seemed to have been struck most by the spirit of co-operation and genuine brotherhood they found there.

Genuine Freedom

Joel Agee contrasted life in Cuba with the stultifying atmosphere in Eastern Europe. He reported that as far as he could observe there was genuine freedom for the artist, and real enthusiasm behind the efforts of the revolution to spread culture to all the people.

They found that another aspect of Cuban freedom is the absence of racial discrimination. American Negro youth, Anne Kramer reported, who were on the trip felt free of racial oppression for the first time.

Allen Krebs pointed out that while the U.S. imposed blockade has hurt Cuba economically, there is enough food for everyone. Food is distributed equally through the rationing system, and all children under seven get one quart of milk per day.

Their reception in Cuba was very warm and friendly, and the Cuban people proudly showed them their new homes and other gains of the revolution. They estimated that about 80 per cent of the people support the regime, with most of the others not hostile enough to fight against it. In fact, they said that many anti-Castro Cubans declared they would fight for Cuba if the U.S. invaded the island.

...U.S. in Congo

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In the early days of its intervention in South Vietnam the U.S. was largely able to conceal the facts. But world attention on the Congo crisis, sharpened by the OAU's protests, is making it impossible for the U.S. to disguise its neo-colonialist role. What makes the situation all the more desperate for Washington and the U.S. corporations who in the past few years have acquired tremendous Congolese holdings, is that Tshombe and his mercenaries are losing. Lumumbist forces, headed by Christopher Gbenye, already control vast areas and have a provisional government in Stanleyville.

Since it is considering even more massive and brutal intervention in the Congo, the State Department and its opinion-molders are worried about black nationalist agitation on the issue among American Negroes. Hence the attempt to line up the Negro leaders here at home. Among those attending the conference were Ralph Bunche, NAACP head Roy Wilkins, Urban League head Whitney Young, Jr., and, acting as co-chairman, Martin Luther King.

McComb Cops Try to Pin Racist Bombing on Negroes

By Ed Smith

A wave of more than 100 arrests of Negroes in McComb, Miss., last week, followed a police frame-up of voter-registration workers who have been active in McComb since June 22. McComb cops made the ridiculous assertion that the civil-rights workers had bombed the home of Ardis Garner, a Negro who had been fired after one month's work on the McComb police force.

Garner, who was the first and only Negro to serve on the McComb force, was obviously fired because of his plans to testify before a federal Civil Rights Advisory Commission in Jackson. His home was the scene of the sixteenth racist bombing in McComb since the beginning of the summer in which four persons, including two children, have been injured.

Many of the civil-rights workers were arrested under a Mississippi law passed last May making illegal any attempt to bring about political or social change — in other words, outlawing any civil-rights work. Violators of the law are termed "criminal syndicalists."

One SNCC worker reports that 147 state highway patrolmen have recently been added to the 26-man McComb force. "They're stopping everybody now," he said, "and their stock question is, 'Hey, nigger, where y'all going?'"

Three of the victims of police-KKK terrorism in McComb took their problem to President Johnson Sept. 24. Johnson responded by suggesting that maybe the Justice Department could open an FBI branch office in McComb. This isn't exactly the kind of protection the rights workers had hoped for.

J. Edgar Hoover's record is well



J. Edgar Hoover

known in the South. The FBI agents establish a palsy-walsy relationship with the local cops and the agency leans over backwards to discover loopholes and a lack of jurisdiction to excuse its blatant support of the Southern police and its long-standing reluctance to involve itself in civil-rights cases.

Increased racist violence in Mississippi — ten of the McComb bombings have occurred since Aug. 28 — completely justify the urgent pleas of the Mississippi Negroes at the Democratic Party convention for federal protection upon their return home.

Aaron Henry, state president of the NAACP, warned that Negroes in Mississippi's Delta region are no longer willing to abide by the philosophy of non-violence and declared that the McComb situation could develop into "a king-size race riot."

"I wonder what they really expect us to do," he asked, "when the FBI just stands around and takes notes and the only people arrested are Negroes?"

...Hits FBI Anti-Negro Smear

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simply in an attempt to justify the killing.

In addition, the FBI report attacks the idea — advanced by the civil-rights movement — of civilian review boards to handle charges of police brutality. This point is thrown into the report on the fabricated grounds that the FBI "investigation revealed that where there is an outside civilian review board the restraint of the police was so great that effective action against the rioters appeared to be impossible. . . . In short, the police were so careful to avoid accusations of improper conduct that they were virtually paralyzed."

You can tell that to all the black people who got their heads bloodied in Rochester and Philadelphia. The FBI assertion, incidentally, was flatly denied by city officials in Rochester and Philadelphia, the two cities involved which have public review boards.

In this section of its report, the FBI utilizes what purports to be a serious government document for crude propaganda to bolster local cops against the demands of the civil-rights movement.

On the one hand the report makes no claim that the "riots" were planned or led by anyone, but on the other it drags in references to Malcolm X and Harlem rent-strike leader Jesse Gray, and to alleged ex-Communists in an obvious attempt to lay the basis for a witch-hunt against the more militant Negro leaders.

In another section, the report goes fishing for stool pigeons within the Negro movement. It says it has interviewed Negro leaders who have offered information, and recommends further "interviews" by local authorities.

This report clearly lays the basis for a new approach to the civil-rights movement by the capitalist power structure. It is the

approach which has been traditional among Dixiecrat officials, and the approach which has been loudly advocated by Goldwater. The report approaches the struggle for equality in the Negro communities as fundamentally a police problem, involving not one bit of justified protest, but purely criminal activity which must be met first and foremost by police repression.

Conservative Negro leaders like Roy Wilkins, who thought he was being clever when he requested an FBI probe of the ghetto outbreaks, may think they came off lucky in this report because they are not mentioned. But their program — such as the demand for a public review board — is mentioned, and denounced as a virtual plot to discredit and immobilize the police. This report is an ominous development for the whole Negro community.

N.Y. Meeting to Demand Police Review Board

NEW YORK — The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee is sponsoring a meeting titled "Police Brutality Must Stop! Civilian Review Board Is Needed Now!" on Tuesday, Oct. 6, at 8 p.m. It will be held at the Overseas Press Club at 54 W. 40th St.

Theodore Weiss, New York City Councilman, will speak. He is the sponsor of the bill in the City Council for a civilian review board.

David Shapiro, a prominent civil-liberties lawyer, will also speak.

Judge Hubert Delany, the distinguished Negro jurist and former justice of the New York Domestic Relations Court, will chair the meeting.

Further information may be obtained from the ECLC, 421 Seventh Ave.

Weekly Calendar of Events

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

THE BLACK REVOLT IN AMERICA. Speaker, James Shabazz, associate of Malcolm X. Fri., Oct. 16, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., rm. 307. Contrib. 75c. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

"The NFO Livestock Holding Action — What Farmers Want in '64." Speaker, Joseph Johnson, Minneapolis-St. Paul organizer Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 9, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

CLEVELAND

EDWARD SHAW, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President, speaks on Why a Vote for Johnson or Goldwater Is a Vote for War. Sunday, Oct. 11, 7:30 p.m. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave. A usp. Cleveland Militant Forum.

DETROIT

THREE STUDENTS RECENTLY RETURNED FROM CUBA, speak on What They Saw There and What Has Happened to Them Since. Fri., Oct. 9, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward Ave. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

HEAR SOCIALIST VIEWS ON RADIO. Every Monday, 7:15-7:30 p.m. Station WQRS-FM (105.1).

LOS ANGELES

CLIFTON DeBERRY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, speaks on

The Negro Vote in '64. Saturday, Oct. 10, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

MINNEAPOLIS

EDWARD SHAW, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice President speaks on Why a Vote for Johnson or Goldwater Is a Vote for War. Fri., Oct. 9, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. A usp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

Symposium on THE UNITED NATIONS — PEACE AGENCY OR POLICE AGENCY? Panelists: Neil Haworth, National Secretary, Committee for Nonviolent Action (CNVA); Charles P. Howard, Sr., UN and foreign correspondent for Howard News Service; Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator. Fri., Oct. 9, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

SAN FRANCISCO

CLIFTON DeBERRY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, speaks on The Bi-Partisan Fraud on Civil Rights. Fri., Oct. 16, 8 p.m. California Hall, 625 Polk, rm. 302. A usp. Militant Labor Forum.

OCT. 23, hear STEVE ROBERTS, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate.

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).

Act to Bar SWP from Ballot On Technicality in Wisconsin

By James E. Boulton
SWP Campaign Chairman

MILWAUKEE — On Sept. 22, a planned attack upon traditional socialist ballot rights in this state was begun at the initiative of the Wisconsin Secretary of State when he refused to accept nomination papers for Socialist Workers Party Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates, Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw, and their 12 presidential electors. Papers bearing 3,800 signatures for Albert Stergar, SWP candidate for Congress in Milwaukee's heavily colored 5th District, were also refused on the technical ground that a declaration of acceptance was not filed by the 5 p.m. deadline.

The rejection of the presidential ticket was unprecedented for Wisconsin where such identical forms have been filed and accepted since 1952.

The Wisconsin Legislature had not revised the statutes requiring at least 1,000 signatures for President, Vice-President and 12 Electors. But the Secretary of State quietly obtained a stand-by opinion from the Attorney General's office requiring separate nomination papers for each of 12 electors. SWP requests for all information to qualify its candidates for the ballot were deliberately ignored.

To Supreme Court

The SWP campaign committee has retained Dominic Frinzi, prominent criminal attorney, to petition the state supreme court for an order placing its presidential ticket on the ballot. Action was begun in Dane County, seat of the capital, on Sept. 28.

The nomination papers, bearing more than 1,000 signatures, were proffered by Wayne Leverenz on Sept. 22 along with the papers of the congressional candidate. A de-



Wayne Leverenz
Candidate for U.S. Senator

claration of acceptance for Albert Stergar could not be found. Papers bearing 5,240 signatures for Wayne Leverenz, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator, were accepted when Leverenz signed his own declaration of acceptance.

The SWP campaign committee has planned a protest meeting on the Capitol steps at Madison with Wayne Leverenz as speaker.

James E. Boulton, campaign chairman, announced that plans to campaign for DeBerry and Shaw will proceed. Early action this week by the Supreme Court is expected.

It is the opinion of outstanding jurists here that the action of the Secretary of State constitutes disfranchisement, is contrary to the liberal spirit of protecting electoral rights of the citizens, and that the secretary of state should be reversed.

Antioch College Under Fire Of Red-Baiting Legionnaires

By Arthur Maglin

YELLOW SPRINGS, Ohio — At its national convention in Dallas, the American Legion adopted a resolution calling for a Congressional investigation of Antioch College located here in Yellow Springs.

The convention's resolution, passed Sept. 23, was inspired by and patterned on a resolution adopted by the Ohio American Legion urging that the House Un-American Activities Committee or Eastland's Senate Judiciary Committee probe what it called "repeated opportunity accorded nationally known leaders of the Communist Party, U.S.A., to propagandize students on the Antioch College Campus."

Antioch Reply

In an immediate response to the witch-hunting resolution of the Legion's national convention, James P. Dixon, president of Antioch, declared:

"The current attack on Antioch College by the American Legion is an attack on all American education."

"It is fundamental in a democracy that freedom of speech, assembly, discussion and dissent be maintained on our college campuses . . .

"For the Legion to set itself up as a public censor of the educational process is a destructive and malicious act . . .

"We believe at Antioch that nothing short of exposure to the full range of political points of view will serve to prepare young Americans to work on the problems of human survival and the extension of the good life in the

years ahead. We will continue to welcome to the campus speakers of every political persuasion."

Significantly, the Legion's witch-hunting campaign against Antioch did not start over that liberal college's open speakers' platform. It began rather as the angry response of the Ohio Legion's Third District to the support of civil rights by Antioch students and some faculty members.

This centered around a long-standing protest against the prejudiced refusal of Gagner's barber shop in Yellow Springs to serve Negro customers. The refusal continued even in the face of state legislation for equal accommodations. The student protest finally culminated in a mass demonstration which was broken up in Birmingham style by local police, resulting in numerous casualties and arrests and national publicity (See *Militant* March 30, 1964).

The more sophisticated heads in the Ohio Legion and in the national organization decided to delete the anti-Negro aspects and implications of the original resolution and to center the attack on the college's free-speech policy.

In addition to the attack on Antioch College, the Legion's recent national convention called for a Congressional investigation of the American Civil Liberties Union. The resolution charged the ACLU aided Communists and their sympathizers and was trying to liberalize the censorship laws regarding obscenity and pornography.

"Can a nation be free if it oppresses other nations? It cannot." — Lenin.

Indict 9 More In Cuba-Travel "Conspiracy"

NEW YORK — Nine young men and women were indicted by a federal grand jury in Brooklyn Sept. 22 on charges of conspiring to "induce, recruit and arrange" for a tour of Cuba by American students. The indictment charges that the "conspiracy" began in August 1963, and violated regulations issued by the State Department in 1961 which require special authorization to go to Cuba.

A group of 84 students defied the State Department ban on travel to Cuba and spent the months of July and August there this summer. A year before, 59 students made a similar trip. After the first trip, four persons were indicted — two of them, Levi Laub and Phillip Abbott Luce, have been indicted again this time.

Ellen Irene Shallit, 21, who has just been indicted, had been named as a "co-conspirator" of the 1963 trip but was not indicted then. The other six indicted are: Alfred L. Maher, 22; Patricia Ann Sopiak, 24; Roger Jay Taus, 25; Michael David Brown, 22; Martin Albrecht Nicolauac, 23; and Christian Lee Raisner, 24.

The four who were indicted in 1963 have not yet been brought to trial. The State Department edict which they were indicted for violating is not a law. Therefore, the indictment was based on a supposed "national emergency." Presumably the same pretext will be used in the new indictments.

All of the nine recently indicted went to Cuba in 1963, but not in 1964. They were not indicted for going to Cuba, however, but for "conspiring" to get others to go. Anyone at all connected with the trip or its organization — merely by having attended a meeting about it — would be liable to the same charge of "conspiracy" if the defendants are found guilty.

Conviction carries a maximum sentence of five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine on each charge. Those indicted both times are subject to separate sentences under each charge.

Travis Conviction Hit by Historian

LOS ANGELES — Professor Henry Steele Commager, in an interview with the Helen Travis Defense Committee (Sept. 17), said:

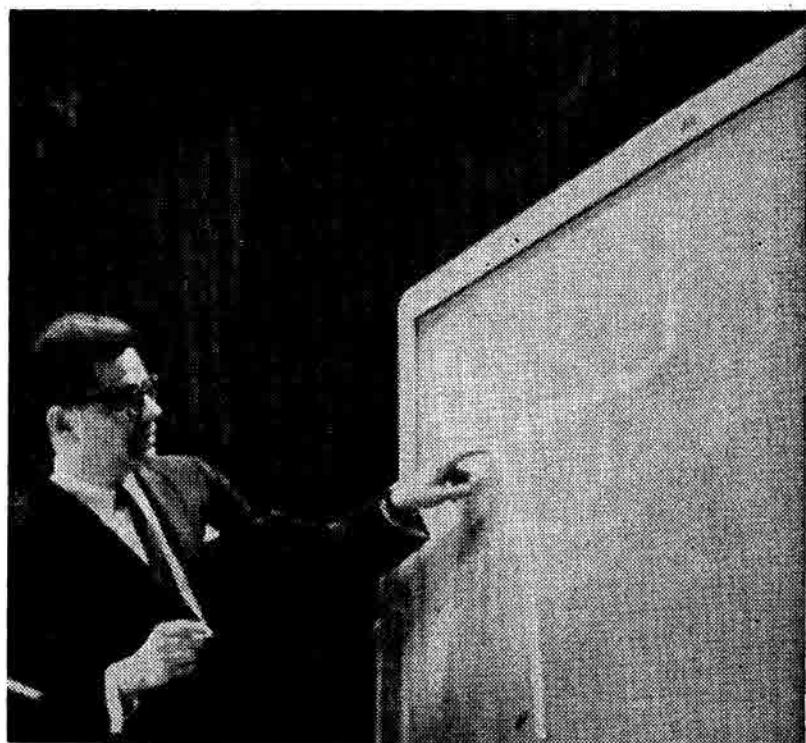
"The State Department ban on travel to Cuba poses the gravest questions concerning the very basic right of students, scholars and all U.S. citizens to investigate changing social and economic conditions in key areas around the world."

Mrs. Travis traveled to Cuba despite the ban whose constitutionality she did not accept. Whether the student travelers face prosecution as "criminals" depends largely on the legal precedent arising from the Travis case which will soon be reviewed by the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. The charge against Mrs. Travis is that she left this country, Cuba-bound, without special State Department permission.

The American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California, in appealing the \$1,000 fine and six-months suspended sentence for Mrs. Travis, seeks to clear up the issue on the basis of First Amendment guarantees. Also involved is whether a national "state of emergency" now exists, inasmuch as the travel ban was decreed on this basis.

ACLU attorneys John T. McTernan and A. L. Wirin are prepared to take the Travis case to the U.S. Supreme Court, if necessary. Supporting the ACLU is the Travis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 2126, Los Angeles 28, Calif.

... Lane on Warren Report



PRESENTS CASE. Mark Lane presenting his view of the assassination at his first public meeting on case sponsored by New York Militant Labor Forum last Jan. 24.

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predicted that the report "despite its possible present tranquilizing effect upon America — obviously its purpose and objective — will rank in history with the findings that Dreyfus was guilty of treason and with the trial of the Trotskyists in the Soviet Union."

In his capacity as Chairman of the Citizens' Committee of Inquiry, Lane issued a 28-page comment on the Warren Commission's report. It is a scathing indictment of that body's composition and procedure. It contains numerous refutations of points accepted by the Commission and asserts that many important facts and questions by Lane based on them had been ignored, left unanswered or dealt with dishonestly by the Commission.

Here are some of the points made by Lane:

- "Were Oswald permitted to live to face trial, not a single member of the Commission would be permitted to serve as a juror . . . All seven members have an association with the government, which is in this case the prosecuting agency."

- "Oswald's family was denied the right to secure counsel to represent his interests before the Commission; cross-examination on behalf of the accused was dispensed with . . . No one representing Oswald was permitted to present an affirmative defense on his behalf, and although trials in America are open and public, this one trial . . . was conducted behind closed doors and the testimony marked 'top secret.'"

- "The Commission relied primarily on the FBI, the U.S. Secret Service, and the Dallas police for information. Representatives of those agencies sought to have witnesses alter their statements . . . into statements which more comfortably fit the immediate premise of those agencies that Oswald was the lone assassin."

- "No direct question was ever asked of Ruby in reference to his attendance at such a meeting by the Commission" [with policeman Tippit and Bernard Weissman, who had placed the anti-Kennedy ad in the Dallas paper — Lane had told the Commission he had information such a meeting occurred].

- The Commission did not secure the testimony of a woman who told Lane that she had witnessed Tippit's killing, that the killer was short and heavy, and that she was ordered by Dallas police not to tell anyone about what she had seen. The Commission evaded by stating that no such woman was interviewed by the FBI [not by the Dallas police as Lane said].

- Oswald was questioned re-

peatedly over a 48-hour period . . . yet the Commission accepts the claim that none of these agents took notes and that there were no stenographic or tape recordings. "One's credulity is strained when one contemplates agents of the FBI, Secret Service and Dallas police involved in conducting the most important investigation in the history of those agencies and failing to make a record of the answers of the defendant," Lane comments.

- Two witnesses claim to have seen Oswald with the package alleged to have contained the death rifle. Broken down, the rifle's largest part was 34.8 inches long. One witness insisted the package was two feet long. The other, shown the paper bag the Commission says the rifle was carried in, stated that the package Oswald carried "definitely wasn't that long."

The other witness attempted to demonstrate to the Commission how Oswald had carried the package. "At this point Frazier placed the upper portion of the package under his armpit and attempted to cup his hand beneath the bottom of the bag. The disassembled rifle was too long to be carried in this manner." (Report pp. 133-134)

- Oswald's palmprint allegedly found on the rifle is suspect. At 11:45 p.m. on the day of Kennedy's assassination the rifle was released to the FBI and sent to Washington. FBI experts there could find no identifiable prints on it. It was only asserted subsequently by the Dallas police that before turning the rifle over to the FBI they had secretly found a palmprint on the understock of the rifle and "lifted it off" by a technique which left no trace of the print on the gun.

[See Editorial on Page 4]



Marguerite Oswald

THE MILITANT

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Monday, October 5, 1964

The Warren Commission Report

The report of the Warren Commission, with its central conclusion that Oswald was Kennedy's assassin, can be neither accepted nor rejected as the correct explanation of the Dallas events of last November.

Despite its voluminous documentation, the report is and could only be the opinion of seven men—government officials or former officials.

It cannot be considered a definitive solution of the killings in Dallas. It cannot even attain the stature of a verdict in a court trial, which — with all the shortcomings of our court system — at least claims to set as its goal the uncovering of "the whole truth," for the simple reason that the defendant, the man found guilty, had no opportunity to tell the Commission his story.

The inescapable fact is that Oswald was killed in the city jail before he had been able to retain a lawyer and that throughout two days of police grillings he maintained his innocence.

That fact alone invalidates the Warren Commission's finding that Oswald was guilty. It would render defective such a finding by any commission, no matter what its composition or procedure.

But the Commission's report need not have been as grossly defective as it is. Oswald's mother tried to assure at least some defense of her son — not by revealing his side of the story, which went with him to the grave — but by having an attorney at the Commission's hearings to cross-examine witnesses. Attorney Mark Lane, then representing Mrs. Marguerite Oswald, accordingly attempted to appear as Oswald's defense counsel but was refused by the Commission.

In justifying this refusal, J. Lee Rankin, chief counsel for the Commission, told the press: "The Commission is not engaged in determining the guilt of anybody." (*New York Times*, Jan. 12.) Yet on Sept. 28 that same newspaper could carry the banner headline: "Warren Commission Finds Oswald Guilty."

Not only did the Commission prevent cross-examination of witnesses, it dispensed with the rules of evidence, safeguards for the accused accumulated over centuries of bitter experiences with miscarriages of justice. Thus the case against Oswald rested mainly on hearsay and other inadmissible evidence, as well as admissible circumstantial evidence.

But how many court verdicts, based on circumstantial evidence — and that of the kind permitted by strict rules on its admissibility — have been discovered after the defendant has been convicted (and sometimes even executed) to have been in error? Throughout history "air-tight" cases based on circumstantial evidence have been blown sky high by subsequent disclosures. Mistaken convictions on circumstantial evidence have been so frequent in our lifetime that the very phrase has become suspect to the average person.

Leaving aside consideration of the pressures felt by the Commission and its members' conceptions of the needs of the government to finish or "close" the case for domestic and international reasons, how can one regard the report?

At the very most, it is comparable to an indictment. An indictment is an accusation brought against a person on the basis of information presented to a grand jury by a prosecutor and witnesses he summons. Defense counsel is not permitted to attend. This in essence describes the Commission's report and procedure.

But, as everyone knows, juries, after hearing a defendant's story and his counsel's cross-examination of witnesses against him, as frequently as not find the accusation framed-up, false or unproven and declare the defendant not guilty.

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I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.
(Signed) Carolyn Kerry, Business Man-

ACLU to Appeal Ky. 'Libel' Case

The American Civil Liberties Union recently filed a brief with the Kentucky Court of Appeals seeking to reverse a lower court conviction of an Oberlin College student on charges of criminal libel. The Ohio college student, Steve Ashton, went to Hazard, Kentucky, last year to help the striking coal miners.

Ashton was convicted in Perry County Circuit Court and sentenced to six months in jail and a \$3,000 fine for publishing an allegedly defamatory pamphlet about county law-enforcement officials and the publishers of the local newspaper.

The pamphlet, entitled *Notes on a Mountain Strike*, was never circulated, since it was seized by police while Ashton was visiting Hazard. Ashton's *Notes* reported conduct he claimed to have observed on the part of the chief of police, the high sheriff and the newspaper publishers. It also described community tensions and problems.

In the current ACLU-backed appeal, attorneys argued that important issues of due process of law were infringed in the Ashton case.

Another argument raised was that Ashton was not given an adequate bill of particulars against him. The defense attorneys pointed out no evidence was offered that Ashton's statements were published with actual malice, and that since they related to the official conduct of persons in public office, to hold them libelous was to violate freedom of the press.

U. S. Farmers Ass'n Parley Hears Spokesman for SWP

DES MOINES — Joseph Johnson, organizer of the Socialist Workers Party in Minneapolis-St. Paul, was an invited speaker at the recent national convention here of the U.S. Farmers Association. The convention was attended by farmers from as far away as Montana and California.

Addressing a joint meeting of delegates of the U.S. Farmers Association and the Iowa Farmers Association, Johnson called for support of Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw, the presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party. Voting for them, he said, was the only way working farmers could truly express their own interests in the coming election.

Pointing to the SWP's political work and to the fact that its candidates were again on the Iowa ballot, Johnson said, "the Socialist Workers Party has come to Iowa to stay." He asked for practical help in the campaign from the Farmers Associations. His speech was warmly received.

None of the delegates at the convention spoke in support of either Goldwater or Johnson. Many argued against voting for the Democrats as a "lesser evil."

A resolution was passed condemning U.S. intervention in the war in South Vietnam and President Johnson's actions regarding the naval incidents in the Gulf of Tonkin.

Douglas Jenness, chairman of the Minnesota Youth for DeBerry, Shaw and Luoma (candidate for



Joseph Johnson

senator), spoke from the floor of the convention on the role of youth. He was invited by the delegates to speak at greater length from the microphone on the platform. There he described the growing awareness of American youth of the need for a change in the social system. He gave examples of how today's young people were not afraid of socialism. His speech was also warmly received by the farmers' convention.

New York Symposium To Discuss Role of UN In Preserving Peace

NEW YORK — Neil Haworth, Richard Garza and Charles P. Howard, Sr., will participate in a symposium here on: "The United Nations — Peace Agency or Police Agency?" Sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, the symposium will be held on Friday evening, Oct. 9, at 116 University Place.

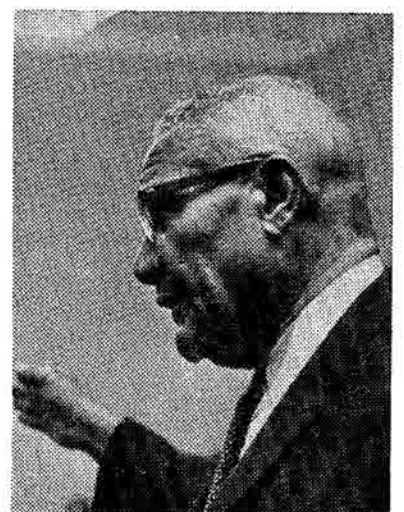
Richard Garza is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from New York. A former merchant seaman and now a restaurant worker, he has been active for many years in the union movement and in Puerto Rican community affairs. He views the UN as dominated by the imperialist powers which use it in behalf of their colonialist policies.

Active Pacifist

Neil Haworth is national secretary of the Committee for Non-Violent Action (CNVA). An active pacifist, he served six months in a federal Penitentiary in 1960 for participating in a civil disobedience demonstration at an ICBM base near Omaha, Nebraska. He holds to the view that the UN has played an inconsistent role as a force for peace.

Charles P. Howard is director of the Howard News Service and is UN and foreign correspondent for a number of the nation's leading Afro-American journals. Because of the presence of the newly independent African nations, he sees the UN as a force for peace.

The symposium will include a period for discussion and questions from the audience.



Charles P. Howard, Sr.

Painting With a Roller

Why They Smear It On

By Bernie Stanton

The painting trade in New York City today is in a state of complete degradation and demoralization. Where once there was some pride in artistry and craftsmanship, today the demand is only for the strong back and the prized worker is the one who produces the most.

The introduction of the roller applicator in recent years has accentuated all the evils of the speed-up and the back-breaking toil in the painting slave shops. It was bad enough in the old days to swing the brush for seven hours a day but the roller now being used is twice as heavy as the brush and twice as exhausting. This hits hardest at the old timers.

Some of the bitter humor now heard in the shops is that if you don't look like you're ready to drop at the end of the day's work then you obviously haven't been putting out for the boss.

Subservient

This enlightened year of Our Lord 1964 finds the painter completely helpless and subservient before the power of the boss. This relationship can be summed up in the story of two painters on a scaffold high up on the building. The ropes break and the scaffold gives way with the men plunging to their death. The boss, looking up from the ground, yells: "Watch out for the paint!"

"But don't the painters make a lot of money with their high wages?" We hear this all the time, mainly from two sources. One is the boss who thinks any wage is too high. If you listen to the boss long enough you will learn that he is losing money on the job and, in fact, loses money on every job. He never explains how by constantly losing money he gets richer all the time.

The second source of the high-wage theory is those who are completely ignorant of the trade. Incidentally, what is true of the painting trade holds generally for all the building trades. First of

all, according to a survey made public by the Building Trades Employers Association in June 1963, out of 24 building trades the painters ranked 21st on the totem pole in wages and benefits. Builders, bureaucrats, contractors, and tenants, should remember this when they talk about the extremely high wages of the painters.

Secondly, as in most of the building trades, the work is seasonal. The majority of painters do not work more than seven or eight months a year and this only under boom conditions. Thus if the painter nets \$125 a week take-home pay for eight months, this comes to \$4,000 annually, or an average weekly salary of \$77.

Quality Nonexistent

Thirdly, in the matter of productivity the painter has no peer. The derogatory term "schmearer" applied to the painter is indicative of the fact that quality is nonexistent and quantity is the only consideration. The boss's attitude is expressed in his slogan — "Get in and get out!" The resulting extremely low quality of the work would be declared criminal in any rational society.

"Doesn't the union offer any protection to the worker against the absolute power of the boss?" The answer is that despite the bureaucratic corruption and arrogance of the union leadership, the conquests of the union in the struggles of the past 50 years have not all been lost. The bureaucrats have to be able to point to some accomplishments and the union as it stands is still better than no union at all. But there would have to be a revolution in the union to make it truly representative of the rank and file.

Besides the boom in the construction industry which gives the bureaucracy its material base (control over many jobs with the juicy plums going to its stooges), what adds to the strength of the bureaucracy is the extreme weakness of the opposition and this is another facet which will be explored in subsequent articles.

DeBerry Boston-Area Tour Reaches Students, Negroes

BOSTON, Sept. 26 — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party nominee for President, has just completed a successful three-day campaign tour of the Boston area.

On Sept. 24 DeBerry, the first Negro ever nominated by a political party for President, shared the platform with Noel Day, independent Negro candidate for Congress, at a public meeting sponsored by Youth for DeBerry and Shaw and N.O.W. NOW (Negroes Organized to Work NOW), a Negro nationalist group. One hundred people, plus representatives of press, radio and TV, assembled in the Tremont St. Methodist Church in Boston's South End ghetto to hear DeBerry and Day.

Day declared that the Negro people are worse off today than ten years ago. He said that in the context of high unemployment among Negroes, "All the Civil Rights Bill offers is equal opportunity for unemployment."

Concerning the path the Negro movement must take to be successful, Day said: "We can no longer hope that moral appeals are going to lead to a change of heart. Only as we become political as the freedom movement becomes politically sophisticated is there any chance of breaking through and creating a new society."

DeBerry concentrated his attack upon the Democrats. "If they have not enforced the constitutional amendments that are 100 years old or the Supreme Court ruling that is ten years old, I can't believe they're going to enforce the bill of 1964," he said.

DeBerry also spoke to students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where he was sponsored by the MIT Socialist Club. While in Boston he appeared on radio and TV, and on the Jerry Williams show, a popular phone-in interview program.

Before arriving in Boston, DeBerry addressed a large audience at Amherst College in western Massachusetts. Of a student body of 1,100, 300 came out to hear the Socialist Workers Party nominee.

After his speech DeBerry received prolonged applause. During the discussion period students raised such questions as: "Don't you suppose that we should vote for Johnson and push him further to the left?" "Isn't there a difference between Goldwater and Johnson?" "You say that the present system is one party with two faces — will there be a choice under socialism?" and "Since Johnson got the civil-rights bill passed, can't we expect more along the same lines?"

The meeting was organized by Amherst students interested in the Socialist Workers Party campaign.

In Philadelphia the week before, DeBerry spoke to a meeting at the Tyree AME Church in one of that city's Negro ghettos. There he explained the need for Philadelphia's Negroes to stand in solidarity behind the defense of black nationalists arrested by Philadelphia police on charges of "causing" the social upheaval which took place in the ghetto a few weeks ago.

Students for DeBerry and Shaw



Clifton DeBerry

at the University of Pennsylvania organized a meeting for the socialist presidential candidate on that campus. Despite the fact that only two days were available for publicizing the meeting, 60 students came out to hear DeBerry. While in Philadelphia, DeBerry also spoke on a radio interview show. He also went to Baltimore to address a meeting in a Negro neighborhood. The meeting was marked among other things by the large number police stationed outside.

DeBerry's tour now takes him to Chicago and then to the West Coast. While he is in the San Francisco Bay Area, he will participate in a West Coast Conference on Independent Political Action being organized by student Committees for Independent Political Action. The conference will include lectures, symposiums and debates, and will be held in Berkeley on Oct. 17.

Similar conferences have been planned for the Midwest and East Coast. The Midwest conference will be held in Detroit. Speakers there will include Rev. Cleage, Freedom Now Party candidate for governor of Michigan, and James Shabazz, aide to Malcolm X, in addition to the SWP candidates and others. It will be held the weekend of Oct. 24.

The following week, Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw will wind up their campaigns at the East Coast conference in New York. James Shabazz will also address this conference.

Malcolm X Group Resumes Weekly Harlem Meetings

NEW YORK — The Organization of Afro-American Unity has resumed weekly meetings here. Open to all Afro-Americans, the meetings are held every Sunday at 8 p.m. at UNIA Hall, 2395 8th Ave., New York City. The meetings will feature project reports, films concerning African heritage and current achievements, and refreshments. Admission is free.

These will be the first public OAAU meetings since the organization's chairman, Malcolm X, left for Africa to gain international support for the struggle for human rights of Afro-Americans. Malcolm X has been well received by African leaders and has been officially received into the Muslim Community by Hassan Maamun, rector of Al-Azhar University in Cairo.

The OAAU has also established a Liberation School with sessions in African and Afro-American history every Saturday from 10 a.m. till noon at the OAAU headquarters, Suite 128, Hotel Theresa, 2090 7th Ave., New York City. In addition a bi-weekly newsletter, the OAAU Blacklash, is now being published.

MAJOR PARTIES TO FEEL HEAT

Michigan Freedom Now Party Campaign

DETROIT — Democratic candidate John Conyers' hopes of coasting into Washington from the predominantly Negro First Congressional District were shattered Sept. 19 when the Freedom Now Party at a district caucus held in conjunction with its first state convention nominated Attorney Milton R. Henry of Pontiac to run against Conyers and Republican Robert Blackwell.

The new all-black party's decision to run Henry will give voters in the newly formed district, already assured of a Negro Congressman, their first opportunity to choose a representative not on the basis of race alone, but on the basis of independence from all white influence and control.

White Domination

"I will campaign on the issue of complete freedom from white domination and manipulation," said Henry in accepting the nomination. Henry, who is a former Pontiac Councilman and known as the "Black Defender" because of his dramatic courtroom maneuvers in civil-rights cases, went on to say that he is "sick and tired of white parties and white politicians deciding which Negroes to support and pitting Negroes against one another. Conyers is a Democrat and Blackwell is a Republican, but when it comes to playing footsies with whites, there is no difference between them."

The Freedom Now Party's ticket is headed by gubernatorial candidate Rev. Albert B. Cleage, Jr., pastor of Central Congregational Church whose running mate for Lieutenant Governor is Dr. James Jackson of Muskegon, once a member of Cleage's youth group in Springfield, Mass.

The campaign to defeat incumbent Prosecutor Samuel H. Olsen gained momentum as the Freedom Now Party issued a call to progressive forces in the community to unite around the party's candidate for Prosecuting Attorney, Henry W. Cleage.

Defeat Olsen

"Progressive organizations in our community, both white and Negro, have already declared the need to defeat Olsen as County Prosecutor," the new party stated. "The blatant appeasement of white-backlash elements by this key public official has enraged the great majority of Negroes and is a threat to any future progress in race relations in our community. As you know, the Freedom Now Party is spearheading the 'Defeat Olsen' campaign by offering an alternative candidate, Attorney Henry W. Cleage. We are urging all those who have already expressed their determination to defeat Olsen to join with us to the fullest extent that they find possible."

Meanwhile, as these organizations discussed the extent of their participation in the "Defeat Olsen"



Rev. Albert Cleage, Jr.

drive, the Wayne County Freedom Now Party headquarters announced the formation of several "Olsen Must Go" citizens committees. The chief activity of these committees will be the spread of "Olsen Must Go" stickers. Among

these who have already enlisted in this campaign to better relations between the races in the Detroit community is Charles Massey, Jr., Ford worker and president of the Triple L. Block Club on Leslie Street.

The FNP Platform

[The following is the text of the platform adopted by the Michigan Freedom Now Party at its state convention in Detroit on Sept. 19.]

PREAMBLE

We, the black people of the State of Michigan, and of these United States, in this historic period of worldwide revolutionary change, recognizing our desire to achieve our own destiny through our own efforts; recognizing our desire for independent black political action after 188 years of political subservience; recognizing that our struggle for freedom and equality can issue, meaningfully, only from our own leadership and candidates, do establish the only independent political movement dedicated to the unity and liberation of all black people — the FREEDOM NOW PARTY!

The FREEDOM NOW PARTY, in its dedication, perceives the common interests of black people everywhere and, as a united body of Afro-Americans, aligns itself with all liberation movements throughout the world!

The FREEDOM NOW PARTY, in its recognition of its mandate repudiates and breaks with the established party system which serves only to sustain the enslavement of Afro-Americans!

The FREEDOM NOW PARTY, in its awareness of history, is not a reform movement. The condition of the Negro in America cannot be altered by reform. It must be fundamentally changed!

The FREEDOM NOW PARTY, in its understanding of the needs of black people, is an educational as well as a political movement. It is a medium for the awakening of Afro-Americans to political and historic consciousness; and it is a vehicle for them to do something about it!

As our Declaration of Washington, on Aug. 28, 1963, on the founding of the FREEDOM NOW PARTY states, "We are the political expression of the mighty black crusade for freedom that nobody can halt or suppress." All black people everywhere are welcome to join us in this momentous and historical undertaking for

FREEDOM NOW

Title I — Police Brutality

The FREEDOM NOW PARTY intends to use all of the political power it will generate to eradicate this vicious practice that has so long been used to deny the Negro his basic equality.

Title II — Civil Rights Commission

The FREEDOM NOW PARTY intends to demand that this constitutional commission with its vast powers carry out its constitutional powers and make real its constitutional directive. We note that the principal areas of concern are equal opportunities in employment, education, housing and public accommodations.

Title III — Inadequate representation in government by the Negro

The FREEDOM NOW PARTY deplores the lack of representation in government. The FREEDOM NOW PARTY feels that we must solve this problem ourselves with the instrumentality of independent black political action. We understand that a Democrat represents Democrats, a Republican represents Republicans, but that a FREEDOM NOW PARTY candidate represents Negroes.

Title IV — Economic Plight

The FREEDOM NOW PARTY understands that in this society the fundamental area of our exploitation is economic. We therefore shall strive in every way to utilize the total power of the Negro community and to bring it to bear upon the discrimination that places us at the bottom of the economic ladder. Our concern is for our own black people and we consider the solution of this problem as more important than the economic theories of this society or the peace and tranquility of this society.

Title V — Schools

The FREEDOM NOW PARTY demands schools of the highest quality for black children. It is our belief that this is a multi-racial society and within that context the schools must involve themselves with the realities of that situation. For black children this means that Negro history must be taught and the future must be depicted as a process in which the black man and the white man share the stage as equals.

Title VI — Political

The FREEDOM NOW PARTY is the expression of independent black political action and the political arm of the Negro's struggle for FREEDOM NOW.

Yours for the Asking

For books and pamphlets on Cuba, the Freedom Now struggle, the labor movement, socialist theory, send for a free copy of our catalogue.

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MORE HEAT ON S. VIETNAM JUNTA

Workers, Tribesmen, Press Demands

By George Saunders

Emboldened by the paralysis of the U.S. puppet regime in Saigon, all the oppressed and dissatisfied layers of the South Vietnamese population have begun to press forward with their demands, hoping to end for good the succession of dictatorships which have oppressed them.

Take just one day, Sept. 21, for an example: a general strike started in Saigon; mountain tribesmen, who had taken over a provincial capital the previous day, retired to dig in at their own camp (where they had been trained by U.S. "advisers") and vowed a determined struggle for autonomy from the Vietnamese governments which have persecuted and discriminated against them for years.

Also on Sept. 21, two student groups headed popular demonstrations in the city of Qui Non on the central Vietnamese coast. They seized the radio station and broadcast demands for a purge of all former Diem officials in the government.

Into Politics

The Saigon general strike was the most significant development. For the first time in the years of civil strife and American intervention, the working-class masses of Saigon have moved onto the political arena.

A 48-hour general strike was called for Sept. 21 and 22. It involved workers in transportation, water supply, electricity and many plants. Some striking rubber-plantation workers were also represented. On Sept. 21, tens of thousands of workers demonstrated in the streets. The strike was all the more significant since it was completely against the law.

The leaders of the Vietnamese Labor Confederation, which has some 300,000 members, denied that the strike had any political aims. The primary objective was to compel Vimtex, a textile plant employing 2,000 workers, to take back 1,500 workers locked out by

management following the Aug. 7 government proclamation of a state of emergency. The emergency decree, among other things, prohibited strikes.

Though the general strike was proclaimed to have only a limited aim, in the context of the existing situation it had obvious political significance.

Vo Van Tai, secretary-general of the Saigon Labor Council, was quoted in an AP dispatch: "We see no reason for the government not to meet the reasonable demands of the working class. It has already given in to Buddhists, students and some political groups—why not workers, too?"

The strikers, moreover, began raising other demands—recognition of the right to strike and to hold trade-union meetings despite the state-of-emergency proclamation, an end to military conscription, and an end to the state of emergency.

Before World War II, Saigon was the center of a strong revolutionary movement. It even had a considerable Trotskyist tradition. The present top trade-union leaders were installed, it is true, under the Diem tyranny and with the assistance of AFL-CIO labor fakers and hacks in the service of the State Department. But in the ranks of the Vietnamese trade-unions, there is no lack of cadres with a socialist and revolutionary orientation.

During the years of terror under the Diem regime, and the military dictatorship, workers under special surveillance could not budge. They had to wait patiently until the situation eventually reached such ripeness that the downfall of the system was obviously near. Now that point has been reached.

The strike was launched following "pressure from the rank and file . . . actually brought to bear for only eight days," according to Max Clos, well-informed Saigon correspondent of the Paris daily *Le Figaro*. He reports that there

were "heated discussions among the trade-union leaders," that "some of them were against a strike under any circumstances, fearing that the government would accuse them of playing into the hands of the Vietcong. They did not succeed in imposing their position." (*Le Figaro*, Sept. 22)

The same correspondent provides evidence, of the self-assurance of the workers. He asked one of the strike leaders if he did not fear the intervention of the army. "The army is tired," he was told. "I am sure that it will not march against the workers."

Won Demands

The 48-hour strike, which ended with the granting of the immediate demands, reinstatement of the textile workers, testifies to the political understanding of the workers. After so many years under the yoke, they do not intend to move blindly. They have begun with a limited movement, testing the ground and feeling out the resistance. But they have set out on a course that could end the war and assure a solution for Vietnam.

The Johnson administration is hoping that the unstable situation in South Vietnam will not boil over before the November elections. But what if the Vietnamese people do not regulate their struggle by the U.S. electoral timetable?

An ominous leak appeared in the press Sept. 27 that Johnson had okayed "hot pursuit" into China if there were any "crisis" involving North Vietnamese jets in the Tonkin Gulf. The suspicious activities of U.S. naval and air forces in that area give no cause for comfort. And a top administration spokesman declared Sept. 29 that "expansion of the war outside South Vietnam . . . could be forced upon us" by a "rising scale of infiltration." Translated from Washington doubletalk that means if the masses of South Vietnam reach the point of overthrowing the pro-U.S. regime there.

Vietnamese Women Address Letter to American Mothers

[The following Open Letter to American Mothers from the Vietnam Women's Union in Hanoi, North Vietnam, was mailed to *The Militant* from Rangoon, Burma. The covering letter asked us to help "spread this letter as widely as you can so that more American women will understand the situation in South Vietnam and raise their voices to support us on the occasion of the coming Fourth Anniversary of the founding of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation on Dec. 20, 1964." — Editor.]

Hanoi, June 30, 1964

Dear Friends:

From this side of the Pacific, we Vietnamese mothers have been daily following your campaign against the "dirty" and "undeclared" war the U.S. government has been waging against the Southern half of our country for nearly ten years.

Always present in our mind is the image of American women, who, together with their husbands, are wheeling babies while participating in the "Peace Walks"; American women demonstrating all day long in front of the Congress or writing books, newspapers, organizing talks to inform of the true facts in South Vietnam, or signing letters or petitions to demand that the U.S. government put an end to the war of aggression in South Vietnam.

We are deeply moved by such righteous actions and hope that our sincere thanks will reach you across the Pacific. You are the genuine representatives of the American people who have a great tradition of freedom and justice.

Commendable Actions

We clearly realize what noble sentiments have urged you to take such commendable actions. Like us, you have husbands, children, brothers and friends, and you want your dear ones to live happily in a united family. Like us, you have a beloved Fatherland which you are proud of; like us you cannot remain indifferent should your country be invaded and cut in two. All these things have made you sympathize with us.

For ten years now, the 17th Parallel provisional demarcation line between the North and Southern zones of our country (which was defined by the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China) have been turned by the U.S. government and its South Vietnam puppet administration into an impassable frontier. Hundreds of thousands of families, millions of people are suffering from most painful separation: husbands and wives, children and parents, close friends, are not able to meet each other. Even the exchange of letters and photos between close relatives has been banned.

Untold Misery

You can imagine how terribly long are those ten years when one is missing his dear ones! Besides, the U.S. government and its flunkies in South Vietnam have caused untold miseries to the Southern part of our beloved country. Millions of peasants have been taken away from their land and homes, and herded into concentration camps disguised by such deceitful names as "strategic hamlets" and "New Life hamlets" where they are living in miserable and humiliating conditions.

Over the past ten years, more than 160,000 people in South Vietnam have been killed with all kinds of modern weapons and from atrocious tortures as in medieval times. Chemical poison has ravaged tens of thousands of hectares of rice and vegetation. Napalm bombs and phosphorous bullets, and poisonous chemicals have been bringing death and mourning to thousands of honest people. Many children were born

and fed in jail, sharing with their mothers a handful of rice and rotten fish, and never enjoying the light of freedom. Countless orphans are living without support, suffering from privation and disease.

We are sure of your sympathy for our suffering compatriots. On our part, we also deeply sympathize with you, since the number of thousand American casualties in this war of aggression is daily increasing, definitely not for the sake of the American Fatherland, but for the sordid interests of a minority of greedy warmongers. For many years, the U.S. government has been pouring money into South Vietnam — 1.5 million dollars a day; this money, the fruit of the American people's hard work, is being used to enrich the puppet authorities, henchmen of the U.S. who are hated by the South Vietnamese people.

A Danger

Dear Friends: The U.S. government is now striving to expand the war in South Vietnam and plotting to expand the war in the North. South East Asia is facing the danger of a large-scale war. More than ever, peace is being most seriously endangered! The South Vietnamese mothers who have participated in the nine-year resistance war against the French colonialists and who have been fighting for another nine years against the U.S. aggressors and their hirelings, will never accept to be enslaved again, they are convinced that final victory will be theirs since they are fighting for a just cause and enjoy the support of the freedom and justice-loving people of the world, especially the American people.

We earnestly call on you to do everything in your power to support us; to carry on your struggle until your government withdraws all American troops and weapons from South Vietnam, returns your husbands, sons and brothers to their families, and scrupulously implements the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indo-China, and lets the Vietnamese people settle their internal affairs by themselves.

We firmly believe that your activities will contribute to bring to an early end the "dirty" war in South Vietnam so that American and Vietnamese women and children may be allowed to live in peace and mutual friendship.

We hope that these words coming from the bottom of our hearts will find an echo in the hearts of American women friends.

Yours truthfully,

(signed) **Madam Nguyen thi Thuc Vien**, professor, vice president of the Vietnam Women's Union; **Madam Nguyen Xien**, assessor, Hanoi tribunal; **Madam Vo thi Tri Tuc**, doctor of sciences, professor of chemistry at Hanoi University; **Madam Bui thi Cam**, doctor of laws, deputy to the National Assembly; **Madam Ai Lien**, actress; **Madam Le thu Tra**, vice president of the Committee for the Defense of Children; **Doctor Tran thi Ngoc**, gynecologist; **Madam Thai thi Lien**, pianist; **Madam Nguyen thi Kim**, sculptor; **Madam Nguyen thi Hong**, head of Nhan Chinh agricultural co-operative, deputy to the National Assembly; **Madam Phan thi Lieu**, agronomist; **Madam Nguyen An Ninh**, director of the kindergarten for children regrouped from South Vietnam; **Madam Do thi Thiep**, worker of the Dongxuan knitwear factory, deputy to the National Assembly; **Madam Nguyen van Duyet**, housewife; **Madam Xuan Tinh**, housewife; **Madam Tranthi An**, doctor of pharmacy, professor at the Institute of Medicine.

World Events

China Brands Opium Charge

In a denunciation of Soviet charges that China is selling opium illegally to finance anti-Soviet propaganda, *Hsinhua*, the Chinese Communist press agency, compared Russian propaganda to that of Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's propaganda minister. "It is the same old anti-China calumny that

U.S. imperialism has constantly repeated since the founding of the People's Republic of China, and which has been discredited long ago," declared *Hsinhua*.

Urges Planned Economy

The leader of one of Canada's largest unions recently demanded a planned economy in behalf of the four million Canadians living in poverty — that is, with family incomes under \$3,000 per year.

Speaking at the convention of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers, National President William J. Smith said: "Poverty, unemployment, inadequate education, and most other ills of our society have one basic cause. They are all the direct and inevitable result of our unplanned economy . . . of a society that glorifies rugged individualism, enshrines the profit motive and discourages vitally needed co-operative action."

Strikes Continue in India

Another statewide general strike, this time in West Bengal, to protest rising prices, especially on food, was scheduled for Sept. 25. A wave of such strikes has been spreading in India in recent months as a result of the food crisis. Police began a statewide round-up Sept. 23 and jailed some 70 leaders of opposition parties who had sponsored the strike call. They were arrested under the "Defense of India" detention law.

In Tradition of 1st Int'l

Some 50,000 workers, including several thousand socialists from European countries, turned out for

a parade in Brussels, Belgium, Sept. 6 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the First International, founded by Karl Marx.

But the impressive demonstration was marred by a despicable action of the reformist leadership of the Belgian Socialist Party. They ordered police to remove from the ranks of marchers 300 members of the *Jeunes Gardes Socialistes* (Socialist Young Guards), an official youth section of the party.

The top brass of Belgian social democracy, the government party at present, apparently feared that the slogans carried by the *Jeunes Gardes* would embarrass "distinguished" international guests on the reviewing stand like Harold Wilson, Guy Mollet, Willy Brandt, Giuseppe Saragat, etc.

Among the "dangerous" slogans carried by the young socialists were: "Let's Quit NATO"; "Imperialists: Hands Off Congo, Vietnam, Cyprus"; "Tshombe Murderer"; "Workers Control"; "Factories to the Workers"; "Viva Socialist Cuba"; and "Solidarity with the Struggle of American Negroes."

Despite the cops, the young militants maintained ranks and passed the reviewing stand in a compact group, chanting the slogans that had been torn from their hands. The youth leaders, several unions and local sections of the SP raised vigorous protests, as did the daily paper of the Liege trade unions. The crowds watching the parade gave very warm applause to the youth who seek to continue the revolutionary spirit of the First 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 Farmers' Action

Minneapolis, Minn.
The present holding action by the National Farmers Organization is a mass movement involving thousands of farmers. It is a militant action involving the loss of life and injury to participating farmers.

It is also stirring up thought and exchange of ideas. The farmers are talking about the Farm Holiday movement of the '30s, the

Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, the Non-Partisan movement, the militant 1934 teamsters' strikes. The younger men ask the older ones to dig out their old books on these movements.

The county sheriffs are pleading with the Minnesota and Wisconsin governors to call out the national guard.

Due to modern communications, the physical dispersion of the farmers is less of a handicap than it was 30 years ago. They've worked out a telephone system whereby thousands (I'm not exaggerating) of farmers can be mobilized for a demonstration in a designated town.

In some counties where the NFO is particularly militant no beef gets through. In other cases some does.

Regardless of what the commercial press says about all the beef getting through to the Chicago and St. Paul packers, the fact is that a good share of the market is in the small towns throughout the area, and this has been cut substantially.

Besides the effects on tactics brought on by modern technology and communications, these things have also made the mid-western farmer a more informed person — more cognizant of international events and past struggles.

The role played by women in this action has been significant. They work on the checking stations on the highways as well as organize demonstrations in the towns.

This is a very significant struggle. In my view, the demands of the farmers for an adequate price for their product is one that will not be adequately realized under capitalism, but must be generalized in the struggle for socialism.

D.J.

Johnson and Hall

New York, N. Y.
In response to criticism of Goldwater's support by Birchers and the Klan, GOP nominee Miller has attempted to link the Democrats to the Communist Party. In an interview, he said: "Why doesn't anyone ask that Communist Gus Hall if he's voting for Johnson?"

The sad thing about it is that Gus Hall probably is for Johnson.

Robert D. Clayton

[He is. — Editor.]

Disagrees With Breitman

Minneapolis, Minn.
Breitman's exposition on black-white unity cannot be seriously considered a Marxist document of dialectical reality. Before one can advance a dialectical theory he must take into account not only primary contradictions but also secondary contradictions, and must weigh the most important aspects of each in the light of current and past historical realities and trends.

I do not pretend to present a strictly dialectical critique of Breitman's conclusions in this letter. However, I shall strive to be just as dialectical as he is.

Breitman's theory of white working-class radicalization is based on an unchanging theoretical assumption. This assumption is that the white workers are not prejudiced to the extent that they will not see their own good. This is implied in nearly all his writings on the subject of black-white unity. However, there is little indication that white Americans are

subject to radical change in the area of race relations. Theoretically, one might use Breitman's argument to convince black South Africans that the internal contradictions of capitalism (he should have used the term imperialism) in their embattled land will sooner or later radicalize the white South African workers. In fact, this theory has been advanced by certain white midwest radicals in the SWP.

This is the age of imperialism. This is not the age of capitalism. Capitalism is only the minor aspect of world imperialism. Breitman argues from the standpoint of American capitalism, which is a thing of the past. And perhaps this is where and why he wanders astray from today's reality. The same internal contradictions of what he calls capitalism can contain the seeds of its own negation. The same evils which he says will generate the effective revolutionary union of whites and blacks can be turned by the ruling imperialist class to contradict the struggle of the Afroamerican. The shrinking imperialist market which works such hardships on the heretofore complacent white workers is caused by the revolutionary work of the Black World Revolution. By the same token, the shrinking job market here

which works such hardship upon the white workers will be blamed on black insurgents. More massive and militant black demonstrations which will make deeper and deeper inroads on the American economy, along with escalating "adventuristic" revolutionary actions of Afroamericans will tend to heighten the traditional prejudice and hatred held for black people by the reactionary partners of the American Way of Life.

Thus, the contradictions which Breitman feels will bring the races together will more likely make for more disruptive factors, more divisive factors. And the American white workers will become more and more reactionary — until they are ready to join the fascist legions. The white South is ready right now. And the rest of white America is not far behind them. Up South, Down South, it is all the same. The white backlash is not something new on the white American scene of traditional racism, it was always there, and every Afroamerican with common sense knows this.

I cannot subscribe to the SWP theory of 20 years in a day. Today's days are too short. And the capitalist-imposed tradition of race hatred and superiority are too long and enduring. The mass of

white Americans are going to wait this one out, just as they have always done. But they will not be on the side of black Americans. It is not a question of if they will get off the train, but when.

Earthia B. Wiley

Russian Gold

New York, N.Y.

I wonder if all Washington's worry about the "gold flow" out of the country takes into account a fact recently revealed by Secretary of State Dean Rusk. According to Rusk, the Soviet Union spends nearly \$300 million annually on "foreign espionage" and "subversion." Now if this is true, it must mean there is a considerable flow of Moscow gold into this country to support all those agents and spies.

The trouble with these economists is they never look at the total picture. Instead of being so concerned about American tourists in Europe, and depriving them of the luxury of spending abroad, they ought to put a stop to the irresponsible investigation of subversive activity in this country.

After all, if we are to believe Mr. Rusk's figures, the elimination of espionage in this country would cause a critical deficit in U.S. balance of payments.

Worried

It Was Reported in the Press

Transferred — Richard Bissell, who directed the Bay of Pigs invasion for the CIA, has been appointed director of marketing and economic planning for United Aircraft Corp. The company, which does a lucrative business in jet engines, said Bissell would look for new areas of business.

How Nice — A headline in the Sept. 25 New York Herald Tribune reported: "Spellman Reported Urging Council to Clear Jews."

Real Wholesome — The Sept. 23 New York Times had a glowing story about 16-year-old Mark Lieberman. It reports: "Mark is an expert at recruiting screaming teen-agers for Brooklyn Democratic rallies — and some recruits have received patronage in terms of summer jobs arranged by district leaders." Young Lieberman started out supporting the Reform Democrats, but, he explains, "I asked myself: Why should I latch on to a Reform movement that can never get in, when I can rise to the top in the regular organization?" His father says he was opposed to his son's activity until he showed him "how wholesome an activity politics can be."

Progress Report — William Miller, president of the "National Association for the Advancement of White People," wants to dissolve the hate-mongering organization because of internal factional strife. He was recently suspended as president by the board of trustees but contends the suspension was out of order because he had previously suspended the trustees.

Apartment-Hunting? — If you're interested in buying a co-operative apartment overlooking Central Park in New York, there's a nice 29-family building now going up which features ten-room

duplexes. Besides marble walls in the master bedroom (for handball?), these include two maid's rooms, five baths and a powder room. The cost is \$198,000 plus about \$1,500 a month carrying charges. Utilities included.

Small Change — The Richardson-Merrell drug corporation has informed its stockholders that it faces more than 600 suits claiming damages caused by MER-29, the company's anti-cholesterol drug. The drug had to be taken off the market because it caused serious ailments including cataracts and skin disorders. Reporting the pending suits, the drug company, which racked up a \$17 million net profit in the past fiscal year, assured stockholders that the claims won't "materially impair our strong financial position."

For the Record — Mrs. Robert Duncan, of Alexandria, Va., president of the Daughters of the American Revolution, insists the outfit isn't anti-Negro despite the fact that it doesn't have a single Negro member. She is quoted in the Sept. 26 San Francisco Examiner as saying: "Our requirement for membership is proof of lineal descent from someone who aided or abetted the American Revolution. These people have not been too particular about keeping such records." Wonder what dodge she would use if someone came up

with proof of descent from Crispus Attucks, Negro, who was the first person to die for freedom in the American Revolution.

Hail Columbus! — The Sept. 18 Washington Report of the Chamber of Commerce declares: "We're all for Christopher Columbus. In fact the famed Admiral of the Ocean Seas has always been a prime object of our admiration. We're glad he found ways to make the trip. Nevertheless, it is our duty to inform you that a bill, now pending before a House Judiciary subcommittee, to make Columbus Day, Oct. 12, a national holiday would cost industry and the Treasury an estimated billion dollars a year."

Traveler's Aid — Mexican authorities have detained Wendell N. Rollason, of Miami, director of the so-called Inter-American Affairs Commission, which had been part of the "Cuban Revolutionary Council" which fronted for the Bay of Pigs invasion. It is asserted that Rollason bribed Mexican officials to obtain transit visas for people seeking to leave Cuba for the U.S. It is charged that he was tapping friends and relatives of applicants \$100 for obtaining such transit visas. The episode also throws some light on the fact that difficulties of would-be exiles in leaving Cuba stem from the U.S. and Mexico, not the Cuban government.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

"The record proves that Sen. Hubert Humphrey betrayed his promise to fight union-busting legislation and uphold the Bill of Rights, as soon as the McCarthyite heat scorched his tender skin.

"Here is how it happened.

"The Eisenhower-Brownell-sponsored union-busting Butler Bill was being debated in the Senate on August 12. . . .

"Lehman, Humphrey and the other liberals proposed to refer the Butler Bill to a special board 'for study' as a means of blocking its passage. They argued against passing legislation in a hysterical atmosphere. Their move to refer was defeated. Then they did an about-face.

"They proposed to amend the very bill that would 'cripple labor' and 'break strikes' by adding a measure to cripple political liberty and outlaw freedom of thought.

"Humphrey himself had the 'honor' of leading the pack. Listen to this liberal, spluttering the McCarthyite lingo on the Senate floor:

"I am tired of reading headlines about being soft toward Communism . . . I want to come to grips with the Communist issue. I want the Senators to stand up and to answer whether they are for the Communist Party, or against it. The proposal in the (Humphrey) amendment (to the 'union-crippling' Butler Bill) will place the Senators on the line . . . I do not intend to be lukewarm. The issue is drawn."

"How typical! The phony rage against 'Communism' covers a move to strike at the independence of the unions." — Oct. 4, 1954.

20 Years Ago

(From a Letter to the Editor)
"Fifty-seven Negro soldiers won a substantial victory at Marana Army Air Field, as the result of a strike on Sept. 11. Their demand for extra pay for working in the aviation cadet mess-hall was granted, the Brass Hats awarding the men \$25 per month additional pay. At the same time, however, the Brass Hats simultaneously increased the work week from 56 to 84! This inhuman schedule is now being protested. . . .

"Most of the 57 soldiers had been on K.P. duty for 19 months or more, doing the most menial work in the Army Air Forces, under constant abuse and subjected to notorious speed-ups. For the last nine months, they have been serving the cadets without receiving the bonus." — Oct. 7, 1944.

Thought for the Week

"Unless a totally new, revolutionary force develops within the United States, the soft-spoken, 'responsible' vicious paramilitarism of the New Frontier will gradually merge with 'irresponsible,' vicious militarism called for by Goldwater — and it won't make much difference whether a Lyndon Johnson, a Barry Goldwater, or a Bobby Kennedy is the head man." — Pacifist David Dellinger in a declaration in the Sept.-Oct. War Resisters League News on why he will not vote for Goldwater or Johnson.

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Ohio SWP in Drive For Write-in Votes

By Jean Simon
Campaign Manager

CLEVELAND, Oct. 1 — Charging that the Democratic and Republican parties have made a mockery of the democratic process in Ohio, the Socialist Workers Party here has launched a campaign to protest the programs and practices of the two capitalist parties through a write-in vote on Election Day for the Socialist Workers Party candidates, Clifton DeBerry for President and Edward Shaw for Vice President.

Noting that the supporters of President Johnson apparently believe that the Goldwater nomination in itself is enough to terrorize and stampede all labor, liberal, civil-rights, peace and radical forces into all-out support for the Democrats, Ohio supporters of DeBerry and Shaw state:

"We refuse to be stampeded. We think it is necessary to speak up against Goldwaterism, and also against Johnson's cold and hot wars to defend capitalism; against all white-supremacists; against all measures depressing labor to maintain the profits of the power structure; against all restrictions on free thought, speech, press, assembly, travel.

"The only candidates speaking out on these issues in the national election campaign are Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw. They are not on the Ohio ballot because the election laws of this state are rigged to bar any but the Democrats and Republicans, but we are campaigning so that their opposition voices will be heard here."

Both SWP candidates will speak at public meetings in Cleveland at Eugene V. Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave., this month.

On Sunday, Oct. 11, at 7:30 p.m., Edward Shaw will speak on "Why a Vote for Johnson or Goldwater is a Vote for War."

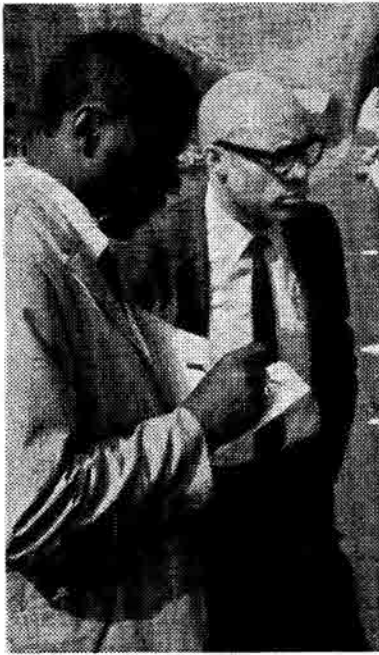
On Sunday, Oct. 25, Presidential candidate Clifton DeBerry will speak on "The Bi-Partisan Fraud on Civil Rights."

The Election Platform of the Socialist Workers Party and other campaign literature is currently being distributed house to house, on busy street corners, at plant gates and college campuses.

Persons wishing to volunteer help in these distributions are invited to campaign headquarters — 391-1425 — in Cleveland, open every weekday evening and Sunday, and Saturday 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.

In a leaflet slated for wide distribution between now and the November election, the SWP points out:

"The Democrats and Republicans demagogically complain



Clifton DeBerry
Interviewed by newsmen

of the lack of free elections in China, Ghana or Cuba, but are silent on the lack of free elections in Ohio.

"Thousands of workers here who know that both the Republicans and Democrats favor governmental control of unions and restrictive labor legislation don't want to vote for either of the Big Business candidates.

"Thousands of Negroes here — as throughout the country — know that only their self-action and movement, not votes for Democrats or Republicans, has caused any advance in civil rights.

"More thousands want to express their opposition to the bipartisan imperialist foreign policy that is making the U.S. the most hated power on earth and is taking a bigger and bigger portion of the wealth produced here to defend the profits of Big Business abroad.

"What can you do about it? You cannot express your protest if you let yourself be caught in the two-party trap. — Cut through the red tape!

"Vote Socialist!
"The SWP has not given up the fight as some have done. Militant socialists are not compromising their principles by suggesting 'boring from within the Democratic Party,' or lying about the records of the capitalist parties and candidates, or accepting defeat and staying away from the polls."

In Ohio, voters are urged to cross off the names of the Democratic and Republican candidates on the ballot and write in Clifton DeBerry for President and Edward Shaw for Vice President. Or, "if you want to make it easier for yourself, get a printed sticker from the Socialist Workers Party of Ohio, put your X next to the names of DeBerry and Shaw, and paste it across your ballot."

Stickers will be mailed on request from the Socialist Workers Party, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44103.

Humphrey in the South

In a Sept. 29 speech, Hubert Humphrey cited a little-publicized declaration by Goldwater favoring enforcement of the Civil Rights Act and school integration. Humphrey piously pointed to this as inconsistent with Goldwater's racist declarations and an example of a politician talking out of both sides of his mouth. Humphrey chose to make this revelation about Goldwater before a segregationist crowd in Atlanta, Ga. Could it be that Humphrey is also working both sides of the street on the race question?

Sweatshop Conditions Spark Strike at General Motors

SEPT. 29 — Pressure from the rank and file found expression Sept. 25 as 260,000 United Auto Workers members at General Motors plants across the country struck against inferior working conditions — including the speed-up. Thirty per cent of UAW members at GM continue to work, however, since plants supplying parts to other corporations were not struck.

Using militant — and in this case accurate — language in the face of a potential revolt within the GM locals, UAW President Walter Reuther said this strike "is the culmination of a long pent-up rebellion against the oppressive prison-like atmosphere that pervades many General Motors plants."

Working Conditions

GM reportedly had already accepted the "economic" package agreed to by Ford and Chrysler, but refused to budge on union demands for improved working conditions. GM has long been notorious as the worst of the big three auto corporations in this respect. For example, GM has the smallest percentage of in-plant union representatives of the big three and the committeemen at GM are not allowed full time for union work. This is one reason for the pile-up of thousands of unresolved local grievances in GM plants.

The failure of the International union officials to deal with these local problems in the last contract negotiations in 1961 resulted in a series of local strikes which virtually stopped the GM operation then for two weeks after the national contract was signed. It also resulted in the ouster from office of one-third of the local UAW leaders in local union elections last year.

In response to these pressures, the UAW convention last March adopted a collective-bargaining program which put improved working conditions as the number-one bargaining demand for this year's negotiations. In the recent

Chrysler settlement, however, this convention mandate was not only shunted aside, but a serious setback on this issue was suffered by Chrysler workers. Reuther granted a company demand to reduce the number of full time committeemen. The in-plant representation was cut approximately in half. This saves the company millions of dollars outright in wages, and also makes it harder for workers to fight speed-up.

Even this concession to Chrysler, however, still leaves GM conditions worse than those at Chrysler and Ford, and the union presented demands to GM for more equitable treatment.

For many workers on the job, such demands have far greater immediate importance than the pension and other fringe benefits contained in the economic package which has been so highly touted by Reuther. In presenting its demands to GM, the union touched on this point when it declared: "The pace he [an auto worker] works at, the attitude of his supervisors, the conditions he is subjected to . . . will be his way of life throughout each year until the day he reaches retirement age [if he reaches it]. To a worker in his twenties or early thirties, this is indeed a long, long road if every day in the plant must be lived under intolerable conditions."

Grievances cited in the union demands include: insistence by supervisors that employees stand up during personal relief time, lack of doors on toilets and other indignities, lack of adequate relief time, abuse of employees who file grievances, use of probationary employees (new hires who can be fired without cause and who therefore dare not complain) to break existing work standards, unreasonable increases in the speed of the assembly lines, use of subterfuges to fire workers who complain, and lack of elementary procedures of justice in company-imposed disciplinary measures.

The company's resistance centers around the so-called "man-

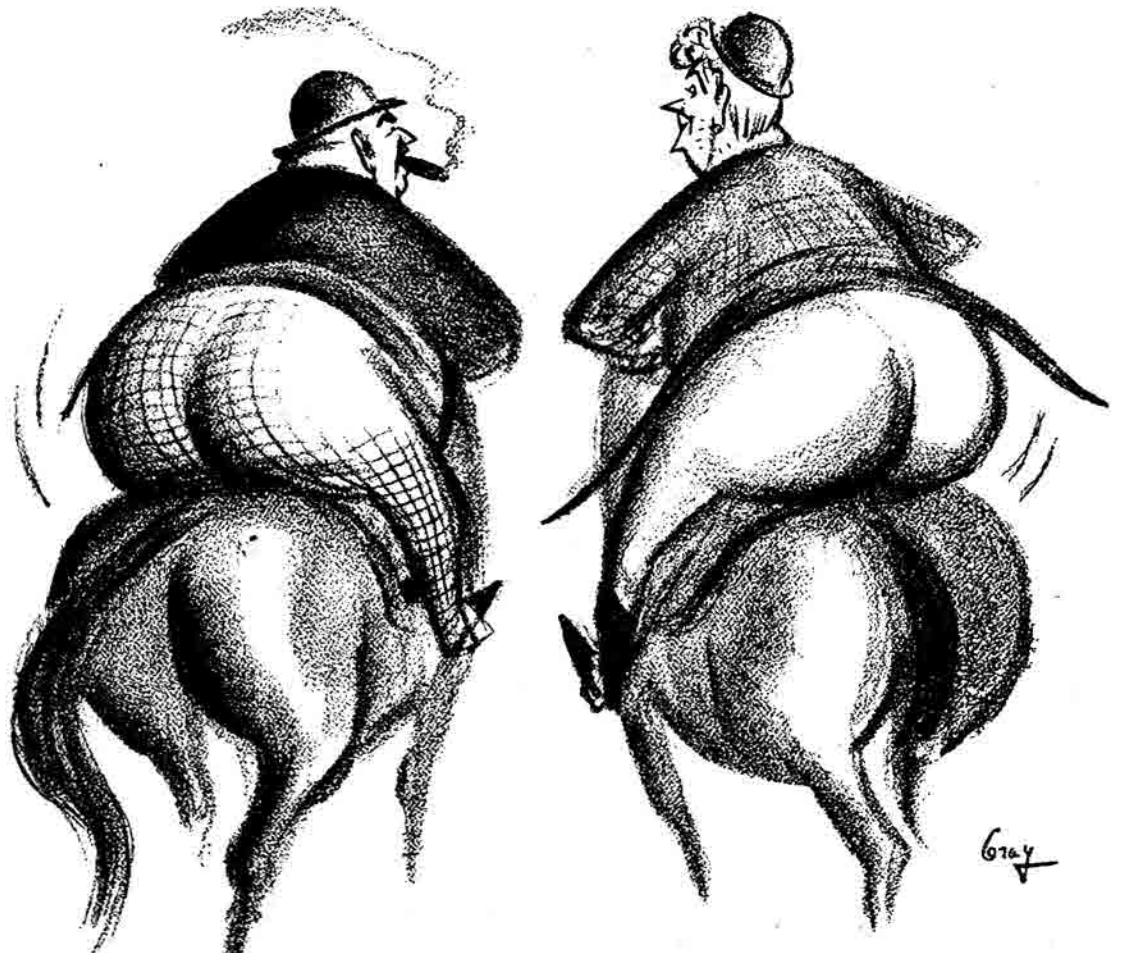
agement rights" section of the contract. Louis Seaton, GM negotiator, accused the union of making "unsound demands" on working conditions "which if granted would restrict management in its responsibility to operate the business efficiently." This simply means that GM knows that the pension and fringe-benefit concessions it makes can be more than made up for through increased speed-up and productivity from automation, and it wants no union interference in these matters.

Ford Negotiator

An indication of what is involved was contained in a statement made by Ford's negotiator, Malcolm Denise, on Sept. 17, before Ford agreed to the new contract. Denise insisted on the company's "flexibility to do those things" which would enable Ford to make up the costs of the contract. "This is where we get to the heart of our ability to manage our plants efficiently," he said. On Sept. 18, after the agreement was reached, he said the new contract was "acceptable and realistic" from this point of view. The same is true for the Chrysler contract.

Why then, did Reuther authorize a strike at GM over an issue for which he did not stand up against the other two major corporations? For one thing, conditions are worse at GM than at the other two. But the main reason is that many GM locals were threatening to strike whether Reuther authorized it or not. And Reuther decided to lead the strike — the better to head it off, if his past record is any guide.

As the *New York Times* of Sept. 27 commented: "There were indications that Mr. Reuther was eager to settle with GM on terms similar to those accepted by Chrysler and Ford. But, in the view of industry officials, he found himself a political prisoner of union locals which wanted to hold out for a settlement that might end some 17,900 remaining local grievance cases."



The way I look at it, a little speed-up will work the fat off 'em.

Ballot Status Of SWP

Through an error, Minnesota was not listed in our last issue among the states where the Socialist Workers Party has applied for a place on the ballot.

The SWP has already been certified for the ballot in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Iowa, Montana and North Dakota. In addition to Minnesota, it has filed for a place on the ballot in Wisconsin and Colorado. Organized write-in campaigns are being conducted in California, Illinois and Ohio.

In Washington, DeBerry and Shaw have been nominated by the Freedom Socialist Party which has been certified for the ballot.