

Vietnam Attack Proves Johnson As Trigger-Happy as Goldwater

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N. Y. Officials in New Attack On Civil Liberties of Negroes

NEW YORK — The indictment of William Epton, Harlem spokesman for the Progressive Labor Movement, on trumped-up charges of "criminal anarchy," was denounced by Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, as "part of a concerted drive by the New York City cops to establish a police state in Harlem."

DeBerry cited as part of this same drive the injunction obtained by city officials Aug. 7 barring demonstrations or open-air meetings in central Harlem by rent strike leader Jesse Gray and the Harlem rent strike organization, the Community Council on Housing. The injunction also names the Harlem Defense Council, which Epton heads, and the Progressive Labor Movement and its leader, Milton Rosen.

"The fact that the cops are putting themselves in the role of censors of free speech in Harlem," said DeBerry, "was clearly revealed Aug. 8 when Paul Boutelle, the Freedom Now Party candidate for State Senator from Harlem, was pulled from a speakers stand in Harlem Square and arrested. The cops who committed this rape of political rights, used the ridiculous legal pretext that the ban also applies to Boutelle because the chairman of the New York Freedom Now Party, civil liberties attorney Conrad Lynn, is a lawyer for Epton and the Harlem Defense Council."

DeBerry made the statement at a Socialist Workers Party street corner election meeting in downtown Manhattan. Paul Boutelle, a guest speaker at the same meeting, said that the American Civil Liberties Union was supporting him in a legal challenge to the ban on his speaking in the district in

Red-Baiters Attack Mobilization for Youth

NEW YORK — The red-baiting probe by the local and federal government of the Mobilization for Youth is the first fruit of the "loyalty" oath provision of Johnson's "anti-poverty" bill.

The charges of "Communist infiltration" against the social welfare organization is doubtless motivated in large measure by the belief that it had aided the East Side rent strike movement.

which he is a candidate. "White racists like Wallace," said Boutelle, "phony liberals like Rockefeller, members of the John Birch Society and many others are free to speak throughout the country. But a black man born and raised in Harlem and the choice of a black-led and controlled political party cannot speak to his people."

Meanwhile, Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from New York, appealed to "all supporters of civil liberties" to "rally to the defense of Epton against this infamous

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Gulf of Tonkin Raid Shows Urgent Need For Socialist Vote

By George Saunders

The U.S. bombing of North Vietnam—a shameful, savage and dangerously provocative act of war—hits squarely at the notion that Johnson offers a progressive alternative to Goldwater on the vital issue of war and peace.

The Gulf of Tonkin episode proved in a spine-chilling way that Johnson is every bit as ready as Goldwater to risk war in defense of capitalism. In his television speech announcing his decision to bomb North Vietnam he declared: "Firmness in the right is indispensable for peace."

It sounded like a grotesque parody of Goldwater's notorious maxim: "Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice." (Immediately after the bombing, one member of the Republican high command chortled: "Who's the extremist now?")

The common willingness of the two major party aspirants to commit naked aggression at the risk of world holocaust was made clear by Goldwater's swift endorsement of Johnson's action—his later efforts to modify his stand for campaign purposes notwithstanding.

This bi-partisan action has again escalated the U.S. war in Vietnam to a new stage. Previously, the Pentagon maintained the fiction of only "advising" the South Vietnamese military governments. Now Johnson drops the pretense and strikes directly with U.S. military units. This naked, arrogant commitment of American forces establishes the precedent for further direct intervention, including taking over command of the fighting in South Vietnam and sending U.S. ground forces into that civil war.

Johnson has also moved closer to a direct conflict with China. The deadly risk of such a conflict was all too apparent when

Boston Negro Candidate Hits U.S. Provocation in Vietnam

BOSTON — Noel Day, independent candidate for Congress in the Ninth District here, has called for withdrawal of the U.S. Seventh Fleet from the Gulf of Tonkin. Announcing that he had sent a telegram to Senator Wayne Morse congratulating him on his opposition to U.S. actions in Southeast Asia, Day declared Aug. 8 that "Men of conscience, men of courage, men of peace, must firmly oppose the continued presence of the Seventh Fleet in the Gulf of Tonkin."

"Although the Gulf of Tonkin is technically in international waters, it is surrounded on all sides by socialist nations," the civil rights spokesman declared, "and the presence of the Seventh Fleet is a clear provocation. Imagine how we would react if a Chinese destroyer or a Russian aircraft carrier cruised into the international waters of the Gulf of Mexico."

"Let us hope," Day continued, "that future U.S. policies will be more consistent with President Johnson's stated desire for peace. And let us hope that Johnson will begin to offer us a choice in international relations and not just an echo of the fanatic right."

Day, who is challenging the Democratic incumbent, Speaker of

the House John W. McCormack, is co-chairman of the Massachusetts Freedom Movement which sponsored the Boston school boycott some months ago. In his statement on Vietnam he declared his belief that a stable peace is necessary to satisfy the needs of mil-

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Noel Day



Johnson

the U.S. bombers pounded the North Vietnam ports.

Not only that, the Seventh Fleet has apparently been alerted to possible actions against China along the same lines as those against North Vietnam. Capt. James Daniels, chief of staff of the carrier task force that took part in the air raids, told newsmen Aug. 10 that local commanders of the Seventh Fleet had been authorized to take action "without consulting Washington" if they thought they were attacked by North Vietnamese.

"The pattern is established," said Daniels—meaning that the same kind of action would be readily repeated. The only difference, he indicated, if Chinese units were thought to be involved, would be that "Washington would probably decide whether to retaliate against Chinese bases," not just local commanders.

Joint Resolution

One of the most ominous fruits of the crisis was the joint resolution that Johnson rammed through Congress while tensions were still high.

The key sections of that resolution give Johnson a free hand to repeat the kind of aggression committed already and to take the country all the way into war ("all necessary steps, including the use of armed force") if Gen. Khanh or another one of our dictatorstooges in Southeast Asia should request "assistance in defense of its freedom."

The adoption of this resolution makes clear that neither party in the Congress wants to or can slow down the war drive. This was made excruciatingly clear by the bipartisan unanimous vote in the House and the two lone votes of opposition in the Senate—those of Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) and Ernest Gruening (D-Alaska.) The two exceptions only underscore the rule that both parties stand for war.

Morse in his Aug. 5 Senate speech opposing the resolution, which he correctly branded a "predated declaration of war," revealed many unsavory facts about the U.S. role in Vietnam.

The truth of his criticisms is attested to by the way the entire big-business press carefully refrained from reporting more than a few bare sentences from his speeches.

It is unfortunate that Morse and Gruening fail to carry through on their criticism by presenting a meaningful alternative. Morse, for example, repeats the tired clichés about the "Communist menace" and in the face of his own facts seeks to place "equal blame" on North Vietnam for the situation in that area. He sees UN interven-

tion as the solution of the problem of Vietnam, apparently ignoring how the UN abetted the dismemberment of the Congo and the murder of Lumumba.

But the Johnson administration seems to see more massive intervention as the only way to keep their precarious foothold in Vietnam at the present time. The Khanh dictatorship, shaky, threatened with coups, enjoying no popular support, is unceasingly unable to hold off the peasant guerrillas.

In fact, the Tonkin Gulf events proved a life-saver for Khanh. Reporters on the scene are generally agreed that the crisis gave him a new lease on life (even though, perhaps, temporary) since his military and political rivals were on the verge of staging a coup against him.

Khanh seized on the crisis as the pretext to impose even harsher police powers in Saigon and those other remaining areas of the country that he still controls. It is reported that these new restrictions were planned for some time and he was just waiting for a good moment to impose them.

Meanwhile, reports persist that the immediate cause of the crisis was a raid by South Vietnamese

ships on North Vietnam. Morse revealed, as have many news stories, that South Vietnamese boats, powered and equipped with U.S. war material, had shelled two North Vietnamese islands a few miles off the coast the day before the first attack on the Maddox.

Top U.S. officials have admitted that such raids by Khanh's forces could have occurred. But they deny the reports, like the one in the Aug. 4 New York Times, that U.S. destroyers "have sometimes collaborated with South Vietnamese hit-and-run raids on North Vietnamese port cities, though the destroyers themselves stay in international waters."

Morse charged in his Senate speech Aug. 6 that the destroyer Maddox was quite close to the islands of Hon Me and Hon Ngu at the time they were shelled. And he stated categorically that U.S. officials in Saigon and the Pentagon "knew the bombardment was going to take place before the ships ever moved up there."

Even more serious doubts and questions are provoked by the second alleged attack, said to have taken place on the night of Aug. 4. The official version is that an

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Harlem Protest Rally To Hear DeBerry

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Campaign Committee announced that Clifton DeBerry, first Negro candidate for president, will speak at a Harlem open air rally that will protest the ban on meetings and demonstrations by various individuals and organizations.

The meeting will be held at 125th St. and 7th Ave. on Saturday, Aug. 29, from 2 to 6 p.m. The meeting will also hear Richard Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from New York; Lawrence Stewart, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey; Peter Camejo of the Youth Committee for DeBerry and Shaw; and guest speakers not associated with the sponsoring committee.



Goldwater

Malcolm X in Cairo Urges African Aid to U. S. Negroes

[On July 17, Malcolm X, militant U.S. black nationalist leader, addressed the conference of the Organization of African Unity, under whose auspices 33 heads of independent African states met in Cairo, United Arab Republic. He urged the African nations to take the plight of black Americans to the UN. The following are excerpts from his speech to the conference.]

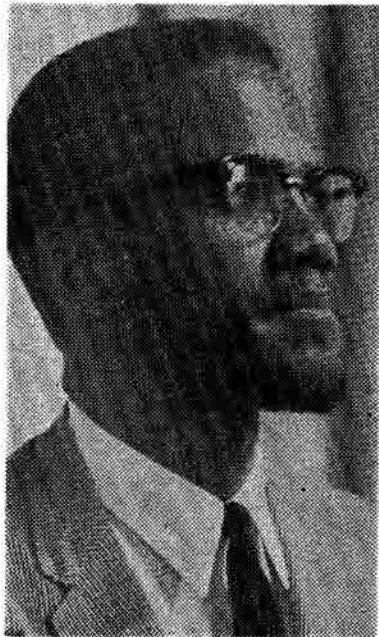
We, in America, are your long lost brothers and sisters, and I am here only to remind you that our problems are your problems. As the African-Americans "awaken" today, we find ourselves in a strange land that has rejected us, and, like the prodigal son, we are turning to our elder brothers for help. We pray our pleas will not fall upon deaf ears.

We were taken forcibly in chains from this mother continent and have now spent over 300 years in America, suffering the most inhuman forms of physical and psychological tortures imaginable.

During the past ten years the entire world has witnessed our men, women and children being attacked and bitten by vicious police dogs, brutally beaten by police clubs, and washed down the sewers by high-pressure water hoses that would rip the clothes from our bodies and the flesh from our limbs.

And, all of these inhuman atrocities have been inflicted upon us by the American governmental authorities, the police, themselves, for no reason than that we seek the recognition and respect granted other human beings in America . . .

Our problem is your problem. No matter how much independence Africans get here on the mother continent, unless you wear your national dress at all times



Malcolm X

when you visit America, you may be mistaken for one of us and suffer the same psychological and physical mutilation that is an everyday occurrence in our lives.

Your problems will never be fully solved until and unless ours are solved. You will never be fully respected until and unless we are also respected. You will never be recognized as free human beings until and unless we are also recognized and treated as human beings.

If South Africa is guilty of violating the human rights of Africans here on the mother continent, then America is guilty of worse violations of the 22 million Africans on the American continent. And, if South African racism is not a domestic issue, then American racism also is not a domestic issue.

Many of you have been led to believe that the much publicized, recently passed Civil Rights Bill is a sign that America is making a sincere effort to correct the injustices we have suffered there. This propaganda maneuver is part of her deceit and trickery to keep the African Nations from condemning her racist practices before the United Nations, as you are now doing as regards the same practices of South Africa.

High Court Decision

The United States Supreme Court passed a law ten years ago making America's segregated school system illegal. But the Federal Government has yet to enforce this law even in the North. If the Federal Government cannot enforce the law of the highest court in the land, when it comes to nothing but equal rights to education for Afro-Americans, how can anyone be so naive as to think all the additional laws brought into being by the Civil Rights Bill will be enforced? . . .

Out of frustration and hopelessness our young people have reached the point of no return. We no longer endorse patience and turning-the-other-cheek. We assert the right of self-defense by whatever means necessary, and reserve the right of maximum retaliation against our racist oppressors, no matter what the odds against us are . . .

In the interests of world peace and security, we beseech the heads of the independent African states to recommend an immediate investigation into our problem by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights . . .

"No one knows the master better than his servant." We have been servants in America for over 300 years. We have a thorough, inside knowledge of this man who calls himself "Uncle Sam." Therefore, you must heed our warning: Don't escape from European colonialism only to become even more enslaved by deceitful, "friendly" American dollarism.

Mine-Mill Union Wins Settlement At Kennecott

DENVER — Members of eight locals of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, which represents about half of the 10,000 employees of the Kennecott Copper Corporation, ratified a new three-year contract agreement, Aug. 14.

Mine-Mill has been on strike against Kennecott, the producer of about a third of this country's copper, since July 9.

The union said the agreement provides an average wage increase of 21.3 cents per hour over the three-year period.

A major cause of the five-week strike, union officials said, was the need to achieve job and income protection for the workers, in the light of the company's plans for increased production with fewer workers.

In this area, the union won a package along the lines of the recent pattern-setting settlement with the American Smelting and Refining Company. The plan sets up a fund for each employee equal to \$80 times the number of years of service. It can be drawn in \$25 per week installments in the event of layoff, and, if not used for that purpose, goes to the worker in a lump sum upon retirement.

In addition, unused sick leave will now be vested and can be taken upon termination for any reason or retirement. Again, in the event of death, the amount goes to the worker's beneficiary. The plan provides for unlimited accumulation of paid sick leave at the rate of five days per year. Previously, the sick leave could be used only for that purpose and could be accumulated only to 30 days.

Kennecott also agreed to guarantee all permanent employees (those with 90 or more days of service) against layoff because of automation, technological change, or new work methods during the life of the contract.

A new health and welfare program was negotiated, which union officials said includes substantial improvements in the hospital and medical coverage. All employee contributions to the hospital and medical, weekly sickness and accident, and life insurance programs were eliminated.

... Noel Day

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lions of Americans for more jobs, higher income, decent housing, quality education, and adequate medical care.

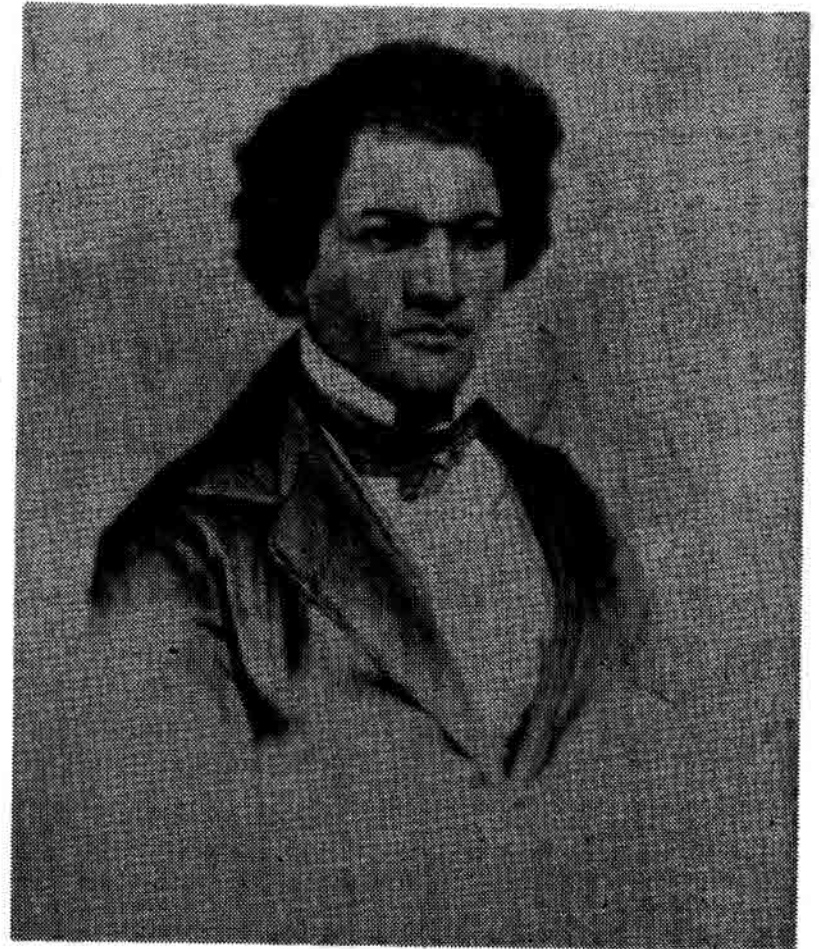
BOSTON — Noel Day, independent candidate for Congress, scored Speaker of the House McCormack for his failure to challenge two clauses of the "war-on-poverty" bill. One, a "states rights" clause, was attacked by Day because, he said, "it would allow racist governors, North and South, to veto the bill in their states and withhold aid from poverty-stricken Negroes" who are a majority of the Southern poor.

Day also rapped McCormack for going along with the "loyalty" clause which was added to the measure. Requiring that beneficiaries sign "a loyalty oath is a demeaning remnant of McCarthyism," he said. "The Speaker of the House should never have let these be included in the bill, let alone go unchallenged."

However, Day did commend the bill as a "long overdue start in solving the urgent problems of 36 million poverty-stricken Americans."

The Ninth Congressional District, in which Day is opposing McCormack, is one of the poorest areas in the state, with the lowest median income, 29 per cent of the dwelling units substandard, and more unemployed than any other district in Massachusetts.

Harlem and American History



Frederick Douglass
He survived by fighting back.

By William F. Warde

"I can't understand," said this friend of mine who happens to teach history in the schools and is a paid-up member of the NAACP, "why the colored people of Harlem, Rochester and Jersey City had to go in for break-ins, bottle-throwing and roughing up policemen. Aren't they hurting themselves more than they're helping their own cause?"

Since he was more puzzled and upset than horrified, I tried to explain the meaning and motivation of the Harlem events in terms he could understand.

"Listen," I said, "you know and admire Frederick Douglass, the greatest of the black Abolitionists, who was born a Southern slave. He set about to resist that institution early in life. When he began to teach a Sunday school class for colored children on his plantation, his Maryland master decided to crush his rebel spirit once for all by hiring him out to a professional slave-breaker named Edward Covey.

"Here's how his biographer Philip Foner tells the rest of the story. 'From January to August, 1834, the young slave was overworked, flogged daily, and was almost starved to death. After six months of such treatment, he was indeed 'broken in body, soul and spirit.' There seemed nothing left but either to kill Covey and then commit suicide or to fight back. Steeled by desperation and a combination of hope and fear, the youth found the courage to turn on his tormentor one day and soundly thrashed the Negro-breaker. The result was that Covey abandoned the whip and ignored Douglass for the four remaining months of hire."

Turning Point

This is what Douglass later wrote about this episode in his autobiography: "This battle with Mr. Covey was the turning point in my career. I was a changed being after that fight. I was nothing before, I was a man now . . . with a renewed determination to be a free man . . . The gratification afforded by the triumph was a full compensation for whatever else might follow, even death itself . . . I now resolved that, however long I might remain a slave in form, the day had passed forever when I could be a slave in fact . . ."

"Today," I continue, "in the eyes of the black ghetto-dwellers the police appear no better than corrupt professional slavebreakers assigned to harass and crush the dignity of colored citizens in order to safeguard foul and intolerable injustices. Goaded beyond endurance the authentic descendants of Frederick Douglass had no alternative but to hit back at their tormentors in self-protection and in return for all the brutalities and humiliations they've suffered at their hands. They, too, are determined to be free . . ."

"But," argued my friend, "do you think their actions will eliminate all that?"

Slaveholders Arrogant

"No more than Douglass' lesson to Covey got rid of the slave system. The slaveholders, you remember, were too arrogant and blind to mend their ways in time and ultimately had to be thrashed in a Civil War."

"What do you mean by that?" he exclaimed with alarm.

"Only that the present masters of this country had better hurry and give full equality, economic security and liberty to twenty million Negroes — or they'll proceed to take it. The powers-that-be can read their future, if they wish, in the history books you use in your classes."

"Thanks," he murmured somewhat sarcastically, "for trying to teach me some American history."

"Don't thank me," I concluded. "Thank the new breed of abolitionists in Harlem and Rochester — which, by the way, was Frederick Douglass' home for most of his life as an agitator. Although they may not be aware of it, these freedom-fighters are showing the rest of us that the spirit of the Boston Tea Party and John Brown has not been embalmed in the archives but has again become a living force in 'American life.'"

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

16 pages 15 cents

Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N. Y.

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

Farrell Dobbs, Nat'l Sec'y Socialist Workers Party and leader of 1934 Minneapolis Teamster Strike will give four lectures on The Role of the Revolutionary Party in the Minneapolis Strikes. Aug. 25-28, 7:30 p.m. Young Socialist Summer School, 302 South Canal, Room 204.

DENVER

Debate: "How to Stop Goldwaterism — Socialist DeBerry or Democrat Johnson." Hear Allen Taplin, SWP candidate for Congress. Fri., Aug. 28, 8 p.m. Woodmen Hall, 2100 Downing.

DETROIT

CLIFTON DeBERRY, Presidential Candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, speaks on THE REAL ISSUES IN THE 1964 ELECTION. Fri., August 28, 8:00 p.m. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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

LOS ANGELES

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Sept. 1, 6:45 p.m. (Repeated Sept. 2, 9 a.m.). KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

THE DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN CONVENTION: A COMPARISON. Speaker, Fred Halstead, Staff writer for The Militant. Fri., Aug. 28, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

FRIDAY, SEPT. 4 — Symposium on WHICH ROAD TO SOCIAL PROGRESS IN THE '64 ELECTIONS? Panelists: Henry Abrams; David McReynolds, field sec. War Resisters League; Harry Purvis, 1962 independent candidate for Congress in Nassau County; Edward Shaw, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Vice-President. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Edward Shaw to Debate Views At N. Y. Election Symposium

NEW YORK — Edward Shaw, vice presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, will participate in a symposium here on



Edward Shaw

the subject "Which Road to Social Progress in the '64 Elections?" Other panelists include David McReynolds, Harry Purvis and Henry Abrams.

The panel will discuss Goldwaterism, the question of support to the Democrats, the "lesser evil" theory and independent socialist political action.

David McReynolds, well known pacifist, is secretary of the War Resisters League.

Harry Purvis is a maverick Republican and member of the National Association of Manufacturers who ran as an independent peace candidate for Congress in the Nassau County area in 1962.

Henry Abram was a leader of the American Labor Party of New York.

The meeting will be held on Friday evening, Sept. 4, at 116 University Place under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum.

The meeting will begin at 8:30 p.m. and time will be allotted for questions and discussion from the audience.



HE NEEDS YOUR HELP. Dr. Neville Alexander, German-educated South African freedom fighter, is serving a 10-year sentence, along with ten others, on trumped-up charges of sabotage. Fellow students of Alexander's in West Germany who organized an international campaign in his behalf have issued an urgent appeal for funds to appeal the verdict. They report that because of glaring irregularities in the trial and because of a favorable ruling in a similar appeal there is a realistic chance of getting the sentence reduced or even reversed. Contributions sent care of The Militant, 116 University Pl., New York, will be forwarded to the defense committee.

Friends of Cuba Meet in Bombay

BOMBAY, India — A meeting was held under the auspices of the Indo-Cuban Society on Saturday, July 25, at the hall of the Bombay Union of Journalists, on the eve of the July 26 Revolution Day in Cuba.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

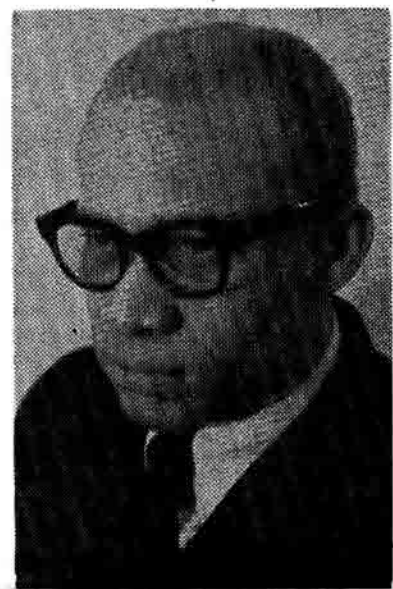
"This meeting of the citizens of Bombay, held under the auspices of the Indo-Cuban Society, sends its fraternal greetings to the people of Cuba on the occasion of their historic July 26 Revolution Day, and expresses its solidarity with them in their determination to defend their inherent right to shape their destiny according to their own genius and build a social order of their own choice, without any outside interference.

Liberation From Imperialism

"The Cuban people under the inspiring leadership of Fidel Castro have not only liberated themselves from imperialist domination by overthrowing the dictatorial Batista regime which subserved imperialist interests on their soil, but also have engaged themselves in the heroic task of rebuilding their economy on socialist lines under extremely difficult conditions.

"The people of India cannot but have admiration for the indomitable courage of the Cuban people who are threatened with imperialist intervention at every step. The aggressive designs of the U.S. Administration aimed at organizing a counterrevolutionary uprising against the present socialist regime, by means of nuclear blackmail and invasion of the Cuban territory by armed mercenaries must be unreservedly condemned by all the freedom-loving people all over the world.

"This meeting appeals to the various mass organizations and political parties in India to mobilize public opinion in the country in defence of the gains of the Cuban revolution."



Clifton DeBerry

Radio Audience Queries DeBerry

By Ralph Levitt

HARRISBURG, Pa. — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate, was pried with telephone queries when he spoke to the citizens and voters of the Harrisburg-York-Hershey area Aug. 10 through WKBO Radio's "Voice of the People" program.

Following his opening remarks, in which he scored the Republicans and Democrats for their failure to propose meaningful solutions to the pressing problems in the fields of civil rights, employment, and peace, DeBerry replied to telephone inquiries and comments for over two hours.

DeBerry exposed the hypocrisy of the Johnson Administration through the example of its housing program: "Civil rights leaders in New York have pointed out that 200,000 low-cost housing units are needed immediately in that city alone. Yet, President Johnson has proposed that only 50,000

units be built on a nation-wide basis." He added, "The Socialist Workers Party platform calls for diverting the huge sums spent on war-preparation into the area of alleviating slum conditions and poverty."

Listener interest was high around DeBerry's analysis of the recently-passed civil rights law. He pointed out that it "will do nothing in the North and little in the South. It leaves enforcement to the very same people who are presently carrying out acts of violence and suppression against the Negro people. That it is a vote-catching gimmick is proved by the fact that Congress got around to passing it just before the election."

DeBerry explained the SWP program for effective action on civil rights and contrasted them to the half-measures and non-measures of the two major parties. He urged voters in the area to support him and Edward Shaw, his running mate, in the fall elections. (DeBerry and Shaw will appear on the Pennsylvania ballot under the name of the Militant Workers Party.)

Questions to the presidential nominee covered a wide range of subjects. He was asked about the SWP's position on the Vietnam war. Some indicated they disagreed with his answer. But other telephone comments complimented his stand. One questioner wanted to know if socialism will stimulate laziness. Another asked him which of the two capitalist-party candidates was better. Another sought his opinions on "extremism," the John Birch Society, and the Communist Party.

Change of Name Is Won For School in Harlem

NEW YORK — The members of the Harlem Council and other interested community organizations have succeeded in getting P.S. 154, 250 W. 127th Street renamed Harriet S. Tubman. The renaming of the school was of special significance since the former name was John Hancock, slave owner, and Harriet Tubman was a slave-abolitionist, who won the name "General Tubman" from John Brown, the great slave abolitionist for her genius in the "Underground Movement" where more than 300 slaves were led to freedom. The decision was made to change the name by the Board of Education.

The Council was aroused during the construction of the school and on April 14, 1963, introduced a resolution calling for all Public Schools and Projects under construction and those to be constructed in Harlem to be named for Negro historical personalities.

Mrs. Ora W. Mobley, who introduced the idea of a resolution was delegated by the Council to spearhead the drive in getting the school renamed. Mrs. Mobley was presented with a copy of Langston Hughes and Milton Meltzer's *Pictorial History of the Negro in America*.

"When the young behave badly, it is because society has already behaved worse. We have the teen-agers, like the politicians and the wars, that we deserve." — J. B. Priestly (British author).

N.Y. Anti-War Protestors Clubbed and Jailed by Cops

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK — Forty-seven demonstrators protesting U.S. intervention in Vietnam were arrested on August 15 as they attempted to march into Times Square in defiance of a police ban on demonstrations there. Many were beaten by cops. Most were charged with disorderly conduct, although four face more serious charges — two of felonious assault, one of inciting to riot, and one with carrying a concealed weapon. Twenty-two were released on \$50 or in the custody of their lawyers.

Police have arbitrarily banned demonstrations in Times Square ever since they broke up a meeting there protesting President

Kennedy's resumption of nuclear testing over two years ago.

The demonstration was called by two groups, the "May 2 Committee" and "Youth Against War and Fascism." The marchers, who numbered some 200, assembled a few blocks north of Times Square. Police forced them to march east toward the relatively deserted UN area where they were told they could demonstrate. Police used clubs and finally horses to prevent the demonstrators from turning south into Times Square. Fracas with the cops erupted along the line of march to the UN.

The previous week 17 people were arrested for attempting to demonstrate in Times Square under the auspices of the same groups. The American Civil Liberties Union will make a legal challenge of the ban.

"We were shocked to find that the ban is still in effect," the ACLU said. "We were sure that it had been lifted a long time ago."

The constitutionality of the ban will be tested when the first cases come to court on September 25. Emanuel Redfield, counsel for the New York Civil Liberties Union, will represent the defendants.

Students Who Defied U.S. Ban Back from Cuba

By Barry Sheppard

NEW YORK — Eighty-four students who travelled to Cuba in defiance of the State Department's unconstitutional travel ban returned home Aug. 14. They were handed letters by State Dept. officials which stated that their passports were "tentatively withdrawn."

Soon after their arrival at Kennedy International Airport three of the travelers were handed subpoenas summoning them to appear before the witchhunting House Un-American Activities Committee. The three were Edward Lamansky, 24, Yvonne Bond, 23, and Morton Slater. Albert Maher, 22, member of the executive board of the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, which organized the trip, was also served a subpoena, although he did not go on the trip.

Trip in 1963

Last year the SCTC sent a group of 59 students to Cuba in defiance of the ban. When they returned, three of the travelers, Phillip Luce, Levi Laub, and Steve Martinot, were indicted on charges of travelling to Cuba, returning home, and "conspiring" to get others to go. On this last charge another student, who did not go on the trip, was indicted. Their case comes up in October.

Because of the illegal ban on travel to Cuba, and U.S. pressures on countries in Latin America and Europe, it is difficult to secure transportation to Cuba. Consequently the students had to travel to Cuba via Czechoslovakia. The students were the guests of the Cuban Federation of University Students.

"All wealth is the product of labor." — John Locke, English philosopher, (1632-1704).

Bronx CORE Leader Asks Damages of City

NEW YORK — Herbert Callender, president of the Bronx chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality, filed a claim Aug. 4 for \$1 million against the city of New York. He charges that he had been unlawfully committed to Bellevue Hospital for psychiatric observation.

Callender filed the claim with the City Comptroller, in compliance with a technicality requiring such action before a suit can be brought against the city.

The 30-year-old rights activist was sent to Bellevue Hospital on July 15 by Criminal Court Judge Edward D. Caiazzo, after he was placed under arrest on a disorderly conduct charge while trying to make a citizen's arrest of Mayor Robert Wagner at City Hall.

Accompanied by two other Bronx CORE officers, Callender had sought Wagner's arrest for misappropriating public funds by allowing city-financed construction projects to permit racial discrimination.

He was freed on \$500 bail after Bellevue had given him "a clean bill of health," Callender said. The hospital's report was not made part of the court record.

Arnold Goldwag, Brooklyn CORE community relations director who was railroaded to prison around the time of the World's Fair stall-in, had also been sent to Bellevue Hospital for psychiatric examination.

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Monday, August 24, 1964

Turkey Sees, Turkey Does

One example of just how explosively irresponsible the U.S. Government leadership of the capitalist world is, was the Turkish bombing and shelling attack against the independent island nation of Cyprus Aug. 8. In more ways than one, that dangerous and criminal act — which threatens a larger war — was the direct result of policies of the U.S. government.

In the first place, the Turkish attack took place just three days after the U.S. attack on North Vietnam. After all, if the "leader of the free world" can attack a smaller country — and threaten escalation of military responses which could possibly lead to nuclear war — why can't Turkey do a similar thing in her own small way?

But in addition, the U.S. is directly involved with the British in causing the agonizing civil war in Cyprus. The simple truth is that the islanders of Greek and Turkish decent lived in peace for generations until after World War II. Then the British began losing their military positions in the oil rich Middle East and Cyprus assumed a key strategic importance for British and U.S. imperialist interests. It is the last securely-held British and U.S. military bastion close enough to the Middle East oil regions to serve as an operational air base and troop jumping off point. It was Britain which brought Turkey into the Cypriot situation in 1955 in an attempt to counter the demand of Greece that the islanders' right of self-determination be recognized.

Ever since, the British — and the U.S. which shares the British military bases on Cyprus — have fomented trouble between the two communities in order to have an excuse to maintain their presence. Any real solution to the Cyprus problem must begin with the complete removal of the British-U.S. military bases. Because it is this imperialist presence — unwanted by the Cyprus government and people — which is the original and continuing root cause of the bitter communal troubles.

A Two-Faced 'Civil Rights' Drive

The top brass of the AFL-CIO is involved in a shabby and dangerous maneuver in connection with civil rights and the presidential election.

The labor officialdom has been assigned by the Democratic Party the task of counter-acting the pro-Goldwater "white backlash" among white union members. At its quarterly meeting in Chicago this month, the AFL-CIO Executive Council revealed some of its plans to deal with this problem. The Council scheduled a special conference on civil rights to be held Sept. 2 in Washington and to be attended by national officers and prominent local leaders of AFL-CIO affiliates across the country.

The officially announced purpose of the meeting is to work out methods by which the unions can help implement the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The real purpose of the conference, however, is to deal with the "white backlash" by further accommodating to it. The conference will point out to local labor officials that the civil rights bill really doesn't amount to much, that in the area of fair employment practices, it is so weak and so hedged in with involved procedures that it won't have any real effect on bringing more Negroes into the work force by cracking the white job trusts.

By the title of their conference, the AFL-CIO tops are making a token gesture on behalf of civil rights, but by the real nature of the conference, they are telling the local leaders that they don't have to give a single inch to the pressing demands of Negroes for equal treatment in the area of making a living. They are passing along the message that the white job trusts will be perfectly safe under Johnson.

The monumental hypocrisy of this maneuver is enough to condemn it. But in addition, the AFL-CIO leaders are kidding themselves and their members if they think there is any security for the jobs of white workers or for the union movement in maintaining this resistance to the demands of the Negroes. In some cases, Negroes have already invoked provisions of Taft-Hartley against the de-facto closed shop where it exists and where Negroes are excluded. This trend can only increase if the current attitude of many unions continues.

With their blind, biased policies, the labor bureaucrats are committing the high crime of seriously threatening Negro-white solidarity on the job and on the picket line.

The road to real union security lies in the direction of a serious fight for a 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. This would help ensure the jobs of those now employed and open up job opportunities for the Negroes and whites now pounding the pavements. Along with this, the need is greater than ever for the unions to break with the capitalist, colonialist Democratic party and launch a labor party which could develop a program of jobs for all and forge a solid labor-Negro alliance.

The present hypocritical stand of the labor "leaders" on the issue of Negro equality — as epitomized by the AFL-CIO's so-called civil rights conference — can only intensify the rage which is mounting in the black ghettos.

Mississippi Freedom School Convention

MERIDIAN, Miss. — "Freedom is a Struggle" read the banner over the stage of the auditorium in which the statewide Freedom School Convention assembled here Aug. 6-8.

Delegates to this convention, most certainly the first of its kind in Mississippi and, for that matter, in any state of the South, were teenage Negro Freedom School students. They had been elected by classmates in their respective schools to represent them and bring to the floor of the convention resolutions adopted by the various schools in the pre-convention discussions. These resolutions dealt with matters of vital concern to the youth of the South: education, jobs, desegregation, medical care, etc.

The convention was organized and run by the students themselves and was actually part of the political education program of the Freedom Schools. One of the most important functions of these schools, run by the Mississippi Summer Project, is to train the future political leaders of the state. And there is no doubt in anyone's mind that the delegates to today's convention will be those leaders.

"It is fitting and proper that the convention be held in Meridian because three men were killed in the effort to start a Freedom School in Neshoba County. [Neshoba County is near Meridian, where the three murdered civil rights workers were based.] Mt. Zion Church was burned because it was known that it might be used as the site of a Freedom School. And there will be a Freedom School in Neshoba County." Applause greeted these words of Dr. Staughton Lynd, director of the Mississippi Summer Project's Freedom Schools program.

Some of the resolutions passed by the students reflect discussions currently taking place among the



SNCC Photo

WE SHALL OVERCOME. Southern freedom fighters voice their confidence in coming victory.

personnel of the Mississippi Summer Project. This is best illustrated by the resolution offered to the convention by the committee on public accommodations:

"We support the right of the Negro people and their white supporters to test the Civil Rights Bill via demonstrations such as sit-ins. We are not urging a blood-bath through this means; we are simply making use of our Constitutional right to public assembly and we are seeking to test the Federal Government's position."

Among the significant demands raised by the convention were a public works program on the one hand and "a guaranteed income of at least \$3,000 annually for every citizen" on the other. Support to labor was indicated in the follow-

ing plank: "We will encourage and support more strikes for better jobs and adequate pay. During the strikes the employers should be enjoined from having others replace the striking workers."

The convention also gave attention to the colonial revolution with the plank: "The United States should stop supporting dictatorships in other countries and should support that government which the majority of the people want."

There was one thing that all observers of the convention could agree on: these youngsters are on their way and, in the words of one of their favorite Freedom songs, "Ain't nobody goin' to turn us 'round, turn us 'round, We're marchin' on to Freedom land!"

...NY Negroes

(Continued from Page 1)

'criminal anarchy' indictment." Referring to the injunction, Garza declared:

"When the police, on the flimsiest excuses, can dictate who can and who can't exercise free speech, then the civil liberties of all the people, not just those in Harlem, are in dire peril." Speaking of the injunction and the indictment, Garza said:

"The seeds of a new McCarthy-type witch hunt are being sowed here. Every Goldwaterite and Bircher, every slumlord and anti-union boss will now be taking up the red scare against any socially progressive activity they want to oppose."

"It is the 'liberal' Democratic administration of Mayor Robert F. Wagner — with the blessing of President Johnson — and the 'liberal' Republican state administration of Rockefeller which are giving birth to this witch hunt monster. They just can't admit that they bear responsibility for the disorders in Harlem through their tie-ins with the slumlords and their refusals to enforce the laws against job discrimination. Instead they trot out this ancient state 'criminal anarchy' law, which hasn't been used since the Palmer 'red scare' of 1919, and try to blame the whole thing on a few 'leftists.' They are playing the dangerous game of adapting to Goldwaterism, and as long as they think the labor and Negro votes are in their pockets, they are going to continue to adapt to it."

The temporary injunction, obtained in state supreme court, bans all activities by the three named organizations in central Harlem. The city and state administrations are seeking to make the ban permanent through a pending court procedure. The "criminal anarchy" indictment against Epton was returned Aug. 5. He is free on \$10,000 bail.

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Morse Exposes Aggression Against N. Vietnam

"The U.S. Was Not an Innocent Bystander"

[The following are excerpts from the speech delivered in the U.S. Senate Aug. 5 by Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) in opposition to the resolution endorsing President Johnson's attack on North Vietnam and authorizing him to take further military actions in Southeast Asia at his discretion.]

"It makes no difference who says that our objective is peace, even if he be the President of the United States. Our actions speak louder than words; and our actions in Asia today are the actions of warmaking.

"As I speak on the floor of the Senate at this moment, the United States is making war in Asia."

"The American effort to impose by force of arms a government of our own choosing upon a segment of the old colony of Indochina has caught up with us. . . .

"Our failure to apply the provisions of the Southeast Asia Treaty have caught up with us. We have been making covert war in Southeast Asia for some time, instead of seeking to keep the peace. . . .

"There never was a time when it was possible for us to impose a government upon the people of South Vietnam without constant fighting to keep it in power. . . . There never was a time when the war could be fought and won in South Vietnam alone, because the Khanh junta — and any of its successors and predecessors — could not survive without massive and direct American military backing that was possible only if the war were expanded. . . .

"Whether the choice of expand-

ing it [the war] was that of North Vietnam or South Vietnam is still in doubt. But I am satisfied that the present rulers of South Vietnam could not long continue their civil war unless the war were expanded."

"In recent months, evidence has been mounting that both the Pentagon and the State Department were preparing to escalate the war into North Vietnam. . . .

"I am satisfied that . . . the United States was not an innocent bystander. We will not receive a verdict of innocence from the jury box of history on several counts.

"Our extensive military aid to South Vietnam was a violation of the Geneva accords in the first instance. Our sending troops into South Vietnam, even under the semantic camouflage of designation as military advisors, was a violation of the Geneva accords. . . .

"Any violations of the borders of Cambodia and North Vietnam by the South Vietnamese were not conducted in a vacuum so far as U.S. assistance was concerned.

"We assisted not only with materiel, but we advised on war plans, and our military presence in South Vietnam served as an ever-present strong back-stop to the South Vietnamese. I doubt if their military leaders acted at any time without the tacit approval of their American advisors.

"In a very recent incident which was the forerunner to the attacks on American destroyers in the Tonkin Bay, it is known that South Vietnamese naval vessels bombarded two North Vietnamese

islands within three to five or six miles of the main coast of North Vietnam. . . . While the South Vietnamese vessels were attacking the North Vietnamese islands, the newspapers tell us that U.S. vessels of war were patrolling Tonkin Bay, presumably some six to eleven miles off the shore of North Vietnam. . . .

"Was the U.S. Navy standing guard while the vessels of South Vietnam shelled North Vietnam? That it is the clear implication of the incident."

"The United States also knew that the South Vietnamese vessels planned to bomb, and did bomb, two North Vietnamese islands within three to six miles of the coast of North Vietnam. Yet, these war vessels of the United States were in the vicinity of that bombing, some miles removed.

"Can anyone question that even their presence was a matter of great moral value to South Vietnam? Or the propaganda value to the military totalitarian tyrant and despot who rules South Vietnam as an American puppet — General Khanh, who is really, when all is said and done, the leader whom we have put in charge of an American protectorate called South Vietnam?

"It should be unnecessary to point out either to the Senate or to the American people what the position of the United States and its people would be if the tables were reversed and Soviet warships or submarines were to patrol five to eleven miles at sea while Cuban naval vessels bombarded Key West."

"... our charges of aggression against North Vietnam will be greeted by considerable snickering abroad.

"So, too, will the pious phrases of the resolution about defending freedom in South Vietnam. There is no freedom in South Vietnam. I think even the American people know that to say we are defending freedom in South Vietnam is a travesty upon the word. We are defending General Khanh from being overthrown; that is all. We are defending a clique of military generals and their merchant friends who live well in Saigon, and who need a constantly increasing American military force to protect their privileged position."

"Mr. President, I have been



WHAT GIs ARE FIGHTING FOR. South Vietnamese peasant woman flees with children from hut being burned to ground by government troops because they suspect her husband may be a member of rebel forces.

briefed many times, as have the other members of the Foreign Relations Committee; and all this time witness after witness from the State Department and from the Pentagon have admitted under examination that they had no evidence of any foreign troops in South Vietnam from North Vietnam, Red China, Cambodia, or anywhere else.

"The sad fact is that the only foreign troops that have been in South Vietnam in any numbers have been American troops. It has been admitted by and large, that

this has been a war between South Vietnamese Vietcong, who are Communist led, and the forces of the military government of South Vietnam."

"Five and one half billion dollars worth of aid to South Vietnam, 18,000 American 'advisors,' and now the threat of war with China has not put Humpty-Dumpty back together — and never will. Out of this \$5½ billion, \$1¼ billion went to France to help her in the Indochina war prior to her withdrawing in 1954. Today we are spending better than \$1½ million per day and will reach \$2 million shortly, just as aid to Vietnam, not covering the cost of our own military force in Southeast Asia. Unless the American people make their voices heard very soon, they are going to spend even more in this fruitless and unavailing task."

Cuba Assails Vietnam Attack As Act of Aggression by U.S.

[The following is the text of an Aug. 6 statement regarding the U.S. attack on North Vietnam by Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticós and Prime Minister Fidel Castro.]

On behalf of the people of Cuba, the Revolutionary Government of Cuba condemns the unjustifiable attack launched by armed forces of the United States against the Democratic Republic of North Vietnam.

The government of the United States devised and carried out its criminal plan in a deliberate, cold and cynical way. Those who are familiar with the ways of Yankee imperialism when they set themselves for an aggression, know about their constant provocations, their piratical methods, their shocking lies and their shameful pretexts, and do reject with indignation the falsehood set up by the propaganda machinery of the government of the United States which is blaming North Vietnam for this incident.

They did the same on April 15, 1961, when they attacked our air bases with airplanes bearing false insignias and claimed that an internal rebellion had taken place; they have done the same in the Naval Base at Guantánamo, by shooting against our soldiers and

declaring later that the aggressions came from the Cuban side.

Now the government of the United States displaying a similar lack of scruples has planned the incident that served them as the pretext for the air attack launched by their armed forces against North Vietnamese installations. No one in the world can believe that North Vietnam bears any responsibility for this. For several weeks the world has learned that such an attack was openly under discussion and planning in the United States. These events constitute the materialization of a policy of war and aggression carried out without any scruple.

Declare Solidarity

The people of Cuba express to the people of North Vietnam their solidarity in the face of the criminal aggression and call on all the peace-loving peoples to support a small country defending itself from imperialist aggression.

Now more than ever the unity of all the forces of the socialist camp, of all the peoples who have liberated themselves from imperialist yoke, and of all the forces that struggle for peace is necessary in order to stop the criminal warmongering and aggressive hand of the United States that today has broken out with extraordinary cynicism against a small, self-sacrificing and hard-working people in Southeast Asia.

Let us condemn this cowardly and criminal action unanimously! Let us stop the aggressive hand of Yankee imperialism in time! Let us help North Vietnam repel the aggression! Country or death! We will win!

Major Fidel Castro Ruz
Prime Minister of the
Revolutionary Government
of Cuba

Osvaldo Dorticós Torrado
President of the Republic
of Cuba

... Attack on North Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

undisclosed number of ships, alleged to be North Vietnamese but never officially identified, engaged in a three-hour battle with the *Maddox* and the *C. Turner Joy*.

No photographs of the "attackers" have been published. Apparently the "attack" consisted of a great deal of noise, small arms fire, and rushing about. But for three hours not a single torpedo made a hit. Officials claim that one torpedo was sighted passing 300 yards from the *Maddox*.

U.S. Assumption

Why was no attempt made to positively identify the "attackers"? Why did U.S. authorities immediately assume they were North Vietnamese? The North Vietnamese, for their part, acknowledge the first attack, charging that U.S. ships supported the bombardment of Hon Me, but they deny making the second attack. South Vietnamese ships were in the area. They have U.S.-supplied PT-type boats.

Some people give credence to the idea that the Saigon regime ordered a phony attack on U.S. vessels, one that would be miraculously harmless, in order to provoke expansion of the war and save their own skins. Or that U.S.

authorities had the "attack" staged as an excuse for striking at North Vietnam, as they had threatened for months.

All Americans who oppose this reactionary and dangerous war policy of the two major parties should utilize the election to register their stand. So long as the administration is convinced it has the anti-war vote in its column it will feel free to "outflank Goldwater from the right" with new and more dangerous Gulf-of-Tonkin actions. The only thing that can stop the hand of both pro-war forces is to register the maximum possible clear-cut anti-war vote.

Such a stand can be registered by voting for Clifton DeBerry, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Every vote for DeBerry is a vote to end the war in Vietnam by immediately withdrawing all U.S. forces in the area. Every vote for DeBerry is a vote for a policy of support to, and friendship with, the heroic people of South Vietnam who are fighting to win land and freedom.

Such a vote will help impede the Goldwater forces that beat the drums of war and the Johnson forces that piously talk of peace while taking the country closer to the edge of the atomic abyss.

4th Int'l Condemns Attack on Vietnam

PARIS — The United Secretariat of the Fourth International strongly condemned the United States government for its assault on North Vietnam. A special Declaration branded the air attacks as "a desperate attempt of imperialism to retard the fall of the pro-imperialist Saigon government, which the heroic guerrillas have more and more driven towards defeat in spite of the enormous monetary, material and human aid given by Washington since its creation." The United Secretariat called for international protest against this attempt to destroy the Vietnamese liberation movement.

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MARXISM AND THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

The Colonial Revolution in Today's World

By George Breitman

The main revolution in the world is the colonial revolution, says Harold Cruse in his article, "Marxism and the Negro" (*Liberator*, May and June). And the main trouble with even "the most astute" Marxists of the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International, he contends, is that they do not and cannot understand or recognize this.

The reason why they cannot understand this, Cruse says, is that they are obsessed and blinded by Karl Marx's outdated idea that the workers in the industrially advanced countries are the principal or only revolutionary force in the world.

The result, he says, is that Marxists take a paternalistic attitude toward the (colored) colonial parts of the world, believing that their emancipation must wait until the (white) workers of the industrially advanced countries make their own revolution, after which they will "lead" the colonial people to their freedom. An additional result is that Marxism is obsolete and the Marxists in a crisis which they cannot resolve.

Those are Cruse's charges. Now let's turn to the facts.

It is a matter of record, which anyone who reads can check for himself, that the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International believe and assert that the colonial struggle is the center of the world revolution today and has been since 1949.

For evidence, we cite one of many documents, *Dynamics of World Revolution Today*, a resolution adopted by the Fourth International at its Reunification Congress in June, 1963, and printed in *International Socialist Review*, Fall, 1963. (Available from Pioneer Publishers as a pamphlet, 35¢.)

This resolution states very plainly that the principal center of the world revolution shifted to the colonial world beginning with the triumph of the Chinese Revolution, and explains why this happened, what its effects have been, what the problems of the colonial revolution are and how these problems can be overcome.

This position is so well known that when Mikhail Suslov, Soviet ideological hatchetman, made a speech last April trying to discredit the Chinese leadership, he said:

"Chinese Theory"

"Does anyone think perhaps that the Chinese theory making the regions of Asia, Africa and Latin America the 'principal zone of the storms of the world revolution' represents something original? No, this is the repetition almost word for word of one of the principal theses of current Trotskyism. One can read in the decision of the so-called Fourth International (Trotskyist): 'As a result of the successive failures of the two major revolutionary waves of 1919-23 and 1943-48 — and of the minor one of 1934-37 — the main center of the world revolution shifted for a time to the colonial world.' Here is where the source of the political wisdom of the Chinese leadership must be sought," etc.

Not only is this fact refuting Cruse's contention well known, but it is well known to Cruse too! We can state this categorically because Cruse himself quotes in his article a short passage from this same resolution, *Dynamics of World Revolution Today*. (It is a passage urging revolutionary Marxists to recruit black radicals influenced by the colonial revolution.)

Why does Cruse do this? Why does he misrepresent the SWP's position on the colonial revolution? We can only conclude that he finds it easier to argue against positions that the SWP does not hold than against those it does hold.

The facts are similarly damaging to Cruse's charge that Marxists ("western" or "westernized" or white) have a paternalistic attitude toward the colonial (colored) people. The only example he offers, Leon Trotsky, is about the worst he could pick.

Cruse's sole piece of "evidence" is a sentence in the last paragraph of Trotsky's pamphlet, *Marxism in the United States*. This was written in 1939, shortly before World War II, which Trotsky thought would surely provoke revolutionary outbursts in both Europe and its colonies. Once the socialist revolution began, he wrote, it would spread rapidly from country to country, and: "By the example and with the aid of the advanced nations, the backward nations will also be carried away into the main stream of socialism." He was referring here to all industrially backward countries, including those in eastern Europe as well as the colored countries.

Socialism Messianic?

Cruse, however, considers this sentence "proof" that Marxists have a "lofty detachment" toward the colored people, that Marxist socialism is a messianic "white nation" conception, that revolutionary socialists deem it their "duty to history to lift the 'backward' peoples from their ignominious state to socialist civilization even if the whites have to postpone this elevation abroad until they have managed to achieve it at home." Quite a big indictment to spin out of that little sentence.

But it simply doesn't stand up. Far from believing that workers in capitalist countries are the only revolutionary force, Trotsky insisted many times that "the decisive word in the development of humanity" belongs to "the oppressed colored races" (1932). He repeatedly expressed the view that "The movement of the colored races against their imperialist oppressors is one of the most important and powerful movements against the existing order and therefore calls for the complete, unconditional and unlimited support on the part of the proletariat of the white race" (1937). This was long before the current colonial upsurge, and it is in this spirit that both the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International have always been guided.

In May, 1940, a year after the sentence cited by Cruse, when World War II had already begun, the Fourth International held an emergency conference where it adopted a manifesto on "The Imperialist War and the Proletarian Revolution" which was supported by the SWP. Trotsky wrote this document, and since he was assassinated a few months later, it represents his final, mature, considered judgment on the question.

It could almost have been written as an answer to Cruse's claim that Marxists think the colonial people should wait for, depend on or trot humbly behind the industrially advanced countries. After urging the colonial masses to take advantage of the war crisis in order to break free from their imperialist masters and urging the workers in the imperialist countries to support the colonial revolt, Trotsky explicitly stated:

No Need to Wait

"The perspective of the permanent revolution in no case signifies that the backward countries must await the signal from the advanced ones, or that the colonial peoples should patiently wait for the proletariat of the metropolitan centers to free them. Help comes to him who helps himself. Workers must develop the revolutionary struggle in every country, colonial or imperialist, where favorable conditions have been established, and through this set an example for the workers of other countries."

So the SWP considers the col-

onial revolution foremost today, like Cruse, and supports it "completely and unconditionally," also like Cruse. Having disposed of differences invented or exaggerated by Cruse, we can now turn to some real differences.

Cruse holds that the colonial revolutionary movement is the only important one; that no other revolutionary movement or tendency today means anything; that how the world goes and how history is made will be determined entirely by the colonial (colored) revolution against the imperialist (white-controlled) countries.

The SWP's world outlook is far less simple because the actual situation is much more complex. It sees the fate of the world being decided by the combined operation of three factors: 1. The colonial struggle against imperialism, which is today the central and most active revolutionary sphere. 2. The struggle for political revolution in the workers states, involving the ouster of the privileged bureaucratic caste that is now dominant and the restoration of workers democracy. 3. The struggle for social revolution in the imperialist states, involving the end of capitalist rule and its replacement by the rule of revolutionary workers and their allies.

To the SWP these three spheres of the world revolution are intimately connected and interdependent. Although they develop unevenly, they reinforce and strengthen each other. Victories for one benefit the others, and vice versa. A correct strategy for the world revolution, which alone can permanently guarantee the gains won in each of these spheres, requires a realistic appraisal of their potentials, limitations and interrelationships. (Such an appraisal is brilliantly supplied in the already mentioned resolution, *Dynamics of World Revolution Today*.)

Absurd Illusion?

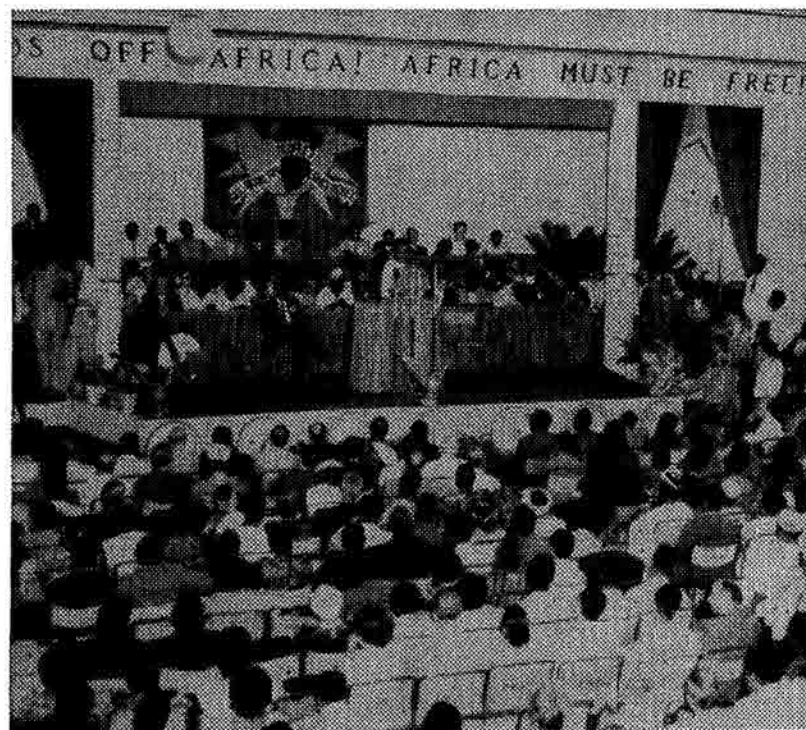
Cruse regards the very idea of workers revolution in the capitalist countries as an absurd and harmful illusion; he appears much surer of this than the capitalists. For him class struggle between workers and capitalists is meaningless or irrelevant. He lumps together all the antagonistic classes in these countries as if they were one harmonious family (except the Negro people in the U.S., whom he considers a part of the world-wide colonial revolution). He has nothing to say about developments inside the workers states. (Since he says Stalin was the type of leader "needed" in the earlier days of the Soviet Union, he may also think the Soviet workers "need" the Khrushchev type today.)

What leads Cruse to thus exaggerate the strength of the enemy and shut his eyes to the possibility of aid from allies inside the capitalist and workers states? These and related errors flow from his method, which sees only things-as-they-are, fixed and frozen, rather than as a process replete with contradictions, reversals and change (despite all his talk about dialectics).

The class struggle in the capitalist countries is at an ebb? Then it will always be this way! The workers are conservative, apathetic, hogtied by the capitalists and their labor lieutenants? Then it will always be this way!

This is the same way most people viewed the colonial revolution 25 years ago, and the Negro struggle 10 years ago, when the conditions for today's upsurge were still maturing beneath the surface. The Cruses of that day, prisoners of outward appearances, could also only sigh: It will always be this way! It is not a mode of thought helpful to people who want to prepare for revolutions.

The colonial revolution has made great advances and it will make more. But these advances



SET EXAMPLE. Scene at very first all-African People's Conference in Ghana in 1958. Rising African independence movement has had big impact on U.S. freedom now struggle.

have not got rid of imperialism, especially on its home grounds. Yet the continued existence of imperialism, with its preponderant economic and military strength, is the main deterrent to further, deeper and faster revolutionary gains in the colonial sphere.

The converse is also true. The abolition of capitalism in the imperialist centers and its replacement by workers states will open new avenues for the colonial revolution. It will bring invaluable economic aid to the colonial revolutions, enabling them to curb or prevent bureaucratism, limitations of workers' rights and other deformations that breed in the soil of economic backwardness and poverty.

A crucial question for revolutionists everywhere therefore is: How to achieve the abolition of capitalism in the imperialist sphere? Must it wait, as Cruse's position implies, until the colonial countries are strong enough to defeat their imperialist foes in direct military combat? And will the imperialists wait until that occurs without launching their own offensive first, including the H-bomb?

Or are there forces inside the imperialist countries that can be welded together into a revolutionary movement capable of disarming the capitalists, throwing them out of power and joining in fraternal collaboration with the colonial revolutionists?

As Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, wrote in an answer to Cruse (which *Liberator* invited but has not printed yet), the policy Cruse counterposes to Marxism "would in fact leave the colonial peoples subject to an unending threat of imperialist attack."

Hit at Root

The job of ending this threat cannot be done by the colonial revolution alone. "That job has to be done within imperialism's home base," said DeBerry. "It calls for a revolutionary struggle by the workers, non-white and white combined, to abolish the capitalist system from which imperialism springs."

The same error is committed by Cruse when he tries to define the nature of the Negro struggle. To him it is, purely and simply, "a semi-colonial revolt, which is more inspired by events outside America than within it."

While we question the last part of that statement, we agree that the Negro struggle definitely has many characteristics of a semi-colonial revolt, and believe it is to Cruse's credit that he has been one of the foremost propagandists of this idea. (He probably will not be pleased by our assertion that this idea can be traced back to the Marxist Lenin, who was the first, to our knowledge, to include the American Negroes among the op-

pressed national minorities, nationalities and nations of the world; but it is true.)

People unfamiliar with this idea may be able to grasp it by asking themselves: Suppose the Negro people, instead of being scattered throughout the country, were concentrated in one section of the U.S., or in one area outside of the U.S. And suppose that they were dominated by the same forces that now dominate them, and that they were treated, or mistreated, in exactly the same way they are now — denied equal rights, confined to the worst jobs, paid less, unemployed more, etc. Wouldn't it be plain then that they are subjected to a colonial-type oppression?

Not Only Aspect

But while this is one major aspect of the Negro struggle, it is not the only one. Cruse oversimplifies this question, as he does on the world scale with the colonial revolution. Here he reminds us of those blind men, each of whom touched a different part of an elephant — tusk, leg, trunk and so on — and mistakenly thought they understood the whole reality of the elephant.

The aspect of the Negro struggle that Cruse shuts his eyes to is its class aspect. Negroes are exploited not only because of their color, but also because of the class to which they belong in their great majority. They are a part of the working class, the most exploited part, the most proletarian part, and whatever hurts the workers as a class hurts them too — usually first and always hardest.

To ignore the dual and combined character of the Negro struggle is to blind oneself to the dual sources of its full potential. As both a racial-national and class struggle, it is fed and powered by the two most explosive fuels in modern society. These are the sources of its dynamism, and although race and class operate unequally and unevenly at different times, they are both sources that will contribute to the victory of the Negro struggle.

Any theory which does not recognize and combine both these aspects will prove fatally defective. The early American socialists, who saw only the class aspect, are an object lesson in how badly astray you can be led by a one-sided grasp of the dual character of the Negro struggle. Cruse is making a similar mistake in the other direction. The Marxist attempt at a synthesis is the most enlightening so far. If it is not yet fully or adequately worked out, then it ought to be — by black radicals as well as the SWP — because it points in the right direction.

This brings us to the question of the white workers, to be discussed in the next issue.

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 Assault on N. Vietnam

New York, N.Y.

There can be no justification of the deliberate, unprovoked attack upon the republic of North Vietnam — a small nation attacked

by the mightiest military power in existence.

This attack was staged to provide electioneering propaganda for the presidential election in the U.S.

The U.S. has for some time been laying the groundwork to provoke military action in Southeast Asia. The U.S. no doubt planned for South Vietnam to attack North Vietnam, while the destroyer *Maddox* acted as supporting cover, and when the North Vietnamese torpedo boats drove off the South Vietnamese, the U.S. *Maddox* opened fire. The U.S. *Maddox* can only be considered as a marauder in the Gulf of Tonkin.

As reported in the daily papers, the U.S. has about 125 ships off the coast of China, the two large aircraft carriers, *Ticonderoga* and *Constellation*, as well as other craft, submarines and tenders. On the carriers they had the newest and fastest jets and at nearby airfields numerous aircraft ready to strike.

Is this a nation seeking and maintaining peace? I think not. This sea power was not for peace but for war, for invasion, to conquer, to subject.

This military action was taken by the ruling clique to stifle rebellion both at home and abroad. The U.S. is confronted with the upheaval at home of the Negro masses, breaking their chains of bondage. What better way to crush that unrest than to have a war abroad?

O.T.

From Denmark

Copenhagen, Denmark

Having seen *The Militant* by way of comrades, I some time ago made a subscription, and I have been very glad to read your most interesting paper since then. I do not speak English very well, but I am fully able to read it, and I have learned much about many aspects of life in the U.S. and about the labor movement and the Negro freedom struggle, which is not to be found in the Danish press.

N.B.

Non-Goldwater Racist

Yellow Springs, Ohio

If anyone still thinks that it's impossible to be a Southern Democratic racist and still be a darling of the Johnson administration, Senator Albert Gore of Tennessee is living proof to the contrary. This became obvious when Gore spoke here at an Antioch College assembly.

Gore was one of 27 votes against the so-called civil rights bill (21 Democrats and six Republicans). He said, "Title Six allows the U.S. government to withhold federal aid from any state which has some section or sections where discrimination is practiced. This is an unjustified grant of power to the federal government."

This does not mean that Gore intends to support Goldwater, who also voted against the bill. Gore said he hoped Johnson would carry his state, Tennessee.

This also does not mean that Johnson thinks him unreliable. Gore was awarded the prestige of being asked to introduce the administration's Medicare bill.

Arthur Maglin

What Law in What Order?

New York, N.Y.

While reading the various accounts of the actions of the police in the New York ghettos, I always

came across the phrase: "We must maintain law and order."

When Governor Rockefeller, Mayor Wagner and President Johnson spoke of "law and order," they said specifically that the protection of property is the law and they indicated that "White man first, Black man last" is the order which they want to maintain. There has been very little mention of the human rights, for which the people of the ghetto are now struggling, by any of the Republicans or Democrats from Johnson and Goldwater right on down the line.

By the actions of the Republican-Democrat power structure in New York City and everywhere else, it has been shown that there is no real difference between Wallace, Wagner, Rockefeller, Johnson and Goldwater. Both parties will protect "law and order" against the people, who are denied the right in this society to "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

These parties do not support Freedom Now for the Negro people. They have a hard time trying to promise freedom tomorrow. The time is now ripe for the Negro people of this country to separate from the phony two-party fraud and to organize their own party in order to secure the power to win for themselves the rights

to "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness."

In this presidential election, there is only one alternative to the Republican-Democrat power structure, that is to vote for Clifton DeBerry, the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, the only party which stands unconditionally for Freedom Now.

Roland Sheppard

U.S. Lynchings

Baltimore, Md.

When two armed British imperialist troops were decapitated, thousands of miles from their homes, while trying to enforce British tyranny in the Near East, the entire capitalist press headlined the supposed "atrocities."

Now, when two decapitated and mutilated Negro bodies are fished from a Mississippi, U.S.A., river, the press doesn't make much noise when the fact is established that the bodies were not those of the now-famous three missing Freedom Fighters. One body is established as that of a college student missing for over a month.

Where are the headlines over the white lynch savages?

Where are the editorial cries for exposure of the number of Negroes who "disappear" every year at the hands of the never-to-be-punished lynchers?

Would the news of these mutilated black corpses have even reached the ears of the rest of the country had there not been some reason to believe they might be the missing three upon whom the eyes of the world were focused?

So that these young men may not have died completely in vain, please accept the enclosed contribution to be used to send introductory subscriptions to *The Militant* to college libraries, so that more Americans can know the truths which the capitalist press suppresses.

A. Robert Kaufman

The War Machine

Fort Bragg, Calif.

We have built up a multi-billion dollar war machine that takes over half of the national budget to support it. This huge military build-up has saddled the American people with a national debt of over \$300 billion, with no attempt being made to even hold it at its present level — let alone reduce it. All the income taxes paid by every person in the U.S. with an income of \$6,000 or less is required to pay the interest on this huge debt alone! And yet a docile Congress increases it every year without a murmur of protest.

Jack Odum

It Was Reported in the Press

Democrats Not Military-Minded?

— We certainly hold no brief for the Democrats but we feel Goldwater is exaggerating when he says the administration hasn't been doing a job of building U.S. war power. Evidence to the contrary is offered by Senator Stephen Young in a newsletter to constituents. The Ohio Democrat writes: "... in the past three years we have attained a 150 per cent increase in the number of nuclear warheads in our strategic alert forces, a 60 per cent increase in tactical nuclear forces deployed in Western Europe, a 75 per cent increase in airlift capability, a 100 per cent increase in ship construction and modernization and an 800 per cent increase in the Special Forces trained to deal with guerrilla warfare and counterinsurgency threats."

Death on the Installment Plan

— A Chicago cemetery is seeking an injunction to bar a tombstone company from removing headstones when buyers lag on payments. The cemetery charged the repossessions are causing confusion and disturbing cemetery employers. It was not reported if the application for an injunction took note of the possibility that if the tombstone company gets away with this it may set a precedent for morticians with payments due.

Police Morality

— New York Police Commissioner Murphy refuses to suspend Patrolman Gilligan whose killing of a 15-year-old Negro touched off the Harlem riots. But Murphy fired Patrolman Robert Rogan on charges that he had a girl friend with an allegedly "bad moral character." A state supreme court judge declared the firing "arbitrary and unreasonable" and ordered Rogan reinstated.

Leader? — We doubt that New York Police Commissioner Murphy will include Roy Wilkins on his list of "dangerous" Negro

leaders. In an Aug. 9 radio appearance, the NAACP spokesman told Harlemites who have been beaten, clubbed and gunned by New York cops that they shouldn't be "unduly sensitive" to police action. "If Negroes start objecting to the slightest thing that a policeman does to preserve order," he piously declared, "then we're really encouraging community anarchy."

Not Fit to Print?

— The *New York Times* has a headline writer with a delicate touch. The Aug. 6 issue reported: "Hiroshima Notes Anniversary of First Atomic Bomb." It was a report of the mass observance of the nineteenth anniversary of the leveling of the city by the first atom bomb. The article itself was equally delicate. It refrained from mentioning that the bomb was dropped by the U.S.

Federal Planning

— The government has \$38 million worth of uncrated "Civil Defense Hospitals," according to Rep. William Proxmire of Wisconsin. He said there are 1,900 crated hospitals with 38,000 beds and other hospital equipment and drugs stored around the country on the theory they might be needed in case of nuclear attack. The program calls for an eventual 10,000 such hospitals at a cost of more than \$400 million. Proxmire called for a halt

to the program and the uncrating and use of the existing units. He didn't say if any mental hospitals had been crated for the people who dreamed up the project.

March of Science — A Las Vegas hotel has installed a row of electronic slot machines to clip the suckers at a faster rate than the old one-armed bandits.

It Will Roll 'Em in the Aisles

— Kaufman Carpets, a New York chain is giving up the "hard sell" in its advertising and, according to its ad agency, will be getting "a new image — one with a touch of bright, sophisticated humor." Example: A cartoon series will show Harry Kaufman, chairman of the company, and a salesman choosing rugs for marksmen. The salesman asks: "Excuse me, Mr. Kaufman, but why the specials?" And the chairman answers: "It's my birthday!"

Those 'Free' Trading Stamps

— Trading stamps add about 67 cents a week to the average family's grocery bill, according to an 11-month study by two University of Rhode Island professors. They found that prices in one grocery chain rose 3.482 per cent after it began giving away stamps. Deducting the value of the stamps, they found a net increase of 2.02 per cent. The study took into account price increases due to other factors.

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"SOME LIBERAL PUBLICATIONS FELT AT A LOSS FOR WORDS to describe the liberal Democratic role in passing the Butler-Humphrey-Dies Communist Control Act of 1954..."

"Arthur M. Schlesinger, a co-national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, grieved over the 'hasty and reckless action' and 'foolishness' displayed by his friends in Congress. (Humphrey is also an ADA officer.) He said they 'succeeded triumphantly in placing their party to the right of Joe McCarthy' when they tried to commit the Department of Justice 'to a program of mass round-ups and prosecutions unprecedented in history.' The bill finally passed, though not as sweeping as Humphrey and Morse demanded, 'is quite strong enough for a Herbert Brownell to use with effect on some of their friends,' including maybe even Truman."

"Their action will 'plague' them, Schlesinger predicted, because this liberal 'collection of hotheads running wild like kids after their first glass of beer at a picnic' has destroyed 'one of the best Democratic campaign issues in the fall' — namely, their claim to be a party of 'responsible opposition.' (Meaning, you fools are losing us votes.)" — August 30, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"AS A RESULT OF THEIR PROTEST against continued racial discrimination and segregation, 19 Negro recruits in the Seabees were given dishonorable discharges in October 1943..."

"Discrimination and segregation began first in boot camp, Camp Allen, Va., where the Negro recruits were segregated in living quarters and mess hall and were compelled to buy at a special 'colored' section of the post exchange..."

"When the unit was shipped, an attempt was made to segregate the Negro Seabees to the after part of the ship's decks, the pretext being the desirability of separating men on the basis of their ratings. This was protested and halted."

"When discrimination... continued at their overseas base, the Negroes once more protested. This led to an 'off-the-record' conference called by their commanding officer, at which the Negroes aired their many grievances. At this meeting, it was proposed to set up an inter-racial committee to better the relations between whites and Negroes."

"The very next day the participants in the meeting, called by their commanding officer, were summoned before the regimental commander, who told them they were charged with the formation of a 'secret' organization in violation of Navy regulations. Two days later they were all given dishonorable discharge." — August 26, 1944.

Thought for the Week

"For six months I have been head of a totalitarian regime without being totalitarian. I can head a dictatorial regime without being a dictator." — South Vietnam dictator Khanh, on the occasion of appointing himself "president."

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Bias, Brutality Sparked Chicago-Area Outbreak

By Beverly Webber

CHICAGO — The Negro rebellion which broke out in the small suburb of Dixmore, Aug. 16, was directed against the poverty, slum conditions and oppression characteristic of black ghettos large and small across the country.

Dixmore rates a low 231 out of 250 Chicago and suburban communities in education and income, and that's including Dixmore's 1200 better-off whites. The young Negroes are especially hard hit by unemployment.

An ominous feature of the riot was the presence of whites determined to attack the Negroes. One white was admitted to the hospital after shooting off his finger attempting to load a gun. Police report that they held off crowds of white men trying to get into the Negro areas.

This is the first instance in any of the recent clashes between Negroes and the police around the country that whites attempted to join the police in attacking Negroes. Many whites, as well as Negroes, were injured.

Discontent Ignited

The spark that ignited the smoldering discontent in the Dixmore ghetto was word in the neighborhood of brutality on the part of a white businessman toward a Negro woman. Michael (Big Mike) Lapota, owner of the Foremost Liquor store, was claimed to have beat 22-year-old Blondella Woods for allegedly "trying to steal" a bottle of gin on the afternoon of August 15. Lapota weighs 300 pounds. He claimed he was simply holding her for the cops.

Within a couple of hours friends of the woman had gathered in front of the store, with homemade picket signs reading "Big Mike Must Go," "Mike Beats Negro Women," and "Dixmore Police Are Afraid of Big Mike." During the

night the news of the beating spread through the ghetto.

On the following day, Sunday, the pickets returned. By evening a large group of Negroes had collected across the street from the liquor store and were listening to impromptu speakers, described by the newspapers as "Black Muslims." Tensions were running high, and when a rock was thrown through the store window, the crowd surged across the street.

Clashes Expand

The rioting spread into the neighborhood, as the Negroes threw stones and bricks at police, and clashes occurred with whites. The police were reinforced to number 200 against the 1,000 demonstrating Negroes and attacked them with clubs, tear-gas, high velocity fire hoses and dogs. Police were greeted with cries of "Gestapo."

The racist attitude of the cops involved was blatant. A cop said, as he rode over to the riot area, "I'm going to be right in the middle of the head busting. I don't mind them picketing for what they got coming, but this is plain damned vandalism. And you know who's right in the middle of it — the Commies." Other cops and local newspapers blamed "Muslims." Another cop said, "We always got along fine with colored people here, but for one or two paid agitators."

After six hours of battle, police armed with shotguns forced the Negroes into their homes, leaving one Negro shot, many injured. Then they made arrests by breaking into homes, and on the street. Of the 29 men and two women arrested, most were between the ages of 17 and 22.

As in the riots in New Jersey and New York, the participants were mainly youth. Their anger is deep.

MURDER IN MISSISSIPPI

When Will FBI Bring Killers to Justice?

By Jay Garnett

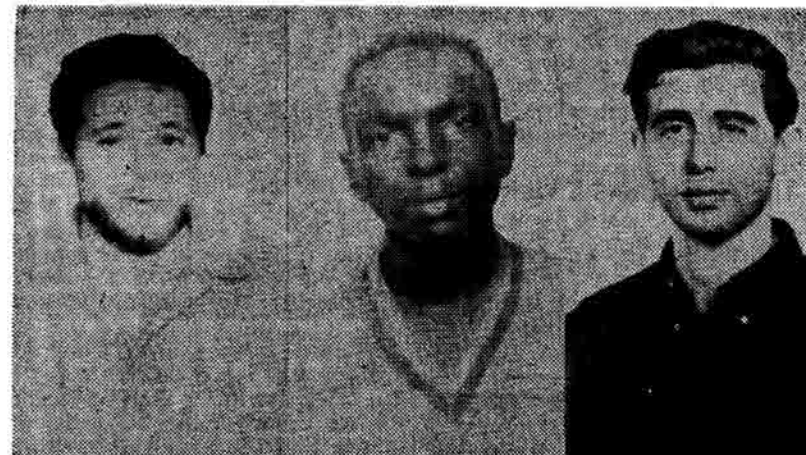
AUGUST 18 — It is now almost two weeks since the bodies of the three civil-rights workers, James Chaney, Albert Goodman, and Michael Schwerner, missing for nearly two months, were found buried inside a dirt dam near Philadelphia, Miss. The Federal Bureau of Investigation — which, immediately after the bodies were found and identified, refused to say anything but hinted that they were building an airtight case against suspected assassins — has become completely silent and the press almost seems to have forgotten the incident.

Reports were leaked Aug. 7 that the FBI was questioning "a preacher, a bootlegger, a used-car dealer, a radio-TV repairman, a lawman, and an elected official." This partly coincides with the claim of rights activist and comedian Dick Gregory who said the day before that he had turned over to the FBI a letter and tape-recording he had received. Gregory said the documents revealed where the bodies were and named the killers: "a preacher, a salesman and three cops."

FBI Denial

The FBI denied that the letter or recordings played a part in efforts to locate the bodies or identify the killers. But the letter said the bodies could be found "between five and eight miles to the right coming south from Philadelphia"; the bodies were found, according to the Aug. 6 *New York Post*, "several hundred yards off the main road running south from Philadelphia about six miles from the town where the trio was last seen alive."

Quite a coincidence to be brushed off by the FBI! Gregory said they went "out of their way to tell me how crazy this guy [the writer of the letter] was." A further question or two are raised if one believes the report in the Aug. 6 *Post* that "FBI agents knew



MARTYRS. Michael Schwerner (left), James E. Chaney (center) and Andrew Goodman, the three civil rights fighters who were murdered in Mississippi. Will their killers pay the penalty?

exactly where to look for the bodies. They brought a rented drag-line excavator to the center of a 250-foot-long, 25-foot-high dirt dam and scooped down 20 feet to the precise spot where the victims were buried."

Nor has the FBI said anything about the report of the pathologist at the University of Mississippi Medical Center to whom the FBI initially turned over the bodies. He said there was no evidence the young rights workers had been beaten. But a second medical examination of James Chaney's body, requested by his mother, established that he had been "severely beaten."

Speaking at James Chaney's funeral in Philadelphia, CORE field worker David Dennis said, "I believe the people in Washington and Jackson are just as

much to blame for this death as the people who pulled the trigger." And he bitterly added, "I know what is going to happen when they find those men. A jury will come in and say, 'not guilty.'"

Meanwhile, the reign of terror in Mississippi continues. On Aug. 17, Silas McGhee, a Greenwood Negro, was shot in the face by a white racist youth when the young SNCC worker sat in his car in the "Negro section" of town. On Aug. 15, an explosion and fire destroyed a tavern and grocery next door to a freedom house in Natchez. In McComb the same day, a bomb damaged a Negro supermarket across the street from a church which civil rights workers had been using to hold a freedom school. It shattered the windows and damaged the walls and roofs.

3 Detroit Negro Candidates Are Endorsed by Socialists

By Marilyn Levin

DETROIT — The Michigan Socialist Workers Party has endorsed Dr. Louis Cleage and Richard Henry who are running as a team in the September non-partisan primary election for two of the three vacancies on the Detroit Board of Education.

Dr. Louis Cleage is a contributing writer to *The Illustrated News*, an outspoken publication advocating nationalism and militant action on the part of black people.

Richard Henry, a government technical writer, is president of the Group on Advanced Leadership (GOAL), which has been active in the fight against discrimination in the schools.

The SWP is also supporting the campaign of Attorney Henry Cleage, editor of *The Illustrated News* and brother of Dr. Louis Cleage, in his candidacy for Recorder Court Judge. The party called for a "No" vote on the so-called Home-owners Ordinance put forward by racists to legalize housing discrimination in Detroit. All three candidates are independent of the two major parties and have the endorsement of the Michigan Freedom Now Party and GOAL.

The two candidates for the Board of Education spoke at the Friday Night Socialist Forum on August 14. Attorney Cleage will share the platform with Clifton DeBerry, the SWP's candidate for President, on August 28.

Dr. Cleage, in discussing his candidacy, said that there had been enough of the type of Negro candidates who are elected to "represent" the Negro community and then keep quiet once they are elected. A candidate who would really represent the Negro com-

munity should be a "big, bad Negro," he said. "One who isn't timid and can't be out talked. He should feel equal deep down in his heart and be mad that anyone else doesn't believe it." The ideal Negro candidate is "loud, ornery and aggressive, and has two or three degrees just to show that he's just ornery and not ignorant." Dr. Cleage fulfills all these qualifications.

"They're just not teaching our kids to read," said Dr. Cleage. "They call them culturally deprived and then rather than giving them more attention and spending more money on them, they stick them in overcrowded classrooms, in rundown schools, with poor equipment and a limited curriculum."

Richard Henry discussed the curriculum that should be taught in the public schools. He felt that Swahili should be taught as an elective. When questioned about the teaching of Negro history, Henry said he would work to get the normal history courses to include a just treatment of Negro history.

In answer to the question, "Is integration of schools necessary in order to make equal and adequate education for everyone?" Dr. Cleage replied, "All schools should be equally good." He is opposed to artificial integration. "A Negro kid should go to the nearest school to where he lives and that school should be so good that it would be stupid to put him on a bus to go to the white school so he could get educated."

Both candidates pointed to the tremendous waste of Negro genius because of the neglect of Negro schoolchildren by the white educational system.

Socialist Nominee Answers Lies

Papers Smear Anti-Jim-Crow Protestors

By Lawrence Stewart

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey

I find it hard to contain my temper when I pick up a paper or turn on the TV and get told that the outbreaks in the black ghettos in Jersey City, Paterson and Elizabeth were the work of "hoodlums" and "thugs." Being a Negro who has lived all of his life in the ghettos is enough basis for knowing what a dirty lie this is.

In the first place, the biggest responsibility for touching off the riots rests on the shoulders of club-swinging, trigger-happy, racist-minded cops.

In the second place — as you can find out just by digging deep enough into the very papers that talk about "hoodlums" — the real cause of these explosions is that the people — and, yes, mostly the young people — just can't tolerate living under the terrible conditions of the ghetto any longer. Even a prejudiced paper like the *New York Times* admitted this in its articles on the New Jersey riots.

Paterson Outbreak

It said, for example, that among the causes of the outbreaks in Paterson are "deteriorating sub-standard housing," "declining industry" (a fancy way of saying that jobs are disappearing as plants shut down for good), an unemployment rate of over 20 per cent, and a callous city administration which the "respectable" Negro leaders complain "hasn't

given us anything to take back to them" in the ghetto.

The *Times* also says that with wives and mothers forced to work in Paterson clothing factories for the minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour, family problems are created that build up a deep, underlying "frustration" with the entire system.

Added to the "frustrations" of rotten housing, slave wages and unemployment, there are the get-tough city officials who think they can ride roughshod over the black people.

During the Paterson outbreak Mayor Graves was bellowing: "Get off the streets. Go home. There won't be any warning next time. You'll be shot!"



Graves boasted his cops were ready to use armored cars, sawed-off shotguns, tear gas, and the "full resources of the Fire Department."

The Mayor of Elizabeth, already having decided who is guilty, promised that arrested "rioters" would be vigorously prosecuted. No complaints — that is, of police brutality or provocation! — from "Negro offenders" would be considered until after the demonstrations had ceased, he said.

Jersey City Brutality

A example of the police brutality in Jersey City was described in the Aug. 5 *Times*. A Negro city official, and some clergymen were "trying to calm" a group of young Negroes during the days of outbreaks. A bottle smashed in the middle of the street and cops charged across the street at them, swinging their clubs. When the Negro official protested that he was "only trying to calm the youth," a cop told him: "Shut your damn mouth!" Someone told the cop he was a city official and the cop answered, "I don't give a damn."

I am running in this election to expose and oppose the racist Democratic and Republican machines which carry on this violence against my people. And I intend to point out that the conduct of the cops in these outbreaks makes it all too clear that the idea of ending police brutality by methods of "nonviolent resistance" is a pipe dream.