

DEMAND TROOPS FOR MISSISSIPPI!

THE MILITANT

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U.S. Aggression Pushes China Toward Asia War

By Barry Sheppard

The Johnson administration has been stepping up military operations in Southeast Asia with an ominous series of belligerent acts which may end up in a war with China. Statements by military and administration officials have made it clear that the build-up is intended to preserve U.S. domination of the region and prepare a base for operations against China and North Vietnam.

Washington has disclosed that construction of a huge U.S. air base at Danang in the northern part of South Vietnam is nearing completion. The Danang base will be capable of handling the largest jets for operations over all of Southeast Asia and China. It is already being used for raids into Laos. The base is one of a chain of bases the U.S. is constructing in the area.

In violation of the 1962 Geneva agreements on Laos, the U.S. has been flying spy planes over Laos and has conducted bombing raids against Pathet Lao positions and cities in Laos. These attacks are "justified" by U.S. officials on the ground that the Pathet Lao, which is by far the strongest and most popular faction in Laos, recently undertook military actions. But these actions followed the overthrow of the coalition government by rightist troops in an attempt to drive the Pathet Lao out of the government altogether.

Johnson's appointment of General Maxwell D. Taylor to the post of ambassador to South Vietnam is ominous. Taylor resigned his post as chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to accept the job of ambassador. This appointment puts the top U.S. military man in Southeast Asia ready to assume command in a major war there.

The U.S., along with the reactionary and hated puppet regime of Gen. Nguyen Khanh, has been losing the civil war in South Vietnam. The guerrilla movement continues to grow and attract even greater support from the people. Washington's reaction has been to pledge stronger direct action by U.S. forces there, and to threaten to spread the war to all of Southeast Asia and possibly to China. Bases in Thailand are being re-

inforced as part of the general buildup.

These threatening actions by the Johnson administration are taken under the pretext of preserving the independence of Southeast Asia from the "foreign domination" of China. The fact is that the Chinese are fighting no wars against the peoples of those countries. The Chinese have no troops

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Malcolm X Announces Rally To Launch New Organization

By David Herman

NEW YORK, June 22 — "We need an organization that no one downtown can dictate to... that no one downtown loves," declared Malcolm X at his Sunday night Harlem rally. Such an organization will announce its formation at the next rally at the Audubon Ballroom at 166 St. and Broadway on Sunday June 28 at 8 p.m. he said.

"We'll let you know what its aims are — and we think they're your aims," he told the enthusiastic audience. He explained that the organization would be broad enough for all Afro-Americans who wanted to fight for freedom and human dignity "by any means necessary." Not only individuals, but other organizations will be able to join as long as they en-

By Clifton DeBerry
Socialist Workers Party Candidate
for President

The atrocity against three young and courageous civil-rights workers in Mississippi demonstrates the imperative need of federal action in that state. I call upon President Johnson to immediately deputize and arm the Negroes of Mississippi and to dispatch federal troops there to prevent further violence against civil-rights workers, to restore law and order, and to enforce the U.S. Constitution.

The white-supremacist forces in Mississippi include not only the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council but also the state and local officials at every level. I am a Negro from Mississippi, and I know that these racists cannot be persuaded by any moral argument. They are prepared to defend the system of segregation by any means including the most heinous and brutal crimes. The only language they can understand is the language of force and the federal government should provide that force in sufficient magnitude.

The occupation force should arrest and throw into jail every cop or other official in any way connected with the kidnapping of Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman, and James Cheney. Just before they were kidnapped the



John Lewis
SNCC Chairman

three young men were arrested by the racist police in Philadelphia, Miss. It was reported that the rights fighters looked like they had been beaten by the police.

This kidnapping is the latest atrocity in a long list of crimes against Negroes in Mississippi. No one has ever been punished for the murder of Emmett Till, Mack Charles Parker, Medgar Evers,

and many others. There have been five murders by racists in Mississippi in recent months alone.

When the first group of voter-registration workers, with two of the kidnapped youths among them, was training in Oxford, Ohio, they were addressed by John Doar of the U.S. Attorney General's office. "What are you going to do this summer to enable us to see the fall?" was one of the angry questions directed to Doar. When Doar provided a lame defense of the Johnson administration's refusal to protect them, he was met with boos and hisses.

While the three kidnapped youths were in jail in Philadelphia, Miss., their co-workers became fearful for their safety, and telephoned the FBI in Jackson. The FBI agent, a Mr. F. H. Helgeson, refused to help and told the rights fighters that he wouldn't have any more dealings with them.

The federal government is aware of the situation in Mississippi. By not providing adequate protection for these young people who are helping U.S. citizens to register to vote, the administration shares responsibility for what has happened to the three young men.

Safety of Others

John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and Mrs. Rita Schwerner, wife of Michael Schwerner, have gone to Philadelphia, Miss. Will President Johnson protect their rights and their lives?

President Johnson has sent troops into South Vietnam and all over the world. Whenever U.S. interests, as he sees them, are threatened, he is quick to act. But when Negroes and civil-rights workers are systematically brutalized by the illegally elected white-supremacist government of Mississippi, and when that government tramples the Bill of Rights daily, he cannot find the means to protect the lives of the people he is supposed to represent or to defend the Constitution he is sworn to defend.

Johnson's record indicates he will not carry out his duty to protect Negroes from the racists. Negroes should not wait for him to act. In Mississippi, they have the right and duty to organize and arm themselves for self-defense. In the rest of the country there should be mass demonstrations putting unbearable heat on Johnson to send troops to Mississippi and to deputize Negroes there.

dorse the motto: "by any means necessary."

Malcolm X explained that no matter how much other people may claim to know what the black people need, "no one will go as far as we will in fighting for our freedom." He pointed out that once the black people were active in the new organization at the grass-roots level, no one from the outside would be able to dictate what it would do.

One part of the organization will be a department of education. One of its projects, Malcolm X suggested, would be the rewriting of school textbooks for black children.

"We want our children to go to school and read about Lumumba. We want them to read about how the State Department was responsible for his death," he said.

Though the topic of the rally was "Brotherhood in the Harlem Area," Malcolm X's comments covered many subjects. He again stressed the need for a united front, and pointed out that the new organization would not seek to eliminate the existing ones.

Lull in Demonstrations

He commented on the lull in civil-rights demonstrations and offered an explanation. The demonstrations had been initiated and controlled by those outside the ghetto, he said. Now that there are nationalists ready to participate the power structure fears that it will not be able to control such demonstrations and so they do not initiate them.

Malcolm X urged the members of the audience to bring their friends and come ready to join the new organization on Sunday.

BEHIND THE CAMPAIGN ORATORY

Would Goldwater Victory Bring Basic U.S. Policy Shift?

By Joseph Hansen

[Now in Paris, Joseph Hansen, editor of *The Militant*, wrote the following estimate of the Goldwater campaign for the June 19 *World Outlook*, an international labor press service.]

The victory of Goldwater, the Arizona department store baron, over the head of the Rockefeller dynasty in the California Republican primaries "sowed panic within his own party and consternation in the world," Boris Kidel wrote in the June 11 issue of the liberal Paris weekly *L'Express*.

A good example of the "consternation" was provided by the almost eloquent editorial of the *London Times*: "Foreign onlookers can hardly remain undisturbed at the prospect of Sen. Goldwater's

nomination. The sight of a major party endorsing and promoting a man so blatantly out of touch with reality, so wild in his foreign policy, so backward in his domestic ideas, and so inconsistent in his thinking, would be a serious blow to American prestige abroad. It would also set up tremendous and perhaps fatal strains in the Republican Party." This conservative daily concluded with a touch of perhaps deliberate flattery: "The thought that he had the faintest chance of reaching the White House would be enough to shake faith in the maturity and stability of American politics."

What has particularly alarmed Washington's NATO allies is Goldwater's "wild" foreign policy. His suggestion about using nuclear bombs as a cheap and effective weed-killer in South Vietnam drew

shocked editorial comment throughout Europe. Goldwater's opposition to foreign "handouts" is likewise scarcely designed to please capitalists whose regimes require periodic transfusions of dollars. They devoutly hope for more "maturity and stability" in American politics.

Just where, then, does Goldwater fit in? What are his chances? How can he affect the election and American imperialist policies?

First of all, it should be noted that Goldwater has been unusually successful in one thing; that is, playing the role of political villain. As in television wrestling spectacles, this is an essential ingredient in American capitalist politics. Besides enlivening the show, it provides a source of stability to the two-party system.

The liberals, the trade-union bureaucrats and the peripheral elements in tow to them, such as the Communist party, are provided with a contestant who must be defeated "at all costs." The vote of the workers, the farmers, the low-income groups is thus corralled, election after election, for the "lesser" of the two evil capitalist candidates.

Underlying this old routine are certain realities that are little affected by the outcome of the contest between the "hero" and the "villain." To cite but recent history, the liberal Truman won in an upset over the reactionary Dewey. Truman, however, opened the McCarthyite era and plunged the U.S. into the Korean adventure, perhaps the most unpopular war the country ever engaged

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Our Summer Schedule

During July and August *The Militant* is published every other week. Our next issue will be dated July 13. Weekly publication will resume in September.

UCLA Gives Shah a Degree; Students Give Him Hard Time

By Leslie Evans

LOS ANGELES — More than 200 Iranian and American students picketed UCLA graduation ceremonies here June 11 in opposition to the featured commencement speaker, the Shah of Iran. The demonstration was marked by an aerial dogfight between a police helicopter and a small plane towing an anti-Shah banner, and by an attack on American student demonstrators in the commencement stands by Iranian secret police agents.

Opposition to the Shah's visit had been growing since the announcement four months ago that the Iranian dictator was to be honored with a degree of Doctor of Humane Letters. More than 5,500 University of California students at a number of the university's campuses signed petitions referring to the Shah as a "proven and dangerous opponent of academic freedom" and calling on the University to cancel presentation of the honorary degree. UCLA Chancellor Franklin Murphy replied to a similar request from the Iranian Students Association with a letter which said in part: "The University stands without apology and without reservation behind its invitation to the Shah."

UCLA authorities, anticipating a demonstration, took steps to minimize its effectiveness, even going to the length of moving the site of the commencement ceremonies to the athletic field, an area surrounded by chain-link fencing. They also withdrew all tickets earmarked for undergraduates, thus preventing most signers of the petition from attending.

Despite harassment by the university administration, more than 200 American and Iranian students picketed the commencement with signs reading "The Shah is a Murderer," "Honor the Shah — Dishonor UCLA," "American Students Oppose the Shah," and "Don't Give Away Our Freedom by Degrees."

Soon after the ceremonies began, a biplane appeared overhead and began circling the commencement stands towing a banner which read: "Need a Fix? — See the Shah!" [The International Federation for Narcotic Education in Washington, D.C., had sent the President of the University of California a letter on May 19 asking that the invitation to the Shah be cancelled. It cited a report by a member of the faculty at Indiana University identifying the Shah as the greatest source of heroin smuggled into the United States.]

A police helicopter took to the air, nosing within feet of the anti-Shah plane — in violation of all air safety regulations — in an attempt to drive it away. After a 20-minute "dogfight" the biplane, to avoid a crash with the police copter, left the area.

When the Shah was introduced and rose to speak, seven graduating seniors in cap and gown rose silently and walked off the stage in protest. Simultaneously 40 or 50 students in the stands also walked out. Two American students unfurled a cloth sign proclaiming "The Shah is a Murderer!" They were immediately attacked and beaten by Iranian secret police agents (SAVAK) and their sign destroyed. (Numerous SAVAK agents preceded or accompanied the Shah to the U.S.)

A student on the other side of the stands held up a similar sign. American secret-service men and uniformed police converged on him and dragged him out of the stands. The picket line outside set up a chant "Down With the Shah!" as a number of graduates joined the line in their cap and gown. The Shah, obviously very nervous, rushed through his prepared speech and was hustled away by secret service men after scanty applause from the audience.

Two days before a group of American and Iranian students had picketed the Shah upon his arrival at the airport in Los Angeles. They also were attacked by the Shah's entourage, made up primarily of Iranian secret police and army officers in plainclothes. Police stood by as Hossein Hosseini, a leader of the Iranian Students Association, was beaten with a heavy stick by two men identified as employees of the Iranian government. The anti-Shah student leader was taken to a hospital where nine stitches were taken in his forehead. Police refused to make any arrests.

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More News on Hugo Blanco

Magazine Reports on Struggle in Peru

By Constance Weissman

News of Hugo Blanco, the Trotskyist peasant leader, imprisoned since May 1963, is contained in a "Letter from Peru," by Norman Gall, a reporter on the Puerto Rican *San Juan Star*, in the June issue of *Commentary*. Blanco, whose name has become legendary among the Indian *campesinos*, is being held without trial. However, police told Gall that Blanco "sees visitors, issues manifestoes, and directs key activities of his Revolutionary Workers Party."

"In December," reports Gall, "he went on a hunger strike, and 5,000 of his followers marched on Cuzco, enforcing a general strike and destroying a bridge, telegraph lines, and train rails."

Inspired by Cuba

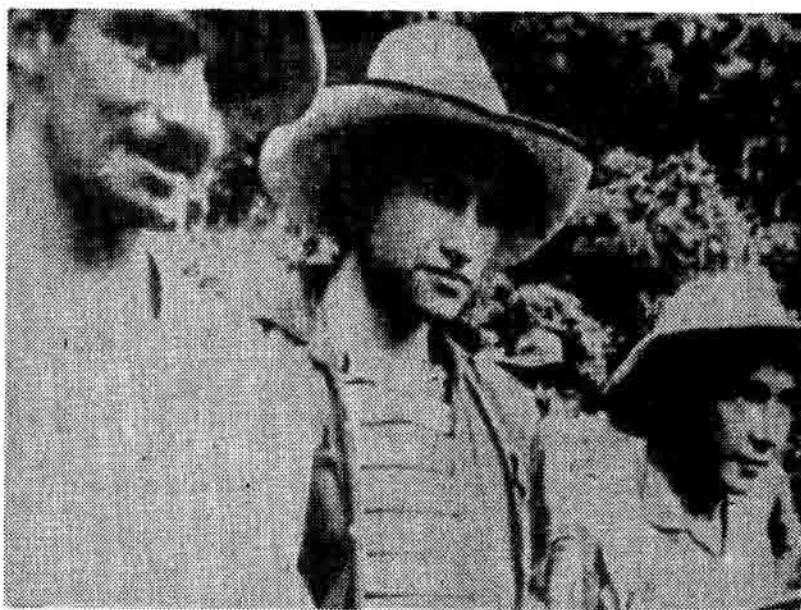
Blanco, a 29-year-old agricultural expert, was inspired by the Cuban Revolution to begin organizing the peasants. He speaks Quechua, the language of the Indian peasants, and organized peasant unions in La Convención valley to help the Indians secure the lands on which they worked.

Gall describes the emaciated *campesinos*, in sandals cut from old rubber tires, waiting outside the office of the Peasants Federation of Cuzco.

Three Indians arrive with news that eight peasants have been killed and 20 wounded at a *hacienda* 12 hours distant by foot where a new union has just been formed. There was a fight with Miguel Luna, the *hacendado* (planter). The peasants had refused to do any work, insisting on their right to the land they were farming. Cesar Galdos, a cousin of Hugo Blanco, arrived and the Indians began demonstrating in front of the main house.

Two Indian Youth

"On Christmas afternoon, Luna's 25-year-old son, educated at a Paris boarding school, got into a fight with two Indian youths and shot one of them in the foot with a pistol. The youths returned that night with several hundred Indians who assaulted the *hacienda* with clubs, crude farm implements, slingshots, sharpened wood



PEASANT LEADER. Imprisoned Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco (center) and comrades.

poles, and a few knives. Luna, his son, and a friend opened fire with a light machine-gun and rifles... leaving behind some 30 casualties."

Interviewed Survivor

Gall interviewed a survivor of the massacre, Lucio Quispe, through an interpreter (*buenos dias* are the only words of Spanish Quispe knows). Quispe was carrying the digging stick with a footrest and iron blade with which he ploughs and cultivates his half-acre plot, while his young wife follows behind, breaking the clods into small pieces with her hands. He said he had joined the union to better their conditions.

"Before we organized last March we had to work 150 days a year for the right to farm our land. We were paid a sol and a half [six cents] a day for our work. After we joined the *sindicato* our pay was raised to five and a half sols [22 cents]." Julio Luna, the *hacendado's* brother and president of the planters association, told Gall: "We don't know what to do with the Indians. They are animals. These Indians are good for nothing, not even for eating."

The history of the Peruvian Indians is one of inhuman exploitation which started with 200 years of Spanish rule. They have been robbed of their fertile community lands and driven to the eroded mountain sides by officials sent ostensibly to defend their legal rights, as well as by the Spanish noblemen and the new class of *mestizos* (Peruvians of part Span-

ish ancestry). The Indians are constantly trying to secure legal papers which are usually worthless.

"When we go into town to see the mayor or the judge, we must wait for hours," said Horacio Quispe, the 60-year-old head of the community of Acna. "We are told to clean the floors and the toilets of the city hall and the priest's house and the stables behind them. Then we are told to go back to our village and come back the next day with lamps and pigs to offer as gifts. Then they will hear our case."

Comparable to Asia

Land hunger and poverty in Peru are comparable to the worst in Asia. The Andean highlands of Southern Peru and Bolivia have a population of ten million people who live in extreme poverty with few economic and social relations with the outside world. Peru's ruling class has a stranglehold on the economy. One-tenth of one per cent of the population gets 20 per cent of the national income while 56 per cent of the population earn less than \$4.50 a month.

Gall concludes that Peru has entered a period in which the politics of extreme poverty — of insurrection by *campesinos* with nothing to lose but miserable lives — is in the ascendant. The militant peasant federations are inspiring revolutionary hopes of a better life among 62 per cent of the Peruvian population who live on the land.

Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES

Analysis of THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION. Speaker, Della Rossa, Southern California correspondent of the Militant. Fri., July 3, 8:30 p.m., Militant Labor Forum, 1702 E. 4th St.

NEW YORK

JULY 3 — No Forum.

FRIDAY, JULY 10 — Mohammad Said Farid, member, Iranian Students' Association in U.S., tells WHAT IT'S LIKE TO LIVE UNDER THE SHAH OF IRAN. 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

FRIDAY, JULY 17 — DAVID DELINGER, Editor of Liberation, just back from Cuba, speaks on CUBA, AS I SAW IT.

Yours for the Asking

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

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place
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With so much good news to report it is hard to know where to begin. Since the next issue won't be out for two weeks we are pleased to be able to show that everyone is now participating in our campaign for new readers.

Boston is the most outstanding addition. After weeks of silence they finally come forward with 184 new subscribers. Just 16 more subscriptions will meet their quota of 200. They show every sign of exceeding this goal for they have increased their bundle order and are making plans for more concerted sub work.

Cleveland has already exceeded their original quota of 75 new readers. Don Smith writes: "We have decided to increase our quota from 75 to 150. I believe we can make it." From their past performance we are sure they will and perhaps more than make their 150 quota.

Chicago never lets us down. With more than three weeks to go they are short their quota by only 102. The director in Chicago writes: "Suzanne sold 51 subs at a civil-rights rally held here. This makes her top on our scoreboard with a total of 116 subs." All cor-

respondence from Chicago is very brief and to the point: "This week we have 169 new subs to report."

Detroit sends us 75 new readers. They are just beginning their work to get 500 special election subscriptions. The director tells us: "We were pleasantly surprised at the number of people we ran into during our house to house work who had heard of *The Militant*."

City	Quota	Score
Chicago	1,000	898
New York	600	633
Boston	200	186
Oakland/Berkeley	200	127
Cleveland	150	102
San Francisco	100	97
Twin Cities	200	84
Detroit	500	81
Milwaukee	100	61
Philadelphia	60	50
San Diego	75	28
Denver	50	27
Newark	150	26
Los Angeles	—	24
Seattle	75	21
Connecticut	25	11
St. Louis	15	8
General	—	39

Total as of
June 24 3,500 2,503

High Court Agrees to Review Louisiana SCEF Indictment

NEW ORLEANS, La. — The U.S. Supreme Court on June 15 accepted jurisdiction in the case of Dr. James A. Dombrowski and the Southern Conference Educational Fund appealing federal court refusal to hold unconstitutional the Louisiana anti-subversion statutes under which Louisiana integrationists and organizations are being persecuted.

The SCEF, a South-wide, integrationist organization, had asked the three-judge federal court to restrain enforcement of these statutes which were being used to destroy the civil-rights movement in Louisiana.

Under these 1964 statutes the headquarters of SCEF and its officials and their homes were ransacked, and the officials were indicted and now face criminal prosecution with possible maximum sentences of from 10 to 30 years at hard labor.

Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of SCEF, commenting on the announcement by the Su-

preme Court said: "This case raises the most serious questions concerning the role of the federal courts in the deep South in defending the constitutional rights of integrationist organizations and their leaders."

"The board of directors of the SCEF is convinced that the Supreme Court will hold with Circuit Judge Wisdom in his strong dissent: 'The distinguishing feature of this case, which the majority chooses to ignore, is the contention that the State, under the guise of combating subversion, is in fact using and abusing its laws to punish the plaintiffs for their advocacy of civil rights for Negroes.'"

"The day is fast approaching," Shuttlesworth continued, "when neither whites or Negroes can be prosecuted for seeking to implement constitutional guarantees in a lawful and orderly manner."

The American Civil Liberties Union and its Louisiana affiliate filed friends-of-the-court briefs in the appeal to the high court.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

"THEY USED TO BE COLORED."
An article by William Worthy
in the May issue of *The Realist*.

In this pointed article, William Worthy, the Baltimore Afro-American's globe-trotting correspondent, speaks his mind about white-dominated civil-rights groups and white-minded civil-rights leaders, beginning with "the predominantly white CORE group that courted arrest in demonstrations on the [World's] Fair grounds" who "seriously underestimated Negro intelligence" if they assumed that their action was anything less than transparent.

Worthy has a bone to pick with the National CORE, which opposed the World's Fair stall-in on the phoney ground that innocent lives might be lost if ambulances were prevented from reaching hospitals because of traffic jams on the thruways.

This happens to be, he writes, "a society that, since 1946, has been responsible for snuffing out countless lives in Vietnam . . . For the past three years, American military equipment has enabled the Portuguese to bombard countless villages in Angola."

Worthy raises what he considers "the more realistic question: Who henceforth will die?" Will it be the malnourished, the poorly housed, the rat-bitten Negro babies, the victims of racist bombers? Castro, he said, raised the same kind of question when he urged the delegates to the Congress of Latin American Women to return home and launch their own revolutionary struggle. Bloody though the struggle against Batista had been, Castro said, the Cuban revolutionaries saved countless lives by destroying tyranny and colonial exploitation.

"Irrelevant Methods"

Meanwhile, Worthy says, non-violent methods are becoming irrelevant. And he quotes sections from Lerone Bennett, Jr., who wrote about the backers of non-violence in an article on "The Black Establishment" in the April issue of *The Negro Digest*.

"The Black Establishment, oddly enough, is not all-black. It is a group of Negroes and whites who command the power lines in the Negro community . . . Certain positions in the Establishment are apparently reserved for white men. The NAACP, the National Urban League, and the NAACP Defense Fund have never had a Negro president or a Negro treasurer. Nor for that matter have many other Negro institutions of power . . ."

Worthy then adds his own opinion of the internal situation in CORE. "Negro militants," he says, "everywhere talk about and deplore" it:

"One could easily document a systematic infiltration of national CORE and CORE chapters by politically experienced white members of the Socialist Party. They of course have the right to join CORE as individuals. What is widely resented is that they impose the Party's 'moderate' tone on CORE activities . . ."

"My observation has been that the net effect of this infiltration has been a dampening and braking of militant ideas and projects — a braking quite as deadly in its own way as the restrictions that the Young Republicans would impose if they were to take over a civil-rights organization."

"This may sound paradoxical or extreme to those who fail to note the divided loyalty of many members of the Socialist Party. Obsessed with the irrelevancy of anti-



William Worthy

Communism in the real world of Wallaces and Minutemen, they have one eye cocked on the U.S. image in the cold war.

"I have friends in the Socialist Party who sincerely abhor discrimination and segregation. But they are not revolutionaries. They will always stop short of embarrassing this country on the foreign policy level where, if pressed, the embarrassment can be excruciating and eventually effective. Nor will these Socialists, indistinguishable as they are from left-wing Democrats, throw down a basic challenge to the executive branch of the federal government."

Liberal Shell

Worthy apprehends that CORE will become more and more a white liberal shell with a smaller and smaller Negro base. The days when CORE could offer a militant alternative to the NAACP, the time of the sit-ins, are now over. CORE, this "buffer organization," has "become a way-station for now disillusioned nationalistic youth who only yesterday accepted a non-violent discipline and today are filling the growing ranks of the Negro underground."

"As always in America," he says, "the whites have only themselves to blame."

Worthy also criticizes national CORE for refusing to take a stand when the U.S. government was involved in the overthrow and murder of Lumumba, on the assassination attempts on the life of Kwame Nkrumah, and the subversion of Asian and African governments which resist neo-colonialism — even though on paper Negro leaders have identified with Africa. He points out that none of them criticized the invasion of Cuba.

If Isiah Brunson, the leader of the stall-in movement, and others like him, are to break out of the series of victimizations by New York judges and the isolation in CORE by "some of the black and white operators in the national office," Worthy says, they must turn to independent black political action.

"The all-Negro aspect is crucial," Worthy says. "Cut off from their wire-pulling white backers, compromising and dishonest Negroes can be easily handled within an organization."

"When the Isiah Brunsons come together, take over the leadership of the Freedom Now Party and vigorously articulate a comprehensive program of social, economic and anti-colonial demands, we can forget about the sorry men who used to be colored."

—J.G.

Split in Ceylonese Trotskyist Party

Opportunist Wing Enters Government

(*World Outlook*) The Left Wing of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party [Ceylon Equal Rights Party], Ceylonese Section of the Fourth International, fought a hard but losing battle at a special conference of the organization June 6-7 against the opportunist proposal of N. M. Perera to accept an offer from Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister, to enter a bourgeois coalition government.

After the defeat suffered by the Left Wing, Perera, together with Anil Moonesinghe and Cholmondeley Goonewardene, accepted posts in Mrs. Bandaranaike's cabinet June 11.

Although Perera succeeded in winning a majority vote at the conference, his proposal had been previously rejected in the central committee by the narrow vote of 21 to 19.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International unanimously opposed the proposal to participate in a bourgeois coalition and leading spokesmen of the Trotskyist movement in many parts of the world likewise condemned the suggestion.

Broke Discipline

Perera disregarded these expressions of unqualified opposition, representing the view of the overwhelming majority of the world Trotskyist movement. He likewise broke the discipline of the movement.

After the vote had been registered at the conference, the Left Wing walked out to protest the betrayal of Trotskyist principles. Taking the name Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section), they announced that they would continue the revolutionary-socialist program on which the LSSP was founded.

Two of the founding members of the party, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Gunewardene, declined to accept the portfolios offered by Mrs. Bandaranaike. In the debate, however, they had favored a coalition that would have brought in the entire United Left Front of which the LSSP was the strongest component. They did not join in the protest walkout.

It was suggested by C. P. de Silva, a prominent member of Mrs. Bandaranaike's cabinet and a right-wing leader of her Sri Lanka Freedom Party [Holy Ceylon Freedom Party], who opposed the coalition from the right, that Perera was engaging in "Marxist infiltration tactics." Perera told him not to be a simpleton and believe what he read in books lent him by the American Embassy.

The *London Times* also hastened

to prevent any misunderstanding by the American Embassy on the real meaning of Perera's move. In an editorial [June 12] entitled "Ceylon's New Coalition," the *London Times* made it quite plain that so far as British imperialism is concerned, Perera is a welcome addition to the Ceylonese government. The editorial is well worth quoting in full:

"The news from Ceylon almost suggests that MRS. BANDARANAIKE and DR. PERERA sat up through the night slapping down their cherished trump cards — Buddhism and banking; Sinhalese nationalism and Trotskyism — in order to give this fretful island a new political deal at last. The bickering over this coalition had gone on for so long that the optimist had not much left to cling to. How will the new hand be played?"

"Watched With Interest"

"Undoubtedly DR. PERERA's part as the Trotskyist leader will be watched with most interest. After many years in opposition, this true product of the Laski school can apply his learning to Ceylon's economic problems. It is not only age and familiarity that have made him a respected figure in Ceylon's political life. He has shown himself before now an efficient and honest administrator as Mayor of Colombo. If he can bring that necessary but rare combination of qualities to his new role as finance minister — even allowing for some lingering vagaries of doctrine — he will be doing Ceylon a service of which it is in desperate need."

"On MRS. BANDARANAIKE's side the contract has been one of necessity. The Freedom Party she inherited from her late husband, with its mixture of nationalism and religious revivalism in a left-wing wrapping, never had a big following in the town, but lately it has been losing ground in the countryside. Ceylon has been living in a miasma of hopeless irritation as strike succeeded strike, the relations between Tamils and Sinhalese grew more and more embittered, and all sense of authority and leadership ebbed away. The new coalition will have to show some quick results if it is to recapture the lost drive."

It is, indeed, glaringly clear that the coalition is not at all like the one in which the Cuban revolutionaries engaged and which proved to be a passing episode as Castro and his team, heading the popular armed forces that had smashed the Batista regime, consolidated their power under the impulse of a mounting revolution

and then brushed the bourgeois figures aside.

This is proved conclusively by the conditions which Perera agreed to swallow and by the fact that the cabinet of 12 was simply widened to 15 to make room for the former Trotskyists. Here is how the June 12 *London Times* describes the deal:

"Discussions went on all night on the evolution of a joint programme of work. The Trotskyists put forward a ten-point programme, mainly on economic issues and including provisions to control banks and agency houses and to break up newspaper monopolies."

"Mrs. Bandaranaike added four more points: that Buddhism should be given its rightful place; there should be no change in the language policy; the Indo-Ceylon problem should be settled by negotiation; and nomination of candidates at the next election should be entrusted to her."

"The specific mention of the religious and language issues was made to placate chauvinistic elements in her own party who had expressed fears that Marxist Ministers would not attach any importance to them."

National Question

The points on language and the Indo-Ceylon issue really involved the rights of the minority Tamil people who seem to be the first target of the bourgeois coalition.

The formation of this coalition of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and three captives takes place against the background of an acute government crisis which had opened a promising opportunity for a workers' and farmers' government to come to power in Ceylon in the near future. This was clearly foreshadowed by the strong sentiment for unity among the workers around a socialist program and by actions which they have undertaken. The formation of the United Left Front last year offered great possibilities along this line if properly developed.

Political Brains

Analysis of the situation shows that the weakness of Mrs. Bandaranaike's government was realized by the political brains of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie and that the coalition offer was shrewdly designed to block the development of a workers' and farmers' government. The calculation was that the offer of cabinet posts would precipitate a crisis in the United Left Front, increase the possibility of splitting the revolutionary forces, and — if it succeeded — associate prominent leaders of the workers with the discredit bound to fall on the government as it sought to solve its crisis at the expense of the workers and peasants.

The world Trotskyist movement has long been concerned over the opportunistic parliamentarism displayed by the right wing of the LSSP. Public criticisms made of this tendency have, unfortunately, proved to be only too well founded.

The Bandaranaike-Perera coalition does not face a bright future. The immediate perspective still remains that of deepening crisis. Meanwhile fresh revolutionary tendencies have appeared in Ceylon as evidenced, among other things, by a split in the Communist Party to the left some six months ago. The strong group of Trotskyist cadres who fought Perera's betrayal of revolutionary-socialist principles will find the opportunities not lacking to recover from the defection of the Right Wing.

[In our next issue we hope to have a full report and analysis from Colombo on this situation.]

"He who renounces the struggle for socialism renounces both the labor movement and democracy." Rosa Luxemburg (1880-1919).

Summer Issue

International Socialist Review

IN DEFENSE OF THE CUBAN REVOLUTION by Ernest Mandel. Ernest Mandel, editor of the Belgian socialist weekly, *La Gauche* and author of *Traité d'Economie Marxiste*, recently spent several months in Cuba. An outstanding Marxist economist, Mandel reviews the economic and social achievements of the Cuban revolution.

THE LESSON OF BRAZIL by Manolo Sarmiento. The reactionary military coup which recently overthrew the Goulart government is analyzed in the light of the lessons to be drawn for the liberation struggle in Latin America.

WHICH ROAD FOR CHILE? by Luis Vitale. The national elections in Chile, scheduled for September, has precipitated a major political crisis which has drawn into its vortex all of the conflicting forces now headed for a major showdown. The author, now exiled to a remote Chilean village for his militant activity on behalf of the Cuban revolution, characterizes the Chilean crisis as "pre-revolutionary."

IS NATURE DIALECTICAL: JEAN PAUL SARTRE and KARL MARX by William F. Warde. An important contribution to the discussion now stirring radical circles in Europe in which the Existentialist view of the dialectic is counterposed to the Marxist philosophical method.

THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION: An Appraisal of the Major U.S. Crises and Proposals for Action. As a contribution to the discussion, the ISR is publishing the text of the document originally released by The Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution comprising prominent figures from various walks of life.

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THE MILITANT

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Monday, June 29, 1964

The CIA in the Congo

Washington has added still another to the list of countries where people are being killed by Americans. This time it is the Congo. The State Department admitted on June 16 that American "civilian" pilots were flying missions in U.S.-supplied aircraft against the Balufero tribespeople there. This was after repeated denials that U.S. pilots were involved. But when their presence and activities were established publicly beyond dispute, the State Department alibied that it had been previously misinformed.

It may be safely assumed that these "civilians" have the same close connections with the Pentagon or CIA as the U.S. "civilians" who flew missions against Cuba.

Previously Washington could use puppets to do its dirty work in the Congo — as in the killing of Lumumba. But as the struggle of the Congolese people against neo-colonialism grows, there is a more direct military intervention by the U.S., in the pattern of the CIA air and naval attacks on Cuba, the air strikes in Laos, and the use of thousands of U.S. air force and ground troops in South Vietnam.

Get the U.S. out of the Congo! End U.S. intervention in Vietnam, Laos and Cuba!

Civil Rights and Taxes

Even before its adoption into law, federal officials seemed to be readying an alibi for not enforcing the civil-rights act. On June 20, unnamed Washington officials let it be known to the *New York Times* that they feared that Barry Goldwater's opposition to the measure would encourage Southern resistance to it.

It was explained that both the White House and Justice Department felt that reliance for carrying out the law "must be on voluntary compliance." To illustrate the point, it was recalled that Burke Marshall, head of the Justice Department's civil-rights division had noted "the chaos that would result if the government had to sue every individual to collect his taxes."

We think Mr. Marshall has a good point. There are undoubtedly at least as many people in this country who don't like paying income taxes as there are people who don't like civil-rights laws. But they grit their teeth and pay their taxes anyway because they know that if they don't the government will crack down on them with stiff fines, prison terms, or both. How about putting the same kind of teeth in the civil-rights law?

Cover-Up for Cops

When the Weiss Bill to set up a civilian panel to review complaint against the police was up for discussion in New York on June 16, more than 1,200 off-duty cops appeared to oppose it.

Their spokesman, Police Commissioner Murphy, claimed the present review board, made up of "civilian deputy police commissioners" was completely adequate. He asserted police brutality was rare and almost non-existent, and that the Weiss Bill would undermine police "efficiency." He said he did not want a situation where "police officers would hesitate to act, fearful of the second-guessers . . ."

On the minds of the "second-guessers" in New York City are the cases of Victor Rodriguez and Maximo Solero and of Francisco Rodriguez, "Boy of the Year," killed by cops; the case of Frank Stafford, who lost an eye at the hands of the police; and the story Jesse L. Roberts told a citizens' hearing June 5 about his near crucifixion in a Bronx police station last fall.

But the Democratic Wagner administration turned the bill down because such bloody facts, showing the police have plenty to hide, count for little with it in the face of police opposition.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Newark	\$ 250	\$ 260	104
New York	5,800	5,916	102
Boston	850	860	101
Denver	250	253	101
Allentown	150	150	100
Baltimore	150	150	100
Chicago	1,800	1,800	100
Cleveland	600	600	100
Connecticut	200	200	100
Detroit	1,000	1,000	100
Milwaukee	350	350	100
Minneapolis/St. Paul	1,205	1,205	100
Oakland/Berkeley	500	500	100
Philadelphia	300	300	100
St. Louis	100	100	100
San Diego	350	350	100
San Francisco	800	800	100
Seattle	600	600	100
Los Angeles	5,000	4,520	90
General	300	376	124
Totals through June 15	\$20,550	\$20,290	98

New York Times Skips a Chapter

U.S. Role as World's Top Cop

By Art Preis

The *New York Times* on occasion permits itself a candor that in the more vulgar daily sheets would have the liberal apologists for U.S. imperialism shrilling in protest. It is a newspaper not more honest than others, but so full of ruling-class arrogance that it proclaims with oracular authority views which less august manipulators of public opinion would not dare to state so openly and plainly.

My reflections on the unique qualities of the *Times* are inspired by an editorial in its June 15 issue titled "Policeman to the World."

Readers of *The Militant* who may not have read the editorial under discussion will nevertheless grasp immediately that the "Policeman" is the United States of America. The *Times* recites the U.S. record as global cop going back to the end of World War II.

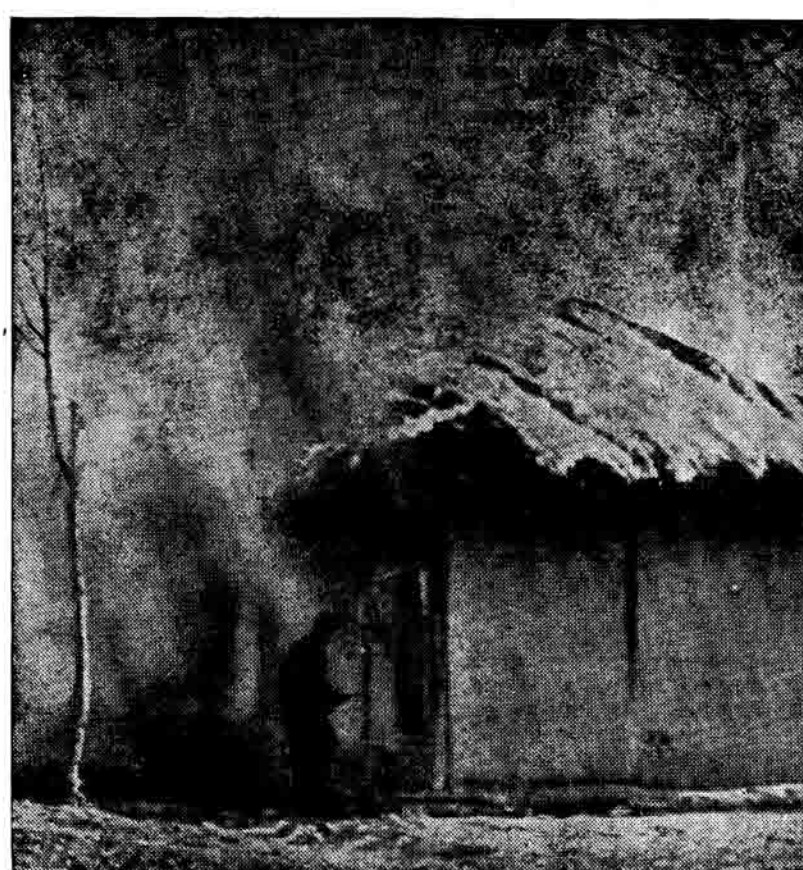
It notes that when the British moved out of Greece in 1947, the United States moved in, "and bolstered Turkey to boot." When the Communists took power in China in 1949, "it was the United States fleet and American arms that held Taiwan and saved the remnant of Nationalist China. When the French were driven out of Indochina in 1954, the United States filled the vacuum." And when the United Nations and NATO "seemed unable to handle Cyprus, it was the United States again, in the past week, which moved in to fill the gap" armed not only with "strong words of wisdom" but with "units of the U.S. Sixth Fleet."

Washington's Role

But in the *Times* recital of Washington's role as self-appointed world cop there is a glaring omission. Was it a mere mental lapse that the most famous — or infamous — instance of American imperialism playing the role of shoot-from-the-hip "law" enforcer eluded the collective memory of the *Times* editors? Surely, they could not have forgotten Truman's "police action" in Korea little more than a decade ago?

I can only conclude that if the *Times* left out the example of the Korean War it was conscious and deliberate — done, as criminal law puts it, with "malice aforethought."

The bare statistics of the Korean War belie the conception of the policeman, the cop on the beat armed with a mere club and six-shooter. These figures contain in



"POLICE ACTION." Scene from one of the most savage war U.S. forces ever fought. South Korean peasant's hut is burned to ground as GIs raze everything in sight. The net result a decade after is continuing U.S.-supported dictatorship in the country and poverty and misery for the people.

themselves the reason why the *Times* no doubt felt its point would be made more convincingly if it forgot to remember Korea.

Korea remains a traumatic experience for the American people. It was by far the most savage war this country ever engaged in for the area involved. It was America's first undeclared war, initiated by the sole orders of the President without an act of Congress. It was the first war the U.S. did not win.

There were 5,764,143 members of the U.S. armed forces who served in the Korean War — a million more than in World War I. U.S. casualties in Korea were officially listed at 157,530. The losses suffered by the army of dictator Syngman Rhee, U.S. ally, were several times higher than American casualties. We can only speculate on the appalling losses of the North Korean and Chinese forces. But the most damning statistic of all was the civilian casualties.

Under orders to "kill everything that moves" and to "scorch the earth," the U.S. armed forces carried out one of the greatest atrocities in all history. A United Nations commission reported more than four million civilian casualties, most of them burned alive by flaming jellied gasoline (napalm). The U.S. military put the whole of Korea to the torch. It was the most thorough job of devastation ever carried out by the hand of man.

Korea Demonstrations

And the very week when the *Times* left this instance out of its editorial list of recent U.S. "police actions" was a week when the *Times* news columns were reporting the huge demonstrations in South Korea against the dictatorial government of Chung Hee Park, a successor to Syngman Rhee, the dictator originally put into power by the U.S. armed forces after the Japanese imperialists were driven out in 1945. Park's right-hand man, Kim Chong Pil, head of the dreaded Central Intelligence Agency, was forced to resign and announced he was coming to the U.S. to attend Harvard University.

The *Times* editorial complains: "This role of world policeman involves us in risks — and often in criticism of the type we are now getting for our activities in Vietnam."

The greatest risk is the one the *Times* so adroitly skips over — a Korean-type war. And the criticisms include the charge that once again, in South Vietnam, Washington is "liberating" a people with napalm and using armed force to compel them to submit to the rule of a corrupt, brutal military dictatorship.

That makes U.S. capitalism not a policeman to the world but the world's most lawless imperialist gangster.

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By Harry Ring

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SOCIALIST FUND

Fund Drive Closes Just Shy of Mark

By Marvel Scholl

Fund Director

The Socialist Workers Party fund campaign to raise \$20,550 has just been concluded, with 98% of the quota paid in, and with an additional sum still to come. This is the first time in many years that such a fund drive has not ended with a full 100% fulfillment.

However, instead of looking at the dark side, let's look at what is bright about the situation.

Newark came in with 104% to top the list. Almost half of this money came from friends, some through a mailing, others by direct contact.

Denver is another prime example of new progress. This small group generally came in by the skin of its teeth — this time they came in ahead of schedule and over the top!

Boston was the first to pay in

its full quota, with an additional payment which also made it go over.

Chicago, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and Detroit all took much larger quotas this time and came in by the June 15 deadline.

All of the other areas, with the exception of Los Angeles, which took a quota too large for their capacity this time, have made at least 100%.

We wish to thank all our friends throughout the country who sent in contributions to swell "the general" to 124%. Space prevents mentioning each of them in this issue, but we want all of them to know that their "votes for socialism" count greatly in the final total — not only financially but politically as well.

The Socialist Campaign Fund is over, but that does not mean that friends who still want to cast their vote for socialism cannot still participate in this "election" — for a better world.

SLATED 'DIALOGUE' DIDN'T OCCUR

Negro Artists Clash With White Liberals at Symposium

By Robert Vernon

"I find it embarrassing and weird that I am here tonight to argue with you that the message of Martin Luther King still has some meaning..." — James Wechsler, editorial-page editor of the New York Post.

"I think the whole idea of discussing whether or not Negroes have the right to defend themselves is an insult..." — Lorraine Hansberry, author of Raisin in the Sun.

The above irreconcilable viewpoints exemplified the unbridgeable cleavage between white liberals and Negro artists in a symposium at New York's Town Hall on June 15.

The panel discussion, entitled *The Black Revolution and the White Backlash*, was sponsored by the Association of Artists for Freedom. Association panelists were novelists John O. Killens and Paule Marshall, playwrights Lorraine Hansberry and Leroy Jones, and actors Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee. The white liberals were represented by television personality David Susskind as moderator, journalist James Wechsler, and Charles Silberman of *Fortune* magazine and author of the recent book *Crisis in Black and White*.

The clashes between the two sides shook the hall and the audience (mainly white liberals with a minority of mostly militant Negroes) as soon as the preliminary niceties had been completed. The sharpness of the confrontation between these two worlds was in many ways a repeat performance of the famous "discussion" between Attorney General Robert Kennedy and a group of Negro artists and civil-rights activists a year ago.

Killens, author of *And Then We Heard the Thunder* and *Youngblood*, noted that "the word 'revolution' is a misnomer... There is no revolution yet... white liberals get upset because of an inconvenience when we stalled their cars on the bridge and dumped garbage across the bridge. In revolutions, people blow up bridges..." The novelist declared: "The cold-war liberal must make up his

mind between the cold war and the freedom struggle... How many cold-war liberals will desert when we assert the right of self-defense?... How many cold-war liberals will fall by the wayside when we take our case before the United Nations?" Killens defined the much-heralded white backlash as "a counter-revolution before the revolution has started."

Paule Marshall, author of *Brown Girl, Brownstones*, and *Soul Clap Hands and Sing*, said: "White has come to suggest more and more to me a sluggish callousness, a force opposed to change, even when that change is necessary to survival. In my view, there are millions of hopelessly white Americans... This system which has permitted them to live at the expense of the Negro will have to



Ruby Dee
As she appeared in
"Purlie Victorious"

undergo some fundamental change." Conversely, "black... is willingness to replace existing institutions" when they no longer serve human rights. She called for a new "nation-wide civil-rights organization... far more militant than any existing today... totally committed to the liberation of the

black man by whatever means necessary."

James Wechsler protested against the attitude that "the white liberal has nothing but the role of water boy to play in the freedom movement and that we'd better damn well accept it." He defended the administration's civil-rights bill against its black critics, and called such criticism downright "political irresponsibility." His "proof" of the popularity of President Johnson and his bill on the basis of opinion polls drew laughter from the audience. His hostile remarks about Adam Clayton Powell drew hisses from Negroes in the audience. Wechsler was most indignant about the phrase cold-war liberal. The *New York Post* editor vigorously rejected any implication that support of the U.S. government's interest in Vietnam, or Cuba conflicted with support of civil rights here.

Striking out at the liberal backlash mentality, playwright Lorraine Hansberry, challenged the white liberal to "stop being a liberal and become an American radical." She emphasized that "the basic fabric of our society... is the thing that has to be changed." Pinpointing the essence of cold-war liberalism, she insisted, "it is entirely different how we would assess the Viet Nam war..." Her skepticism of this government's motives in "fighting for some colored people's freedom halfway around the world," in view of its behavior at home, was echoed in applause from Negroes from the audience.

Actor Ossie Davis held the audience rapt as he exposed the interlocking control by white liberals over existing civil-rights organizations. He, quoted at length from Lerone Bennett's informative and exhaustive article, *The Black Establishment*, in the April issue of *Negro Digest*. Davis named automation as the major problem facing the nation. "Why talk here of integration when we have been out-tegrated by automation, we have been computed out of society... Another hundred years of quiet orderly protest cannot produce integration in a society which is automating even its white workers out of existence." He added: "When white liberals listen, they are not listening to what we are saying... We welcome the white man as a friend, an ally, a brother, but not as a boss."

Moderator David Susskind stepped in with an energetic defense of white liberals. His declaration, "I think the white liberals are the American radicals," drew the biggest laugh of the evening. Susskind scolded the Negro panelists for what he termed their "calls for violence," adding, "I happen to think that kind of talk is dangerous, irresponsible, ineffective." Over the ensuing boos, hisses, and catcalls from Negroes and some whites in the audience, Susskind tried to sell the merits of the civil-rights bill. He ended: "Several of your literate, well-read panelists seem to revel in violence. You [the audience] applauded it. I think you're MAAAD!"

An Eloquent Proof.

The rift widened with Paule Marshall's rejoinder: "What has been going on right here proves eloquently how impossible it is to conduct a dialogue with the white man." Overriding a rude interruption by Wechsler, she concluded that "the white man is not ready," and further discussion with white liberals like those present was a waste of time.

Lorraine Hansberry, in answer to a question from the audience, affirmed "radicalism is not alien to this country. We have a great tradition of white radicalism in this country." She cited John Brown as an example.

In response to a question deplor-

ing "violence," Miss Hansberry pointed out that the late President Kennedy was "willing to blow up the world when he couldn't have his way" in the Caribbean. Stressing the predisposition of white America to settle all international questions by force, might, and strong-arm tactics, and the preva-



John O. Killens

lent American psychology that "we are supposed to be a nation of the nastiest, roughest, toughest cats going," she continued "I think the whole idea of discussing whether Negroes have the right to defend themselves or not is an insult."

Charles Silberman's central point was that white liberals must learn to "understand" the resentment of Negroes toward those who have always "done things for them." "The white liberals will have to abandon their chains of command, they will have to cease acting for and talking for Negroes," he insisted. "When the struggle takes to the streets, the majority of liberals will be reluctant to go along with them... Negroes are on the outside of the mainstream of American life, while liberals are on the inside."

Before the evening was over, however, Silberman demonstrated his own reluctance and insideness, but managed to give the liberal majority of the audience occasions to applaud when he pointed out that the black artists had no program.

Blasts Mass Media

All the stops were pulled after Leroy Jones spoke his mind. The black poet pilloried *Fortune* magazine and the *New York Post* as representative of the worst in mass media, and had nothing more complementary to say about Susskind. Jones declared his objection to "sitting next to people I despise," and asked, "who do we have to talk to here? This man from *Fortune* magazine, cannot afford to see this thing fall, because he has a stake in it. But I can afford to see it fall, because I have nothing in it to lose." All of his uncompromising jabs were greeted with vigorous applause from the Negroes in the audience.

Susskind backlashed to the effect that the black panelists seemed to think the white liberal was the enemy, rather than the Southern racist.

Miss Hansberry's reply was that the political structure of this country is the enemy. Susskind's retort, that you people seem to be interested not so much in a merger as in tearing down the whole society, met with more defiant applause.

When actress Ruby Dee ventured the opinion "this economic system is passé," Susskind snapped: "What kind of system should we have instead?" Several voices from the audience yelled "socialism!" However, Ruby Dee

felt that socialism wouldn't be quite the answer, it would take something different from capitalism or socialism. She would prefer a system where the "factories belong to the American people," where human rights would take precedence over property rights, and where "a person would have a property right in his job..."

Leroy Jones made the point that "when you say 'violence,' you usually mean violence to the white man and to the economic and political power structure." The everyday violence against black people is taken for granted, like the weather, he said. As to redistribution of wealth, Jones declared, "We want control over who we're going to fight, over where the tax money goes... You can call it a stick-up."

Wrong Metaphor?

Silberman's backlash was: "I think Leroy Jones used the wrong metaphor. It sounded to me like a mugging." This elicited boos and outcries from even the liberals in the audience.

More sparks flew when Susskind insisted, over protest, on giving the last word to James Wechsler to "sum up." Susskind let it be known that you people "seem to have been having the last word all evening."

Wechsler summed up by advising all and sundry to go to Mississippi, implying that the South is the only place where black people catch hell.

"That Leroy Jones was terrible, he doesn't know anything!" protested a well-dressed liberal lady on the way out. "How can he talk that way about those who have done so much for his people?"

A young Negro leaving Town Hall growled, "Uncle Sam was the first mugger. We were mugged when Sam brought us here in chains to work on his plantations."

All in all, a fine evening with white liberals.

...U.S. in Asia

(Continued from Page 1)

or jets there — it is the U.S. which is the foreign power in Southeast Asia. It is U.S. imperialism which is fighting against the national liberation movements in these countries, and is proping up phony puppet dictators to preserve neo-colonial domination.

The basic aim of the Johnson administration is to prevent the further spread of social revolution in Southeast Asia, revolution which would take those countries out of the capitalist orbit. The strategic aim of the imperialists who run this country is to build up military pressure against China as part of the master plan of attempting — sooner or later — to smash the Chinese revolution.

China stands as an example to the underdeveloped world that it is possible to achieve national independence and embark upon tremendous economic construction if they break with imperialism and abolish capitalism. This powerful example is a source of fear and anguish for the imperialists.

China has already warned the U.S. that further military moves by the U.S. will necessitate counter-moves by China. The question facing the American people and the world is how far will the rulers in Washington go in risking a major war in Southeast Asia?

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New Pressures on Italian Communist Party?

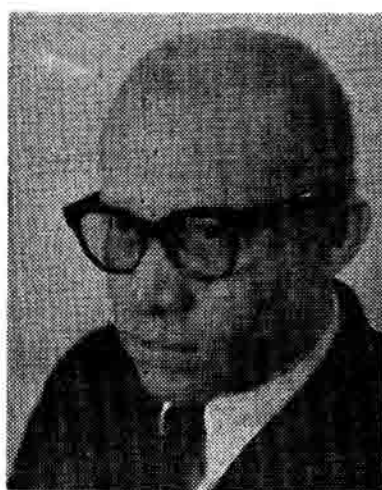
Togliatti Alters Stance on Trotsky; Youth Paper Lauds SWP Campaign

By Joan Farr

Indication that sentiment is increasing among Western Communists for the rehabilitation of Leon Trotsky, the Bolshevik leader assassinated by Stalin's agents, is contained in an article by Harry Schwartz in the June 21 *New York Times*.

Schwartz, whose information comes from *Rinascita*, the Italian Communist Party journal, writes that Italian CP leader Palmiro Togliatti has disclosed that the founder of the Italian Communist Party, Antonio Gramsci, defended Trotsky during the latter's struggle against Stalin in the 1920s. The leaders of the Italian party headed by Gramsci sent a letter to Moscow in October 1926, appealing to Stalin not to take "unreasonable measures" against the opposition group led by Trotsky, Kameney and Zinoviev. They warned that punishment of Trotsky could have "disastrous consequences for world Communism."

At the time, Togliatti was the Italian representative at the Communist International in Moscow. He presented the letter to Nikolai Bukharin, the Soviet representative to the Comintern. Bukharin, then an ally of Stalin, was himself later executed during the purges. Togliatti, who then was also a supporter of Stalin, now says he chided Gramsci for believing the Stalinist majority was capable of taking "unreasonable



Clifton DeBerry
His campaign heartens Italian Communist Youth

measures" against its opponents.

In the *Rinascita* article, Togliatti refers to Trotsky as "comrade" and implies he is not opposed to his rehabilitation. He also uses "comrade" in reference to Kameney and Zinoviev, Bolshevik leaders framed-up and executed by Stalin in the 1930s.

Schwartz writes that there have been rumors for years that the Italian Communists had interceded on behalf of Trotsky and that Togliatti's recent disclosure "clears up an old mystery of Communist internal history."

Another interesting aspect of the

attitude towards Trotskyism among Italy's Communists is the appearance in the latest issue of *Nuova Generazione*, the official magazine of the Italian Communist Youth, of a photo and full-page article about Clifton DeBerry, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the U.S.

While the author of the article, Edgardo Pellegrini, an editor of *Nuova Generazione*, gives the name of the SWP and describes its campaign platform, he does not state that it is a Trotskyist party.

The article points out that for the first time in U.S. history, a Negro has been nominated for the presidency. "The Negro is Clifton DeBerry, 39 years old, a trade unionist... DeBerry was born in Holly Springs, a racist center in Mississippi."

The author quotes DeBerry's remarks at a Militant Labor Forum symposium on the Negro vote in 1964, in which the candidate spoke about the illusions Negroes have about the Democratic Party being more favorable to the civil-rights struggle than the Republican. "History demonstrates that the only gains that have been made, have been made as a result of struggle," DeBerry is quoted as saying. "Nobody has given anything and whatever gains the Negro people have made were

achieved because they struggled to get them.

"I think that a large number of Negroes will vote against the Democratic Party; more will vote independent; and, I believe, more will vote socialist."

Describing the ten planks in the Socialist Workers Party platform, Pellegrini emphasizes the demand that the war in Vietnam be stopped, that the Guantanamo Naval base be given back to Cuba and the Panama Canal to Panama; an end to the testing of nuclear weapons and for scrapping the stockpile of A and H-bombs; that People's China be recognized as well as all the governments freely chosen by their peoples. He calls attention to the planks on turning the arms budget into a peace budget, for democratic reform of the army; freedom now and equal rights for the Negroes and other minorities, and for combating all forms of anti-Semitism.

"At a meeting held recently, DeBerry underlined the need for a program among Negroes and American workers to form an independent, united labor party..."

"In addition to the observations that could be made about this platform," writes Pellegrini, "a fact should not be overlooked: the nomination of a Negro candidate for the White House occurs during the great movement shaking America with increasing force..."

"... the Negroes of America are undertaking a struggle of unpre-

cedented scope that may precipitate a crisis for the Democratic Party, for the aims of this struggle go far beyond the 'civil-rights' measures outlined by Johnson when he was still vice president and which have not yet been implemented in the South as a whole.

"... a significant success for DeBerry could mean something new: that the Negroes today are not waiting for someone else to hand them civil rights as a present; they are seeking civil rights through a struggle under Negro leadership."



Palmiro Togliatti
New Approach on Trotsky?

... Would Goldwater Victory Bring Basic U.S. Policy Shift?

(Continued from Page 1)

In the next election the liberal Stevenson lost to Eisenhower, who, the liberals freely predicted, would lead the U.S. into disaster. The General, however, fulfilled his campaign pledge to bring an end to the hostilities in Korea. In the 1960 elections Kennedy played the role of the liberal. This hero then carried out an invasion of Cuba, preparations for which had been begun by Eisenhower, and dragged the U.S. into the dirty war in South Vietnam.

If any lesson is to be drawn from this aspect of politics in the U.S. it is that the candidate who wears the liberal trunks is somewhat more likely to engage in a "wild" foreign policy. It was the liberal Wilson who took the U.S. into World War I, the liberal F. D. Roosevelt who took the country into World War II, and the liberal Truman who dropped the first atom bombs on crowded cities.

The truth is, of course, that American foreign policy is not determined by the campaign propaganda of either of the two candidates of the capitalist twin-party system. It is determined by the long-range interests of the giant corporations and the dynastic families that own and control them. The men who come to the White House are pledged body, soul and bank account to serve these interests. Whatever the experience does to their souls and bodies, it does not injure their bank accounts.

Of course, differences within the ruling group affect the ultimate choice of top candidates in the tightly controlled Republican and Democratic machines. The interlocking marriages of family and industrial empires generally reduce the importance of such divisions. Occasionally, however, a squabble flares up on sufficient scale to attract national attention. Up to now these have been settled at one point or another by the Eastern bloc whose enormous commercial, industrial and financial power has long given it decisive voice in the affairs of the American capitalist class.

The Cleveland real-estate clique, for instance, sought to run Robert A. Taft, the most popular figure in the lower levels of the Repub-

lican machine, for the White House in 1952. He had it won, too. But the top families decided they wanted Eisenhower. Even though it was not known what party Eisenhower belonged to until he decided to accept (the Democrats sought to get him as their candidate), he easily won the Republican nomination. Eastern power and money did it. Taft bitterly acknowledged the lesson.

Identified With Reaction

Goldwater has been identified with the ultra-reactionary vermin who have flocked to his banner. Consequently there has been a tendency to dismiss him as nothing but a similar crackpot who, by some strange freak of American politics — the "blunders" and "hesitations" of Republican liberals — has accidentally found himself in position to win the Republican nomination. Goldwater's capitalist backers are overlooked. These are a powerful, relatively new grouping on the American social scene — the Texas oil barons and the Southwest manufacturers of war matériel who mushroomed during and following World War II. This grouping has not yet been integrated into the central ruling families. It is ready to engage in rather reckless policies and demagoguery as it seeks the place in the American power structure to which it believes its billions entitle it.

Will this outlying sector of the capitalist class succeed in foisting the candidacy of Goldwater on the Republican Party against the will of the Eastern bloc? Or, like the group that backed Taft, will they end up with a fresh lesson in the power of America's 60 ruling families and the incomparable corruption and venality of the capitalist political machines in the U.S.? A movement is now under way to block Goldwater and give the nomination to the millionaire Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania. The progress of this campaign should quickly reveal whether Eastern capital considers the game worth the candle.

In estimating the seriousness of

the Goldwater "menace," what is most significant is not the nearness of the Arizona senator to capturing the nomination of the Republican Party, but the satisfaction of the Eastern capitalist bloc over Johnson's performance and their evident desire to keep him in the White House.

It is true that Nelson Rockefeller is a member of these circles and perhaps holds a dissenting view (although he is more likely looking ahead to 1968). Rockefeller even goes so far as to indulge in office-seeking himself and not without success. This personal whim, however, which reduces politics to a pastime like stamp collecting, is evidently considered something of an extravagance in the social layer to which he belongs. It may even have interfered with smooth control of the Republican machine in face of the challenge from Goldwater's backers.

Johnson, it seems, has won the heart of Wall Street. With unusual suppleness and political deftness, he proved himself to be their man. In foreign policy, he did it most convincingly through the coup d'état in Brazil. With one blow, Johnson demonstrated what could be expected from him on a world

scale in conducting the affairs of American imperialism. The Manhattan sharks found it to their taste.

Johnson's foreign policy, as evidenced by his role in the Brazilian coup d'état, is worth pondering. In Latin America it clearly rules out even the most timid reforms advocated by Kennedy in the "Alliance for Progress." It just as clearly signifies active efforts to overthrow any government, even one with the mildest veneer of liberalism, unless it breaks diplomatic relations with Cuba and joins in the conspiracy to overthrow the Castro government. How curious, then, that the *London Times*, for instance, fails to see how "blatantly out of touch with reality" Johnson is and how "wild" is his foreign policy. If Kennedy was correct, then Johnson's foreign policy promises the most violent social and political upheavals.

Just the Man

On the domestic front, Johnson has likewise shown himself to be just the man Wall Street needs in the White House. He has proved himself more effective than Kennedy himself in pushing Kennedy's policy of offering minor legalistic concessions to the civil-rights struggle. Like Kennedy, his obvious aim is to slow down, contain and eventually curb the Freedom Now movement.

The satisfaction of America's top industrial and financial tycoons with Johnson leads them to display a certain indifference to the outcome of the Republican convention. While the nomination of Goldwater would give the electoral campaign the decided appearance of a "no contest" spectacle and therefore make still more glaring the political vacuum where the labor movement stands, it would also have its advantages from Wall Street's point of view.

The most obvious result would be to shift the electoral campaign to the right. Even more than Kennedy and Nixon in 1960 Johnson and Goldwater would argue over which can best fight the threat of "Communism." The campaign would be the opposite of the one

in 1948 when the Wallace candidacy compelled Truman to move far to the left in an attempt to outbid the Progressive Party nominee for working-class votes.

A more significant result, perhaps, would be the relative freedom it would give Johnson to move more rapidly in advance of the election with preparations for any foreign adventures he projects, such as aggression against Cuba and extension of the war in South Vietnam. Committed to "anti-Communist" demagoguery as a main plank, Goldwater would scarcely attempt to outflank Johnson from the left, the way Eisenhower outflanked Stevenson by promising peace in Korea.

The ominous nature of Goldwater's rise thus finds its most immediate reflection in the way it frees Johnson's hands.

On a different level, the progress of Goldwater toward nomination is of significance in American politics. Besides representing powerful new regional capitalist interests, he voices the feelings of social forces that could become a hotbed for native fascism. This current, long present in the United States, centered before World War II around such demagogues and political bosses as Huey Long, Mayor Hague and Father Coughlin. It is the American equivalent of the petty-bourgeois layers in Europe that were drawn to figures like Mussolini and Hitler. They are far from peculiar to the Republican Party. They exist in the Democratic Party, too, particularly in the South where they constitute a dangerous potential for a fascist movement. Alabama's racist Governor George C. Wallace, who has been "invading" the primaries in the North, offers a Democratic Party version of the Goldwater type.

Goldwater's California success poses all the more urgently the need for the American labor movement to wake up. At the moment the labor czars offer nothing but the perspective of backing Johnson. In the whole political arena, the labor bureaucrats are obviously the ones most "blatantly out of touch with reality."



Goldwater

Letters From Our Readers

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

The Persecution of Hoffa

Orange, Calif.

Did Jimmy Hoffa have what we like to call equality before the law? I don't think so. Could the senators and representatives of our Southern states stand a microscope put on them with the same intensity as they so joyfully applied to Jimmy Hoffa?

I have in mind the Fifteenth Amendment, the killer of Medgar Evers, the four children in Birmingham — the list is endless.

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"THE 'MAD GENIUS' SCIENTIST is a character of the comic books and children's radio programs. His is the brilliant intellect devoid of any feeling for human beings. His genius penetrates the secrets of nature, but the fruit of his callous mind are implements of death and destruction."

"The 'mad genius' scientist has come to life in America. He was present at the loyalty hearings of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer in the guise of his accusers — Dr. Edward Teller, Dr. Luis W. Alvarez and William L. Borden. It was their testimony that led to Oppenheimer's suspension as a 'security risk' from his post as chairman of the General Advisory Council of the Atomic Energy Commission on the ground that he lacked enthusiasm for the hydrogen bomb."

"Teller testified that at the end of the war with Japan, Oppenheimer was against plans to develop the H-bomb. 'Oppenheimer argued,' said Teller, '... that it would be a wonderful thing if we could pursue it (hydrogen research) in a really peaceful world under international co-operation, but that under the present set-up it was not a good idea to go on with it.' — June 28, 1954."

20 YEARS AGO

"EVENTS SINCE THE MOST RECENT AND CONTROVERSIAL INSTANCES of government plant seizures, involving the Montgomery Ward plants in Chicago and Springfield, Ill., have demonstrated most clearly that these seizures were not undertaken by Roosevelt to protect labor's interests, but that they have, in fact, strengthened the hand of the open-shop company against the workers."

"The immediate issue of the Chicago controversy was the refusal of Sewell L. Avery, Montgomery Ward head, to comply with the War Labor Board directives to extend the union contract pending an NLRB election. The immediate effect of the seizure, however, was only to break the strike. The workers tied their hands once more and looked trustingly to Roosevelt who had assured them that once the union demonstrated it represented a majority Avery would give them a contract."

"In actuality, Avery not only has refused to sign a contract after the union won a NLRB election, he successfully defied the WLB directive to extend the existing contract prior to the election. Even while the government was in formal control, the Ward management continued to fire workers and union leaders, to cut the help-less union to pieces..." — July 1, 1944."

We might even wonder if Hoffa and Bobby Baker received equal treatment from the law.

Can we excuse these things in the name of practical politics, and then say that Jimmy Hoffa had equal treatment from the law?

The Fifteenth Amendment is part of the basic law of our land. No one who was elected in violation of it should be allowed to take the oath of office, much less sit in judgement on any citizen as one of his peers.

Carl A. Gregory

Gagman Reuther

Detroit, Mich.

The services of anti-labor writer Victor Riesel have apparently been enlisted to help promote a "new" Walter Reuther image. In his syndicated column (Detroit Free Press, June 11) Riesel reports that Reuther turned up a great joke-smith when he spoke on poverty at the recent convention of the Textile Workers Union. It is hard to understand what is funny about poverty, but according to Reisel there were so many smart remarks in Reuther's talk that "he'll soon have Bob Hope's comedy writers following him around."

There is sharp contrast between Reuther's words and his deeds when it comes to the problem of poverty. Maybe it was meant as a joke when Reuther announced here last April 20 that he had sent letters to "hundreds of prominent Americans" urging a "citizen's crusade against poverty." According to Riesel, this idea was repeated at the Textile Workers Convention where Reuther called for the launching of the National Citizens Crusade Against Poverty (NCCAP). Anything for a laugh.

The deed is different, and there is no joke about this. The UAW flatly refused to sponsor a program for Berman Gibson's appearance in Detroit on May 16 of this year. Gibson represents the impoverished miners in the Hazard, Kentucky, area. This is one place where the poor have organized, are working to improve their conditions, have appealed to the union movement for help, and in this way have already gained that "measure of dignity" Reuther sometimes talks about. These Hazard miners have been deserted by the United Mine Workers Union and are publicizing their plight through an ad hoc "Committee for Miners."

When the appeal for aid reached the offices of Walter Reuther it was handled in routine fashion by an "administrative assistant to the President," one James B. Ogden. Ogden wrote to the United Mine Workers Union and was informed that the "Committee for Miners" is not authorized by or connected in any way with the United Mine Workers. Whereupon Ogden concluded that "in view of this information from the United Mine Workers of America, there is nothing which the UAW can do in this situation."

This single incident reveals more about the present UAW leadership than all the public pronouncements and gag-filled convention speeches by Reuther. It shows that Reuther is far more interested in promoting President Johnson's campaign than he is in helping the poor of this country.

Frank Lovell

The Major Hopefuls

Glen Falls, N.Y.

I have been waiting for some comment from you regarding Goldie, but haven't noticed any so far. Hope it will come later. (No disrespect intended by my saying "Goldie," any more than if I said "Rocky," as so many of our esteemed publications do.)

Personally, I shall be somewhat disappointed if Goldie is finally the Chosen One although it's possible there'll be lots more fun if he, rather than one of the other hopefuls, gets the coveted prize.

However, it may interest you to know that Mr. Richard Nixon is my favorite Republican presidential candidate, and I am so hopeful that the Powers That Be will see that he is nominated. And why am I so hoping? Because Mr. Johnson will undoubtedly receive the Democratic nomination and it seems dead certain, at the moment anyway, that he will be elected.

K.M.G.

Washington Rights Rally

New York, N.Y.

I participated in the New York March to Washington for strong Civil Rights Legislation now on June 15 as a member of my union and a representative of my shop.

It Was Reported in the Press

A Problem — Since a recent Ohio court ruling that it can be libelous to call someone an Uncle Tom, we're at a bit of a loss for words in reporting on a June 21 sermon by Dr. W. Eugene Houston, a Harlem minister who said he was sure Southern whites would comply with the civil-rights law "if we are judicious and discreet." "Let us not for a moment think," he added, "that now the law is on our side we have the right to dress improperly or demand accommodations without reservation."

White (Leaders) Only — We thought that maybe the *New York Times* was getting rid of some of its racial bias when we read a headline that said: "South's Leaders Are Split on Enforcing Rights Law." But the paper wasn't talking, as you might assume, about white leaders and black leaders. It was simply describing the differences between those racist leaders who want to defy the law and those who propose instead to evade it.

Youthful Vision — A ten-year-old London schoolboy, asked to explain the difference between "mishap" and "catastrophe," wrote this on his examination paper: "A mishap is when you are hit by a rocket from America. A catastrophe is when you are hit by a Russian one."

But It's All Foolproof — The following is from a June 19 AP dispatch: "An F-100 jet attack plane accidentally released a bomb today while flying about 20 miles northeast of Ft. Riley, Kan. The non-nuclear, 750-pound general-purpose bomb, which did not explode fell into a river bank in an isolated area."

Ghostly Duty — A Congressman charged that three articles for medical journals on the advantages of a drug called Orablix

The emphasized words reflect my opinion and were not necessarily those of all the 1200-1500 participants.

From the repeated announcements of the train dispatcher in the Pennsylvania Terminal ("Special Train for Civil Rights 'Party' loading at Gate 11.") to the disheartening reports after an afternoon of seeing senators, prayer vigils, and so on, it was a lesson in the "lesser-of-two-evils" political philosophy.

Cleveland Robinson of District 65, co-ordinator and chairman of the March, said, "What do we do, and where do we go from here?... and we cannot condemn the racist government of South Africa... if we in the United States cannot defend and protect the rights of all our own citizens."

Clarence Mitchell, director of the Leadership Conference for Civil Rights in Washington, made the statement: "The history of the civil-rights fight can be said in three words: 'We Have Won.' He added, 'Vote for Johnson in the national election this November; send Goldwater to the showers... but do not send all our friends (?) home.'"

Sen. Javits pompously stated, "This civil-rights bill will right the injustices of a whole century. The

amendments are not necessarily what I would have wanted, but the bill will be sufficient... The Southern Senators and opposition to the passage of this bill say that granting more opportunities to Negro people will only make them want more and go wild, going to the streets and rampaging the communities... We (?) have proved them wrong before in their predictions, and we (?) shall go forward and prove them wrong in this prediction."

It was an act of disrespect to the Negroes in that audience to infer that they had to prove or disprove predictions or statements made by racists, Senators or otherwise.

Experiences on this and similar marches teach one thing: the futility of trying to win progress by way of either the Republican or Democratic Party. Independent political action by Negroes, such as been begun by the Freedom Now Party in Michigan, is a meaningful alternative to the shell-game maneuvers of both Jim Crow parties. The March reinforced my determination to support those black militants working for independent political action and to support the national Presidential campaign of DeBerry and Shaw.

J.M.

were actually ghost written by a drug company. The drug was ordered removed from the market after it was linked with at least 26 deaths. Rep. L. H. Fountain of North Carolina charged that what were presented as objective clinical reports on the drug in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* and other publications "were in fact written in whole or in part by the manufacturer..."

Busy Man — James Valentine Coleman of San Francisco entered into his fourth marriage in Paris last month. A special dispatch to the *New York Times* reported: "Mr. Coleman was once a real estate man, but recently he has been spending most of his time being a top bridge player and going to parties. He inherited his fortune at 13."

Our Rational World — In some parts of the world millions of people go to bed hungry at night. Meanwhile, in other areas of the globe people are battered by appeals to buy more products. Last year expenditures for advertising in 14 nations reached a whopping \$18.9 billion. The U.S., of course, was way out front, accounting for \$12.9 billion of this amount. Great Britain, West Germany and Japan accounted for most of the balance.

Same Home Environment? — Charlotte Ford, daughter of Henry Ford II, and John Reuther, son of United Auto Workers President

Walter Reuther were both in Washington to help launch "Young Citizens for Johnson."

Reassurance — This comforting thought was culled from the June issue of the *American Agriculturist*: "Many people are worried about the food supply. I doubt if there is any cause for worry... the increased efficiency of farmers will always provide plenty of food if consumers are willing to pay for it."

Fair Enough — Public-school pupils in a crowded tenement section of Brooklyn wrote out their proposals for laws that should be passed. They included eloquent pleas for anti-slum regulations, racial equality, etc. One obviously fair-minded youngster proposed: "... a law saying no one can hit a policeman without good reason."

Madison Avenue Philosopher — Apparently concerned that his underlings should fully realize themselves, advertising executive Marion Harper told a graduating class in journalism and advertising that success on Madison Avenue required artistic talent, broad cultural development and dedication to advertising as a major contributor to our way of life. He sternly declared: "The talented cynic who writes advertising for a living and then criticizes our system at cocktail parties rarely emerges as a truly effective creative man."

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Thought for the Week

"Taking an annual money income of \$3,000 a year for a family as a minimum level, the administration estimates there are 9.3 million families, or over 30 million Americans, living in want... Hidden in rural wastelands or submerged in urban squalor are a potentially explosive force, posing both a reproach and a constant threat to the stability of our society." — From a June 24 *New York Times* editorial.

N.Y. School Protest Leader Charged With Violating Law

By Vincent Hernandez

NEW YORK — Robert Knight, executive director of the Harlem Action Group, has been served with a summons by the Wagner administration's Board of Education for allegedly inducing children to stay out of school as a protest. He is charged with violation of the compulsory-attendance law.

According to a school-board spokesman, 30 to 40 pupils picketed Junior High School 136 June 1. Among those picketing were pupils from that school and others from nearby JHS 139. Knight is said to have induced about 300 pupils from both schools to stay out.

An attendance officer supposedly had without success asked Mr. Knight in the morning to send the children back to school.

James Farmer, national director of CORE, calls this an ominous case: "Mr. Knight is a well-known and dedicated civil-rights leader and his arrest on these charges is ludicrous and insulting. The City of New York will have to indict and jail all of its Negroes, man, woman and child, if they intend to stop this struggle."

The Harlem Action Group declares that the pupils were protesting the lack of an evening community center at JHS 136 as well as inferior books, oversized classes, and poor schools in general. The case has been postponed until June 26.



Mayor Wagner

The Harlem Action Group is a local neighborhood improvement association, was founded as a result of the Harlem Rent Strike and concerned with the St. Nicholas Park area. One of its principal aims, Knight says, is the creation of an evening educational center which would serve as a training center for youth and adults to improve their job status.

Contrary to the charges of the Board of Education that he is promoting truancy, Knight maintains that the pupil strike is a legitimate and justified means of calling attention to the needs of people of the neighborhood.

Denver Picketline Demands U.S. Get GIs Out of Vietnam

DENVER, June 20 — Some 30 demonstrators paraded in front of the State Capitol here today, protesting U.S. participation in the

South Vietnam civil war.

On their picket signs were demands for the withdrawal of American troops, the sending of aid to Mississippi rather than to the Khanh dictatorship, and allowing the American people to vote on participation in the war.

From passers-by the pickets got many statements of support against this unpopular war. One young Marine was heard saying to his buddy, "They're trying to put us out of work." He was answered, "Man, I'm for that."

Leaflets distributed contrasted the U.S.-supplied armaments of the Saigon government — "napalm, helicopters, armored personnel carriers, chemical warfare, jet bombers and everything your money can buy" — with the guerrillas' arms — "weapons stolen from our side, old French rifles, and locally manufactured weapons." It declared: "The Saigon government is not winning because the people do not support it," and urged people "to write to President Johnson, your Senators and your Representatives and tell them you want the U.S. to get out of South Vietnam."

Sponsors of Protest

The demonstration was sponsored by the Denver Committee for Nonviolent Action, Denver University Student Peace Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Co-sponsoring were the Denver Friends of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Denver Fair Play for Cuba Committee. The SNCC group said: "Monies spent on napalm and guns to be used in South Vietnam should be spent instead to free Mississippi, where people are starving and going without clothes as a result of their fight for freedom." The FPCC said "The travel ban imposed on U.S. citizens by the government prevents their having access to North Vietnam as well as to Cuba."



Robert F. Williams

They Vow: 'We Will Never Turn Back'

Rights Forces Stage March in Dayton

By Arthur Maglin

DAYTON, O. — More than 700 people here marched for jobs and freedom June 14. Organized by the Non-Violent Direct Action Committee, the march demanded more jobs for Negroes in the police and fire departments, in the city government, and in industry.

Though one quarter of Dayton's population is black, job discrimination here may be gauged by the fact that the 400-man police force has less than ten Negroes on it.

Leading the march were Dick Gregory, famous comedian and civil-rights crusader; Gloria Richardson, head of the Cambridge Md., freedom movement; Jesse Gray, Harlem rent-strike leader; Lawrence Landry, leader of the Chicago school boycotts; John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Stanley Branche, leader of the Committee for Freedom Now of Chester, Pa.; and W.S. McIntosh, executive secretary of Dayton's NVDAC.

Start in Ghetto

The march started from Riverside Park in Dayton's ghetto and ended in Library Park in the city's business district. The singing and chanting demonstrators carried signs with such slogans as: "Freedom and Jobs," "Equal Jobs — and Wages" and "We Will Never Turn Back."

At a rally at Library Park, Dick Gregory told the marchers — 90 per cent of whom were black, the whites being mainly high-school and college students — that Negroes didn't meet the "really good white folks until you get out on the front firing lines. Rev. Bruce Klunder in Cleveland," he said,



Photo by A.M.

DEMAND FREEDOM NOW. Determined to end second-class citizenship, Negroes march through downtown Dayton, Ohio.

"didn't have to be lying there and get run over by a bulldozer, he could have been up there driving it over some Negro."

Jesse Gray warned the marchers: "Don't panic into the Johnson camp to oppose Goldwater. Demand that every one of these politicians deliver on our demands."

The march was followed by a mass meeting that evening at Dayton Speedway Stadium. About 1,000 people there heard speeches by the galaxy of Freedom-Now leaders.

The sell-outs of the Negro people by the Democratic and Republican parties was a recurring theme.

Gloria Richardson asked: "What has the Democratic Party given us that has not been wrenched? What has the Republican Party

given us that has not been wrenched?" She further declared: "Negro politicians in both parties have sounded the same as the white politicians. Uncle Tom Negro politicians will have to go and we will expose them. We are going to have to gamble with new independent Negro candidates." She said that both major parties offered only tokenism to get the Negro vote.

Lawrence Landry said: "Gov. George Wallace of Alabama is a classic example of the bogey man theory of politics. 'If you don't stop demonstrating, they bogey man is going to get you, Wallace is going to get you'. . . Goldwater is another attempt to intimidate Negroes. He is supposed to chase them back to the Democratic Party." Landry also observed: "Johnson and Kennedy voted the same way on civil rights when they were in the Senate, and Johnson voted like a Southern Democrat."

SNCC chairman John Lewis stated: "The power structure likes to say that the biggest problem in the world is the problem of East and West. But the Negro in this country is saying now that the biggest problem in the world is the problem of black and white." Lewis also said: "We in the South are not so concerned about who is elected the next president of the United States. We're more concerned about who is going to be the next deputy sheriff. It's on the local level that the evil political structure starts."

Urged Members

Stanley Branche urged each member of the audience to dedicate him or herself to militant action. He told them to remember that whether the white power structure considered them "good" or "bad," it never regarded them otherwise than with race prejudice.

Rev. George Lawrence, a spokesman for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, declared: "I'm tired of living in a nation that says it's the leader of the free world when it's running the greatest slave market in the world. We are living under economic slavery in America."

NVDAC's plans to boycott the Coca Cola Co. in Dayton until it ended job discrimination in hiring drivers and white-collar workers were announced to the meeting by W.S. McIntosh.

"I believe, as all Socialists do, that all things that are jointly needed and used ought to be jointly owned — that industry, the basis of life, instead of being the private property of the few and operated for their enrichment, ought to be the common property of all, democratically administered in the interest of all." — Eugene V. Debs.

Panel of Scientists Discuss Issues Posed by Automation

By David Herman

NEW YORK, June 21 — A Conference on the Cybercultural Revolution: Cybernetics and Automation was held here June 19-21 as part of the Third Annual Congress of Scientists on Survival. During the five sessions on cybernetics and automation at least 40 professors, scientists and other intellectuals spoke on the subjects that have recently been raised in the statement on The Triple Revolution. [See Summer issue of the International Socialist Review for full text.]

Alice Mary Hilton, chairman of the conference, explained that cybernetics involved a view of the world as a dynamic and unified system. She explained that a cybernetic system was one that was completely automated. An example of such a system would be a factory in which all the work was done by machines, and these machines were controlled by computers — not people.

It was generally agreed by the speakers that we have arrived at a point where it is technologically feasible to have most work done by machines controlled and managed by computers. One speaker estimated that it will soon be possible for ten per cent of the population to do all the work necessary to support the entire population at a comfortable standard of living.

It was also generally recognized that automation involved severe social problems. Many of the speakers stressed the necessity of a new morality or ideology since the present system of making the distribution of goods to people dependent on the jobs they hold or the work they do is no longer feasible. They suggested that ev-

eryone must be guaranteed a living.

Several speakers discussed the effect of automation on the Negro people and their fight for civil rights. They agreed that automation was aggravating the Negroes' position and would tend to drive them out of the jobs they already had, since automation eliminates unskilled jobs first and these are the ones that Negroes for the most part hold.

It was generally agreed that unless something were done to solve the problem of increasing unemployment, there would be an explosion — at least on the part of the Negroes. However, this conference of scholars had very little to say about how changes in social and economic institutions that would solve the problem could be made.

Very few of them even understood that it was a political problem. The attitude of almost all was that they, as teachers, should influence their students in the right direction — or they, as intellectuals and people of responsibility, should explain the situation and the alternatives to the government officials who take care of such matters.

Several of them voiced fear of a violent revolution. The revolution they advocated is a moral or psychological revolution.

The word socialism was hardly mentioned in this conference, though many agreed that more planning was necessary.

The conference drove home several points again and again: jobs are disappearing fast and will continue to disappear; and unless basic changes are made, this country is heading for a crisis.