

# THE MILITANT

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## Harlem Rally Demands: 'Hands Off the Congo!'

By David Herman

NEW YORK, Dec. 14 — An overflow crowd of about 1,500 cheered Malcolm X, Dick Gregory and Sheikh Abdul Rahman Muhammed Babu, a leader of the January revolution in Zanzibar, at a rally of the Organization of Afro-American Unity. The audience responded with rousing applause to a message of solidarity with his "brothers and sisters of Harlem" from Cuban leader Che Guevara. Speakers at the rally demanded: "Hands off the Congo!"

Malcolm X began his remarks with an attack on the press. He pointed out that "the press is so powerful . . . it can make a criminal look like the victim . . . make you love the criminal and hate the victim." The Congo is a good example of what the press does, he explained. U.S.-supplied planes are dropping bombs on villages in the Congo — blowing up defenseless women and children — and the press makes "mass murder — cold-blooded murder — look like humanitarianism."

"The press is white . . . and it's dangerous," said the black nationalist leader. Whenever they can't control someone they call him irresponsible or subversive, he declared. "We are living in a

**Malcolm X will speak at the New York Militant Labor Forum Jan. 7. See story page 8.**

very deceitful and tricky society . . . which has a very deceitful and tricky government." It was therefore necessary to form the habit of thinking and seeing for one's self.

Malcolm X attacked Tshombe as "the worst African ever born," a "cold-blooded murderer" who "murdered Lumumba." "He should never be allowed to set foot in this country . . . he should be afraid to."

Malcolm X pointed out that when Congolese were killed there was no outcry, but the press had caused a world outcry over the whites. Then he went on to read from an article in the *Daily Express*, a conservative British newspaper, describing the indiscriminate mass murder of Congolese by the Belgians and white mercenaries in Stanleyville.

He labeled the anti-Castro



Malcolm X

Cuban pilots flying in the Congo as the hired killers of the U.S. government, and Tshombe as hired by the U.S. to rule the Congo.

Dick Gregory was introduced by Malcolm X as "one of the foremost freedom fighters in this country." His pointed humor kept the audience roaring with laughter for over half an hour.

Gregory directed most of his fire at the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover. He explained his attitude toward the FBI with the following anecdote:

"I remember one time (in Mississippi) we were trapped in an alley with the Ku Klux Klan on one side and the FBI on the other, and we flipped a coin to decide which way to go."

Gregory remarked that he heard the FBI is infiltrating the Ku Klux Klan. "They're paying the Ku Klux Klan back," he explained, "because they infiltrated the FBI a long time ago." He also described how the FBI tapped his phone and followed him wherever he went.

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# U.S. AND BELGIUM DENOUNCED IN UN FOR ROLE IN CONGO

By Dick Roberts

NEW YORK, Dec. 15 — For the past week the United Nations has echoed with the most numerous and harshest denunciations of U.S. policy since the founding of that international body nearly 20 years ago.

Delegate after delegate from the newly independent nations of Africa and Asia, and from the Soviet-bloc countries, appeared before the Security Council to blast the U.S.-Belgian paratroop attack on the Congo and demand an end to imperialist intervention there.

At the same time, the UN General Assembly was giving thunderous applause to Cuban Minister of Industries Che Guevara for a devastating exposure of Washington's policy in the Congo, Vietnam and Latin America.

Calling Moise Tshombe an agent of U.S. and Belgian business interests, African spokesmen showed that the Nov. 24 paratroop invasion was a prearranged plan to aid Tshombe's white mercenaries capture Stanleyville, the capital and stronghold of the Congolese National Liberation Front.

This was proved to the hilt Dec. 10 by Algerian representative Tewfik Bouattoura. He demonstrated that at the very moment U.S. diplomats in Nairobi, the Kenyan capital, were pretending to negotiate with the Organization of African Unity's ad hoc commission for the peaceful withdrawal of white foreigners from the Congo, the U.S. was proceeding with plans for the paratroop invasion.

### OAU Promise

The Algerian delegate further pointed out that Thomas Kanza, the OAU representative, promised U.S. Ambassador Atwood that foreign citizens "would not be attacked or mistreated as long as the Congolese populations were not subjected to any oppressive measures." This promise was substantiated by Jomo Kenyatta, President of Kenya and chairman of the OAU, who stated Nov. 27:

"I had clearly notified the American ambassador that any parachute drops at Stanleyville would be serious and that I could not be held responsible for the results. I was in favor of peaceful negotiations through the of-



"Che" Guevara

fices of the Organization of African Unity."

Thus the U.S.-Belgian attack was launched in total defiance of the OAU — and without any serious attempt to arrive at a peaceful arrangement for evacuating the whites in the Congo.

Bouattoura also denounced the atrocities committed against the Congolese by the U.S.-financed, fed and airlifted mercenaries of puppet dictator Tshombe. He offered the following eyewitness account by journalist Emile Lejeune in the Paris newspaper, *Le Nouvel Observateur*:

" . . . during four months, I saw strafing aircraft burning dozens of villages; I saw thousands of peasants exterminated in the brush by the army of the Leopoldville authorities . . .

"No voice in the Western world was ever raised in support of the Africans. The elements of the Congolese national army which, in the region of Albertville, are being trained in the use of flame-throwers, will in the days to come burn all the villages in the region of Fizzi and Baraka . . .

"They will burn alive all the men and all the women whom they meet. These are their orders. Only children will be spared. No government is intervening. There is one law for the whites and another law for the blacks."

The ill-concealed white-supremacist attitudes of the U.S. government were consistently attacked by the African UN speakers. They did not hesitate to draw the parallel between the oppression of the American Negroes in the South, and the atrocities against black Africans in the Congo. The representative of Guinea, Louis L. Beovogui, sharply attacked this racism:

"In their blind war being carried out under the direction of Belgian, South African and Rhodesian mercenaries, under the protection of U.S. military planes piloted by Cuban mercenaries recruited and financed by the United States — soldiers of fortune trying to redeem their fiasco in the Bay of Pigs — they have massacred hundreds upon hundreds of defenseless Congolese civilians whom they have called rebels for the needs of their cause . . .

"At the time no indignation was expressed by the so-called civilized governments and countries which today denounce what they call rebel atrocities. At that time humanitarian reasons were foreign to them."

"Was it because the thousands of Congolese citizens murdered by the South Africans, the Rhodesians, the Belgians and the Cuban refugee adventurers had dark skins just like the colored citizens murdered in Mississippi?"

UN spokesmen for the U.S., Belgium and the Leopoldville government desperately attempted to sidetrack these attacks by calling attention to the support now promised to the Congolese liberation forces by Algeria, Ghana, Sudan, Egypt and the Soviet Union. So argue the imperialists and their puppet dictator. But this smokescreen about "foreign communist intervention" did not fool anyone. Anti-imperialist forces the world-over remain united behind the Congolese liberation struggle, and they know full well that no "foreign intervention" was needed to spur the Congolese people into battle against the neo-colonialist dictatorship of Moise Tshombe.

Their arguments in tatters, the U.S. and Belgian apologists resorted to sophistry and demagoguery spiked with racism. In their up-

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## DON'T BUY SCRIPTO PENS!

## Union, Rights Groups, Urge Boycott of Slave-Wage Firm

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Chairman John Lewis has pledged his organization's support to the strike of Scripto workers in Atlanta, Ga., and has called on Friends of SNCC groups around the country to spur boycotts of Scripto pens, pencils and lighters.

The strike, by Local 754 of the International Chemical Workers, AFL-CIO, began early in December over low wages, working conditions and racial discrimination. Lewis said "700 of the 900 workers at Scripto's Atlanta plant are Negroes and all but six of them are classified as 'unskilled' by the company." He said "Scripto's unskilled workers — all of them Negroes — make only \$1.25 per hour or \$2,600 yearly before deductions, or \$400 less than the nationally defined poverty level."

The union contends many of the black workers are doing skilled work in spite of their classifica-

tion as "unskilled" and that whites are often brought in over Negroes to fill positions classified as skilled. One of the union demands is establishment of a seniority system in the plant.

The union started negotiations 18 months ago demanding an 18-cent hourly wage increase across the board. It has dropped this to a demand for eight cents. The company offered a two per cent increase for "unskilled" and a four per cent increase for "skilled" workers in lieu of a Christmas bonus. The union charges this is no raise at all, because this has been the rough formula for Christmas bonuses given in the past.

The union is also asking for improved working conditions and a dues checkoff. Scripto has made only one concession in bargaining talks — it agreed to let workers go to the bathroom without asking permission.

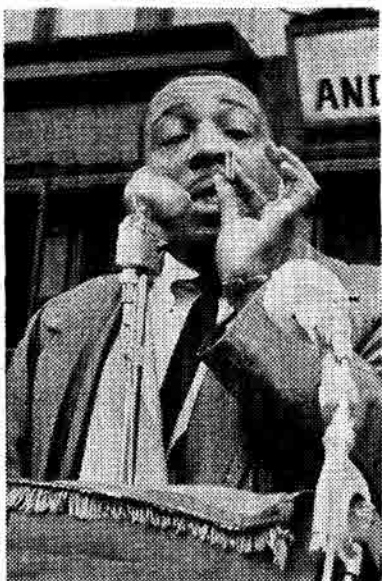
Recently a woman worker fell

inside the plant and died on the ground outside. The foreman had ordered her taken there rather than to the plant clinic.

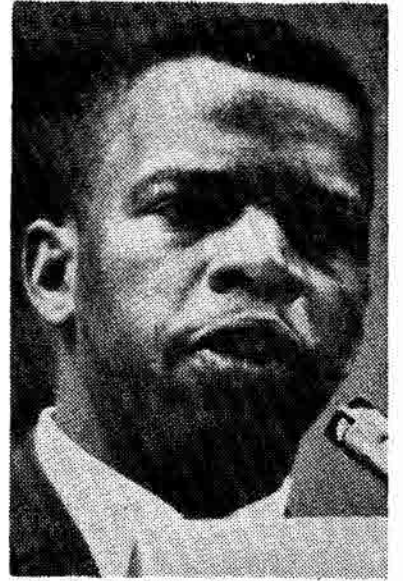
### Women Injured

One woman with 21 years in the plant held up her hand at a recent meeting of the strikers and showed where she had lost two fingers in an accident in the plant. Another woman picket was hospitalized after being struck by a car driven by a strikebreaker entering the plant.

The company has kept the plant open trying to operate and advertises daily on radio and in the press for people to replace the strikers. The union has called on all groups to boycott Scripto pens, pencils and lighters. The officers of the Chemical Workers Union have threatened a world-wide boycott of the company. Scripto has plants in Southern Rhodesia, England and Mexico.



Dick Gregory



John Lewis



# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

**Steelworkers President David J. McDonald** appears to be falling behind in his campaign to keep his \$50,000-a-year job in the face of a challenge from I. W. Abel. Abel, the union's present secretary-treasurer, now has the announced support of at least 15 of the million-member union's 30 regional directors. The Abel forces won a test of strength in the Pittsburgh area Dec. 3 when William J. Hart, an Abel supporter and director of Steelworkers District 19, won re-election as president of the AFL-CIO Allegheny County Labor Council. Hart had been challenged by John Radzynski, an organizer for Steelworkers District 16 and a supporter of McDonald.

The election for the County Labor Council involves all AFL-CIO local unions in the area, not just Steelworkers locals, but the contest reflected the struggle within the Steelworkers. The Hart slate for the Council's 30 odd vice presidents and trustees swept the field.

In the Steelworkers election campaign, Abel has so far declared no significant policy differences with McDonald. But as the saying goes: "When thieves fall out, can honest men lose?" There already appears to be a gain for the rank and file in the fact that the collective-bargaining goals adopted Dec. 2 by the Steelworkers Wage Policy Committee are more substantial than had been expected before the Abel-McDonald fight broke out.

The goals include re-instatement of the cost-of-living adjustment which was sacrificed in 1960, a "substantial" wage increase, and support to locals on grievances involving working conditions. The last raise the Steelworkers got was seven cents an hour in 1961.

Meanwhile, a delegation of 58 Negro Steelworkers from ten states held an informal conference in Detroit and voted to endorse Abel. Chairman of the meeting was W. A. Davis, president of USW Local 1199 in Buffalo, N.Y. He said there is no evidence Negroes could expect more from Abel, but that McDonald's record on civil rights "in the community isn't bad, but in the union it stinks." Boyd L. Wilson, a member of McDonald's staff from Pittsburgh, spoke against the group's endorsing either slate. "I'm tired of seeing lily-white slates election after election in this union," he said. "Why should we endorse either slate. There's not a Negro on either."

The group selected a committee

of ten with Davis as chairman, to set up a conference with Abel and present him with demands. Of the union's million members some 200,000 are Negroes. Represented at the conference were Negro steelworkers from Alabama, California, Georgia, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Tennessee.

Within the United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, a storm appears to be brewing over the issue of federal aid to private schools. In a startling development at the UFT's executive board's Nov. 6-8 meeting, the board adopted a position which is in effect an attempt to reverse the union's traditional opposition to federal aid to parochial and other private schools.

For many years, a little-publicized but effective alliance between the Catholic Church, conservative forces opposed to federal aid to education, and Southern racists opposed to federal aid on a non-segregated basis, has kept all new federal-aid-to education bills from passage in Congress. The price demanded by the Catholic Church for breaking this alliance and allowing effective aid bills to pass has been some form of aid to parochial schools.

It is now clear that the new UFT leadership under Charles Cogen, recently-elected UFT president, has decided to support this blackmail payment in hopes of getting the badly-needed aid. UFT support could be crucial in this matter. The fine hand of AFL-CIO Vice President Walter Reuther is also indicated since Reuther is known to be a chief supporter and "advisor" of the Cogen caucus.

A wave of opposition to the board's new position is stirring up the UFT, however. It is based on three elements: 1) Those opposed to the board's action as an undemocratic and illegal act — reversal of a position re-affirmed at the union's recent convention. 2) Those who fear infringement of the principle of separation of church and state. 3) Those who fear any form of federal aid to private schools will be used by racists to block desegregation. The issue is likely to be hotly debated in preparation for the union's annual convention next summer.

## 'Jobs-or-Income' Group Presents Its Demands To Washington Officials

WASHINGTON, D.C. — A five-person delegation from the Alliance for Jobs Or Income Now met here Dec. 9 with George T. Weaver, undersecretary of the Department of Labor, and with Solomon Barkin, deputy director of Manpower and Social Affairs of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

The Alliance representatives presented demands "for facilitating social transition, without human suffering, to the next stage of the technological revolution." The demands included: "A basic family income of \$5,400 a year for those whom there are no jobs; a 25-hour work week to share present job opportunities; and massive public works to create jobs by fulfilling urgent social needs."

Art Berger, a member of the International Typographical Union from New York, acted as spokesman for the group. The Alliance is a recently-formed organization which, according to its founders, aims "to promote education, action and unity of the unemployed and the insecurely employed."

## Officials Retain Hold on Apparatus Of Farmers Group

By Everett E. Luoma

MINNEAPOLIS — Amid rumblings of protest, the conservative leadership of the National Farmers Organization (NFO) apparently succeeded in making its position more secure at its Dec. 2-3 convention here.

A growing opposition did succeed in getting 679 votes for its candidate, Lynn E. Bowe, as against 4,767 for the incumbent, President Oren Lee Staley. Lack of strength of the opposition in states other than Minnesota prevented the NFO Victory Committee from being the major issue in the convention. In the Minnesota state convention, the NFO Victory Committee had succeeded in making itself the dominant issue and in having one of its members, Ralph Kittelson, elected to the three-man state board.

Most of the strength of the Victory Committee is in Western Minnesota, where a good deal of the militancy in the recent holding action was seen. The main difference in approach between the Victory Committee and the entrenched bureaucracy that controls the NFO is that the Victory Committee believes the NFO cannot be victorious unless it gets the support of organized labor in its efforts to win a fair price for the farmer.

Great bitterness is felt throughout the organization against the NFO National Office for its opposition to militancy during holding actions and because no information is presented to the membership concerning marketing conditions and the financial condition of the organization. Opposition candidate Bowe criticized this secrecy in his speech accepting the nomination.

In efforts to create a more respectable image for NFO, the national committee had Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman as the featured speaker at the convention.

### Attacks "Violence"

William D. Hall, general counsel of NFO, was also given the opportunity to make an unscheduled speech against violence in holding actions. Hall also attacked labor's organizing policies.

"Individuals who took the law into their own hands (in the recent NFO livestock holding action)," Hall said, "were making the same mistake the labor movement made 35 or 40 years ago."

This mistake, he continued, was "trying to make up with force what they lacked in numbers."

"You may say labor got the job done this way," he argued, "but I say it set them back ten years."

His mention of tactics such as bringing hogs to market at the rate of one hog per truck to tie up the stockyards brought laughter and scattered applause from the delegates indicating that an overwhelming majority of them supported such actions.

This is the sentiment that the NFO Victory Committee is attempting to develop and represents the logical evolution of the NFO if it is to become an effective organization.

## Employers Offered Tip On Bargain-Type Labor

In a lecture, Dr. Edward C. Rosenow, executive director of the American College of Physicians, recently told a group of businessmen in Los Angeles about people of a certain medical type who make excellent workers from the boss's point of view. These people, said the good doctor, are "superconscientious and don't have to be prodded because they prod themselves." Who are they? They are the 10 per cent of the population who have ulcers.

## Detroit Council Weighs Identity-Card Ordinance

By Robert Fink

DETROIT — This city's Common Council has been discussing for a month a proposed ordinance which would require all pedestrians to carry some form of identification with them whenever they are on the streets. This identification would have to be presented upon demand by any cop issuing a ticket for violation of an ordinance. This measure has been asked by the Detroit Police on the grounds that 126,431 people have escaped paying pedestrian tickets because they gave false names and addresses to ticketing officers.

What has the Council been discussing for a month? Are they asking why so many tickets are being handed out? Detroit has maintained a reputation for handing out tickets by the bushel. In 1957 it was reported that income from tickets in Detroit was higher than in Los Angeles or Philadelphia, both larger cities than Detroit.

No, the Council is not asking why so many tickets.

Are the city fathers concerned with the fact that these unpaid tickets represent 23 per cent of all pedestrian tickets? That shows a high degree of resentment to these tickets. No, they aren't concerned with that, either.

### Official Racism

Are they interested in the fact that about 75 per cent of tickets go to Negroes, and that the police have long been biased? No, there is no mention of this glaring evidence of official racism.

What the Council is interested in are things like — what would be the best identification for a pedestrian to carry; should we demand special passports?

Thomas L. Poindexter, leader of the anti-Negro Greater Detroit Homeowners' Council and newly-elected member of the Council, distinguished himself by opposing the proposed ordinance because "it doesn't go far enough." He said: "The Police Department should issue cards with pictures, fingerprints, names and addresses to everyone who is abroad late at night."

Other Council members who are

opposed say the proposed ordinance is not needed because the cops already have the right to take ordinance violators to the police station for identification.

Only one Councilman, Ed Carey, meekly mentioned that he fears such a proposal is a "first step toward a police-state concept."

Ed Connor, one of the labor-endorsed "liberals" on the Council said he thought the ordinance should be passed and that any "abuses" would undoubtedly cause the Council to take corrective action.

The Council presently is about evenly split. Both the ACLU and the NAACP are opposed to this measure, and even the *Detroit Free Press* came out against it editorially.

## Detroit Socialists Picket to Protest Congo Intervention

DETROIT, Dec. 12 — A spirited demonstration against U.S. intervention in the Congo and Vietnam attracted the attention — much of it sympathetic — of Christmas shoppers downtown today.

The picket line was called by the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. A few people came from other community organizations which had been invited to participate. The Youth Fellowship of the Central Congregational Church went on record in support of the demonstration.

Several persons came up and expressed support for the two demands of the pickets: "Get the U.S. out of the Congo!" and "Get the U.S. Out of Vietnam!" A Congolese student came to express his thanks to the demonstrators.

At one point, two members of a group called "Spartacist" unfolded a ten-foot-long banner bearing the provocative statement "Demand Soviet H-Bombs for North Vietnam's Defense." Upon reconsideration, they folded it back up.

## ... Rally in Harlem on Congo

(Continued from Page 1)

Martin Luther King caught one of Gregory's barbs. Gregory described a photograph of the Birmingham demonstrations, which had been shown all over the world. In it, a Negro with a coke bottle in his hand was opposite a cop with a bazooka — "and Martin Luther King standing in the middle saying 'cool it baby, we're winning.'"

In reading the message from Che Guevara to the Harlem audience, Malcolm X called Guevara "a good friend of mine." Guevara expressed his regrets that circumstances prevented him from being present. He ended his message of solidarity with: "United we will win." The audience applauded with great warmth.

Malcolm X was very pleased with the audience's reaction and said he was happy to see they didn't let the commercial press make up their minds about who were their friends and who were their enemies.

"You don't see any anti-Castro Cubans around here," he continued, "We eat them up!"

Babu of Zanzibar, was introduced by Malcolm X as a proven revolutionary and a man he was honored to call his friend. Babu praised Malcolm X as the only American leader who had taken the trouble to travel all over Africa and explain the troubles of

the American people. "The struggle of the people suffering in Africa and those suffering here is one and the same," he said. Malcolm X had spread the message throughout Africa that we must all unite, Babu reported. "This is a world problem — the oppressed against the oppressor... we must unite all of the people we can."

### White Atrocities

Speaking of the Congo, he declared the atrocities there had not been committed by the Congolese, but by the Belgians and white mercenaries.

He went on to speak of the great strength of the Americans of African descent in the United States and all over Latin America. "We follow all your battles here in the United States... Your success will mean our success in Africa," he explained.

Babu predicted that "what has happened so far is only a ripple, but there is a coming tide" in the Congo. "You have to be prepared for it," he said referring to the propaganda against the Congolese fighting for their freedom.

Another rally of the OAAU will be held Sunday, Dec. 20, 8 p.m., at the Audubon Hall at 166 St. and Broadway. The discussion of the events in the Congo will continue, and the OAAU will spell out its program on how to best utilize political action.

## Weekly Calendar

### AD RATES

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

### LOS ANGELES

CELEBRATE NEW YEAR'S EVE AND THE 6th ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION. Music, dancing, refreshments. Thurs., Dec. 31, 9 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues., Dec. 22, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Dec. 23, 9 a.m.) KPFF-FM (90.7 on your dial).

### NEW YORK

Enjoy New Year's Eve at the Militant Labor Forum. Ring in the sixth anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Dancing, refreshments, favors. \$2 contrib. includes midnight supper. Thurs. Dec. 31, 9 p.m. 116 University Pl.



## BOOK REVIEW

## LABOR'S GIANT STEP

**LABOR'S GIANT STEP**, Twenty Years of the CIO. By Art Preis. New York: Pioneer Publishers, 538 pp., \$7.50.

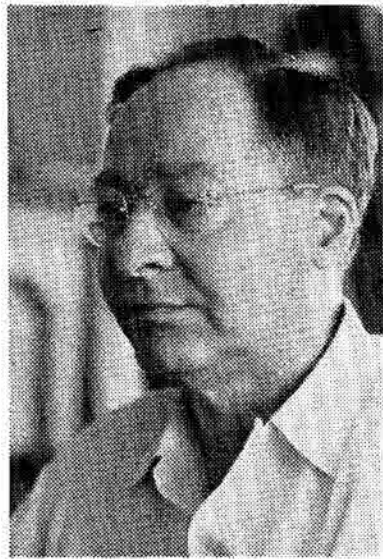
Only one generation after the formation of the CIO, the industrial union became a firmly fixed feature of American social and economic life. So firmly fixed that to most Americans who have grown up since the 1930s it seems the CIO must have been with us always. But the CIO was not always such a well established institution and this book tells the story of the growth of industrial unionism as it took place in this country through the form of the CIO.

The author draws the main lines of development from the CIO's rambunctious and radical past to its "respectable" and conservative present. He also traces the rise and/or fall of many labor leaders. However, *Labor's Giant Step* is more than a factual history of the American labor movement during the period of its greatest upsurge so far. It is also a careful evaluation and sympathetic analysis of the successes and failures, the victories and defeats.

And aided by his depth of understanding, Art Preis brings to us a sense of the vitality, daring and aggressiveness which characterized the early years of the CIO. Readers from the generation that lived through those troublous times will be constantly rewarded by the discovery of much they never knew as well as by the fresh insights into the momentous struggles of the past. Some of those struggles have been all but completely overlooked in the scholarly attempts of most of today's commentators and historians whether they come from the officialdom of the labor movement or the circles of liberal intellectualism.

Most of all, however, this book will be appreciated by the inquiring minds of young workers and radicals of the younger generation who have heard little but legend or fiction about the role of organized labor in the recent history of this country.

Perhaps the most widely accepted myth about the era concerns Roosevelt and the New Deal. The function of legend and myth to explain and justify inexplicable social forces and established social institutions did not begin with the Homeric poems nor has it ended in our times. The Roosevelt myth has acquired such a degree of permanence that it is regularly stated as incontrovertible historic fact, accepted as such even by the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1957 edition), which puts it this way: "With the coming of the Franklin Roosevelt administration's New Deal, however, [union] membership rose rapidly under the stimulus of legislation favorable to labor. . . . Now government stepped in not only to



Art Preis

restore the most seriously deteriorated standards of employment but to pave the way directly for unionism."

That Art Preis is not taken in by this myth becomes clear at the very beginning of his book: "What followed the signing of the NRA (National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, whose famous Section 7(a) is reputed to have given labor the right to organize) was not the recognition of labor's rights but the most ferocious assault on American labor in its history. Labor was forced into what was a virtual civil war fought on three thousand miles of picket lines for five years. Hundreds of workers were killed, thousands wounded, tens of thousands arrested or otherwise victimized from 1933 to 1938."

In support of his contention, the author provides us with numerous examples of the difficulties placed in the way of organization by the New Deal administration. Among them is Roosevelt's intervention in the auto unions in 1934 which led to an agreement that no strikes would take place and that disputes would be settled with government help. The direct result was utter failure for the union and a decline in membership in AFL auto locals from 100,000 in 1934 to 20,000 in 1935. The auto workers never really got their "right to organize" until they earned it in the famous sitdown strikes of 1937.

#### Membership Decline

In like manner, the 1934 organization attempt of steelworkers was defeated by the arrangement of a Roosevelt "truce" during which a government-appointed board would settle grievances. In this case, after dismal months, the union membership dropped, according to official AFL figures, from the 100,000 who had poured in early in the year to only 5,300 by December, 1934.

Statistics of National Guard and government interventions are also devastating to the Roosevelt myth. For example: "From 1933 to 1935 alone, out of 42,737 National Guardsmen who were called to active duty, 32,645 or 77 per cent, were used to break strikes. In one

year, 1935, the National Guard was employed in 73 strikes in 20 states. . . . As late as the November, 1938, convention of the CIO, its officers' report complained that 'the use of the National Guard to break strikes has been subsidized by the Federal Government. . . [and] has increased in recent times.'"

No less illuminating is the information that during the great wave of sit-down strikes, of which more than 1,000 were reported in the press during 1936 and 1937, well over 50 per cent were for simple union recognition, supposedly a right guaranteed under law by the New Deal administration.

#### Need for Leadership

If the CIO did not spring full blown from the creative minds of New Deal politicians; if, during the crises of the 1930s, the government could be found always on the side of the employer and against organized labor, whence did the CIO arise and how was it able to become the established class organization of millions upon millions of industrial workers?

Preis sees that at least three pre-conditions were necessary for the birth of the modern industrial unions: the desire of workers to be organized, the willingness to fight (often at the risk of death), and a radical class-conscious leadership. In the early years of the Great Depression, the first two conditions were present often enough, as shown by the large number of strikes which occurred. But the third ingredient meant a leadership which understood the anti-union role of the New Deal government and the shortcomings of the official labor leaders; and which had the ability to carry the struggle forward against all opposition, avoiding the traps set for the unwary. It was the lack of leadership of this character which led to the defeat of most strikes during those early years.

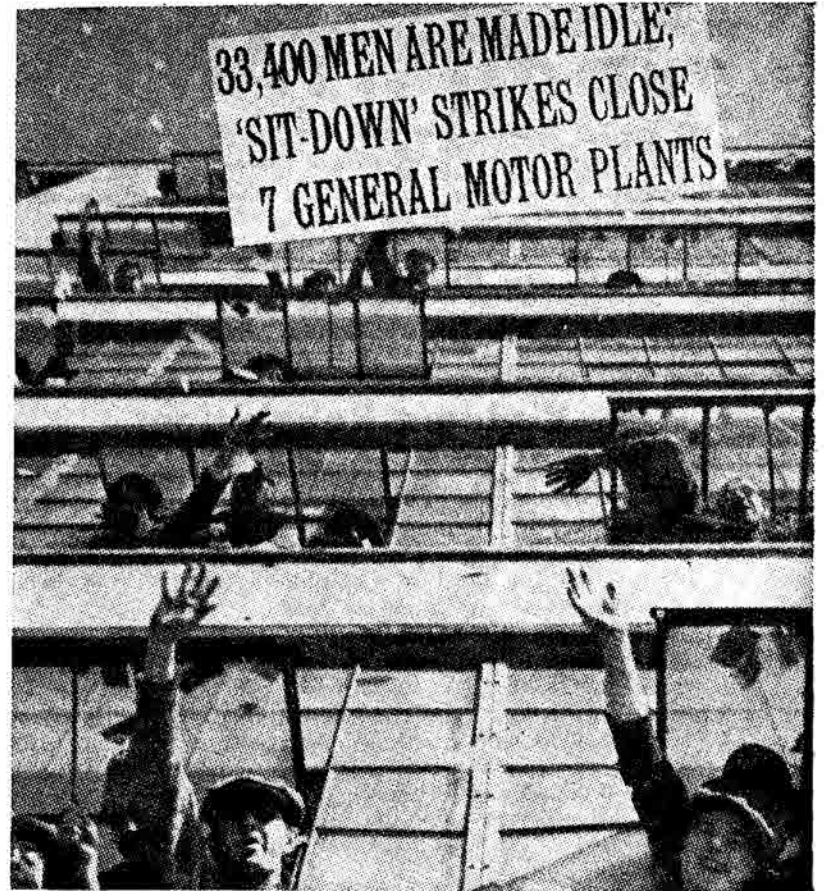
#### 3 Major Strikes

The author chooses three successful, and therefore unusual, strikes for union recognition during 1934 to illustrate his point: the Toledo Electric Auto-Lite strike, the Minneapolis Teamsters strike and the San Francisco General Strike, spearheaded by the West Coast Longshoremen's union. In each of these contests radicals or revolutionary socialists were either in the direct leadership, or of primary influence in policy making as rank-and-file leaders. And in each of these successful strikes, regarded by Preis as critically important object lessons and historic precedents for the American workers, victory resulted from actual civil war between the workers on one side and the armed forces of both employers and government on the other.

In the narrative of these early clashes and those that were soon to follow, *Labor's Giant Step* brings to the reader a new appreciation of the devotion and courage of the many unnamed partisans who suffered violence and prison sentences and, all too often, death, in the American workers' conquest of their right to organize and bargain collectively. Rescued from near historic oblivion are the names of many to whom the organized workers of today owe debts of gratitude for the tenacity and selfless bravery which made the very existence of the CIO possible.

But the CIO today, merged with the AFL, has become as staid and respectable a social institution as was the old AFL from which it split in the 30s over the question of industrial unionism. And Art Preis traces this development, too, in some detail.

At the beginning, two major objectives of the new unions were a 30-hour week and an independent labor party. Although the economic demands of the Amer-



**HISTORIC EVENT.** Photographic record of scene during 1937 sit-down strike at General Motors plants in Detroit.

ican workers made some headway, the 30-hour week is still not with us; and labor's political attempts to face the combined challenge of government and employer have so far met with ignominious defeat. Neither the 30-hour week nor the independent labor party now have any place in the list of AFL-CIO objectives, having been at first opposed and finally cast aside by the conservative bureaucracy which came to control, rather than lead, organized labor.

The success of the established leadership, especially during World War II, in derailing moves toward independent political action resulted in many losses. As the author puts it: ". . . the workers were to be cheated of many gains they might have won because of the intervention of the government which had the backing of the CIO leaders themselves. Unwilling to 'embarrass' the Democratic administrations, forced by the very fact of their political alliance to cover up the anti-labor acts of the New Deal and Fair Deal regimes, the CIO leaders kept one arm of the CIO — its political arm — tied behind its back."

#### Partisan Viewpoint

*Labor's Giant Step*, as an honest and forthright history of the American labor movement from 1933 to 1955 contains invaluable information, not found in book form elsewhere. The fact that such an honest portrayal cannot be made by the official historians or present leaders is in itself a commentary on the degeneration of the CIO. For the true history is only a source of constant embarrassment to the present-day "labor statesmen."

But neither is Art Preis a disinterested reporter with nothing at stake. His is strictly a partisan attitude. Partisan on the side of the workers, the rank and file, in each struggle with the employers or the government, or bureaucratic misleadership. That his position still allows him to present the history of the period factually and fairly, with neither rancor nor embarrassment, is to his credit.

As a partisan of labor's struggles, Art Preis, of course, intended more than just the chronicling of events. He evaluates those events, that history, and draws lessons and conclusions from the successes and the defeats. For the author himself is one of those revolutionary socialists who participated without stint or thought of personal aggrandizement in the gestation and birth of the CIO. He was one of the leaders and organizers of the unemployed and the industrial workers in Northern Ohio. As such, he is one of those

who are a source of embarrassment to today's labor officials, but one who, with others like him, did more than his share to make the American labor movement a reality.

That Art Preis remains today a socialist with a revolutionary outlook is unusual in itself and is responsible for the general tone of the book, a tone of optimism and confidence for the future and final success of the battles begun in the 30s but not yet concluded. He sees the unions as an instrument of class struggle, he is certain of this and, indeed, he proves that this is the only characterization which can be drawn from an accurate portrayal of their history.

There are certainly many who will look upon *Labor's Giant Step* with a jaundiced eye; bureaucrats who find security and benefit from the unions as they are today, and must pretend that they never were any different and will never change; those whose record does not stand up in regard to past performance and current statement, for Preis treads on many toes. But the book was not written to achieve popularity in "respectable" circles, it was written to provide an easier recourse to the history of the past for those who would change the world of the future.

The author's optimism is indomitable. In this reviewer's opinion he has written a classic working-class document that will meet the test of history.

—Edward Shaw

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Monday, December 21, 1964

## New Vietnam Revelations

Ambassador Taylor flew to Washington last month amid reports that he was demanding expansion of the war in South Vietnam. After the White House conference, however, President Johnson and the Washington press corps deliberately gave the impression no such drastic step was planned. But it has been made increasingly clear by correspondents in Saigon, who get off-the-record briefings from the U.S. military leaders there, that big plans are afoot for military actions beyond South Vietnam's borders.

Corroborating evidence was the Dec. 11 crash of an American transport plane loaded with South Vietnamese and U.S. "special-forces" troops at Danang, near the North Vietnam border. To U.S. newsmen this indicated secret missions outside South Vietnam were already underway or being practiced.

On Dec. 13 White House spokesman McGeorge Bundy declared the U.S. would not engage in any "reckless adventure" which might lead to a big war. Such statements are to lull the American public until it is confronted with the accomplished fact. But in Saigon speculation was not whether, but where, the attack would take place.

Most reporters considered the fact that Danang is 50 miles from the North Vietnam border significant. The *New York Times* correspondent noted that Danang is less than 200 miles from Chinese territory. All report that the U.S. military says traffic on the "Ho Chi Minh Trail" in Laos must be stopped.

Like "Viet Cong," this name was dreamed up by the Pentagon's propaganda department. Vietnamese had never heard of either. But in the latter case not only is the name an invention, so is the "trail" itself. The South Vietnamese guerrillas would have perished long ago if they depended for supplies from North Vietnam over this mythical trail. They are supplied by the local South Vietnamese peasants and capture their arms from the enemy.

Fearful the puppet regime in Saigon will collapse — and their "dirty war" with it — the U.S. brass hats are taking a gamble that can mean a major war — even a nuclear war — in Asia.

## Acheson -- A Regular Comedian

The much-publicized speech entitled "Ethics in International Relations Today" recently delivered at Amherst College by Dean Acheson was a rather grisly joke.

As Truman's Secretary of State, Acheson was an architect of the cold war and the Korean "police action" and is still an influential advisor on foreign affairs. His theme at Amherst was that the U.S. government should stop considering "moral maxims" in foreign affairs and, instead, do what will genuinely help achieve the ends the State Department holds dear. As if the State Department has been doing anything else!

As examples of "moral maxims" allegedly hampering the U.S., Acheson listed: the concept that the U.S. should deny itself the use of force; respect for the principle of self-determination; and considering foreign aid as "sharing brotherly love."

One is struck with something akin to wonder at Acheson's colossal gall in trying to make out that such considerations have ever for the briefest moment restrained the State Department, CIA or U.S. military commanders from doing whatever they could get away with. They have dropped nuclear bombs on civilian populations in a country already suing for peace, waged undeclared wars, engaged in nuclear blackmail, invaded small countries, built a world-wide CIA assassination-terrorism-espionage network, financed military coups, and used foreign "aid" to prop up bloody dictatorships.

These are but a few of the "means" used to pursue the "end" of protecting and increasing the power and profits of U.S. big business. Amherst should have awarded Acheson an honorary degree on the spot as one of history's greatest dead-pan comedians.

## Local Directory

**BOSTON.** Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307.

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

**CLEVELAND.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio. Telephone: 391-1425.

**DENVER.** Militant Labor Forum, Telephone 222-4174.

**DETROIT.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward, TEmple 1-6135. Friday Night Socialist Forum held weekly at 8 p.m.

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

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

## ECLC Bill-of-Rights Celebration

# Anti-Bias Fighter Given Tom Paine Award

By Harry Ring

**NEW YORK** — At its Bill of Rights Dinner here Dec. 11, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee conferred its annual Tom Paine award on James Dombrowski, the militant Southern anti-segregation fighter who faces a possible ten years in prison on a trumped-up charge of "subversion."

Some 900 people attended the dinner of the non-partisan defense committee which is in the thick of the fight in a whole series of civil-liberties cases. Numerous victims of the witch-hunt who have fought for their rights with the support of the committee were present at the banquet.

In addition to Dr. Dombrowski, the speakers included author Vance Packard and Edward Lamb, the Ohio financier and industrialist, who was a target of the witch-hunt in the McCarthy era. Judge Hubert T. Delaney, the distinguished Negro jurist, was toastmaster. Dr. Corliss Lamont, philosopher and civil libertarian, presented the Tom Paine award to Dombrowski.

Seated on the dais and in the audience were many people whose names have figured in the past year's fight for civil liberties and civil rights. The audience extended a standing tribute to Nathan Schwerner, father of Michael Schwerner, one of the three young civil-rights workers murdered in Mississippi.

Among the others, who were introduced were Russ Nixon, general manager of the *National Guardian*, who was cited for contempt of HUAC along with Dagmar Wilson and Donna Allen of the Women Strike for Peace; Leroy McRae, whom the witch-



Dr. James A. Dombrowski

hunters recently tried unsuccessfully to get ousted from Mobilization for Youth because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party; and Moe Fishman of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which is currently fighting, with ECLC support, against government efforts to compel it to register as a "Communist front."

Among those who sent greetings to the banquet were Senator Stephen Young of Ohio, Rep. John Lindsay of New York, W. H. Ferry of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, and Dagmar Wilson.

In accepting the Tom Paine award, Dombrowski said he regarded it as an honor conferred not on himself as an individual

but rather for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, the South-wide antisegregation group of which he is executive director. It was the branding of SCEF as "subversive" by the Louisiana Un-American Activities Committee that led to a police raid on SCEF headquarters in New Orleans and the indictment of Dombrowski. Indicted along with him were attorney Ben Smith of New Orleans, who is SCEF treasurer, and Smith's law partner, Bruce Waltzer. Their cases have been taken to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Dombrowski told the gathering that SCEF placed major emphasis on the fact that civil rights cannot be won without civil liberties. He paid special tribute to Carl and Anne Braden, SCEF field representatives, who he said had impressed upon the organization the need of active resistance to the witch-hunters and red-baiters in order to fight Jim Crow effectively. He expressed SCEF's appreciation for the ECLC's support of its civil liberties.

## Att'y General Says "Subversive" List Is Unconstitutional

Acting U.S. Attorney General Nicolas de B. Katzenbach admitted recently that the attorney general's "subversive" list had been found unconstitutional. Clark Foreman, director of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, congratulated Katzenbach for being the first attorney general to do so. He also asked him to instruct all government agencies to refrain from using the list in any way in the future.

The announcement by Katzenbach was made in a brief to the Supreme Court in the case of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The attorney general said: "This Court, however, held that the list was unconstitutional because of the lack of fair procedures in promulgating it."

The cases of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade were heard on Dec. 9. Both are challenging the ruling of the Subversive Activities Control Board that they should register as "Communist-fronts."

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## Socialists in Toronto Wage Active Election Campaign

Canada's labor party — the New Democratic Party — failed to nominate candidates in Toronto's recent municipal elections. But voters there were able to protest against the big-business candidates by supporting the nominees of the League for Socialist Action. The LSA ran Ross Dowson for mayor and Patricia Mitchell for one of the four controller posts.

As the municipal election returns were being tallied at Toronto's new city hall on Dec. 7, Dowson appeared over the nationally-owned CBS TV network. He predicted that this would be the last time the NDP will fail to present a candidate for the top city office. When asked by the announcer if he would run against such an NDP nominee, Dowson gave an emphatic no. "I will not only support such a candidate but will give every possible aid," he said.

Toronto's city elections are technically non-partisan. This led to the unusual situation of two Liberal Party candidates running against each other for mayor. In

the previous election, two Tories had opposed one another. The League for Socialist Action campaigned vigorously this year to have the NDP and the Toronto and District Labor Council, which have considerable resources at their disposal, offer voters the alternative of a labor candidate.

In recent national elections, the NDP polled 25 per cent of the vote in Toronto. Recent by-elections swung the eastern half of Toronto into the labor column with NDP victories. Yet the official leadership of the NDP, and the trade unions which support the NDP as labor's political arm, failed to put up candidates for mayor and other posts. A meeting of the Labor Council on Nov. 5 broke up when delegates could not decide which Liberal candidate was the "lesser evil."

With this failure by the Labor Council, the League for Socialist Action decided to run Dowson and Mitchell against the candidates of the capitalist parties. Ross Dowson is the national secretary of the League, and Patricia Mitchell is its Toronto organizer.

Other planks in their platform, besides support to the NDP, were: a comprehensive public-health plan; the construction of public hospitals to ease the acute shortage of hospital beds; liquidation of a special police squad designed to harass strikers; increased civil control over the police; and a low-cost public-housing program.

The major LSA campaign leaflet also pointed to the problem of automation, which has closed down two important Toronto plants. The leaflet declared that this technological revolution "is posing the necessity for an entirely new society — a socialist society of production for use and consumption, not on the basis of ownership, but need."

Dowson received 3,026 votes, two percent of the total, and Mitchell tallied 6,750.



Patricia Mitchell



## REPORT FROM MICHIGAN

## Further Discussion on Freedom Now Party

By George Breitman

[On Nov. 13 George Breitman sent a report from Detroit entitled "What the Freedom Now Party Has Accomplished." This article, printed in our Nov. 23 issue, dealt with the Michigan FNP's vote, its historical development, organizational problems, etc.]

Believing that he had not dealt adequately with some of the issues raised in that article, he was writing another for *The Militant* when, on Dec. 3, he suffered an accident which put him in the hospital and consequently out of commission for an extended period.

Although the article he was working on is incomplete and without his final revisions, we print it as it is for the interest which it will have for many of our readers. — Ed.]

## I

DETROIT — Some people have questioned my opinion that the Freedom Now Party of Michigan represented "the politically most advanced tendency" in the whole Negro movement at the time of the Nov. 3 election. "What about the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party?" I have been asked. "Isn't that another political tendency with great promise? Aren't you underestimating its significance, and thereby the significance of the Southern struggle as a whole?"

My answer should begin by stating that I do not question the dedication of the Mississippi FDP leaders to the cause of Negro freedom, or their courage. The question is whether their policy in relation to the Democratic Party is correct or "advanced."

The problems in the South are different in many respects from those in the North. In Mississippi, Negroes are denied the right to register and to vote. In Michigan, as in the rest of the North, that is no problem. In Mississippi, the Democrats don't want Negroes in their party and are trying to keep them out. In Michigan, the Democrats are anxious to keep Negroes in their party. The tactical situation is therefore quite different.

Negroes now have formed political organizations outside the Democratic Party in both Mississippi and Michigan. In Mississippi, the aim of the new organization (FDP) is to force its way into the Democratic Party — either as a part of the state Democratic Party or as the unit recognized by the national Democratic Party as its Mississippi section. In Mich-

igan, the aim of the new organization (FNP) is to win Negroes away from the Democratic Party (and away from the Republican Party) and create a new, independent, Negro-controlled center speaking and acting for Negroes in politics.

In both cases, the form of the organization is independent. But in Mississippi, the essence is not independent — the FDP seeks to become part of the national Democratic Party in one way or another, because it thinks the Democratic Party can be reformed. In Michigan, both the form and the essence were independent in the recent election campaign of the FNP, which proceeded from the view that the Democratic Party cannot and will not serve as a political agency for Negro liberation.

This is the point from which thinking must start if you want to decide which policy is most advanced. If you think that Negro equality can be won through the Democratic Party, that the Democratic Party can be reformed enough to become a dependable instrument of the Negro freedom movement, then of course you will support and work inside the Democratic Party; and you will reject the FNP's policy as wrong and harmful, in Michigan as well as Mississippi.

But if you think that the Democratic Party, like the Republican Party, is and always will be an obstacle to Negro equality, then you will agree that it is futile to work inside it and that the indicated course is to win Negroes and their allies away from the Democratic Party as a whole and to organize them independently and in opposition to the two-party structure, in Mississippi as well as Michigan.

## Revolution Needed

The latter conclusion is the one that has been reached by some Negroes in Michigan and elsewhere after long and painful experience inside the Democratic Party. This opinion is shared by revolutionary socialists. It should be shared by everyone who understands that the winning of Negro equality requires revolution, not reform or gradualism, and that revolution requires new and independent political parties and institutions.

The situation in Mississippi is much more complex and difficult than in Michigan. Militant Mississippi Negroes are fighting to win the right to vote as well as to create a political instrument that can lead their struggle for freedom to victory. But the two things

should not be mixed up. When we support the right to vote, we of course support the right to vote for and join any party one chooses, including the Democratic Party. But you don't have to vote for the Democrats merely because you have the right to. Voting for the Democrats and belonging to the Democratic Party, even the National Democratic Party, is not the road to Negro freedom, South or North. This point we will debate and defend with our last breath.

We don't know with any certainty what the Mississippi FDP's future course will be. We hope that it will be convinced, by its experience in 1964 and after, that the Democratic Party as a whole is hostile to the cause of Negro



Rev. Albert Cleage

freedom, and that it will use its present organizational structure to build a progressive, independent alternative, state-wide and nationally, to the two parties historically and currently responsible for Negro oppression. When that happens, it will be as advanced politically as the FNP was in the recent Michigan campaign.

## II

Another question that puzzled some readers of my report on the FNP's Nov. 3 vote was why I bothered to make a rough estimate of the FNP's percentage of the state-wide Negro vote (around 2 per cent) and not of its percentage of the total vote (much smaller, of course).

What is involved here was the FNP's implicit strategy in this election, which I was at fault in

not explaining in my previous article.

The FNP and its candidates did not address themselves to all the voters. They spoke to and tried to reach and convince primarily the Negro voters. They thought that white voters, with few exceptions, would not understand or respond favorably to the idea of independent political action, black or white, in 1964. In any case, they felt that whatever resources, time and finances they had should be concentrated on their primary target, the Negro community.

## Independent Force

This was in accord with their conviction that the first step was to unite the Negro people as an independent political force distinct from the major parties; and that everything else should be subordinated to that first step. They did not spell out what would happen after that. But they implied, more in their campaign speeches than in their literature, that once a substantial section of the Negro voters had rallied around the FNP and they had some independent political power to point to, then they would be in a position to deal with other forces ("negotiations from strength").

From this standpoint, the important thing in this election was not the FNP's percentage of the total state-wide vote but its percentage of the Negro vote (as the key link in the political chain).

It is unfortunate that the *National Guardian's* correspondent could not understand the FNP's strategy and that *The Worker* chose to deliberately distort the FNP's concentration on Negro voters as "anti-white." One reason they were able to do this was that the FNP itself did not clarify this point sufficiently, resulting in a certain amount of demoralization among its own members after the strategy did not prove to be completely successful on election day.

## III

A number of readers were surprised by my report that even the FNP's racial composition has not yet been settled definitively. This is understandable since from the start members of the FNP in Michigan and elsewhere have referred to it as "all-black."

But it has been a controversial point since the beginning. The practice is usually to have only Negro members, but not always, and the rule has never been written down in final constitutional form.

The original idea of the initiators of the FNP was that an all black membership was a way to exclude "unhealthy" white influences (by which some meant all white influences and others didn't); would alienate and discourage participation of conciliators, "white-minded" Negroes, usually middle-class in orientation if not in composition; and make a strong appeal to the black masses, who are most suspicious of interracial organizations as a method whereby whites control from behind the scenes.

Other members were not so sure, but seemed most impressed by the last point (a strong way of winning the confidence of the black masses). They tended to hedge, however, that while they would want it all-black, this was not legally possible for any political party because of a Supreme Court decision doing away with racial restrictions on participation in primaries. This is really an evasion, however, because the FNP is a long way from the number of votes that would qualify it as a party legally required to hold primaries. There is nothing legal or constitutional preventing it from being all-black until then (a long enough period in which

to formulate the program and knit together a tested leadership that could not really be deluded by any primary election practices or accidents). So why hasn't the FNP, among those groups presently existing, made a decision on this point one way or the other?

Partly out of uncertainty, I would say — an inability to motivate an all-black membership to others — to other Negroes, to white liberals, etc., and partly out of a desire to avoid unnecessary internal struggles. The question is strictly one of tactics (and not principles), to be decided strictly on the basis of whether an all-black or an inter-racial composition will best help to build the party. Sometimes it will be one type, sometimes another, depending on many objective and subjective conditions. It is possible to build Negro-controlled and Negro-led organizations either way. But whatever the decision is, it ought to be made without delay and clearly explained to both members and periphery. Otherwise the result is confusion, difficulty in recruiting, weakness of propaganda, etc. — unnecessary burdens for a party that is so hard to build without such added burdens.

If it's not to be all-black, that should be clarified as soon as possible, because many people will seize on this point to oppose an FNP (and have done so) when their real and major objection is to any new and independent political party controlled by Negroes (and not to the racial composition of such a party).

## IV

I said above that we cannot be sure of how the Mississippi FDP will develop; the same should be stated for the Michigan FNP. Here I am concerned with correcting that part of my Nov. 13 report which said that "the party as a whole, far from being disheartened, is confidently facing the future and already preparing its next steps."

This statement was written at a time that the FNP appeared to have survived the first shock of its poor showing in the election and after a membership meeting where several ambitious new projects were brought up and passed in an atmosphere of enthusiasm.

Subsequently, however, it became clear that in reaction to the relatively low vote and as a result of some of the illusions and programmatic confusion I touched on in my previous article, a tendency arose favoring some kind of reconciliation with black liberalism. The proponents of this tendency put forward the need to "get back into the Negro mainstream" and "seek a coalition with other Negro forces" (meaning the Democratic Party.) A decision along these lines would undoubtedly undermine or destroy the FNP's reason for existence as an independent party.

The initial reaction to the appearance of this tendency was one of demoralization. A number of the party's well known figures, including Rev. Albert B. Cleage, and many members have become inactive. Contrary to reports published locally, Cleage and his associates have not resigned from the FNP, but they do seem to be sitting back as the party enters its second internal crisis.

The picture of the FNP, therefore, does not seem as bright as when I wrote on Nov. 13, and its "main accomplishment" — the example of genuine political independence it set in the 1964 campaign — still needs to be strengthened and supplemented by a political and organizational program oriented to the long haul.

So the future of the FNP is not yet settled. The task of building an independent black party is harder than even its initiators anticipated.

## ... U. S. and Belgium Denounced on Congo

(Continued from Page 1)

side-down portrayal of events, not the U.S., Belgians or white mercenaries were guilty of racism but the "uncivilized cannibals" in the Congo.



Adlai Stevenson

Adlai Stevenson, a liberal "gradualist" on civil rights in domestic politics and a former president of a corporation with large investments in the Congo, piously declared: "I personally need no credentials as a spokesman for racial equality and social justice in this country, and the government of this country needs none in the world." Brazenly, this liberal word-twister proclaimed America's pride for its role in "saving human lives" in the Congo.

Ultimately the oppressed blacks in Africa, the U.S. and Latin America will by their deeds give the appropriate answer to such imperialist hypocrisy. In the UN debate it had already been eloquently answered by Che Guevara. (The full text of Guevara's speech to the UN General Assembly will be printed in a coming issue of *The Militant*.)

In reference to the U.S. imperialists, Guevara asked: "How can those people who kill children in their own country and discriminate daily against them because of the color of their skin, presume

to guide? Those who let the murderers of colored people go free, protecting them, and furthermore punishing the colored population because they demand their legitimate rights as free men?"

Quoting from the Second Declaration of Havana, he declared that "the hour the people have chosen... is being pointed to with precision, from one end to the other of the continent. That anonymous mass, that colored America, somber, adamant, which throughout the continent sings the same sad, mournful song; now that mass is definitely beginning to embark upon the making of its own history, it is beginning to write it with its blood, to suffer and die for it."

"Because now, in the fields, and in the mountains of America, in its plains and in its forests, in the lonely hinterlands and in the traffic of the cities, on the shores of the great oceans and rivers, it is beginning to shape a world full of quickening hearts, who are ready to die for what is theirs, to conquer their rights which have been flouted for almost 500 years."



## THE BRITISH MONETARY CRISIS

# Why World Banks Bailed Out the Labor Government

By Ernest Germain

(World Outlook) — For the past half century it has been a general rule that social-democratic governments, or those led by social democrats, in the major countries of Western Europe are brought down sooner or later by national and international finance capital after they have completed the function they were designed for in the eyes of the bourgeoisie. This happened to the Herman Müller government in Germany in 1930 and to Ramsay MacDonald's Labour government in 1931. The downfall of the first Leon Blum ("Popular Front") government in France in 1937 was a classical example.

During mid-November the pattern seemed to be repeating itself in Great Britain. The Labour cabinet of Harold Wilson appeared to be the target of a vast conspiracy mounted by the "faceless bankers of Zurich." In other words, it looked like international finance capital had decided to force down the pound. For a few hours it almost seemed that they had won and that Wilson would have to devalue and devalue heavily. (Optimists among the capitalists even added that he would have to form a coalition with the Liberal Party.)

Then a strange thing happened. Whereas private international finance capital had been gnawing away at the pound and the Wilson cabinet, "public" international finance capital rushed to the aid of the beleaguered Wilson and the British pound. Within a few hours, the governors and board of directors of the U.S. Federal Reserve System, the German Bundesbank, the Banque de France, the Italian, Swiss, Dutch, Belgian and Swedish national banks poured hundreds of millions of dollars into the British treasury. All told, Wilson was handed a purse of \$3,000,000,000 — and the pound was saved.

Why this strange behavior, which doesn't seem to correspond at all to the rules of international

capital? Have the international bankers suddenly become reconciled with socialism, if it is "introduced at a snail's pace" in accordance with the credo of the British Labour Party bureaucrats? Or does the dramatic operation prove that in the eyes of the international bourgeoisie Wilson is really "a better servant of capitalism than the Tories," as a few fossilized ultra-lefts in Britain maintain, and therefore worthy of a really big gold medal?

Despite the attractive simplicity, neither line of reasoning is satisfactory. The international central banks are neither going socialist nor rewarding Wilson for being more capitalist than the Tories.

In the first place, the international monetary system governing the capitalist world economy today is a very delicate and vulnerable structure. Under the gold exchange standard the currencies of all capitalist countries (except the United States) are covered by gold and U.S. dollars. Through this system the "creeping inflation" characteristic of contemporary capitalism in countries like the U.S. and Britain is spread over the whole world system. This is the price capitalism had to pay for the possibility of slowing down the rate of crises due to overproduction and transforming big crises into "smaller" recessions. As a result of this permanent inflationary trend, all currencies are both highly vulnerable and tightly interlinked.

## Bankers Worried

The New York, Frankfurt and Paris central bankers feared — and rightly so — that devaluation of the pound would be rapidly followed by a general breakdown of the present exchange rates of all currencies and by contraction of international trade which, under the present conditions of slow down of economic expansion in Western Europe (with a recession in Italy and near stagnation in France), could precipitate a full-scale economic crisis. In rushing to the defense of the pound,



Harold Wilson

they didn't act out of love for Harold Wilson. They had their own interests in mind.

Secondly, the Wilson Labour government has hardly fulfilled the task which capitalism has designated for it, a task inherent in the Labour program of accepting the capitalist state as the limiting frame for projected reforms. The job laid out for the Labour government is to get the British working class to accept what the Tories have notoriously been unable to impose; namely, wage restraints.

To topple Wilson through a conspiracy of finance capital before the unions have been inveigled into accepting a restrictive "incomes policy" would most certainly provoke sharp radicalization of the British Labour movement. Wall Street, Frankfurt and Paris are not that stupid. They try to estimate the relationship of class forces in Britain in a realistic way.

Thirdly — and this should be noted most carefully — the \$3,000,000,000 windfall for Wilson was not one-sided. It was a quid

pro quo. In return for a strengthened financial hand, Wilson betrayed some of his most emphatic promises in the field of foreign policy.

In the very same week in which the world's central banks came to his rescue with a big purse, Wilson made three momentous decisions in complete contradiction to the avowed foreign policy of the Labour party.

1) He decided, after all, to carry out the Tory agreement to sell Buccaneer planes to South Africa's fascist-like Prime Minister Verwoerd, thereby strengthening the apartheid regime. How scandalous this decision was can be judged from the fact that the conservative-liberal weekly *The Economist* favored cancelling the contract for moral reasons!

2) He extended the facilities of Ascension Island to the U.S. and Belgian governments for their counter-revolutionary paratrooper operation against the Stanleyville government, thereby becoming an accomplice in the imperialist aggression against the Congolese revolution. He even went so far as to publicly approve this infamous move.

3) He suddenly reversed his stand on MLF (NATO's multilateral nuclear force) and the Nassau agreement, agreeing to continue construction of three submarines to be armed with Polaris missiles equipped with nuclear war heads, agreeing to consider setting up a special NATO fleet equipped with nuclear weapons (to which his government would eventually add the three submarines under construction on condition that veto rights are maintained on use of the nuclear weapons), and agreeing even to integrate the West German Bundeswehr, with its Nazi-trained and Nazi-inspired high command, in the proposed NATO nuclear force!

The proposals in which Wilson has now acquiesced constitute direct military threats against the Soviet Union and the East European workers' states.

The three betrayals are sizeable. They provide help for the international bourgeoisie in some very difficult situations. They cast additional revealing light on the alacrity with which \$3,000,000,000

was rounded up for the Bank of England.

Revolutionary Marxists in Britain and elsewhere are duty bound to denounce and oppose these betrayals. But in doing so they should not descend to mere name calling or make the gross error of considering a Labour government and a Tory government as equivalents.

Lenin long ago pointed out in his treatise on the infantile disorder of ultra-leftism that the overwhelming majority of the British working class consider the Labour Party to be their party and a Labour government to be their government, as is indeed the case since the Labour movement is based on the trade unions. This reality cannot be disregarded by any British Marxist seeking to win mass influence. The penalty for brushing it aside is political isolation.

## Wilson's Betrayals

Wilson's course must be carefully analyzed into its components so that his actual betrayals stand out clearly. In the current instance, Wilson's betrayals involve the foreign policy which the British workers were led to believe would be followed if Labour were elected. His departures from this policy must be denounced.

What the Labour government requires, if it is to win re-election by a thumping majority, is a foreign policy that will arouse enthusiasm and hope among the workers and their allies not only in Britain but throughout the world.

It must be demanded that the Labour government initiate a genuine socialist policy. In the instances before us, this would include an effective boycott of Verwoerd's apartheid regime, sincere moves toward an alliance with the African revolution, and energetic moves towards unilateral nuclear disarmament.

If these demands are put in a reasoned way, with careful emphasis on the basic difference between a Labour government and a Tory government, the vanguard of the British workers will understand and begin the process of mobilizing appropriate action to rectify matters.

## World Events

### CIA Training Camp?

One of the countries that Che Guevara told the UN General Assembly was being used for training terrorists to attack the Cuban Revolution was Costa Rica. Although Costa Rican President Francisco Orlich denied this, a Costa Rican newspaper *La Nación* had charged earlier, on Dec. 3, that anti-Castro forces were operating a training camp in the country. *La Nación* also charged that people in the vicinity of the camp knew about it and that government customs guards had seized contraband materials at a landing strip near it.

### Tito on Khrushchev

President Tito of Yugoslavia, 72 years old, has accepted unanimous re-election as head of the Yugoslav League of Communists. At a press conference, held in connection with the League's Eighth Congress, Tito commented on the touchy question of "leadership" in Communist parties and "socialist" countries. "We leaders," said the man who has headed the Yugoslav party for 27 years, "also have the right to resign. Such was the case with Khrushchev. He exercised that right. Hence we do not leave our jobs as a punishment."

### Student Strike in Pakistan

A student strike for political freedom on campus, for a 50 per cent cut in fees, and for the release of detained student leaders has shaken the dictatorial

regime of Pakistani strongman Ayub Khan. Brutality by police against the students has aroused other layers of the populace against the ruling party.

On the third day of the strike, cops stormed Islamia College in Karachi, the capital, beating students and professors. Their violence reportedly caused the death of two primary school children. The government closed down all schools on the seventh day, after demonstrators had burned two buses and forced bus traffic off the streets.

Defying a ban on public meetings, 400 women held a rally to protest the police brutality. They urged a vote against Ayub Khan's party in the current elections and for the opposition headed by Miss Fatima Jinnah. A clash with police followed the rally; several students were shot and at least one killed. Protests then spread to schools all over West Pakistan; the student's funeral turned into a cop-fighting demonstration; and Karachi shopkeepers joined the protest by closing for a day in support of the student struggle.

### Lisbon Ups War Spending

The Salazar dictatorship in Portugal has announced it will increase military outlays in 1965 by \$9.1 million over 1964. Nearly half its budget, or over \$112 million, will go to combat the rising freedom struggles in Angola, "Portuguese" Guinea, and Mozambique. Meanwhile, U.S. aid

and military support through NATO continues to help pay for Portuguese colonialist repressions.

### Belgian Party Faces Split

The top brass of the Belgian Socialist Party is planning to put a motion before the party congress Dec. 12-13 making any participation in the leadership of the Walloon Popular Movement or collaboration with the weeklies *La Gauche* and *Links* incompatible with membership in the Socialist Party.

This is a clear sign that the right-wing leadership plans to plunge ahead in a witch-hunt campaign against the party's left wing, a campaign that hasn't been going well so far.

*La Gauche*, *Links*, the Socialist Youth, Socialist student organizations and many local sections of the party in both the Flemish and Walloon parts of the country are mobilizing for an all-out fight. The possibility of a split looms large unless the right pulls back.

### S. Korea's 'Bright Future'

American experts in South Korea, according to a recent press report, see a "bright future" for that country "as a reservoir of highly skilled but low-priced labor that can turn out cheap manufactured goods for developing countries throughout the world." No doubt the investment capital for such ventures will come from outside Korea, as will the low wage for those "low-priced" skills.

## New Tally Indicates SWP Lost Votes In N. Y. But Gained a Bit Elsewhere

Unofficial results of the 1964 presidential elections were printed in the Dec. 13 *New York Times* and included votes credited to minor parties. The vote listed for Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw, Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President, shows a sharp drop in the SWP vote in New York compared with the vote in the 1960 elections, but also a small gain for the SWP vote in other states where the SWP was on the ballot.

The *Times* report did not include the Michigan vote, and listed the SWP vote as 28,510 outside of Michigan. Adding the official Michigan figures of 3,817 votes for DeBerry and Shaw, makes a total national vote for the SWP of 32,327.

In the 1960 election campaign the SWP was reported to have received 40,174 votes — the largest vote since the SWP first entered candidates in the national elections in 1948. If the *Times*' figures are correct, the total SWP vote declined by 7,847 in 1964 compared with 1960.

In 1960, the New York City vote for the SWP was 10,908. This year's vote dropped to 1,854 — a loss of 9,054. Therefore the drop in New York City was greater than the total drop, indicating a small gain of over a thousand votes in other states where the SWP was on the ballot.

Part of the explanation of the vote drop in New York City is the fact that the Socialist Labor Party, which received 6,403 votes in the city in the 1964 election, was not on the ballot in 1960. The *Times* reported the SLP vote as 42,511, excluding Michigan, compared with 47,549 credited to it in 1960.

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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.]

## Urge Aid for Joe Johnson

New York, N.Y.

The outrageous attempt of the Immigration authorities to deport Joseph Johnson of Minneapolis should be opposed by all Americans who are dedicated to the basic principles of freedom of thought and expression.

The Militant has adequately pointed out that these proceedings

are political in origin. We are happy to learn that the services of the outstanding attorney, Leonard B. Boudin, have been obtained by the Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson.

As defendants in another civil liberties fight, the Bloomington, Indiana, "subversion" case, we wish to express our personal solidarity with Joe. Judging from the inspiring support we got from him and a lot of other people in Minnesota who understand democracy much better than the Immigration authorities, we're confident that his defense will be an effective, hard-hitting one.

Jim Bingham

Ralph Levitt

P.S. We're sure that our fellow defendant, Tom Morgan, now in Indiana, would subscribe to this letter.

## Fascist Threat in U.S.

Seattle, Wash.

I agree with Mr. Halstead's article in *The Militant* of Nov. 23 — with his definition of fascism, its demagogic approach, etc. — except on one point that Goldwaterism does not have a strong component of fascism.

Have we not forgotten McCarthy — his demagoguery, his false accusations, his obvious appeal to a large component of the masses? Do we not forget the support he got from many powerful sources, most of whom recently supported Goldwater, although many of them are now supporting Johnson if only for reasons of expediency?

The Kennedy assassination can also serve as a reminder that fascism is still with us. If writers like Mark Lane, Joesten and Buchanan are right, the chances of a conspiracy to assassinate are very high.

From a long-range point of view, an assassination could only serve the purposes of the far right, and then only if the plot behind the assassination was successful.

Such may have been the case if Oswald had lived, especially if he were an agent of reaction as many think. What would be the implications of a trial with Oswald as the chief "witness," and with both the prosecution and defense on his side, which clearly could be possible in Dallas? Could not "Communism" and supporters of President Johnson be victims of innuendos and false accusations that logically would come forth? Could this not have led to a series of witch-hunts, repressions, election of Goldwater, etc.?

I believe that the far right and incipient fascism is a very real and potent threat to the political situation as it exists today. Nevertheless, since the status quo itself contains the germs of fascism, I believe that its representatives cannot be trusted in their fight to contain but not destroy fascism. All the more reason for a strong and well organized political party of the left.

F.R.B.

[In his article, "Does Goldwaterism Equal Fascism?" Fred Halstead argued against the idea that the Goldwater campaign represented a genuine fascist threat, if the word is to be used in a meaningful, scientific sense. He wrote that while fascist elements supported Goldwater, the campaign itself represented right-wing conservatism not a direct, fascist mobilization. **EDITOR.]**

## Reply to 'Skeptic'

New York, N.Y.

Regarding the letter by E.B. of Springfield, Mass., of Nov. 16 and

entitled, "Skeptic," I would like to say that the Socialist Workers Party does not believe in workers' cartels, but in workers' councils, there being a big difference between cartels and democratically elected factory councils.

E.B. also misses the point about such councils, since through them the workers do not act as straw bosses, but rather control management personnel so that management cannot be used for purposes of exploitation. Therefore it is not necessary for workers to act precisely like foreman, but to know only enough to direct foreman effectively, leaving the details to managers who have been trained for the job.

Also, it is unnecessary to argue whether or not such councils will "work" or not, since such councils already exist in Yugoslavia, Algeria and Cuba. Whatever shortcomings they have in those countries are determined by government policy, and not by the inherent nature of the councils themselves.

E.B. may be on firmer ground, however, in complaining about "arguments and ideologies," and getting "those brains and guts working to provide for the jobs needed" for the unemployed. Trouble is, when the Left does try to work effectively for good laws and social reforms, the bosses and landlords crack down with a witch-hunt.

However, to cite witch-hunts is not too strong an argument. Constant propaganda against the boss class is fine, but sooner or later people are going to ask about when the propaganda is going to

be reinforced by action, which is what E.B. may be saying in a muddled way.

George Payne

## An Appeal

New York, N.Y.

The following is from a letter I have sent to the President of the United States.

Following the landslide popular vote you obtained last November 3, and in reference to your proclamation of Human Rights Day, Dec. 10, Bill of Rights Day, Dec. 15 — and Dec. 10 to 17 as Human Rights Week . . . and in the spirit of the Christmas season, I, an American citizen, a little man, a worker among the low-income category, a father of two lovable twin boys, five years old, a lover of peace, freedom and humanity . . . beg you, in this spirit, to do the following:

1. Dear President, grant all human beings (American Indians, Negroes, Puerto Ricans, migrant workers, Asiatic descendants, whites and other minorities; some 50 millions in all) the same social and economic status as others enjoy . . .

2. Dear President, grant freedom to Mr. Morton Sobell (in prison now for some 14 years) and so many others who suffer harassment, persecution, economical oppression and imprisonment for the sole crime of believing in their own political philosophies . . .

3. Dear President, grant freedom to the thousands of American human beings, indicted and/or convicted in this country today, for the sole crime of claiming their sacred human and civil

rights from the anti-human, anti-American racists who enjoy all the freedom of government and of wealth. Free all these brave civil-rights freedom fighters from threats, terror, bombing, murder — massacre — before it will be too late. Bring the American troops back from South Vietnam to fight for and defend "real freedom" here on our land . . .

4. Dear President, grant freedom to hundreds of American human beings (students, professors, professionals, businessmen, housewives, Quebec-Washington-Guantánamo Peace Walkers) indicted and/or convicted for the sole crime of travelling or attempting to travel to Cuba. Lift that hideous, shameful American-made WALL that prohibits our citizens of their sacred human and civil liberty to travel freely . . .

5. And, in this spirit of Christmas, Human Rights Week and Bill of Rights Day which, packed all together, means P E A C E, FREEDOM, LOVE, and BROTHERHOOD, Dear President, let your landslide victory of last Nov. 3, by the people, bring peace, freedom, love and brotherhood to our country by abolishing the anti-American, hatred-filled House Un-American Activities Committee, the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee, and the McCarran Act . . .

Merry Christmas to you and family, and to ALL the American and world's peoples.

Joseph A. Casanova

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

"HARLEM FIRETRAP TENANTS THREATEN RENT-STRIKE CALL — Some 500 angry tenants at a Harlem protest meeting here yesterday threatened landlords of firetraps with a permanent rent strike. The meeting was called by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell after several Harlem tenement fires during the last few days in which three people lost their lives, others were injured and many families were left homeless.

"There is no difference between a man walking down the street with a gun and a man who with callous indifference knows the life of people living in his property can be snuffed out overnight," Powell told an audience which the *N.Y. Times* reports 'buzzed in anger at frequent intervals.'

"They responded with loud applause and approving shouts when he said: 'I call for a permanent rent strike in Harlem wherever there are housing violations.'

"Powell called housing the 'number one problem facing people in this area,' where the Negro people are forced because of residential segregation to pay high rents for overcrowded death traps." — Dec. 20, 1954.

## 20 Years Ago

"CHURCHILL ADMITS IMPERIALIST DEALS — The Allied slaughter of Greek workers and peasants — like the Allied counter-revolutionary activities in Italy and Belgium — gives us a preview of the 'peace' worked out in the secret conferences of Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin at Teheran, Casablanca, Cairo and Quebec. In their eagerness to get their hands on the booty over which they are fighting, the imperialist gangsters are moving in even before their main rivals for imperialist domination of the world have been definitively beaten. This booty consists of territories, markets, spheres of influence, military and economic bases, communication lines, colonies, natural resources.

"The rivalries among the Allied powers, coupled with the great popular indignation over the 'unexpected' turn towards civil war in the ostensible war for 'democracy,' have begun to bring into the light some of the secret deals. Churchill revealed on December 5 that Roosevelt and Stalin had handed over Greece, Italy and Belgium as 'spheres of influence' to British imperialism as its share of the spoils of war. Churchill again took the floor in the House of Commons December 12 to reveal in part how the 'Big Three' at Teheran had decided to carve up Germany and Poland." — Dec. 23, 1944.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Big Joke** — When Cuban counter-revolutionaries fired a lethal bazooka shell at the UN building while Che Guevara was speaking, the *New York Times*, that pious guardian of public morality, chose to make the matter the subject of a humorous editorial which suggested a "peace-keeping force" which "could disarm the restless natives . . . enforce a ban on bazookas . . . and patrol both sides of the river." One can easily imagine what the reaction of the *Times* and the rest of the commercial press would have been if there were any possibility of pointing the finger of suspicion for the incident at left-wing forces.

**Don't Need Medicare** — U.S. Census Bureau figures show that doctors are members of the country's most lucrative profession. The Bureau found that a doctor's life earnings at the normal retirement age of 65 averages out at \$717,000. Lawyers are next with \$593,000 and dentists average \$589,000. And that's only on the basis of the income they report.

**More Truth than Poetry** — Did you know there's a place in Mississippi called Guntown?

**Help!** — To improve that benighted state's "image," Mississippi officials are sending an all-Negro band from Mississippi Valley State College to the Rose Bowl Parade. Commented a local SNCC worker: "I won't be surprised if the entire 110-piece band asks for asylum in California."

**Gov't Quiz Kids** — A Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights takes a dim view of some of the questioning to which government employees and applicants for federal jobs are subjected.

The committee said some of the questions were an undue violation of privacy and that others constituted a denial of constitutional rights. According to the *New York Times*, questions probed "whether sex entered dreams, the number of times a week the subject prayed, belief or disbelief in a life hereafter and whether some thoughts entering the mind were 'too bad to talk about.'"

**Order Now** — People always think we're kidding when we list the various gift items available from Tiffany's. But we'd like to know where else you can get pear-shaped earrings with emeralds and diamonds for \$57,200. There may, however, be a 50¢ delivery charge outside the city.

**Free-Enterprisers** — We have often heard the argument that socialism is not good because it would eliminate profits and the profit motive is essential to human progress and welfare. This argument was brought to mind by the report that officials in Suffolk County, New York, have been

probing the local milk industry on charges of not filling up the milk containers delivered to school children. The children have been cheated out of an estimated \$36,000 worth of milk by the practice.

**Relax, Folks** — "WASHINGTON, Dec. 8 (AP) — The little emblem on the base of the neck on the Kennedy 50-cent pieces is not the Communist hammer and sickle, as some people think, but the initials of the coin designer . . . The Treasury Department has issued the explanation in response to questions about the mark . . ."

**Science Fiction?** — Journalism is being dropped from the list of majors at the University of California in Berkeley. A spokesman said: "We didn't feel that journalism qualified as either letters or science."

**Our New Doctor** — Dr. Theodore Lynen, West German biochemist who won the 1964 Nobel Prize for Medicine, says: "I believe the problem of mankind is its lack of simple joys. I think one should drink for fun occasionally."

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## Thought for the Week

"No one knows better than we do the enormous advantages of our free-opportunity system." — George Champion, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank.



## Calif. U. Regents Face Demands of Students

BERKELEY, Dec. 12 — All eyes at the Berkeley campus of the University of California are focused on the meeting of the Board of Regents to be held Dec. 18 in Los Angeles. The Regents' meeting follows in the wake of huge free-speech demonstrations held by students protesting the university administration's attempt to choke off political activity on the Berkeley campus. These demonstrations have involved over 10,000 university students, and resulted in more than 800 arrests by local and state cops. Angered by these mass arrests, ordered by Governor Brown, the students conducted an extremely successful strike which virtually closed the university on Dec. 4.

The student demonstrators, led by the Free Speech Movement,

won an important victory on Dec. 8 when the faculty voted 824 to 115 in favor of complete freedom of speech on the campus with no restrictions imposed by the administration.

The day following the faculty vote, Edward W. Carter, President of the Board of Regents, issued a statement reminding both students and faculty that "the Constitution of the State of California clearly charges the Regents with full and ultimate authority for conducting the affairs of the University of California."

If the student and faculty demands, which are one and the same, are not accepted by the Board of Regents, mass demonstrations will once again erupt. In the words of one professor, "The fact of the matter is, gentlemen, if the Regents don't accept this proposal, this campus is simply going to disintegrate. We wish that the Regents had four months to decide this to save face, but they do not. They must endorse this resolution . . ."

NEW YORK, Dec. 11 — Mario Savio, one of the leaders of the Free Speech Movement, said here today that the Board of Regents must unconditionally accept the faculty recommendation for full and unrestricted freedom of advocacy on the Berkeley campus. At a press conference just before he spoke to an outdoor rally of 400 students at Columbia University, Savio said that if the Regents did not accept the recommendation of the faculty, the FSM would resume demonstrations and would call on students throughout the country to demonstrate in sympathy with the Berkeley students.

Savio and three other Berkeley students spoke at New York, Boston, Chicago and Wisconsin schools explaining the Berkeley demonstrations and raising support for the 800 students who were arrested in a mass sit-in Dec. 3.

## Abolition of HUAC Urged By 141 Who Worked on Miss. Summer Project

LOS ANGELES — One hundred forty-one people who had worked in the Mississippi Summer Project are calling for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee. In a petition to Congress, they charge that "HUAC denies what we went to Mississippi for."

The civil-rights workers say they witnessed in Mississippi the effect of "false accusations and irresponsible smears" based on citations from HUAC, and that these charges "make a volatile Mississippi even more dangerous."

The petition charges that "HUAC and similar legislative investigating committees have been libel-free centers for false accusations; they have dignified irresponsible smears as 'official' government findings."

"They have thus promoted among the white community in Mississippi the belief that civil-rights protest is synonymous with subversion and treason."

## CHALLENGE BY NEGRO FARMERS

## White Domination and Federal Crop Quotas in Mississippi

HOLLY SPRINGS, Miss. — Recent Agricultural Stabilization Committee community elections in Mississippi which saw five Negroes elected to committee posts for the first time, will be contested because "more Negroes might have won if there had not been such discrimination and intimidation," a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee worker reported here.

Cleveland Sellers, SNCC project director here, said Negro farmers from Holmes, Issaquena, Madison, Panola and Marshall Counties had decided to contest the Dec. 3 elections in their counties. Sellers said Benton County elections, where Negroes won the three top posts, would not be challenged.

JACKSON, Miss. — Workers from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Council of Federated Organizations helped Negro farmers in 12 Mississippi counties organize to elect some Negroes to the Agricultural Stabilization community committees in the face of heavy harassment by white racists, including local officials. The committees help control cotton acreage allotments under the U.S. Department of Agriculture program. Many farmers depend on these allotments for their living.

The Department of Agriculture has told SNCC that complaints of discrimination and intimidation in

the bread-and-butter community-committee elections will be investigated. SNCC Chairman John Lewis had wired Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman Dec. 3 describing the harassment and saying: "the present administration's promises to the Negro people remain only words as long as conditions like these are allowed to exist."

The incidents included the following Dec. 3 arrests: 19-year-old James Bitts on a charge of "false pretense"; 23-year-old Stan Boyd for "illegal parking"; SNCC worker Frank Cieciora, 25, on a charge of "impersonating a lawyer"; and 22-year-old Larry Rubin on charges of "improper lights." Another COFO volunteer, Bob Smith, was jailed Nov. 30 on a charge of "reckless speeding." Stan Boyd also had been jailed Dec. 1 on a similar charge.

In Canton, Bill Forsyth, William Ware, Madeline McHugh and Thomas Ramsey were ejected from Hawkins Grocery Store which was the polling place for Community A in Flora, Madison County. Large numbers of white plantation owners and large farmers, however, congregated at the polling places, intimidating Negro farmers, sharecroppers and tenants.

In some counties where mail ballots were used the mailman who brought the ballots told sharecroppers they had to fill them out

## Malcolm X To Address N.Y. Forum

NEW YORK — Malcolm X, just back from a four-month tour of Africa, will speak here on: "1965: The Prospects for Freedom." The meeting will be held Thursday night, Jan. 7, under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum, at the Palm Gardens Ballroom, 310 West 52nd St., just west of Eighth Avenue.

Chairman of the Organization of Afro-American Unity, Malcolm X visited the African nations to tell them the truth about the plight of black Americans and to enlist their aid in the fight against U.S. racial oppression. He spoke on this subject before the Organization of African Unity which then adopted a resolution condemning U.S. racism.

In the course of his tour, he visited the United Arab Republic, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Nigeria, Southern Rhodesia, Ghana, Guinea, Algeria and Kenya.

## Religious Rights Denied Muslims by N. J. Court

In a discriminatory new curb on freedom of religion, the New Jersey State Supreme Court voted unanimously to deny Black Muslims in state prisons the right to hold their own religious services.

Twisting reality into its reverse, the judges asserted that the Muslims were segregationists who preach race hatred. They claimed that if the Muslims were given the religious rights enjoyed by other denominations, it would "disrupt" prison discipline. The court then added: The Muslims "subscribe to the doctrine that what you do to my brothers, you do to me, which disrupts discipline." In other words, you're OK only if you don't give a damn about your brother.

## West Coast Teacher Wins Liberties Case

LOS ANGELES — The witch hunters received an unexpected setback in their main California stronghold last week when the state appeals court unanimously ruled that Wendell Phillips, welding instructor at Fullerton Junior College, had been unjustly discharged from his job. The higher court reversed the judgment of the Orange County Superior Court which had upheld Phillips' dismissal under the Dilworth Act for his political ideas and his refusal to become an informer.

At a hearing before the Fullerton school board on Dec. 18, 1961, Phillips refused to divulge the names of the persons with whom he had conducted a struggle against Communist Party policies in 1957, although he answered all other questions about his own views and affiliations.

While the appeals court affirmed the right of the educational board to ask for the identity of a teacher's associations, it ruled that the board had not explained to Phillips the relevancy of its questions soliciting the names and based its reversal on that failure.

It also upheld Phillips' contention that he had not been a Communist Party member within the five years before his employment and was therefore not guilty of perjury under the Levering Oath Act.

The net effect of this court victory, according to civil-liberties spokesmen, should be to narrow the area in which public employees can be forced by official bodies to act as informers on penalty of losing their jobs.

Wendell Phillips, a namesake of the famous Abolitionist, was formerly a union organizer in Denver, Hollywood and the Pacific Northwest. He acknowledged belonging to the Communist Party until 1951 and having sought to re-enter the party after the Khrushchev revelations for the purpose of changing its political program and organizational practices. The party denied him readmission, charging that he was a Trotskyist.



Wendell Phillips

Phillips admitted to being a member of the Socialist Workers Party and a supporter of socialist ideas at the time of his hearing.

He told the school-board inquirers that he was ready to answer all questions concerning himself but was morally opposed to informing on any of his political associates. The right to refuse to become an informer in order to retain his teaching position was the principal issue in his case.

The three-year controversy around his dismissal has been part of the continuing struggle against the restriction of civil liberties in the California school system. As the Berkeley events demonstrate, this state has become the principal battleground in this country for the defense of freedom in educational institutions.

Phillips was the victim of an organized campaign of attacks upon teaching personnel in Fullerton where ultra-right forces have sought to dominate the public schools. It is located in Orange County, the citadel of Goldwaterism and the John Birch Society.

The fact that a favorable verdict could be handed down by the higher court in that district testified to the strength of Phillips' legal position and the ability of his attorneys. His case was argued by Marshall Ross; A.L. Wirin and Fred Okrand of the Southern California American Civil Liberties Union served as co-counsel.

Phillips' stand in defense of fundamental principles of academic liberty and constitutional law secured widespread support in academic circles throughout the U.S. and Canada. Over 200 professors from 50 colleges and universities sponsored the Wendell Phillips Academic Freedom Committee which organized the campaign in his behalf.

## 2 N.Y. Rent Aides Held in Bribe Case

NEW YORK — Rent control is supposed to keep rents down in this city, but somehow it doesn't. Tenants were given a fresh indication of one of the ways landlords get city approval for rent hikes when two provisional inspectors for the city rent control commission were arrested on charges of accepting a bribe from a landlord.

The two inspectors, Aaron Lichtenstein and John Baldo, were alleged to have demanded a bribe from Sol Fromchuck, owner of a 16-family building in the Bedford-Stuyvesant district. They were said to have sought the bribe in return for approving Fromchuck's application for a rent increase.

The two inspectors were picked up by members of the city's racketeers bureau after allegedly accepting \$400 in marked bills.



Southern Farm Scene