

THE MILITANT

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Malcolm X to Organize Mass Voter Registration

By David Herman

NEW YORK, March 30 — Malcolm X announced last night that the first campaign of his new black nationalist movement would be a massive voter-registration drive.

"We've got to get everyone in Harlem registered, not as Democrats or Republicans but as independents," he declared. Registering independent means a voter chooses not to participate in the Democratic or Republican party primaries here.

Giving his geographical definition, he said: "Harlem to me is any place where you see us." New York's black population will be mapped out, he said, and an organized effort will be made to visit every home to get people to register.

The dynamic black nationalist leader told a Harlem rally that even if you register you don't necessarily have to vote, sometimes you can abstain and win more that way.

Need for Unity

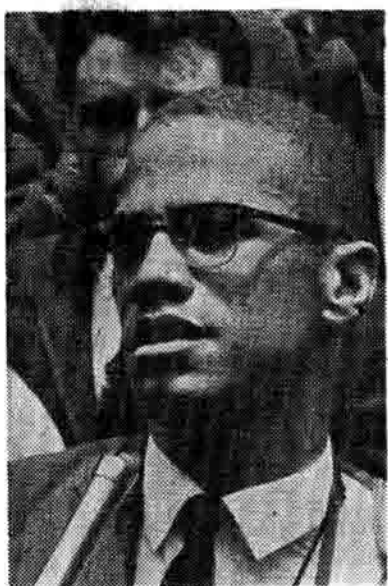
Another point he stressed at the rally, held at Audubon Ballroom on West 166th St., was the need for black unity. In line with this he explained that the purpose of his series of Sunday night rallies had nothing to do with religion. "Unity is the right religion," he said. He stressed that black people must forget their differences and discuss the points on which they can agree.

The starting point of his analysis was "the unwanted presence of 22 million black people in America." "If we aren't wanted we should go back home," he said. "Our homeland is the continent of Africa."

He explained, however, that black nationalists must have a program for better conditions here and now as well as the long-range program of going back to Africa. He said that those who talk just about Africa and not conditions here do not differ from the preachers who talked about heaven during slavery. Any philosophy that is not going to do something for us here and now is no good, he said.

Malcolm X stressed action. "What I feel I'm doing is carrying into action" the teaching of Elijah Muhammad, he said.

Up to now, the white liberals have controlled the civil-rights movement, he pointed out. As a result, the whites have just given crumbs and got away with it. This was possible, he explained, because black nationalists hadn't been in the civil-rights movement. They haven't wanted the black



Malcolm X

nationalists in the civil-rights movement because the black nationalists are too militant, because they won't compromise, he declared.

The "tricky white liberals" are sowing the illusion in the civil-rights movement that African-Americans are about to be compensated now for 310 years of unpaid slave labor, he said. "We'll expose it only by getting into the thick of it and making them put up or shut up."

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Socialist Workers Party 1964 Election Platform

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A SPECIAL MILITANT INTERVIEW

Leader of Chester, Pa., Rights Battle Gives Views on Winning Freedom Now

By Morris Chertov

Until now, only brief reports have appeared in the press on a recent conference in Chester, Pa., attended by some 60 delegates from groups involved in the struggle for Negro equality in at least eight states. Among the figures in attendance were Gloria Richardson of Cambridge, Md., Malcolm X, Dick Gregory, and Laurence Landry, leader of the Chicago school boycott movement. The conference resulted in the formation of a new organization called "ACT" with Landry as chairman.

The host for the meeting was the Freedom Now Committee of Chester which has drawn national attention with a series of dramatic and militant protests against school segregation, slums and lack of jobs. The most recent of these occurred March 28 when marchers sat down in the street in Chester's central business district during the pre-Easter shopping rush. Some 60 demonstrators were arrested, filling the local jail.

The chairman of the Chester Freedom Now Committee is Stanley Branche, 30, who left a post as field secretary for the NAACP last November to form the Committee. In a March 18 interview with *The Militant*—held in the Freedom Now Committee's office at 1705 W. Third St., Chester, Pa.—Branche discussed the Chester movement and the conference



Stanley Branche

which it hosted March 14. The interview follows.

Q. What induced you and your committee to take the course of action you have in Chester?

A. Chester is one of the last of the one-man-controlled political machines in the United States and the extreme measures the power structure has levelled upon the Negro people here has made necessary the actions we have taken,

in the November boycott, the demonstrations we had in the city, blocking the doors, keeping the pupils out, taking over City Hall, closing down the school system, and the administration. We had to take action like this to really prove that we were dissatisfied. Because as long as we just walked around with a picket sign in our hand the power structure didn't even recognize us. They were not concerned.

They thought we were out there, and a little rain, a little bad weather, would run us back in. But when we proved we weren't out there playing games and that we meant business and were willing to make the supreme sacrifice, that 250 people went to jail, then it really shook the city and they know they really have a problem here. The Committee for Freedom Now is an organization which they must deal with, because the Committee for Freedom Now represents the Negro people of Chester.

Q. With regard to planned activities have you considered political action?

A. We have considered this, we have gone further. As long as we just walk around the streets and demonstrate we're not going to get very much accomplished really. We must get into politics because in order to be a threat to the power structure we must be a part of the power structure. In Chester we have 40 to 43 per cent of our population Negro. With a united black front here, we could elect our own mayor, our own city council. This is what we must do. We have gone into politics. We've been rebuffed by the election board, we have to go to court on this because they refuse to accept our petitions—it's really a hell-hole here. We call this the Birmingham of the North. And we must get into politics. There is no other recourse. We had a very successful voter registration drive, but we have not scratched the surface yet.

Q. Have you decided whether you will run your candidates independently or will you seek to enter, for example, the Democratic Party primaries?

A. We're not interested or concerned with the Democrat or Republican organizations. If we run black candidates on a platform of civil rights and freedom now, with a third party, I'm sure we will be very successful in Delaware county. We're interested in the whole county. We are trying to get this black party, our Freedom Now party, on the ballot throughout the county. This is

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WITCH-HUNTING PROSECUTOR FIGHTS ON

To Appeal Ruling in Indiana 'Sedition' Case

By George Saunders

The victory won for civil liberties in the Indiana student "sedition" case is being challenged by the witch-hunting prosecution. On March 20 Monroe County Judge Nat U. Hill had ruled that the Indiana Communism Act of 1951 was unconstitutional. He dismissed the indictments brought under the act against Ralph Levitt, James Bingham and Tom Morgan—students at Indiana University and officers of the Young Socialist Alliance campus chapter.

On March 25 Prosecutor Thomas A. Hoadley, who had secured the indictment, held a joint press conference with State Attorney General Edwin K. Steers. Hoadley announced he would appeal judge Hill's decision and Steers said his office would provide Hoadley "advice and office help," but that Hoadley himself would prepare the legal arguments.

It will be several months at least before a date for arguments before the state court will even be set. That date might not be until 1965.

Hoadley told the press that his only interest in appealing was "legal and academic." Judge Hill's precedent, although it is binding only in Monroe County, tends to weaken any future attempt to use the law in the state.

Hoadley's interest in reasserting the law is anything but "academic." The aim of his prosecution was to punish the students for their advocacy of socialism on the campus. The Indiana press over the past year is full of statements by Hoadley smearing the defendants and trying to prejudice public opinion against them as part of some "evil conspiracy."

Hoadley pretends only an "academic" interest in order to disarm protest against open witch-hunt-

ing. But his hope is, if the state court reverses Hill's ruling, to re-indict the students and thus start his witch hunt all over.

Hoadley's appeal represents a continuing threat to academic freedom. The victory at the trial-court level should encourage civil liberties forces to press for a decisive defeat of the law before the state court. Support from the academic community continues to grow for the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, the key mobilizer of forces against the witch hunt and the law.

Expressing the attitude of faculty members ready to defend academic freedom is the statement by Philip Appleman, Associate Professor of English at Indiana University. Prof. Appleman is a sponsor of CABS, a member of the Indiana Civil Liberties Union and of the National Committee

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

NEW YORK

Hear MALCOLM X at Militant Labor Forum

Wed., April 8, 8 p.m.

Palm Gardens, 310 W. 52 St.

...Interview With Chester, Pa., Civil Rights Leader

(Continued from Page 1)

what we want from the commissioner. We believe in this third approach.

Q. Could you tell us something about the conference that was held here on March 14?

A. Yes, this conference was to find out where do we go from here in the United States. And gathered here was — I hate to use this word — secondary leadership, but this secondary leadership is turning up the whole United States. And these are the militants of the militants that met here Saturday. We had Gloria Richardson, we had Dick Gregory, we had Malcolm X, we had John Wilson from Princess Anne, we had Lawrence Landry from Chicago, we had many, many people, we had about 30 to 40 organizations represented here. We got together because we were dissatisfied with the pace set by the national civil rights organizations. We are extremely dissatisfied because they say, "Wait, don't be impatient, don't do this, let's do this, let's do that —" You can't do it this way. We're in a social revolution. And we have to dedicate ourselves to the proposition that we will die out here on the streets if necessary.

And these people that came to this conference are all dedicated to this same principle. We are going to be free, and we are going to be free now. We're not concerned with what's going to happen in '68, '69 or '70. We want it here and we want it now. Too long have we been deprived of our equal opportunities. It's a disgrace what is happening, Northern style and Southern style.

So these people got together. We asked them to come, they came, we formed an organization called ACT.

That is not a set of initials. It means just what it says — act, and act now! Any group that is in this organization must act. If they cannot act, then that's it, they're no longer in the organization. We are sending out crews, teams of people — I know Gloria Richardson is one of them, I am another — we'll go out across the United States and get different groups into ACT.

Georgia's problem will be Chester's problem. Chester's problem will be Cleveland's problem. Cleveland, New York, on down the line, we'll work on a united front to go out and attack the power structure problem. We have many, many things we're planning on doing nationwide. Jesse Gray has joined with us, and he is still leading the rent strikes in New York right now. So we're planning many things.

These people got together be-



SCHOOL BOYCOTT DEMONSTRATORS. Gathering at Board of Education building in Brooklyn. Among speakers at rally during March 16 boycott, which conservative rights leaders refused to support, were Stanley Branche, Gloria Richardson, Malcolm X and others who also attended Chester, Pa. conference of militants. Last week, New York NAACP proposed to revive unity with boycott leader Rev. Milton Galamison. He agreed to meet but declined to take back seat and said he would "keep taking the same advanced position."

cause this is a movement of the people. You cannot sit in an ivory tower office and state what's going to happen in civil rights. You must be on the battle field, right out in front.

Q. What about Malcolm X and the part he played in this conference?

A. Brother Malcolm? Well number one, I have the highest respect for him. I think he is the most courageous and one of the most dedicated individuals I ever met in my life. The pride and dignity this man projects by his mere presence is very gratifying to see, and it is important that we Negroes through him can be so proud of our heritage, we have nothing at all to be ashamed about.

Malcolm came here not as a participant, but to address the audience, to state to the conference what his program is since his break with the Nation of Islam, and what his program will be in the future. I think the newspapers have misinterpreted the comments he made. They wanted to create some kind of illusion about Malcolm. But the ovation Malcolm received, not only here, but throughout the movement has been one of tremendous value. I think Malcolm is going to be a great help because not only does Malcolm lead many thousands of Negroes, Malcolm also has many, many other thousands that are sympathizers with his movement. I don't believe in everything that Malcolm says. But I believe in many of the things Malcolm says

and does and I believe he has injected something into the Negro people that you cannot just pass off.

In New York when we stood on the platform together at the school boycott demonstration, the applause is still ringing in my ears, the way the people greeted Malcolm. I think Malcolm is a great uplifter of the Negro people. This is really beautiful.

Q. What about Brother Malcolm's statement on arming the Negro people?

A. Every man's home is his castle. When this is threatened you have to take measures. This is a basic right. Malcolm did not say that the rifle clubs should initiate violence, just the basic right of self defense. He said if the government will not protect you then you have every right to protect yourself. And this is true, and I think is very good. But I must state this: Malcolm is the most feared black man in the United States today, the most feared man. And the power structure that owns the newspapers, these media, will portray or project Malcolm as anything they want. But given an opportunity to hear Malcolm himself, what is stated in the newspapers is not Malcolm at all. Malcolm has made it very, very clear that the Negro must stand, the Negro must be counted.

My own belief is that no ship is going to come here some day and take us out of this country. This is our country and we're here to stay. But the pride and dignity

that Malcolm expresses, that he shows the Negroes must enjoy, this is a wonderful thing.

Q. What do you think of Malcolm's statement that the job of the black people and of its leadership is unity?

A. It is unity. Before we can get black and white unity we must get black unity because the power structure has always divided and conquered, and this is what they are trying to do now. "Don't listen to Malcolm but listen to that one, or listen to this one" — hand-picked Negroes! We're sick and tired of hand-picked Negroes in our leadership. The movement consists of the people. Here in Chester we have organized the ghetto.

Q. As against other places?

A. As against other places! In Chester, with the block committees we've organized, everybody is somebody. Nobody is nobody. Because this is a movement of the people and everyone in it has a voice, equal to mine as the chairman. These doors are never closed to anybody. And we might not have the middle-class Negroes, we might not have the ministers, we might not have the national or-

ganizations participating with us, but one thing we have here that they do not have — we have the people.

I believe this is a struggle of the people and by the people and for the people and we cannot get away from this. Every nobody along this street, Third Street — and our office is in the heart of the ghetto — every Negro down here knows that these doors are always open. It stays open 24 hours. You can never walk in this office without seeing five or ten people sitting here exchanging ideas, because to us they are somebody and we represent them as well as they represent us. Without us they would be nothing, and without them we would be nothing. So this is really a movement of the people.

Q. What are your plans for your next moves?

A. We're going to intensify, not only in Chester but throughout the United States, we're going to intensify our drives, intensify our demands, we're going to intensify the whole movement. We're going to not just demonstrate for sandwiches or cups of coffee, we're not demonstrating for that any more, we're demonstrating for jobs. We don't want welfare, we want work. We're demonstrating for education. We don't want hand-me-down books, we want the best. We're going to demonstrate for houses, we don't want to live in the ghetto, we want to live anywhere we want to live, we're going to intensify our demands and our drives to the pitch where they can no longer be refused.

And as I stated if it means we have to set up pup tents in the middle of the street, if it means we have to tie up towns, if it means we have to tie this country up, we're going to do it because we're going to get it and we are not going to wait till '65. We're going to get it right here in '64. And if they start fooling around with that civil rights legislation down there and if it starts going too slow, then we're going to do something with Washington also. The next meeting of ACT will be held in Washington the 18th of next month.

We're going to start at the power structure of the federal government down to the loneliest little outpost in Mississippi because their problems are our problems. We're going to mobilize the ghettos all over the United States. And when we start doing that and continue to do it I think the waiting won't be as long as it has been. I'm quite sure of that.

Civil Rights Group Organizes Little Rock School Boycott

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — The Council on Community Affairs and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee here have announced a school boycott by this city's 6,500 Negro children starting April 6. Spokesmen for the organizations — Dr. William H. Townsend, President, COCA; Rev. Negail R. Riley, Chairman, Educational Committee, COCA; Clifford A. Vaughns, field secretary, SNCC; William W. Hansen, field secretary, SNCC — say that they will continue to demonstrate until their demands are met.

The attempt to integrate the Little Rock schools in 1957 received world publicity when world public opinion, outraged over racist rioting, forced President Eisenhower to send federal troops to Little Rock. Only a few token changes have been made in the school system since then however.

Less than two per cent of the Negro school children attend integrated schools.

Tokenism has resulted in those schools that Negroes are permit-

ted to integrate. Even the few Negro children attending so-called integrated schools are not fully integrated into the school activities which, in effect, adds to their psychological humiliation.

The Little Rock Vocational School remains segregated.

Qualified Negro educators are not allowed to take part in the administrative policy decisions that effect the Little Rock school system. These decisions are on matters that directly effect the total community, and yet Negroes are barred from them.

The Little Rock School Board has refused even to discuss these legitimate grievances. It has presented a fraudulent image of the Little Rock schools. The Board has used the Public Placement Law which was passed in 1959 to prevent Negroes from attending white schools in direct violation of the rulings of the federal courts.

To deal with these problems of the Negro community, COCA and SNCC decided to picket the School Board meeting on March 24 and then to begin a school boycott.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

The regular **FRIDAY NIGHT FORUM** will be held Fri., April 10, 8 p.m. Debs Hall 210, 302 South Canal St. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

WHICH WAY FOR NEGROES IN THE 1964 ELECTIONS? Speakers: Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, and John Conyers, candidate for Democratic nomination to Congress in the 1st district. Fri., April 10, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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

NEW YORK

Be sure to come early to hear **MALCOLM X**, on **BLACK REVOLUTION**, Wed., April 8th, 8 p.m. **PALM GARDENS**, 310 W. 52nd St. Contrib. \$1. Aup. **MILITANT LABOR FORUM**.

Fri., April 17, **THE INDIANA WITCH HUNT AND HOW TO FIGHT IT**. As told by Ralph Levitt, one of the Bloomington defendants. 116 University Place.

Spring Issue

International Socialist Review

Some Features:

HOW A MINORITY CAN CHANGE SOCIETY by George Breitman. Through historical analogy and an analysis of the relationship of forces in American society, Breitman contends that the Negro minority can play a decisive role in leading a revolutionary movement for the abolition of the present social system.

MAOISM AND THE NEO-STALIN CULT by Tom Kerry. This article deals with the attempt by the Maoists and their American disciples to reconstitute the cult of Stalin in the struggle against the "revisionism" of the Kremlin. The meaning of Peking's demand for a "return to Stalin" is echoed by an American group calling itself the Progressive Labor Movement which adds its own wrinkle by projecting for the American workers a "return to Foster" until his death a leader of the U.S. Communist Party.

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International Socialist Review
116 University Place
New York, N.Y., 10003

MALCOLM X SPURS CIVIL RIGHTS FORCES

His Stand Can Unite and Build Movement

By George Breitman

Conservatives and liberals, white and black, have never had any use for the Black Muslims. But they aren't happy about Malcolm X's departure from the Muslims, the policies he is expounding or the new organization he is trying to build. Malcolm in an independent role is from their standpoint "more dangerous" (to the status quo) than the Muslims.

In this they show sound instinct. The organization Malcolm is trying to build will not be just one more out of many. Thanks to the policies he is now formulating and to his exceptional talents and prestige, it has the potential of transforming black nationalism from a progressive idea into an influential movement; of bringing together sizeable militant and radical forces that are now disunited or dispersed; and of strongly influencing and raising the consciousness and combativity of the Negro community as a whole. Moderates have as much reason to be worried about this development as radicals to be encouraged.

What are the distinctive features of the program Malcolm is developing now?

1) A positive, activist attitude toward the immediate, day-to-day struggles for better jobs, schools and housing.

This is an important departure from the position of the Muslims. Their hands-off policy prevents them from joining or influencing the hundreds of thousands of Negro militants engaged in such

This is the second article by George Breitman analyzing the significance of Malcolm X's break with the Nation of Islam. If you missed last week's article because you are not a subscriber send in the coupon on page 7 and we'll begin your subscription with last week's issue.

struggles. Malcolm will now be able to lead as well as join the kind of fights he was previously restricted to watching and commenting on from the sidelines. Moderate Negro leaders are already visibly sorry about the change because they have no illusion about the difference it will make.

Simultaneously, Malcolm has vigorously cut through the dilemma that paralyzes the Muslims and some non-Muslim black nationalists. In action he is demonstrating that it is possible to be involved in the daily struggles against discrimination without in any way compromising or abandoning the belief that separation, rather than "integration" (in this society), is the only way to achieve equality.

Malcolm's position on this question now corresponds roughly to

that of Rev. Albert B. Cleage, chairman of the Freedom Now Party in Michigan. Cleage's direction was different — he started out as a pure-and-simple integrationist and moved from there to nationalism, while Malcolm took off from the point of separatist abstentionism before reaching his present position. But their conclusions are similar, and their arguments and example will do much to make nationalism a more effective force in the mainstream of the Negro movement.

2) An advanced position on self-defense.

By boldly proclaiming the right of Negroes to defend themselves against physical attack by racists, and urging them to form rifle clubs in areas where the government fails to protect them against violence, Malcolm is raising the banner valiantly unfurled several years ago by Robert F. Williams, of Monroe, N.C. (And his proposal is being distorted and misrepresented by the capitalist press and Negro liberals just as maliciously as Williams' was.)

The difference between Malcolm's stand on self-defense and that of pacifists like Rev. Martin Luther King and James Farmer of CORE is too obvious to require comment. But it is worth noting that Malcolm's present position is different from the Muslims' too.

The Muslims believe in self-defense too, and say so, and this is one of the things in their favor. But while they defend themselves, their attitude to the question of self-defense for the Negro people as a whole is abstract; and sometimes it is inconsistent. Elijah Muhammad was publicly critical, from a standpoint like that of the pacifists, about Malcolm's statement on rifle clubs. So Malcolm's position goes beyond the one he expressed as a Muslim minister.

3) A different approach to politics.

Malcolm's position on politics is not yet completely worked out. But he is already far ahead of both the Negro liberals and the Muslims. Unlike the liberals, he condemns both capitalist parties. Unlike Muhammad, who blows hot and cold about independent black political action, Malcolm pledges active intervention in the 1964 election to keep Negroes from being "victims of a political sellout again."

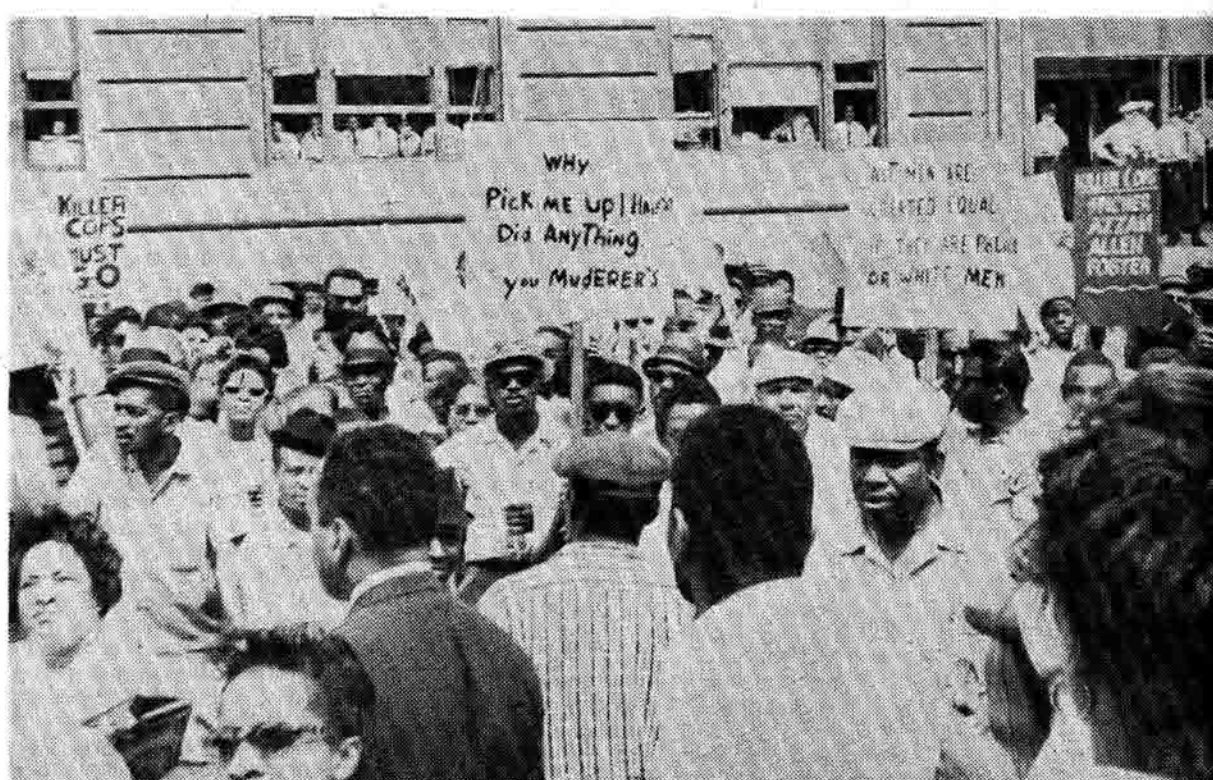
His plans in this connection will not be released until later, and he says his group's attitude to the recently-formed Freedom Now Party still remains to be determined. But whatever the intermediate steps may be, and even if it does not occur immediately, Malcolm's movement will become an important and explosive factor in American politics.

4) Promotion of black unity.

Malcolm is trying to bring about co-operation between Negroes despite differences of ideology, religion, politics, etc.

Without demanding that anyone surrender his beliefs, any more than he is surrendering his own, Malcolm wants those who advocate "integration" through struggle and those who advocate "separation" through struggle to band together in support of such things as rent strikes, school boycotts, repeal of frisk and no-knock laws, etc.

Malcolm remains a Muslim in religion and is organizing a "Muslim Mosque, Inc." in Harlem. Despite this name, it will be open to, and seek to function as a center for, Negroes of any religion or no religion. Time will tell if he has chosen the best name for the broad purpose he has in mind. In any case, religion will not be a barrier



BASE FOR BLACK NATIONALISM. Angry young people of the Black ghettos — such as these Detroiters demonstrating at police station in protest against cop-killing of young Negro woman — are providing the base of growing black nationalist movement.

to united black action so far as he is concerned.

Nor, apparently, does he intend to fall into the trap of demanding loyalty affidavits or anti-communist oaths from those who want to join or help the struggle.

Malcolm's seriousness about helping to achieve black unity is unmistakable, and his understanding of the relation between black unity and other phases of social struggle is out of the ordinary too. When he says, "There can be no black-white unity until there is some black unity. There can be no workers' solidarity until there is first some racial solidarity," he is not, unlike some black nationalists, claiming that working-class solidarity is impossible or unnecessary but is explaining one of the conditions through which it may be achieved on a broad and lasting basis.

To Avoid Sell-out

Revolutionary socialists will certainly agree that a meaningful and mutually beneficial labor-Negro alliance will not be forged until the Negro people are organized independently and strongly enough, numerically and ideologically, to assure that their interests can't be subordinated or sold out by the other partner or partners in any alliance.

Will Malcolm, with these and other new policies and tactics, be able to build a big movement? Only the struggle itself will decide that. But I think Malcolm is right when he says that his present views reflect the feelings of the mass of Negroes. In my opinion he has formidable assets as well as difficult obstacles, and he stands a better chance of supplying militant leadership to the Negro struggle today than any other well-known Negro figure in America.

If Malcolm's brand of black nationalism catches on and spreads, what will the effects be?

It will exert stronger pressure on groups like the NAACP and CORE than the Muslims did. It will put their leaders on the spot, forcing them to act more militantly or to be discredited, bypassed and discarded.

A civil-rights movement coming under the influence of Malcolm's ideas will speed up developments in the labor movement, posing the issues of discrimination and tokenism in the unions and in the plants more sharply than they are posed now. Unionists would be compelled to take sides plainly for or plainly against the Negro. In

the process some new allies might be found for the Negro struggle among unionists who recognize how disastrous it would be for the labor movement to lose the support of the Negro community; at the very least, illusions about the Means and Reuthers would be dispelled, and that certainly would be a gain.

The spread of Malcolm's ideas would do more to frighten Congress into passing civil-rights legislation than 16 marches of the type staged in Washington last August.

It would also serve to strengthen and unite the hundreds of local militant organizations now functioning separately throughout the country — either in a federation co-ordinating their activities, or in a single national movement.

A big movement of the kind Malcolm is organizing might give the Freedom Now Party the impetus, cohesion, program and national leadership that it has lacked up to now. Or it might possibly supersede and replace the Freedom Now Party as the predominant national expression of independent black political action.

The Muslims would feel a heavy impact too. For the time being, Muhammad and Malcolm are trying to avoid any direct clashes.

But the dilemma that gripped the Muslims before Malcolm's departure has not been resolved, and it will inevitably flare up again if Malcolm's policies get mass endorsement. The Muslim organization is not going to collapse because Malcolm has left, but it has lost some of its dynamism. If Malcolm's movement grows, the Muslim organization as a whole will have to make a similar reorientation, or "the younger Black Muslims (who) want to see some action" will be heard of again, and either will leave to join Malcolm or produce an even bigger crisis inside the Muslim organization.

Malcolm's break will also have, in having, repercussions in the radical movement. Revolutionary socialists, who understand the progressive and revolutionary content of black nationalism, approve and support the course he is following and the contribution he is making to the mobilization of the Negro masses against an oppressive system. Other radicals or would-be radicals, who don't understand black nationalism, will be forced by the spread of Malcolm's views to reconsider their whole approach to the Negro struggle or they will find themselves on the wrong side of the civil-rights barricades.

... Vote Registration Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

The first step is political not economic, Malcolm X went on. You don't need money to vote. The ballot is as powerful as the bullet — at least they're both important — and if you don't want bullets, you'd better use the ballot.

He revealed that there were student groups ready to help with the voter-registration drive. Mentioning the interest of students in black nationalism, he stressed the need to involve all sections of the black people, with all their diverse ideas and skills, in the movement.

Speaking of his recent trip to Washington to observe the debate on the civil-rights bill, he said: "Get this, these white Senators were debating whether you and I should be free."

"They're not hypocrites — these are outright devils," he asserted. "They were openly trying to prove that we weren't ready."

He added that black nationalists wanted to make them pass the strongest civil-rights bill ever

passed — even though the government wouldn't enforce it.

Nearly 1,000 people attended the rally, a large turnout for Easter Sunday. Another rally is scheduled Sunday, April 5, at the same hall, Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway.

On Wednesday, April 8, at 8 p.m., Malcolm X will speak before the Militant Labor Forum at Palm Gardens Ballroom, 310 W. 52nd St. His subject is "Black Revolution." Invitations to the meeting, which is open to all, have been sent to the missions of all African nations at the United Nations.

FREEDOM NOW

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Negro Emancipation

(Socialist Workers Party
resolution)

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1964 Election Platform of

For P

In his State of the Union message President Johnson spoke of "one-fifth of all American families with income too small to even meet their basic needs." It is to these underprivileged millions, and to all whose lives are blighted under capitalism, that the Socialist Workers Party addresses itself. We advance a socialist program for a real and lasting solution of the grave problems afflicting our society today, and they are many.

Technological change and speed-up, designed to cut labor costs and hike corporation profits, displace workers from their jobs at an increasing rate. Meanwhile, the rate at which new jobs are created is slowing down, causing a built-in rise in chronic unemployment. Hardest hit are the unskilled and older workers, youth, Negroes and other minorities; and to an increasing degree whole local areas are becoming depression pockets of hunger and poverty.

At the best, jobless benefits fall short of take-home pay and force a cut in living standards, and in no case is compensation guaranteed for the full period of unemployment. Some categories of workers get no jobless benefits at all. Older people retired from their jobs get pitifully small pensions, sometimes none whatever. People forced to ask for public relief get a stingy dole; they are subjected to a humiliating "poverty" test; children are pressured to take financial responsibility for their parents; and those on relief are slandered as "shiftless and immoral" by venal politicians anxious to curry favor with the wealthy tax dodgers.

People able to earn their own income are gouged by stiff taxes in open and concealed forms. Employed and unemployed alike face steadily rising prices. To try to get ahead, and often even to get by, families must resort more and more to installment buying, mortgaging tomorrow's earnings to meet today's needs.

Decent housing becomes ever scarcer and rents more outrageous. Public transportation systems break down almost as fast as fares go up. Classrooms in decaying school buildings are overcrowded with students and understaffed by underpaid teachers. There are not enough hospitals, not enough nurses or doctors, and the cost of medical care under the profit system is a crime against humanity.

Millions of the nation's youth face a bleak future. Those lucky enough to get a fairly good education have no assurance they will find a decent, permanent job with good prospects for advancement, on which they could begin to build a secure and rewarding life. Young men have far greater assurance of being drafted into military service, maybe to die in some far away land, made to fight for something they don't really understand. When jobless in civilian life, youth generally are treated more as a police problem of "juvenile delinquency" than as economically-displaced humans who deserve a better break from society.

For Negroes, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and other minorities the problems are the most severe. Those employed usually draw the dirtiest, hardest, lowest-paid jobs. They are largely restricted to ghetto life in slum areas where they must pay high rent for squalid quarters. Their neighborhood schools are the poorest, most overcrowded, least well staffed. Such social services as are extended to them are at the lowest level. Police brutality is an unending part of their everyday existence, and most everywhere they go they face open or thinly-veiled discrimination that violates their human dignity and blights their lives.

Under capitalism today only one thing is shared by all. Men and women, old and young, the well-off and the poverty stricken, white and colored — all face the danger of nuclear war. Fear of a nuclear cataclysm haunts the lives of every adult, every child of knowing age, and there is no place to hide. The pretense of setting up bomb shelters is simply a cruel hoax.

The Socialist Workers Party contends that these social evils stem directly from the capitalist system under which the country is ruled by big banks and giant corporations. The few who control the monopolies put their private interests ahead of the needs of the many who do the work. These privileged few enjoy lavish and growing prosperity, but their greed remains insatiable. Not content with today's peak profits, they clamor and scheme to get more.

In their quest for greater wealth the monopolists resort to the imperialist practice of exploiting peoples in other lands for private profit. But in country after country, right up to Cuba, 90 miles off our shores, the working people are revolting against such exploitation. They demand use of the national wealth, not to fatten profiteers, but to meet the needs of those who produce the wealth. Dire necessity steadily pushes them away from capitalism and impels them toward nationalized production and a planned economy, as they take the first steps to reorganize society on a socialist basis.

The American banks and corporations plot to crush these revolts abroad. Using as a pretext the violations of workers' democracy in the Soviet-bloc, they even hope to restore capitalism in countries where it has been abolished, including China and the Soviet Union. Cloaking their aims with hate propaganda against a so-called "communist conspiracy," they resort to increasingly brutal and unscrupulous methods. The revolutionary Cuban workers and farmers are branded enemies, while the fascist dictator Franco is embraced as an ally. Military interventions in other people's affairs become harsher and more brazen, even going to the brink of all-out nuclear war. No wonder America is feared and hated throughout the world.

Bluntly stating the monopolist creed in a recent speech at the University of Chicago, Henry Ford II said, "The target of private business is private profit." He argued for bigger profits on the ground that business could then invest more to create new jobs, implying that all social problems could thus be solved. His kind want the tax money to be used for military measures to maintain a "free world" open to their exploitation for private profit. They will brook no nonsense about government spending to correct the social evils inflicted by "free-enterprise" profiteering here at home; and the monopolists of Ford's class carry more weight in Washington than all the working people in the country.

Apologists for the Democrats claim it is only the Republicans who act as political flunkies for the monopolists, but the facts don't bear them out. In basic foreign policy, Democratic and Republican outlook is consistently bipartisan; so much so that one party can take over the White House from the other without a moment's pause in military interventions abroad. On the bread-and-butter issues in domestic policy the two parties act as one in the service of the banks and corporations. The Democrats, masquerading as a "people's" party, are simply a shade more hypocritical about it than the Republicans, and they are notorious for their accommodations to the Dixiecrats.

Through bipartisan endeavor, military alliances have been forged with other capitalist governments. A far-flung network of American military bases rings the world. Deadly nuclear weapons, able to "over-

kill" all humanity, stand ready for use in missile silos and U.S. submarines. Since 1948 universal military service has been imposed to conscript American youth into the armed forces, in which there is no democracy, and send them overseas as occupation troops to prop up puppet regimes. And the government has repeatedly been caught lying here at home about what it is doing abroad.

Our tax money is used to arm and train counter-revolutionary gangs who try to suppress revolts against poverty and overturn anti-capitalist governments in other lands. The bipartisans refuse to recognize the chosen government of 700 million Chinese, but they back to the hilt military overlords in South Vietnam. Eisenhower's administration first sent U.S. troops into Vietnam as "advisers," and the Kennedy and Johnson administrations continued and intensified the policy at the cost of mounting American casualties.

Troops commanded by a Democratic President shoot down unarmed Panamanians demonstrating against U.S. exploitation of their country and the Republicans back him up. The bipartisans maintain an economic blockade against Cuba and try to discipline allied countries who disagree with their policy. The criminal Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 was planned under the Republicans and set into motion under the Democrats. Washington's anti-Cuba policy was carried to the very brink of general nuclear war in the 1962 missile crisis. The brutal tensions of that crisis made clear that under today's capitalist rule the question of war or peace can hinge on the decision of one man, the President. America's millions have no voice whatever.

Washington claims to know all about everything going on in Cuba, but its CIA-FBI gang can't find the bombers who murdered four little Negro girls in a Birmingham, Alabama, church. The bipartisans are too busy sabotaging and trying to overthrow the Castro regime that established genuine equality for racial minorities in Cuba.

With great fanfare a token civil-rights bill is introduced into Congress where capitalist politicians will cynically play preelection politics with it. Negro freedom fighters peacefully demonstrating for their civil rights are subjected to brutal police attacks. Freedom fighters who defend themselves against white supremacist violence are framed up, as were four people recently convicted on fake "kidnap" charges in Monroe, North Carolina, and sentenced to long prison terms.

Those who would maintain racial oppression have, as a current NAACP report correctly states, "resisted the Constitution and court rulings by force, by deceit, by tokenism, by stalling litigation and by such legislative maneuvers as the filibuster."

As in the case of civil rights, tokenism and repression typify bipartisan policy on all questions of general social need. What little they do under mass pressure follows the "trickle-down" theory of the banks and corporations. The new tax cut does far more for the tax-dodging monopolies than it does for the tax-gouged working people. For economically-depressed areas like Appalachia plans are afoot to make low-interest federal loans to local capitalists who would use the money to turn a handsome profit for themselves. As a sop to the unemployed a vague promise is made of future government pressure to cut down on overtime hours and spread the work a little.

President Johnson was quick to reaffirm the long-standing White House opposition to union demands for a reduction in hours with no cut in take-home pay and to warn labor against "inflationary" wage demands. On these matters the bipartisans mean business. They demonstrated as much last year by rushing a bill through Congress which legalized compulsory arbitration and in effect outlawed a railroad strike.

On the minimum wage, jobless benefits, public relief, housing, health, education and other social problems, the Democratic administration makes token promises of slow improvement. For his much-publicized "war on poverty" which President Johnson calls "unconditional," about \$1 billion, only one-third of it new money, is promised for the next fiscal year. In the same budget 54 times as much is allocated to the Pentagon for its military crackdown on poverty-stricken people in other countries who are in revolt against capitalist exploitation.

To conceal the truth about events elsewhere in the world the Democrats and Republicans join in imposing unconstitutional restrictions on the right to travel. Inside the country they resort to thought-control measures designed to suppress criticism and enforce conformity. Advocates of social change are branded "subversive." Critics of Washington's policies are harassed by the FBI on their jobs and in their neighborhoods. The despised stoop-pigeon is glorified as a patriot. Mail is tampered with. Electronic eavesdropping devices are used to invade people's privacy. And the military brass is penetrating all civilian institutions.

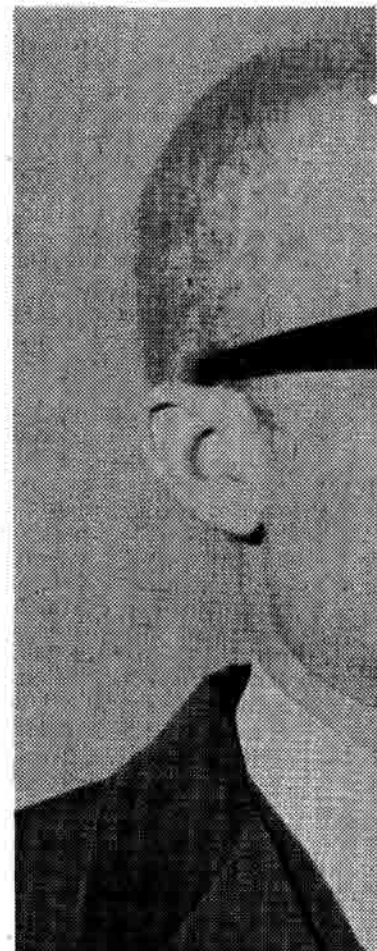
Congressional Inquisitions

Congressional committees hold public inquisitions over TV in which people are cruelly pilloried before the whole nation. The victims are bombarded with loaded questions that violate their democratic rights and invade their personal lives. Those who invoke their constitutional right not to answer the inquisitors are publicly smeared as suspicious characters who "have something to hide." Victims of the Congressional inquisitors have been framed up on "contempt" or "perjury" charges.

Abuse of youth's inherent right to challenge the status quo is vividly illustrated in the case of three University of Indiana students. They had criticized Washington's Cuba policy; they had invited a Negro youth to address a student meeting on the right of self-defense against white-supremacist violence; and they had expressed the view that the American people would fare better in a socialist society. For that, and nothing more, a politically-ambitious prosecutor secured indictments against them under an Indiana thought-control law on the ridiculous charge of conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the government. The trial judge held the law unconstitutional and quashed the indictments. In an effort to overturn the ruling the prosecutor has appealed to a higher court where the case is now pending.

Minority political parties trying to exercise their democratic right to contend for votes run up against repressive-election laws rigged to maintain a two-party monopoly of the ballot. Bipartisan schemes are hatched to deny minority parties equal free time with the Democrats and Republicans over TV and radio. Manipulating the two major parties like a pair of loaded dice, the banks and corporations use them against all non-capitalist organizations.

Legislative enactments, executive orders and court rulings steadily encroach on labor's freedom. The right to strike becomes more restricted; whether openly or through trickery, public officials side with the bosses in collective bargaining; and the bosses' government intrudes more and more into internal union affairs. The capitalists are equally quick to use police measures against the civil-rights move-



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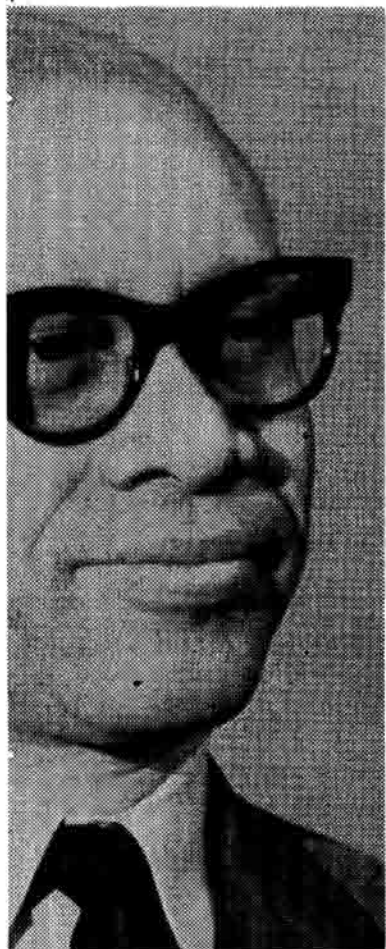
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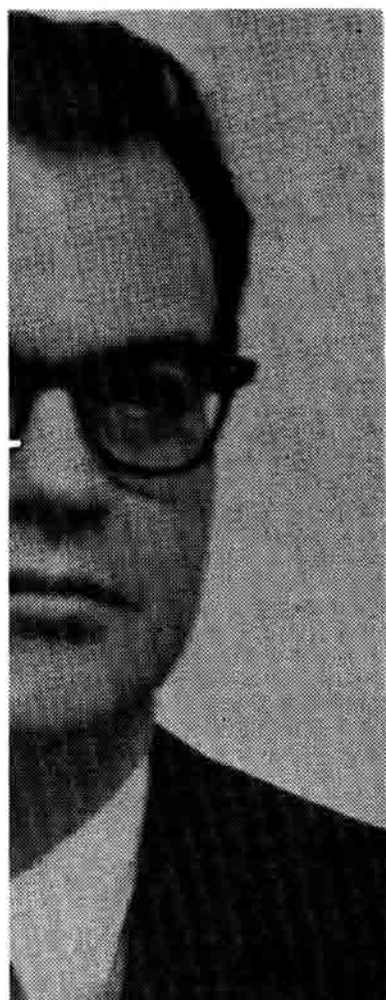
The Socialist Workers Party

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ment. Whenever pious promises and token concessions fail to keep dissatisfied people in line, repression is the inevitable weapon to which the political custodians of capitalism resort. At all hazards they uphold the sacred capitalist principle that sets private profit above human need.

Fed up with a century of tokenism, the Negro people are demanding **freedom now**, and they are fighting for it. Their mood was symbolized by the big Southern demonstrations last year, called to protest discrimination and segregation and to demand the right to vote. Wave after wave of Negro freedom fighters went up against police dogs and fire hoses; undaunted by mass arrests, they came out of jail determined to continue the battle for human dignity and elementary rights.

In the giant March on Washington, sparked by the Southern demonstrations, Negroes came from all over the land to voice their demands for jobs and freedom. The big turnout reflected a rise in Northern militancy under the impetus of the Southern struggle. Rent strikes soon began in Northern cities where minorities are segregated in rat-infested slums. School boycotts followed in opposition to segregation of Negro and Puerto Rican children in the educational system. Negroes, and Puerto Ricans inspired by the Negro example, are demanding their democratic rights in the unions and pressing for union support of their right to full equality in employment.

Confronted with a lack of response from conservative union officials, they are taking action on their own. Construction sites, hotels and other places are picketed to protest discrimination in hiring and to demand equal rights on the job. Demands are pressed for higher minimum-wage laws covering all workers and for a shorter work-week to provide more jobs. Protest demonstrations are conducted against police brutality and there is growing sentiment to exercise the constitutional right of self-defense against extra-legal hooligan attacks on civil-rights demonstrators.

Negro and White Youth

Stimulated by the heroism of the Negro freedom fighters and sensing a basic kinship with them, white student youth are coming to their support in increasing numbers. A goodly number participated in the Freedom Rides and there has since been a widening involvement of white students in the overall struggle. Negro and white youth face a common plight in many aspects of modern life under capitalism. Together they are confronted with militarism, economic insecurity, witch hunting and other problems. As a result, to quote uneasy liberals on the subject, "They are asking deep and complicated questions."

Slower to respond to the fighting example set by Negroes are the unions which suffer paralysis under a conservative and dictatorial leadership. Strikes are made official only under extreme provocation from the bosses. No real support is given the civil-rights movement, even though most Negroes are workers. Little effort is made to fuse Negro and white labor in united efforts to defend their common interests as wage earners. Instead, the general run of union officials resist Negro demands for union equality.

The union officialdom calls for reliance on the Democrats to solve labor's problems. Most Negro leaders take a similar view of Democrats outside the South as allies in the civil-rights fight. But in neither case have these capitalist politicians fulfilled the hopes placed in them. What to do then? "Elect more liberals," the Negro freedom fighters and union members are told. Rejuvenate the government with "true friends" of labor and civil rights.

The record shows, however, that liberals, Democrats and Republicans alike, are simply masters of the pious promise and token concession. In the name of peace they consistently support a warlike foreign policy. In dealing with the nation's grave social problems they prove to be nothing more than glib bipartisans who talk a lot but do nothing that would cut across the sanctity of private profit. As do all capitalist politicians, they take reprisals against people who refuse to accept gradualism in social reform.

Consider the example of the newly-enacted "Stop-and-Frisk" and "No-Knock" laws in New York. Governor Rockefeller, a liberal Republican, rammed them through the state legislature over strong protests from civil-rights groups. Negroes and Puerto Ricans are concerned because the laws empower the police to search people on the streets and to barge into private quarters without even knocking. Harlem residents know very well that Rockefeller's new laws will be freely invoked against them by New York City cops under the command of Mayor Wagner, a liberal Democrat, who urged swift passage of these repressive measures.

John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, stated a truth which describes all capitalist politicians, Democratic or Republican, liberal or conservative. In the prepared text of a speech he was prevented from delivering at the March on Washington, he said, "This nation is still a place of cheap political leaders who build their careers on immoral compromises and ally themselves with open forms of political, economic and social exploitation." Then he put the question, "Where is our party?"

Echoing John Lewis' question, a group of prominent Negroes distributed a manifesto at the March on Washington calling for independent Negro political action. "One hundred years of waiting for Democratic and Republican politicians to correct our grievances is too long," they said. "We have to take our freedom; no one will hand it to us. That is why . . . we call upon all who believe in true emancipation to join us in forming the Freedom Now Party."

Although addressed directly to Negroes, this summons to independent political action describes an even larger need. It points the way for the whole working class, for all victims of capitalist misrule. Their problems can't be solved through the twin parties of war, racism, unemployment and witch hunts. Progress can be made only by breaking completely with both the Democrats and Republicans.

For these reasons the Socialist Workers Party supports independent Negro political action of the type manifested in the call for a Freedom Now Party. We urge the formation of an independent labor party based on the unions. We advocate an anti-capitalist political alliance of all who suffer discrimination and exploitation, black and white, in industry and on the land, in blue collars and white. As a means to register a desire for such political change, we ask those whose thinking runs along similar lines to support the SWP candidates in the November elections.

To solve the nation's many problems fully, we contend that capitalism must be abolished and a socialist society created. A society with jobs for all. One in which those who produce would democratically organize and plan production to serve everybody's needs on a fair basis. A society free from discrimination and segregation where-

in all would have equal opportunity to prosper. A society in which all individuals could freely develop their creative powers, artistic talents and human potentialities. An America that would lend a helping hand to people in other lands instead of mobilizing and arming to make war on them.

As concrete steps toward the creation of a society of peace, prosperity, freedom and equality, the Socialist Workers Party submits the following planks:

1) For a peaceful foreign policy.

Stop the "dirty war" in Vietnam. Pull out of Guantanamo. Lift the economic blockade and restore friendly relations with Cuba. Recognize Panamanian sovereignty over the Panama Canal. Give up all military alliances and foreign military bases. Withdraw all troops from foreign soil. Halt all nuclear-weapon tests and scrap the stockpile of A and H-bombs.

Recognize the Peking government and establish trade relations with China. Support the right of all peoples to a government of their own choice.

No secret diplomacy or propaganda lies. Tell the whole truth. Let the people vote on all issues of war and peace.

2) Against capitalist militarism

Turn the arms budget into a peace budget devoted to the nation's social needs. End capitalist conscription, ROTC and Prussian-type rule over the military establishment. Grant full democratic rights to the ranks of the armed forces, including free speech and assembly, election of officers and collective bargaining.

3) FREEDOM NOW for all minorities

Full economic, social and political equality for the Negro people and for all other minority groups. Solidarity with mass actions aimed at securing these rights as exemplified in the rent strikes, school boycotts, picketing of construction sites, public demonstrations and sit-ins. Uphold the right of self-defense against white-supremacist violence.

Full use of the federal power to enforce all laws and court orders against discrimination and segregation. Enforce existing laws against lynch murder and police brutality and enact new ones. End the barbaric death penalty and reform the antiquated prison system.

Establish an FEPC with teeth and compensate minorities for the disadvantages they have suffered. Create a federal agency fully empowered and equipped to enforce minority rights in all spheres of national life. Federal action to guarantee and protect the right to vote in all national, state, county and city elections. Abolish all existing poll taxes.

Teach Negro and African history in the nation's schools. Combat all forms of anti-Semitism.

4) Restore and expand democratic rights

Repeal all federal, state and local laws restricting labor's right to organize, strike and picket. No government interference in internal union affairs.

Abolish the "subversive" list, "loyalty" oaths and "loyalty" purges. No political tampering with social-security benefits. End FBI harassment of political dissidents. Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee and their counterparts in state legislatures.

Repeal all legislative enactments, executive decrees and court orders violating the Bill of Rights. Stop the thought-control frame-ups and political prosecutions for "contempt" and "perjury." Rescind all deportation orders and lift all restrictions on the right to travel. Amnesty all victims of the witch hunt.

Liberalize the election laws. Lower the voting age to 18. Give minority parties equal time on TV and radio and in all public media.

5) End economic insecurity

For the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay and further reductions in hours without cuts in pay when needed to secure full employment. Jobless benefits to every worker at the full union scale for the entire period of unemployment. Let the government take over all idle production facilities and operate them under charge of committees elected by the workers. Union control of production speeds by majority vote of the workers involved.

Equal pay for equal work regardless of race, sex or age. Full job and seniority rights and maternity care for women. Federally financed nurseries and summer camps for children. A government guaranteed college education for all youth.

Provide the millions of aged people with full disability benefits, free medical care and hospitalization, and adequate pensions. Nationalize the entire medical system. As an immediate measure pass the King-Anderson Medicare Bill now bottled up in Congress.

6) For adequate government aid to the farmers

A federal program, set up and administered by elected representatives of working farmers, to guarantee them the full cost of production on all farm commodities. No limitation on crops so long as people suffer from hunger anywhere in the world. Government food subsidies for families in America living on a substandard diet.

Moratoriums on repayment of distress loans made to working farmers as long as debtors need them. Abolish sharecropping and landlordism — crops to those who grow them; land to those who work it.

7) For an emergency housing and public works program

Immediate government construction of 20 million low-rent housing units. Rigid rent controls on all private housing, enforced by elected representatives of the tenants. A large-scale federal program to build schools, hospitals and other public facilities. Government action on flood control, improved water supply, irrigation, cheap electricity and conservation of natural resources. All programs to be financed with funds now spent for armaments.

8) Repeal taxes on low incomes

Abolish all payroll and sales taxes, all hidden taxes passed on to the consumer. No taxes on incomes under \$7,500 a year. A 100 per cent tax on incomes above \$25,000 a year. Confiscate all profits on war goods. Open the tax returns of the rich to public scrutiny.

9) For government ownership of industry

Nationalize the banks, basic industries, food trusts and all natural resources, including nuclear power. Elect committees of workers and technicians to manage these facilities in the interests of the producers and consumers. Institute a planned system of economy.

10) For independent political action

End the Democratic-Republican monopoly of politics. Break all ties with the capitalist political machines. For an independent labor party based on the unions. For an independent Negro party running its own candidates. For an anti-capitalist political alliance of all who suffer discrimination and exploitation.

Bring to power a Workers' and Farmers' government, with full representation for minorities, to reorganize America on a socialist basis.

REPORT ON CUBA

Plan Vast Reorganization of Agriculture

[The following is the text of a news article released by Vernel Olson, chairman of the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee, who recently returned from a five-week tour of Cuba.]

The Cuban Revolution has embarked upon an ambitious plan which, if realized, will raise the production of sugar cane from its present four million tons to ten million tons annually by 1970. The objective can be realized only through extensive reorganization of farming and harvesting methods.

Proper cultivation methods are essential to mechanization of the sugar industry. Scientific planting of the crops, combined with the use of machines to cut, pick and strip the cane, will ensure maximum efficiency. It is estimated that seven million tons of sugar can be harvested with no more than 15,000 workers through a complete program of mechanization.

At present, experimental crossing of over 500 varieties of cane is being conducted in the agricultural stations of four provinces. This is a long-term project which will not yield results for some years. It is hoped that from this work, two or three new hybrids can be produced which will be resistant to disease, rich in sugar and straight and erect for easy cutting by machine.

Mechanization of Agriculture

The mechanization of Cuban agriculture is an important part of the program. For over a year now, work has been progressing in the fields to prepare them for the use of mechanical equipment, and the resources of modern technology have been brought to bear in the selection and planting of crops. Consideration has been given to the characteristics of the land and fertilizers required.

The goal of ten million tons of sugar by 1970 is an objective which can be realized only by extensive mechanization of cane production. About a year ago the Cuban government arranged with the Soviet Union for the construction of machines that could plant, cut and gather sugar cane.

Beginning with the end of last year's harvest, successful tests were made with cane-gathering machines. These machines can be effectively used on 90 per cent of the cane fields. But cane-gathering machines alone are not sufficient for reaching the goal of ten million tons of sugar by 1970. To reach this goal a large number of cutting and planting machines will be required as well.



WEEKEND CANE CUTTERS. These volunteer cane cutters from Havana work hard to help harvest Cuba's sugar crop but they know it will mean progress when they are automated out of their "jobs."

The testing of such machines has already been carried out at a sugar plantation near Havana, and the results are satisfactory. The Soviet Union has also manufactured two kinds of combines, machines that cut and pick up the cane, as well as a planting machine.

One of the combines is a self-propelled unit, the other is drawn by a tractor. These machines cut the cane close to the ground, at an angle, thus preserving the stump. The machine cuts the cane into lengths of 18 or 20 inches, strips them and deposits them into a truck following the machine.

Next Year

It is estimated that by next year, 50 per cent of the cane will be cut and gathered by combines, 40 per cent will be cut by hand and gathered by machine, and ten per cent cut and gathered by hand.

Recent tests on a planting machine have proved satisfactory. It is estimated that one of these machines will be able to prepare and plant 800 acres of sugar cane annually. The goal is for 1,000 of these machines in the near future.

Tests on cane-gathering machines have also proved satisfactory, but a large supply of cut cane is required for efficient operation of these machines. During the harvest, teams of 32 cutters each, with four at a time having one day off a week, will guarantee a

steady supply of cut cane for the cane-gathering machines.

If the plans for mechanization of sugar production are successful and the ambitious goal of ten million tons is reached in the next six years, then the Cuban economy will have achieved a large measure of independence within the world division of labor.

It should be remembered that it was not the production of cane as such that led to the underdevelopment of Cuba as a nation, but rather economic domination by an industrially developed capitalist nation.

As long as the Cuban economy was an outpost of economic interests based outside the country, it was impossible for the sugar industry to become mechanized without causing a breakdown in the explosive social relations. With the Revolution, it is absolutely imperative that mechanization proceed at the fastest possible pace.

The drive for increased efficiency in sugar production is twofold. On the one hand, the diversification of agriculture has created a serious labor shortage which is felt most severely in the sugar industry. On the other hand, massive social spending by the state has increased the demand for greater efficiency, thereby creating a reserve from which to draw.

Religion In Cuba

One of the lies spread in the U.S. about the Cuban Revolution is that the Castro government has suppressed freedom of religion. The latest refutation of the lie is contained in a dispatch from Havana by Juan de Onis to the March 29 *New York Times*. It reads in part:

"HAVANA, March 28 — Easter and Passover are being observed by Christians and Jews in Cuba in complete religious freedom, and even with some help from Cuba's officially atheistic state.

"Roman Catholic Churches have been thronged since Thursday. The Ministry of Labor declared a two-day holiday out of respect for traditions and the principle of the religious idea.

"At the Jewish Community Center, a Passover supper was served last night for 200 persons from the four congregations in Havana. Food is tightly rationed in Cuba, but the government ordered special quotas of chickens, eggs and cooking oil so that all Jews might celebrate Passover."

2,000 March in Baltimore In Demand for Civil Rights

BALTIMORE — On a bitter cold morning on March 30, more than 2,000 Negro and white demonstrators marched through the downtown section of Baltimore to the City Hall Plaza. The aims of the march were generally to promote equal housing legislation and equal job opportunities.

The demonstrators, who walked under the banner of the "March for Baltimore," listened patiently in the cold to speakers for almost three hours. These included such well-known figures as Jackie Robinson, Senator Jacob Javits of New York and comedian Dick Gregory.

While Senator Javits confined his remarks largely to the civil rights bill now before Congress, Dick Gregory gave an account of the thinking among Negroes which has frightened Congress into some semblance of action.

Gregory said Negroes were tired of being short-changed — that they don't want 64 cents instead of 50 cents on the dollar. They want the whole system of cheating abolished, or else.

He evoked some surprise in the audience by his declaration that he will teach his children to break all bad laws. He said that if more Jews had made U-turns on Ger-



Dick Gregory

man streets where Nazi signs said, "U-turns permitted, except for Jews," there would be more Jews alive today to tell the tale.

Commenting on the civil rights bill before Congress, he said the time is passed when the few can sit down and decide what goodies they can give the many.

New York, Los Angeles Peace Walks Stress Vietnam War and Civil Rights

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES, March 29—Another Easter-Passover Walk was held here today, this time for jobs as well as peace, and a new surge of young people was in the line of march, which numbered about 1,500. The march ended in a rally at South Park, in the Negro ghetto. The crowd of around 3,000 was one quarter to one third Negro.

However, the rally was probably even less militant than in past years. Certainly no speaker or sign was noted which broke the concept of being tied to the Democratic "peace" politicians. Lack of substance in the slogans was exemplified by one sign which said, "Don't Be An Ash."

Marching were organizations such as Youth For Peace, FDR Democratic Club, Student Peace Union, Socialist Party, UAW Local 216, SANE, and Fellowship for Social Justice. The Women's Strike For Peace was selling cookies to raise money.

At the rally the courageous scientist and pacifist, Dr. Linus Pauling chaired the meeting. Leaders of CORE and the UAW spoke. Grace Montanez Davis of the Mexican American Political Association regretted that only a handful of Mexican Americans were there. Tracy Sims, 18-year-old leader of a victorious sit-in at the Palace-Sheraton Hotel in San Francisco, was introduced.

With Democratic Party spokesmen muttering something about Vietnam, the rally ended with the audience shouting back, "Freedom Now!"

NEW YORK — The annual Easter Peace Walk was held on Saturday, March 28. At the rally which followed, speakers gave an estimate of 5,000 as the number participating in the walk. About half of those were high school students.

The main change from last year's peace walk, aside from a decline in the size of the demonstration, was the introduction by the sponsoring organization of slogans against the war in Vietnam.

"End the War in Vietnam Now" and "War on Poverty, Not on Vietnam" were among the official slogans on mass-produced posters. "Neutralize Vietnam" was the slogan on New Jersey SANE's large banner.

Signs like "Conscience, the Ultimate Weapon" were also prominent.

All the major peace groups supported the walk. Groups from Long Island and New Jersey as well as New York City participated. The groups either assembled at Union Square or walked to Union Square from other assembly points.

The clear sky and brisk breeze made it a pleasant stroll from Union Square to Washington Square in Greenwich Village where the rally was held.

Hiroshima Survivors Will Tour U.S. Cities

A group of 30 survivors of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki will tour major American cities from April 25 through June 7.

The tour is being organized by the World Peace Study Mission, which represents various political and civic bodies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Dr. Tomin Harada of Hiroshima, chairman of the mission, said that the aim of the tour is to present to the peoples of the nuclear and potential nuclear nations the A-bomb survivors' knowledge and experience of atomic war and its aftermath and to exchange information and ideas in an effort to help find ways to achieve disarmament.

American sponsors of the tour include Emil Mazey, John D. Rockefeller IV, Norman Thomas, Norman Cousins, Sidney Lens, A. J. Muste and Clarence Pickett.

The American address of the World Peace Study Mission is: 325 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012.

... To Appeal Indiana Ruling

(Continued from Page 1)

for Student Academic Freedom of the American Association of University Professors. He declared:

"The prosecution of the officers of the Young Socialist Alliance at Indiana University now seems to be past history and we may be tempted to dismiss it with the simple remark that the YSA students have been vindicated. That is, of course, true, but it is only part of the truth. The name of justice in Bloomington and Indiana, which suffered from Prosecutor Hoadley's reckless allegations badly needed vindication, too. Judge Hill's ruling is an important step in that direction.

"We can all be grateful for Judge Hill's thoughtful decision; but as citizens of a free society, we ought also to be grateful to a number of other people who have been fighting the good fight for us; the three students themselves, who had the courage to defend themselves with vigor and intelligence; a selfless group called the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, who have worked

and still are working with great energy raising money for the defense; the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, its brilliant lawyer [Leonard B. Boudin, general counsel for ECLC] and his colleague [Daniel T. Taylor III of Louisville, Ky.] who defended the three students; and the legal panel of the Indiana Civil Liberties Union, which joined these with a persuasive 'friend of the court' brief.

"Freedom is only safe when people care enough to work for it. All of these people cared, and we citizens are the beneficiaries of their labors, their work, and Judge Hill's ruling goes a long way towards vindicating us all."

The Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students will continue its activity since there is a threat that Judge Hill's ruling may be overturned. The committee is still raising funds to wipe out a debt of some \$3,000 incurred by the legal costs of the case. Contributions may be sent to CABS, P.O. Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y., 10003.

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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 under 400 words. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Southern Tour

Memphis, Tenn.

It's always a dismal experience for a Northerner to drive across the South. But I'd like to take some of my "liberal" friends from the North on a guided tour down here.

We drove through much of Ken-

tucky and Tennessee. The low point was, and is, Haywood and Fayette counties, near Memphis. The schools there are strictly segregated, as are most schools in the South. But the poverty in those counties is abject, even by Southern standards.

After such a trip it is quite a shock to return home and hear the "liberals" talk about all the "progress" and "steady integration" in this part of the country.

And, of course, they haven't examined the similar conditions in the North either. Can *The Militant* answer this question: Are our Northern "liberals" blind or do they have reasons for not seeing?

R.L.

Renewal

Kansas City, Kansas

This is to renew my subscription to *The Militant*. Excuse me for being so late in renewing it, I would not want to miss a single issue. Good luck. I support your paper 100 per cent.

K.K.

Job Safety

Orange, Calif.

Gov. Brown called the record of the construction industry in California extremely poor. Why should he have to utter such words in a state where the construction industry is almost 100 per cent organized by the AFL-CIO and has a state government endorsed by the AFL-CIO's political arm—COPE?

I was brought up on the theory that if we ever got as well organized as we are now such things as safety, uniform hours, etc., would just be minor irritations that would be dealt with much as a man would brush off a fly.

But I find (and I work on these jobs) that things are getting worse. So I would like to rise to a point of order, Mr. Chairman, before I buy any COPE tickets. I want to know why the man on the job doesn't have a safe place to work.

Those benefits to mankind that I hear the well-dressed union leader talk about should, I believe, trickle up from the workers on the job, not down.

Carl A. Gregory

Nursing Shortage

Montclair, N.J.

Your article on the shortage of nurses (March 23) was good as far as it went. I wish Marvel School had described the medieval methods used to crush recent attempts by nurses to bargain collectively. Repressive techniques employed by hospital administrators, the AMA [American Medical Association] and most sections of the ANA [American Nurses Association] would make Henry Clay Frick grow warm with envy.

Not only were these nurses intimidated, threatened, and fired, but the members of the power block who sit on the hospital boards applied the same pressure to the nurses' husbands who were their employees.

This experience is not unlike that of any other group of pioneers in labor organization. Be they auto workers, coal miners, steel workers, or nurses, the response is always the same. The reason is simple — it disturbs the very comfortable and superior position of the power structure. In the case of the nurses, it threatens the bank account of the power group which doesn't want to share its wealth by increasing contributions to pay nurses a decent salary.

Thought for the Week

"In a sense, Douglas [Aircraft Co.] was allowed a profit of \$1,211,777 for making \$3,300 worth of plastic dust covers. The subcommittee does not believe such profits to be justified." — Senator John McClellan at a Senate subcommittee hearing proving excess and "pyramided" profits in federal missile contracts.

But I am talking about a very few nurses; most accept their degrading position, although not cheerfully. It is the same with social workers, university teachers, school teachers, employed psychologists, and employed accountants. Only a tiny minority of each group is organized. And, again, the reason is simple. All these groups are intimidated by their employer, public or private, who tells them they are "professionals," that their education and commitment to public service removes them from the class of "common laborer." This conveniently deprives them of their right to meet power with power.

The shame of American unionism is its cowardice in purposely ignoring these groups. They are difficult and costly to organize and their employers are tough to deal with, but so was Henry Clay Frick.

As for the nurses' problem in particular, three remedies are evident:

1. Nurses must be organized into unions.
2. Nursing must become a male profession.
 - (a) Women have absolutely no biological or emotional superiority in this field — nursing as a female profession has a purely historical root.
 - (b) The extremely high turnover of nurses is not due solely to low wages — female nurses marry and have children.

3. Nurse training must have a two-year course as well as as three-year course. Two years is more than adequate for basic patient care.

These proposals may seem idealistic in present circumstances, but even partial achievement of any one will improve a very bad situation.

A.D.C.

Urges Unity

Detroit, Mich.

The ever increasing volume of hysterical polemics against both peace, disarmament, and co-existence being hurled by hate-mongers like the John Birch Society and the Minutemen make a cherished dream of mine a necessity. This dream is a united front (coalition) of all forces of the democratic and progressive Left. In the past such an idea has often been dismissed as "utopian" and "impossible." Events will now prove that it is both necessary and vital to the preservation of democracy in the United States.

Relentless and subtle persecution of those who will not buckle under to the rise of a neo-fascist movement and the creation of a huge Military Establishment is being waged against Progressive Liberals. The shameful treatment of the Communist Party by the "Justice" Department is the very violation of our Constitutional right of freedom of political belief and dissent. Few Liberals have taken up cudgels in behalf of this erosion of our democratic prin-

ciples. What is happening today to the Communists may happen tomorrow to other dissenters. Where will it end? In the creation of a fascist government under the aegis of a candy bar Führer?

This is exactly why such a United Front of the Left is needed. Our liberty and national independence hangs in the virtual balance. If hate-mongers like Welch, Walker, Goldwater, and Thurmond can relentlessly pursue the course of their anti-democratic leanings; then it is vital that we who call ourselves Liberals give our "all" to serve the cause that these men shall not win the battle. Far too few so-called Liberals have spoken out against the erosion of our democratic principles. We are very much in need of another man of the stature and dedication of the late Vito Marcantonio. If we band together (as a unified Left) then we can surely prove that our dream can be realized and Utopia is possible!!!

R.M.W.

Agrees

Bloomington, Ind.

I've been reading *The Militant* for quite some time now, and although I have not subscribed to the paper previously my views are definitely in agreement with you and definitely socialistic.

I've enclosed one dollar for my subscription so please send the latest issue to me as soon as possible.

M. P.

It Was Reported in the Press

Modern Times — A survivor of the Alaska quake told newsmen: "Everyone thought it was the bomb."

Jackson Justice — After four minutes' "deliberation" March 26, an all-white jury in Jackson, Miss., found Willie B. Ludden, NAACP youth field secretary, guilty of "parading without a permit." He was the first of 310 persons to be tried in connection with an anti-segregation demonstration held last spring. Ludden did win quashing of a charge of perjury springing from the claim that he had been beaten by a cop. The cop's story was that Ludden merely "ran into my club."

New Look — "Miss Rheingold" will be replaced by a mug of beer in future advertising. Liebman Breweries, makers of Rheingold beer, explained that the company was concerned about the affect of Miss Rheingold on the Negro community. "New York is almost 25 per cent non-white," a company executive observed. "Downgrading Miss Rheingold, shall we say, avoids the racial issue." An official of another company was reported as putting it more bluntly: "The Miss Rheingold theme was killing them in the Negro market."

The Defenders — Complaints that the Federal Trade Commission doesn't act effectively enough against business firms that trample on the public interest should be offset by the report that the commission is conducting a vigorous investigation of the sale in New York of \$2.99 boys jackets that have pockets that appear to be lined with American flags. The

manufacturer pleaded that the material came from bolts that were not cut into flags because they had 48 stars.

He Can Say That Again — Speaking in Minneapolis March 18, pollster George Gallup declared: "Democracy is a farce when the selection of candidates is left in the hands of corrupt politicians. The right to elect presupposes the right to select, and a choice between two corrupt candidates is no choice . . . Conventions are national circuses. Almost everything about them is phony. The speeches consist of tired shibboleths and corny allusions. The party platforms fraudulently offer something for everybody."

West German Heroes — Following newspaper publicity, the West German government hastily withdrew a high civilian decoration, the meritorious service medal first class, it had awarded on March 11 to Henrich Butefisch, a Ruhr industrial who had been convicted by an Allied war crimes tribunal of using slave labor from the Auschwitz concentration camp. Mean-

while it has been disclosed that in 1960 the West German government awarded the Grand Cross of the Federal Order of Merit to Dr. Friedrich Jaehne, an I. G. Farben executive who was convicted of using slave labor and of being responsible for the death of prisoners at Auschwitz.

Demand Bar on Judge — Four Mississippi civil-rights leaders have petitioned the U.S. Court of Appeals to bar Federal Judge Harold Cox of Mississippi from handling civil rights cases. The petition, filed by the law firm of Kunstler, Kunstler and Kinoy of New York, charged that Cox had displayed "pervasive prejudice" against Negroes. The complaint cited a March 9 *New York Times* report that Cox had declared in open court that "niggers" seeking to register to vote had behaved "like a bunch of chimpanzees." Judge Cox was President Kennedy's first appointee to the federal judiciary.

People's Capitalism? — Sears Roebuck claims it recently filled a mail order for an eight-carat, \$21,000 diamond engagement ring.

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10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"The Green Feather movement, an expression of student opposition to McCarthyism, is spreading in the Midwest. The latest demonstration took place on the campus of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor on March 23.

"The movement began at Indiana University after a member of the State Textbook Commission denounced the story of Robin Hood as 'pro-Communist' and demanded that it be banned from schoolbooks.

"This led to the formation of a group which called itself 'Robin Hood's Merry Men' and began wearing and distributing green feathers as a symbol of resistance to thought control.

"The movement then spread to Purdue and Wisconsin Universities, where green feathers were passed out to be worn by those who 'are concerned about Senator McCarthy's threat to freedom, and the growing trend to stabilize men's thinking in this country'...

"Another manifestation of anti-McCarthyism that is catching hold on some campuses is the 'We Believe Benton' movement. This started after McCarthy, afraid to go into court with his libel suit against former Senator Benton, announced that he was withdrawing it because his lawyers couldn't find anyone who believes Benton's charges against the Wisconsin fascist.

"Six students at Indiana University 'who have no partisan political affiliations,' set out to ask people if they would be willing to sign . . . a simple 'We Believe Benton' statement. In two days they had 431 signatures, which they published on a sheet the size of a newspaper page." — April 5, 1954.

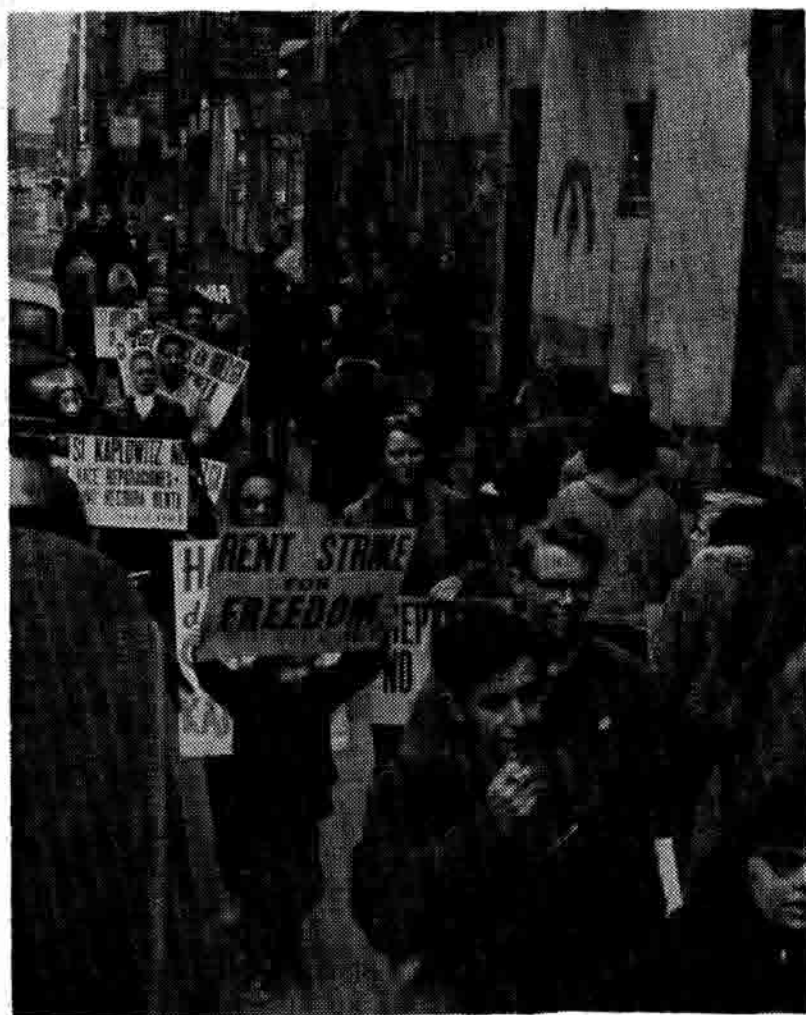
20 YEARS AGO

"Britain's greatest militant labor upsurge of the past 18 years again threatens to spread, as over 135,000 coal miners and ship-yard workers continue their strikes in defiance of the Churchill government's army draft threats and the frantic back-to-work appeals of their traitorous union leaders.

"Last week some 45,000 ship-building workers employed in the huge Tyneside, Clydeside and Belfast, North Ireland, shipyards joined the strike ranks of the 90,000 South Yorkshire coal miners who walked out over two weeks ago.

"Government officials termed the current strike movement the 'worst labor crisis' since the 1926 General Strike . . .

"The British capitalist press, which at first described the strikes as 'spontaneous' and 'without any definite leadership or program,' have opened up a smear campaign charging that the strikes are being fomented by 'subversive elements,' including Trotskyists. . . ." — April 8, 1944.



Militant photo by Lee Forest

PROTEST EVICTION. Rent strikers on New York's Lower East Side picket Elridge St. buildings owned by landlord who evicted tenant. As city marshal moved furniture onto street police rushed to aid of slumlord and prevented rent strikers from moving furniture back immediately. Landlord then spread rumor that the strike was beaten, but this demonstration, called by Downtown CORE which organized section of strike, caused landlord to negotiate. Sign in Spanish declares: "If Kaplowitz [the landlord] Doesn't Make Repairs, He Won't Receive Rent."

Hits New Haven Layoffs

CORE Pickets Plant

NEW HAVEN — An important shift in the thinking of civil rights activists here was highlighted March 25 when the local CORE chapter picketed the largest factory in the area, the Olin-Mathieson Co., to protest the announcement of a lay-off of 550 workers, 20 per cent of the work force, which is organized in Local 609 of the International Association of Machinists.

The protest centered around the demand for a shorter work week with no reduction in pay to create more jobs. A huge sign reading, "12,000,000 will be unemployed by 1970. We demand now: 30 hours work for 40 hours pay," was paraded in front of the factory gates at the afternoon shift. A leaflet was distributed urging Olin workers to join CORE and raise the shorter work week demand in the union.

That such a demand will take

a real struggle against the present union officialdom was foreshadowed by the court refusal of Local 609 to let a CORE spokesman speak at a union meeting.

The role of the union brass and the Democratic city administration was typical. When the lay-off was announced, Bill Allrecht, International Representative for IAM, expressed his "sympathies" — not for the victims of lay-off, but for the corporation! Carl Johnson, president of the local, has gotten the union into a petty squabble over seniority, demonstrating his complete inability to create a program to absorb the workers being laid off.

Phony Speech

Democratic Mayor Lee's response to the news of the lay-off was a phony speech on "retraining," which has angered the workers. They feel they are quite well trained already.

Within CORE itself, the proposal for the new orientation provoked a heated argument. A conservative faction took the traditional position of CORE: "We enter only if there is discrimination: since Olin does not discriminate (there are 1,200 Negroes out of 3,000 production workers; out of the 550 workers affected by the lay-off, 250 are Negroes) CORE has no business getting into this beef."

The militant wing, which has spearheaded the emergence of CORE as the civil rights vanguard in New Haven, took the position that CORE should not only intervene in this lay-off, but should build effective groups in each union to promote the 30-for-40 idea. A compromise was reached in the decision to hold a one-day "informational" picket line and leaflet handout.

Gov't Still Out To Get Worthy

The Justice Department will not seek Supreme Court review of the decision reversing Negro newsman William Worthy's conviction for re-entering the U.S. without a passport. However, a Department spokesman said March 31 that further prosecution of Worthy, this time under a clause in the travel laws supposedly making it a crime to leave the country for a prohibited destination without a passport, is under study.

Worthy went to Cuba in 1961 after his passport had been revoked following an earlier trip to China.

BARGAINING WILL BE 'FLEXIBLE'

A Tame Auto Union Convention

By Fred Halstead

ATLANTIC CITY — The 19th constitutional convention of the United Auto Workers held here March 20-27 was the most cut-and-dried in the union's history. The machine of UAW President Walter Reuther was in complete control all the way, facing virtually no opposition. The machine, however, displayed a sensitivity to some of the pressing problems of the workers and devoted more time to the key question of working conditions than at conventions of recent years.

The central issue was preparation for the 1964 contract talks with the major auto corporations. The resolution adopted on this point embodies Reuther's "flexible" approach. That is, the demands are "guidelines" for bargaining but not definite commitments. The resolution contains many demands, something for almost everyone, but Reuther can decide which points he will really push for.

As one delegate wryly commented: "Flexible, that means it bends with the wind."

Reuther stole the thunder from any potential opposition by announcing beforehand that the number one bargaining demand this year would be improved working conditions and the fight against speed-up. No militant in the UAW disagrees that this is a central problem. Indeed, much of the past opposition to Reuther centered precisely around the failure of top union officials to back the ranks and militant local leaders in the day-to-day fight on this question.

Attack on Speed-up

As a matter of fact, this problem of the international not backing the ranks in job actions and grievances on speed-up became a pattern first in the union's General Motors Department after Reuther became head of that department before World War II. The result over the years was that GM, and particularly the Chevrolet plants, became notorious for speed-up.

At this convention, however, the top Reutherites loudly denounced GM as a "glorified sweatshop." The present GM Department director, Leonard Woodcock, a Reuther protege, said the leadership was pledged to "bring the Chevrolet division up to the GM level and then to bring the GM level up to a level of decency."

The resolution on the 1964 negotiations specifies a number of important details, such as a demand for rest periods or "coffee breaks" for blue-collar workers, declaring these workers "are entitled to be free of abuses to their dignity and privacy such as closed-circuit television espionage reminiscent of Orwell's 1984 and Charlie Chaplin's *Modern Times*. They are entitled to such elementary consideration as the installation of doors on toilet stalls."

Given the second place of importance in the negotiations resolution is "pensions and early retirement," which comes under the heading of "creating job opportunities." The language on this point is very general. A move to make it specific was sparked by GM Local 45 in Cleveland and the GM locals in Flint, Mich., around the slogan "25-30-60." (Retirement at 60 at half pay, plus social security after 25 years' service, and three-fourths pay after 30 years' service.)

Supporters of this slogan — most of whom decline to be labeled as an opposition to Reuther — held caucus meetings early in the convention which were attended by several hundred delegates. A possible floor fight on the issue was averted however.



Walter Reuther

Reuther met with caucus chairman Jack Wagner of Buick Local 599 and deftly agreed to announce that if the GM Council wanted to adopt the 25-30-60 demand, it could do so. (The GM Council is a representative council of GM locals which meets on the GM negotiations.)

The discussion from the floor on the contract demands — the central discussion of the convention — was therefore almost non-controversial. Some delegates from smaller locals and supplier plants made the point that pensions don't mean too much to workers at smaller companies. Many of these, they said, are going out of business, their work being taken over by the big companies. Since pension rights in the industry are not transferable from one company to another, workers at a company which shuts down lose their pension rights.

Of the 44 delegates who took the floor on the resolution on the 1964 negotiations, only one spoke for the shorter work week with no reduction in pay — labor's traditional demand for "creating job opportunities." He was Louis Cicconi from GM Local 216 in South Gate, Calif. This was one of a dozen local unions which submitted resolutions on the shorter work week.

The 216 resolution pointed out that the 1957 convention had adopted the shorter work week as its major bargaining demands for the 1958 negotiations. At that time Reuther had disarmed a growing opposition by adopting its programs — in vague and "flexible" terms, of course. He then showed what his militant talk was worth

by abandoning the shorter work week demand in favor of a "profit-sharing" scheme — which also fizzled out. This sort of history raises some doubts about just how much is going to be done this year about working conditions and speed-up.

Delegate Cicconi said that he, too, was for working conditions first. And though he was an old-timer himself, he thought the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay deserved more emphasis than pensions because it would increase manpower needs by one fourth. It would aid the youth as well as older workers, aid the man on the job and the unemployed. Cicconi recalled that he had spoken on the same question at the convention in 1953, just eleven years ago to the day, March 24.

"At that time," he said, "they told us we couldn't go for the shorter work week because of the 'police action' in Korea. I was assured by delegates then that as soon as the Korean War was over, we'd go for the shorter week. Anyone who was here can vouch for what was said. I'm still waiting."

30-for-40

Cicconi said he figured 30-for-40 would cost GM \$460 million per year, but that GM made over \$3 billion in profits last year. "But I know what the trouble is," he explained. The cost to the company of 30-for-40 would greatly exceed the "guidelines" laid down by President Johnson who had spoken earlier to the convention, it would cut corporation profits and it would mean a fight. "Is the word profits," asked Cicconi, "too sacred to be mentioned at a workers' convention?"

In general, the convention was a dull affair by past UAW standards. It made the record on civil rights with a perfunctory resolution and some speeches, but not much else. The women delegates talked up the idea of female representation on the international executive board, since they are 13-per cent of the union. But their speeches were not generally listened to with open ears or minds.

There were 2,375 delegates present, representing 1.15 million members in the auto, aerospace, and farm-implement industries. It was a younger crowd than last time. Reportedly some three quarters of the delegates were attending their first UAW convention.

There were lots of balloons, special jackets and convention hats — many of them the cowboy type with the slogan "All the Way With LBJ" — but there wasn't much spirit about union matters.

That Saskatchewan Medicare 'Mess'

ATLANTIC CITY — Remember the so-called "doctor's strike against socialized medicine" in Canada's Saskatchewan Province three years ago? The American Medical Association screamed to heaven that the plan would destroy the doctor-patient relationship, that doctors would leave the province and that people would abuse the plan and raise costs so much as to bankrupt the province. The plan is financed by a one per cent surcharge on income tax, a one per cent surtax on corporation profits, a one per cent sales tax, and small charges to each citizen.

According to T.C. Douglas, head of Canada's labor party, the New Democratic Party, the plan has passed the test of time. Speaking at the recent United Auto Workers convention here, Douglas said: "Today there are more doctors in the province than there ever were, there are more specialists and there are more medical students. Doctors are earning more money than they ever received before, and the cost per person is working out at less than we had anticipated."

The plan provides every citizen, regardless of age, with all the medical care he or she needs. "For this," said Douglas, "every person pays, for a single person \$6 per year, for a married man with a family, \$12 per year."