

# THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 28 - No. 32 Monday, September 14, 1964 Price 10c

## DeBerry and Shaw Open National Speaking Tours

Both Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw, the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for President and Vice President, have just begun campaign tours which will keep them addressing audiences from coast to coast until the eve of the election.

DeBerry, the first Negro candidate for President ever run by a party in this country, will speak on "Why Johnson is No Answer to Goldwater." This speech will take up the bi-partisan stand of the two capitalist parties on civil rights, the phony nature of Johnson's "War on Poverty," the nuclear brinkmanship of both major parties, and the lessons to be drawn from both the Democratic and Republican conventions.

### Tour Schedule

DeBerry begins his tour with a speech in Baltimore Sept. 15. Thence he goes to New York (Sept. 18-23), Boston (Sept. 24-26), Nashville (Sept. 28) and Chicago (Sept. 30-Oct. 3). After his meetings in Chicago, the SWP presidential candidate will start on the Western leg of his tour.

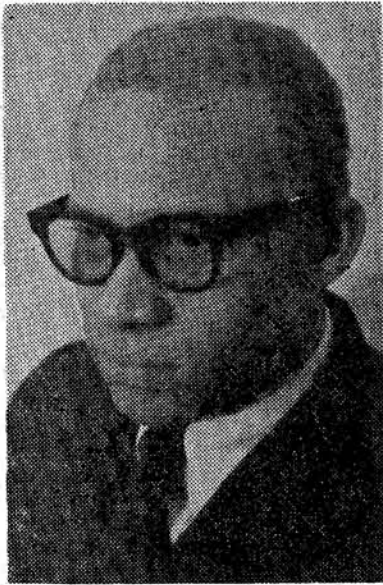
A native of Mississippi, DeBerry has lived and been active in the union and civil rights movements in the South, Midwest and the East. His speeches reflect his varied experiences in the fight for labor and civil rights.

Vice-presidential candidate Edward Shaw opened his speaking tour in Newark Sept. 11. Thence he goes to Detroit (Sept. 17-21) where for many years he was active in the trade-union and socialist movements. Shaw then makes a long hop to California to address meetings in Los Angeles and San Diego (Sept. 23-26), followed by meetings in the San Francisco Bay Area (Sept. 28-Oct. 1). The SWP vice-presidential candidate will then start working his way east, addressing meetings in the West and Midwest.

The titles of speeches scheduled to be delivered by Shaw includes one, centering on domestic issues, entitled "How to Fight Poverty, Unemployment and Racial Discrimination."

### Foreign Policy

A second, which deals with foreign policy, especially in regard to Cuba, Latin America, Vietnam and the Congo, is entitled "Why a Vote for Johnson or Goldwater Is a Vote for War." In this election Shaw has the distinction of being the candidate for national office who is best informed on



Clifton DeBerry

Latin American matters. He has made three trips to Cuba, in which he traveled the island from one end to the other, since the Revolution of which he is a staunch defender.

### "Lesser-Evilism"

The SWP vice-presidential candidate's third speech should be of special interest to socialists, progressives and civil-rights activists. It bears the title, "The Dead-End of Lesser-Evil Politics," and deals with the self-defeating theory so prevalent this election year. In this speech Shaw outlines practical steps to counter the rising influence of the right wing in America and explains the need for a Labor Party and for independent Negro political action.

A subsequent issue of *The Militant* will list the remainder of the tour schedules of DeBerry and Shaw.

## THEY NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD

# The Big Business Switch-Over to Johnson

By Art Preis

The myth long fostered by the American trade union bureaucracy that the Democratic Party is some sort of workingman's party is being undermined these days. Of course, the Democratic Party has always been controlled by a section of the capitalist class but the support of the labor leadership has served to conceal the party's real class character.

It actually began with the rise of the modern industrial union movement back in 1936. That's when union leaders like John L. Lewis and Sidney Hillman sold labor a bill of goods that Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was actually a Wall Street lawyer, was a "friend of labor." The Communist Party, too, in one of its notorious shifts, hailed Roosevelt.

It is almost forgotten that Roosevelt in his election campaign of 1932 had the backing of most of the big capitalists of this country, the outstanding figures of wealth. It was only when Roosevelt was forced to initiate some mild social reforms to save the capitalist system that many of the big capitalists turned on him.

In the 1960 election the Demo-

# CORE Hits Clearing Of N. Y. Killer-Cop

By William Bundy

NEW YORK — A hand-picked grand jury on Sept. 1 returned the expected decision refusing to indict New York City Police Lieutenant Thomas R. Gilligan for the killing of 15-year-old James Powell last July. It was the killing of the Negro student which precipitated the fighting between police and Negroes in Harlem, the first in the recent series of social explosions in this country's black ghettos. A special report prepared by the legal staff of CORE assailed the clearing of Gilligan.

Grand-jury proceedings are usually kept secret but a special white-wash report on this case was released to the press by District Attorney Frank Hogan's office as the grand-jury decision was announced. This report does not even mention those witnesses to the killing, including adult whites, who testified that the 122-pound Powell did not have a knife when the 200-pound, six-foot-tall Gilligan shot him twice.

That this grand jury would follow well-established precedent and absolve the killer-cop was expected. Grand juries in this city are notorious as tools of the prosecutors and police departments. They are chosen, not from the ordinary jury lists, but from special lists drawn up by the authorities to guarantee their reactionary and pliable character. In this case, for example, one of the two Negroes put on the grand jury for window dressing, was ultra-right columnist George S. Schuyler, a recent congressional candidate of the Goldwaterite Conservative Party and an apologist for the Portuguese regime in Angola. Schuyler's arch-reactionary columns often attack the civil-rights movement, including the NAACP and CORE.

The grand-jury action and Hogan report were immediately denounced by many conservative civil-rights leaders. "This was nothing more than we expected," said Rev. Richard Hildebrand, New York NAACP president. "It shows," he said, "that a Negro's life in New York has no more value than a Negro's life in Mississippi."

National NAACP Executive Director Roy Wilkins declared:



"THEY KILLED MY BABY!" Mrs. Annie Powell, widowed mother of 15-year-old James Powell who was shot to death by police officer James Gilligan, July 16, cried, "My baby, my baby, they killed my baby," as she left Harlem funeral parlor July 20 escorted by funeral attendant. The killing of her son touched off the Harlem anti-police outbreak.

"They can explain and explain until they're blue in the face, but they'll never explain why it's necessary for a police officer to shoot a 15-year-old kid. It just doesn't go down."

CORE National Director James Farmer held a press conference Sept. 2 at which the special detailed report prepared by CORE's legal staff was released on the case. The CORE report, based on an intensive investigation begun at the direction of CORE General Counsel Carl Rachlin within two hours after the killing, declares that "Powell was shot needlessly."

The CORE document also challenges the Hogan report on a provocative and extremely dangerous interpretation of the law. The Hogan report states that if there

is "disorderly conduct," the policeman may kill if he is resisted. "In other words," comments the CORE report on Hogan's position, "a violation of law not even a crime can be transformed by a policeman's aggression into a situation in which he becomes judge, jury and executioner."

Lieut. Gilligan, off duty and in civilian clothes at the time of the killing, claims Powell brandished a knife at him. Gilligan had approached Powell with his gun drawn after the youth and some of his schoolmates had been involved in a minor altercation with the white custodian of a building in front of which the students had congregated.

The CORE report points out that "it is plain that Powell did not in fact commit a crime justifying Gilligan's interference with deadly force." The report continues:

"Indeed, as Gilligan faced Powell, the boy was already leaving 215. [The building to which the white custodian had retreated after having sprayed the Negro students with a water hose.] No crime was, therefore, in progress. Gilligan could not, therefore, have been acting to apprehend a sus-

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Edward Shaw

crats ran the scion of one of the wealthiest families in the world. He had been the man who had just steered the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin bill, of which he was an actual co-author, through Congress. But that did not prevent the labor leaders from representing John F. Kennedy as a great "friend of labor."

Lyndon B. Johnson represents a new development since the last time, in 1932, big business openly backed the Democratic candidate. There has already begun an open defection of leading capitalists from the Republican Party to the Democratic standard of Johnson.

### Ford Likes LBJ

The declaration of support for Johnson by Henry Ford II was at first considered just an individual gesture. Since then a considerable stream of big businessmen have swung over to Johnson, a number of them making their positions known publicly.

This shift of capitalist support to Johnson became so marked in the weeks prior to the Democratic convention that the Aug. 17 *New York Times* ran an extensive feature article by M. J. Rossant describing the extent of the shift of

business support to Johnson. Rossant writes:

"The Republican Party, which has enjoyed the allegiance of most businessmen, is faced with sizable defections to the Democratic Party, which has long been considered 'anti-business' and 'pro-labor.'"

Rossant adds: "Support for President Johnson is particularly marked in 'big' business circles — the nation's major corporations and banking houses — that have traditionally backed Republican politicians and policies."

The *Times* cites a representative of the Business Council, which comprises some of the nation's top executives, to the effect that more than 60 per cent of them will be "solidly behind Mr. Johnson."

Johnson, according to the *Times*, has sought businessmen's support "and offered them a chance to make their influence felt." One executive is quoted: "He is the answer to our prayers."

Senator Goldwater, says the *Times*, will not lack financial and moral support from some business elements, "but the assumption that most businessmen will automatically rally behind the Republican

(Continued on Page 2)



James Farmer



# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Fist fights broke out on the floor of the United Mine Workers convention in Miami Beach last week as the machine of UMW President W. A. Boyle was denounced by delegates angry over Boyle's refusal to authorize strikes.

Running against Boyle for president of the union is Steve Kochis Jr. of Bobtown, Pa. The Kochis faction is critical of the bituminous contract signed last May which was followed by a series of unauthorized strikes in Ohio, West Virginia and Pennsylvania. The UMW elects its president by a referendum, not at the convention. The fist fights broke out when the honesty of the election procedure was questioned.

Speaking to the convention, Boyle threatened his critics and declared: "I was a miner once, and I liked to strike as much as the next man — but we've got to grow up and mature a little."

**A rally in defense of James R. Hoffa**, President of the Teamsters, is being organized for October in the Los Angeles Shrine Auditorium. It is sponsored by a "Rank-and-File Conference In Defense of Our Unions," which met in Los Angeles Aug. 22. The conference was composed mainly of members of the Teamsters Union and the West Coast International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union, but included members of the United Steelworkers, Office Workers, Electricians, Screen Actors, Lathers, Railway Carmen, Carpenters, and Plumbers — all in an unofficial capacity.

The conference grew out of a breakfast gathering July 18 organized by Teamsters and Longshoremen with ILWU President Harry Bridges as the main speaker. This gathering was unexpectedly successful, with 500 in attendance, mostly young men.



Harry Bridges

The Aug. 22 conference resolved to aid "the defense and vindication of Brother James R. Hoffa, leader of the largest and most pivotal labor organization in our country, through all the forums and avenues available to us."

The **General Electric Corporation** is proceeding with a wage-cut program at the company's home base in Schenectady. Under the heavily advertised slogan "Make Schenectady Competitive" or "MSC," the company has begun elimination of the old incentive-pay system under which some 3,000 of the company's 21,000 Schenectady employees, formerly made much more than base wages.

This particular incentive system tends to raise workers' wages as new machinery is introduced. GE wants a free hand to collect all the gravy from automation. The company recently announced it intends to invest \$24 million in new equipment at the Schenectady plant. According to Local 301 of the International Union of Electrical Workers, AFL-CIO, this is just about equal to what the company will save in two years due to the pay cuts.

The new system substitutes a form of measured-day work for the incentive system — in other words, incentive work without incentive pay. It will result in pay cuts of \$1 per hour and more. The union is resisting the change and the IUE-GE conference board voted Aug. 31 to call a company-wide strike "when Local 301 is forced to strike." About 70,000 IUE members work at 70 GE plants across the country.

**A lesson in strike economics** is provided by the bitter six-week grain handlers stoppage in Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis., which was settled Aug. 14. The strike, by locals of the American Federation of Grain Millers against owners of eleven Duluth-Superior terminal elevators, was noteworthy for the stream of old-fashioned company propaganda in the Minnesota news media.

During the strike, capitalist propaganda over the air and in newspapers claimed the workers would suffer permanently because the grain shipping would shift to other places. Now that the strike has been settled, with a 20-cent-an-hour raise over three years and fringe benefits won by the union, the grain is going through Duluth-Superior as before and it has been announced that the backlog built up during the strike will also be shipped through the same ports.

The Finnish-English language paper *Industrialisti*, published in Duluth, points out that this proves again that the total man-hours worked during a season, is not necessarily cut because of a strike, except in service industries. In this case, even if the wages for the time on strike were entirely lost, the raises won will make up the lost money in less than a year.

## All HUAC's Cops Couldn't Stop One Nazi Hoodlum

The House Un-American Activities Committee announced that it had mobilized a special police force to see to it that nobody hostile to the committee would be able to exhibit their feelings when students who had defied the ban on travel to Cuba appeared before the committee Sept. 3 and 4. But the army of cops and U.S. marshals apparently was insufficient to prevent a member of the American Nazi Party from leaping on one of the witnesses while he was testifying and trying to throttle him.

On both days the committee held to a minimum the number of people admitted to the hearing chamber who might be sympathetic to the witnesses. But even the day after the assault by the American Nazi they permitted George Lincoln Rockwell, fuhrer of the gang, and two of his followers to sit in the audience.

When their presence was protested, Rep. Richard H. Ichord (Dem.-Mo.), who was presiding, piously declared that anyone was free to attend the public sessions. The American Nazis are enthusiastic supporters of the committee, contending that only "Jews and Communists" oppose it.

The committee heard three witnesses, all of whom refused to cooperate with the witch-hunters. The witnesses included Morton B. Slater of New York, who was summoned on the ground that he had helped organize the trip to Cuba. Slater was the witness attacked by the Nazi.

Also on the stand were Yvonne Marie Bond of Oakland Calif., from whom the committee unsuccessfully sought to obtain information on how the trip was financed, and Edward Lemansky, who was asked to confirm if he had cheered a film scene showing an American plane being shot down in Vietnam.

## ..Switch to Johnson

(Continued from Page 1)

standard bearer no longer holds true."

Another leading New York newspaper on Aug. 26, under the headline, "LBJ Strong in Wall St.," declared: "A survey by the *New York Post* reveals that the President has gained such strength among big-business leaders that some Republicans are fearing a landslide defeat."

The Sept. 2 *New York Herald-Tribune*, a traditionally Republican paper, reported a "strange" development at a recent Minneapolis meeting of Republican "business heavyweights": eight of 17 said they planned to vote for Johnson, only six for Goldwater, and three were undecided. "The Republican Party's traditional dependence on business for election-year contributions . . . is threatened . . . as never before in this century."

The facts cited above make it clear that any talk of the Democratic Party being labor's party is hokum. The Democratic Party is clearly revealed as a capitalist party bought and paid for by big-business elements.



# REVIEWS and REPORTS

**AFTER NORA SLAMMED THE DOOR.** By Eve Merriam. New York: World Publ. Co., 236 pages, \$4.95.

Eve Merriam, a talented poet and satirist with a broad historical vision, brings these talents to her new book on the "unfinished revolution" of American women. She takes off from Henrik Ibsen's famous play, *A Doll's House*, produced in 1879, in which the heroine, Nora, articulated the long-suppressed indignation of 19th Century women at their degradation and set out in quest for freedom.

The author then proceeds to analyze the frustrations encountered by the Nora of today when she walks out of her doll's house, split-level or otherwise, attempting to slam it shut forever behind her.

As a career woman, competing in a man's world, she is forced to become equally calculating and rapacious in the race to climb the ladder of monied success. She thereby earns, in addition to male hostility, the resentment and envy of other women. As a single woman, either by choice or necessity, she is shunted aside and left to rot in loneliness. As a housewife, she is often obliged to re-open the door and crawl back into the cage of domesticity. Such are the usual fates of middle-class womanhood. The mass of working-class women are tossed to and fro between the alternatives of low-paid jobs or unpaid domestic drudgery.

On all sides, women striving to achieve independence and a meaningful life feel the pressure: "Nora, go home!"

Eve Merriam is well aware of the source of the pressures upon women to become "Momsters" at home or "displaced persons" elsewhere. The struggle for survival — and status — under the capitalist system mutilates, humiliates and deprives both sexes of their dignity and rights. In a telling passage she equates the grovelling of the organization man before his office superiors with the subservience of the housewife before her bill-paying husband.

The indicated conclusion of her wise and biting survey is that radical social changes are required to permanently slam the door on the capitalist cage and "put marriage in its emancipated place and give both Nora and Nora's husband a home."

—E. Reed

**HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES: Bulwark of Segregation.** By Anne Braden, National Committee to Abolish HUAC, 49 pp.

This pamphlet documents the great harm that the witch-hunting House Un-American Activities Committee has done to the civil-rights movement by directly and indirectly causing thousands of civil-rights advocates to be labeled as communists. "The evidence is mounting," Mrs. Braden writes, "that there is a direct cause-and-effect relationship between this labeling process and the shortage of people ready to act for integration."

She further states that state HUACs have come into existence all over the South as part of the drive to discredit civil-rights leaders and organizations by branding them subversive. In this they have been joined by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee of Mississippi Senator Eastland, whom she dubs the "personification of segregation."

The author documents her charge that the reports of both



Eastland

Equal Rights = Red?

HUAC and the Eastland Committee are used extensively to smear the integration movement and are so used by the Ku Klux Klan, White Citizens Councils and the white-supremacist newspapers. She relates how a number of civil-rights organizations have driven those accused of being communists from their ranks and published denials of the charges against the organizations. Further, they have refused to work with other groups which have not taken such steps. "But none of this has decreased the cries of communism against these groups at all. If anything, the shouts have increased."

She cites other instances where leaders and groups have ignored the cries of subversion and have defeated the aims of the Un-American committees. Mrs. Braden concludes that the abolition of HUAC would be a tremendous boon to the fight against segregation.

The pamphlet is published by the National Committee to Abolish HUAC and contains a listing of five pages of the committee's sponsors, many of whom are integration leaders in the South.

Anne Braden is editor of the *Southern Patriot* and author of *The Wall Between*. That memorable book recounted the anti-Jim Crow and civil-liberties struggle in which she and her equally courageous husband, Carl Braden, also a white Southerner, became involved in 1954 when they assisted a young Negro veteran to purchase a home outside the Louisville ghetto. After withstanding an armed siege, the house was bombed. Carl Braden was framed-up under Kentucky's sedition law and spent eight months in prison before the exorbitant bail of \$40,000 could be raised. His conviction was reversed in 1956 by a U.S. Supreme Court ruling against state sedition laws. But in 1961 he was again victimized for his civil-rights activities throughout the South. This time he was hailed before HUAC, which he denounced for attacking the integration movement, and sent to prison for a year for contempt of Congress.

—Vincent Hernandez

## 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**  
Forum, Fri., Sept. 18, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**DETROIT**  
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. 15, 6:45 p.m. (Repeated Sept. 16, 9 a.m.). KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

**MINNEAPOLIS**  
THE JOE JOHNSON CASE: WHY DOES THE GOVERNMENT WANT TO DEPORT A NATIVE AMERICAN. Speakers: Joe Johnson and Fannie Curran, secretary, Joe Johnson Defense Committee. Friday, Sept. 18, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

**NEW YORK**  
THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND THE FREEDOM NOW VOTE. A symposium: panelists include Ted Baker, Director, Interboro Discussion Club, Paul Boutelle, Freedom Now Party candidate for State Senator banned from speaking in his district; Clifton DeBerry, SWP presidential nominee; Lez Edmonds, chairman Queens Freedom Now Party; and a representative from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Fri., Sept. 18, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl., Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

**FRIDAY, SEPT. 25 — REPORT ON CUBA** by panel of students who visited there this summer.

**PHILADELPHIA**  
HEAR CLIFTON DeBERRY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, on WHY JOHNSON IS NO ANSWER TO GOLDWATER. Wednesday, Sept. 16, 8 p.m., Tyree A.M.E. Church, 38th and Hamilton.



**THE POVERTY IN APPALACHIA**

**Private Enterprise Is the Root**

**NIGHT COMES TO THE CUMBERLANDS.** A Biography of a Depressed Area. By Harry M. Caudill. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 394 pp. \$6.75.

Under the mountains of political demagoguery, sociological abstractions and liberal confusion, currently heaped on the problem of poverty in America's No. 1 depressed area, lies a cold, hard fact: Private enterprise has failed as a system for advancing human progress and Appalachia is irrefutable proof.

Powerful evidence to support this socialist thesis is contained in Harry M. Caudill's *Night Comes to the Cumberland* despite the fact that providing it was certainly not the aim of the author.

"The purpose of this work," he states in the introduction, "is to trace the social, economic and political forces which produced the vast 'depressed area' of eastern Kentucky."

That he does as only a person with his particularly happy combination of qualifications could do.

He is a native son of the Cumberlandlands. "What I have written is drawn from experience — from seeing, hearing and working with mountaineers. In a land with few books and pens many tales are transmitted from father and mother to son and daughter. Such tales and legends breathe out a rich past to anyone patient enough to hear them. From my grandmothers and scores of other ancient storytellers were acquired

many of the incidents and impressions I have related. After all, people of my blood and name have lived in the plateau from the beginning. My grandfather's grandfather, James Caudill, was the first white man to call what is now Letcher County his home. He built his cabin in 1792 . . .

"My grandfather, Henry Caudill, served four years as a lieutenant in the Confederate Army, was wounded and totally pauperized in the process. My mother's grandfather fought on the other side, a fact which caused me to be indoctrinated from both directions. In more recent times, my father lost an arm in a mining accident. Still later my only brother was seriously disabled in a similar mishap. Since 1948 I have practiced law in mountain court-houses. Three times I have been elected to represent my county in the Kentucky Legislature . . ."

To his intimate knowledge of the history and problems and aspirations of the people of Eastern Kentucky and the neighboring Cumberland counties ("Few of the deep social and economic forces which afflict a people stop at lines drawn on political maps . . ."), Caudill adds poetic insight.

Unlike many of the "sociological analyses," "case histories" and public and private "studies" that have been written on Appalachia, his book contains many passages that read like blank verse. His description of the felling of a mountain giant in the early logging boom is a literary gem in the vividness with which it con-

veys the closeness of man and nature in those days.

And when that same articulateness is applied to expressing the helplessness and the hopelessness of the permanently jobless ex-miners today, the reader wants to fight or cry.

But emotional appeal is not the method nor propaganda the style of the book. Rather, it is a well-knit history of the development of the social, economic and political experience of the people from earliest frontier days, through the Civil War, the coming to power of the coal industry, the two world wars and depressions, the rise and fall of the United Mine Workers union, the Welfare State, and the scene today.

**An Ugly Chapter**

In the Foreword to the book, Secretary of Interior Stewart L. Udall says, "Life on the Cumberland Plateau today is an anachronism, a remnant of an ugly chapter of our history. In the Nineteenth Century we recklessly plundered our continent . . . without regard for the needs of future generations."

He sees Caudill's book as "also the story of what other parts of America might have been, if we had not developed a land ethic and formulated a systematic conservation program."

I wonder if Mr. Udall read the book. Far from being an anachronism, life in the plateau today is described as the very logical outcome of the capitalist exploitation of the area by the coal companies within the framework of a political democracy in which property rights have legal priority over human rights.

The obvious fallacy in Mr. Udall's conservationist theory is that it sees only the land problem and does not explain how less wasteful exploitation of the coal and timber would have avoided displacement of miners by mechanization and automation. Or, for that matter, why unemployment and poverty exist in many major cities and other rural areas, where land conservation is not an issue.

A much more logical conclusion from Caudill's facts on how the private enterprise system has functioned is provided in his final chapter, where he deals with the future and what could or should be done to solve the problem of the people of Appalachia.

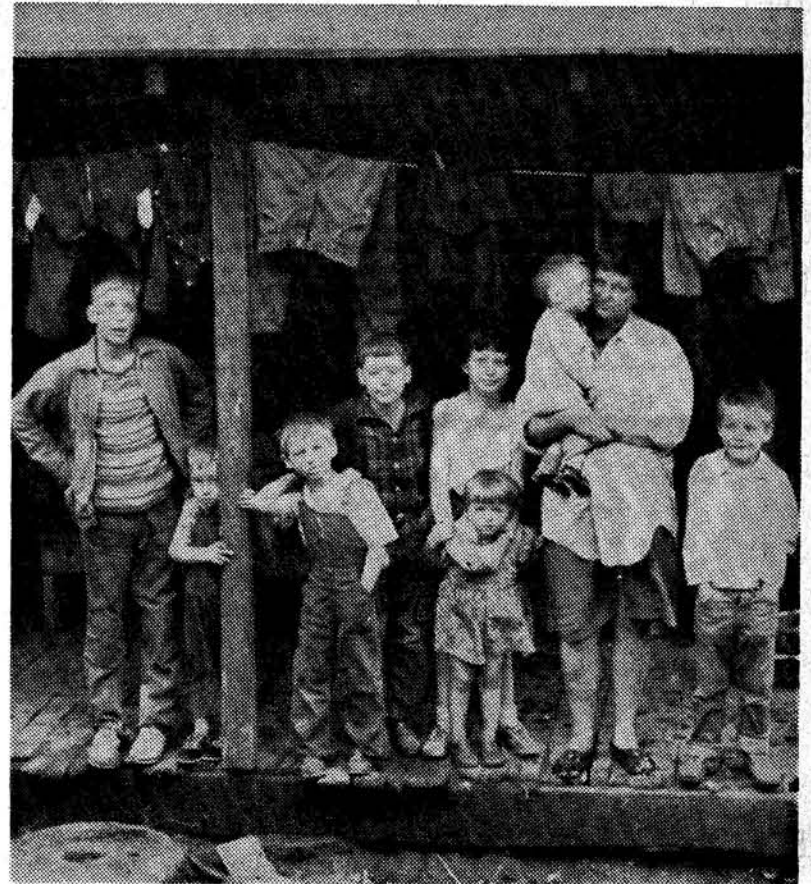
**Proposes Reforms**

Here, under the general heading, "The Case for a Southern Mountain Authority" (modeled in broad outline after the Tennessee Valley Authority), Caudill discusses a number of proposed reforms. Taken as a whole, they constitute a planned reorganization of the economic, social and political life of the area calculated to restore the physical, mental and spiritual health of the people who live there. And in addition to this longterm perspective, he calls for a public works program for immediate relief.

The building of badly needed houses, schools, public buildings, roads, hospitals and recreational facilities is counterposed to the coal companies' and administration programs to "create the foundation on which private enterprise can then build its own job-producing structure."

In essence, the "private-enterprise" program calls for direct and indirect government subsidy of the privately owned coal companies to put them in a better competitive position with other fuels and foreign producers, and lifting of the paltry government limitations on unbridled exploitation now on the books.

In other words, the private-enterprise program for dealing with poverty in Appalachia is a pure class program in the interest of



**FACE BLEAK FUTURE.** Family of unemployed Kentucky coal miner. Small mines in the area couldn't compete with big, mechanized pits and have been permanently shut down.

capital. It proposes to reproduce in modern context the very conditions that caused the social blight in eastern Kentucky.

Caudill's program of reform has the merit of starting with the premise that private enterprise cannot cope with the acute social problems of the Cumberlandlands. This is the inevitable conclusion of an objective study of the history of the region, and the basis for his call for federal intervention.

"It is unquestionably true," he says, "that the states could achieve many of the objectives I will discuss if their leaders were inclined to do so. Unfortunately nothing in the history of the states betokens that such leadership is likely to materialize. The state capitols lie close to the offices of the rapacious mineral-owning corporations. The coal companies speak with authority in the Chambers of Commerce and exert decisive influences on state officials. The business interests parrot endlessly the nonsense that if the coal market can be expanded the region's ills will evaporate."

"Governors and legislators exhibit every evidence of having fully accepted this premise and such weak leadership as they display rarely rises above discussions of how to 'help coal.' It cannot be expected that they or their successors will come to grips with the massive problems imposed by blight and stagnation in the highland portions of their states."

"Even if the necessary leadership existed in the state capitols the obstacles to reform are almost insuperable," Caudill says. And his experience as a member of the state legislature permits him to detail authoritatively the limitations of state reforms.

**National Problem**

His final chapter, then, is a desperate appeal for recognition of the problems of Appalachia as a national problem. But even here there is not too much conviction that "the difficulties which beset the Cumberland Plateau are susceptible of solutions which social and economic planners can devise and which the taxpayers can sustain."

The Achilles' heel of the program of federal and regional reform is that it still does not come to grips with the basic cause of the illness — the premise that the needs of society can best be served within the economic and legal framework of the profit system.

In arguing persuasively for a Southern Mountain Authority Caudill cites the example of the TVA and the benefits achieved through it. He discusses the prob-

lems of winning support for such a program, then concedes: "Such reforms would have to come about within the framework of our Federal system and without violation of the reserved powers of the states."

In outlining a vision of land redevelopment that fires the imagination he abruptly destroys the picture he paints with the observation: "Certainly the location and construction of the lakes ought to be consistent in so far as possible with the legitimate rights of the mineral owners, allowing the eventual recovery of as much of the mineral as possible."

But such contradictions in Caudill's conclusions about the night that has come to the Cumberlandlands, its cause and cure, are his own.

**Depressed Area**

The honesty and integrity of his work in tracing "the social, economic and political forces which produced the vast 'depressed area' of eastern Kentucky" will lead others to a more consistent conclusion: It is necessary to nationalize not the reform program, but the coal mines. And only a perspective of revolutionary reorganization of production for use instead of profit can provide daylight for the benighted mountaineers.

Despite his own haziness about the future, Caudill's book is a hint of the foreseeable dawn. Speaking of changes in agricultural methods, he says:

"In some parts of the plateau a new climate is crystalizing slowly. Bit by bit a realization is being manifested that the new must be tried because the old has permanently failed. Perhaps this beneficent change will accelerate, clearing the way for a genuine revolution in attitudes."

Socialists, who look to the history of mankind, see the same process unfolding, but do not limit it to the methods of growing corn on a rocky hillside.

—Jean Simon

**American Indians Open Fight For Gov't Land Due Them**

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — American Indians, organized in the Tribal Indian Land Rights Association, have begun a fight for the 160 acres guaranteed to each of them from the 772 million acres of unclaimed, unused land now held by the U.S. government as public domain.

The land, stolen by the whites, was "granted" back to them in the Indian Allotment Act of 1887.

The fight started several months ago when Mrs. Lee Ella Daniels, a Creek Indian of Cimmarron City, Okla., applied for a 160 acre claim. She was turned down and told the land had been classified for "purposes other than settlement." The purpose: for "sale."

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is refusing to give up the land with the excuse that it is "not productive," and that the Indians would not be able to eke out a living on it.

This is not so, says A. A. Hopkins-Dukes, grandson of Kiowa chief Red Buffalo, and spokesman for the Tribal Indian Land Rights Association.

"Admittedly, there is a lot of unfertile land," he says, "but not so much as the bureau would have you believe. A lot of it is being leased to lumber and cattle men, who make a good profit off that land."

He pointed out that even if every one of the 500,000 U.S. Indians staked a 160-acre claim, they would require little more than a tenth of the available land, and he feels sure that a tenth of the available land would be fertile.

Attorney Robert Swimmer, a Cherokee Indian from Oklahoma, is now in Los Angeles to lead the legal fight for California's 60,000 Indians and their right to sections of the 15 million acres of public domain in California.

**White Man's Court**

The European invaders stole the land from the Indians at the point of a gun. The Indian is now going into the white man's court, simply asking that he live up to a promise made 76 years ago. It is possible that this probing of the fairness of the courts will be only the first step in their fight.

Certainly the U.S. government has never shown much concern so far as the human rights of the Indian is concerned. The Indians have been herded onto reservations where they lead a marginal existence with odd jobs or subsistence farming. Malnutrition and tuberculosis make their life expectancy about the lowest in the nation.

Near Tucson, Ariz., last month, three hungry little Papago Indian boys broke into a cage at a museum and stole around 25 prized bobwhite quail. They cooked them over an open fire and ate them. The boys were only ten years old, or younger.

"They said they were hungry," said a member of the museum staff. "What can you say?"

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# THE MILITANT

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Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 28 - No. 32 345 Monday, September 14, 1964

## Goldwater, Johnson and Vietnam

Speaking at New York's Militant Labor Forum election symposium (see story, page 8) Edward Shaw, Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate, observed that even if there had previously been doubts in people's minds, the Gulf of Tonkin raid certainly removed the Vietnam issue as one of which there may have been a significant difference between Johnson and Goldwater. This is being further confirmed by the hurried visit home by Gen. Maxwell Taylor, U.S. Ambassador to Saigon.

According to Warren Rogers, chief Washington correspondent of the Hearst press, Taylor is recommending to Johnson that U.S. forces in Vietnam follow a policy of "hot pursuit" of guerrillas into neighboring Cambodia and Laos. He was also reported to be recommending increased direct participation of GIs in the fighting.

Rogers reported that U.S. jet fighters have already been ordered to shoot down "any Cambodian jet that might try to interfere with counter-guerrilla operations in the Mekong delta."

The only "interference" there has been by Cambodia has been strictly that of trying to stop repeated violations of its border by South Vietnamese troops and their American "advisers."

The precedent for such attacks on Laos and Cambodia, the Hearst writer correctly notes, "was set when President Johnson ordered American aircraft to bomb North Vietnamese torpedo boats and their bases . . ."

Goldwater utters wild stupidities about atomic "defoliation" of Vietnam while Johnson steps up and extends the reactionary and dangerous U.S. intervention. How can opponents of Washington's crime against Vietnam vote for either of these men?

## The Medicare Football

The U.S. is one of the few industrialized countries in the world where people still face old age without government health insurance. Many other countries, even capitalist ones such as Britain, have systems of socialized medicine which provide complete and excellent medical care, not only for the elderly, but for everyone.

But the labor movement in this country is so politically impotent that Congress is still balking at the extremely modest proposal for a health-insurance plan for the aged under Social Security — Medicare. For years now, the Democrats have used Medicare as a political football. Kennedy made it a major vote-getting issue in 1960 and 1962, but never really put the screws on Congress to pass it and it was buried. Now Johnson is riding the issue for votes. On Sept. 2, the Senate finally accepted a version which now goes to a joint House-Senate committee where its future is uncertain.

Like Kennedy, Johnson has never yet fully used the threat of complete withdrawal of patronage to line up congressmen on this matter. It is not yet clear whether Johnson seriously intends to push the present bill through this time, or whether he is playing the old cynical game of getting on record for it — and getting Goldwater and Miller on record against it — and then letting it lose. One thing, however, is certain: Johnson, famous in the Senate as a fixer and compromise-arranger, is not pushing for the original Medicare proposal, but for a badly watered-down substitute.

To get really effective social legislation for the elderly, let alone for the people as a whole, it is going to require independent labor political action — a far different political course by the labor movement than being trapped inside the big-business-controlled Democratic party.

## Local Directory

**BOSTON.** Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

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

**CLEVELAND.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 25, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

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## AS DANGEROUS AS THE BOMB

# Facts on Chemical Warfare

By Evelyn Sell

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for U.S. Senator from Michigan

A group of Detroit physicians has urged the U.S. government to renounce the use of "all biological, chemical and radiological weapons." Organized as the Physicians for Social Responsibility, the Detroit doctors presented their statement at the third annual conference of the Congress of Scientists on Survival Inc. which was held in New York.

In their statement the physicians say there is a "disquieting implication that the U.S. is using the Vietnamese battlefield as a proving ground for chemical and biological warfare." The organization opposes chemical and biological warfare because:

"These weapons would be principally effective against civilian populations rather than military targets.

"Biological and chemical weapons are potentially as dangerous to our civilization as are nuclear weapons.

"Large-scale efforts by the U.S. are certain to stimulate similar work elsewhere. However, public renunciation of such weapons by the U.S. may stimulate other nations to follow its example."

The U.S. has already used chemical warfare in South Vietnam to kill food crops, strip trees of leaves and poison fish in streams. Other, more deadly, chemicals are being stockpiled for use. The *Detroit News* recently reported about the Newport Chemical Plant in Indiana, the nation's major supplier of nerve gas — an odorless, tasteless, almost invisible killer. A drop, breathed or soaked into the skin, can kill within a minute. The nerve gas kills by attacking the fluid which transmits nerve signals for muscles to expand. When this fluid is affected by the nerve gas, the muscles can only constrict. The body is thus strangled by its own vital organs.

This deadly killer is very cheap to manufacture. The Newport plant spends about \$3½ million annually — less than the cost of one jet bomber. This plant has been in operation 24 hours a day



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for three years. The liquefied gas is poured into rockets, land mines and artillery shells. Destination — secret.

Other chemical production facilities are in Maryland, Arkansas and Colorado. Some of the chemicals produced in these facilities were described by Brig. Gen. J. H. Rothschild (Ret.) in the June 1959 issue of *Harper's Magazine*. One such chemical, called LSD-25, causes irrational behavior. A national magazine carried photos of a cat, treated with LSD-25, cowering in fear before a tiny mouse. Other chemicals can produce temporary blindness, paralysis or loss of equilibrium. "The possibilities are vast," the general stated.

Even vaster, however, are the possibilities of biological warfare, according to the general. Chemical weapons are restricted to battlefield areas but "biological agents, on the other hand, can be used as strategic weapons covering thousands of miles in an attack." Such biological agents can induce small-

pox, typhus, cholera and botulism (food poisoning) in human beings. To attack the enemy's food crop and animals there is stem rust for wheat, rice blast, hog cholera and fowl plague.

Unlike natural epidemics which spread slowly and give people a chance to marshal their defenses, "biological warfare would strike an entire population at the same time and those infected would get sick at the same time — including doctors, nurses, transportation workers and so on . . . everything would come to a stop . . . The attack on the food supply is perhaps most humane — the enemy could capitulate at the starvation point and food could be shipped in."

### Humanist?

It may seem strange for the general to advocate an attack on the food supply as humane but the main point of his article was to prove that gas and germ warfare are more effective and more humane than nuclear weapons and traditional weapons. He cited as an example the World War II battle on "the tiny island of Bitou in the Tarawa group, which contained a valuable airstrip and was held by 4,000 Japanese Imperial Marines. Before the battle was over we had dropped over 3,000 tons of high explosives on the island — which was less than a square mile in area — and still sustained nearly 4,000 casualties, including 1,026 deaths, after the hardest fighting in the history of the Marine Corps; finally, we had to rebuild the airstrip completely. If we had dropped only 900 tons of mustard gas on the island, we would have knocked out the entire enemy garrison in two or three days, walked ashore with practically no casualties, and had the airstrip available for immediate use."

Going from past experience to more hypothetical cases, the general wrote, "Let us suppose that we want to attack a very large area in the enemy homeland to prevent support to its army in the field. The only known controllable weapons capable of attacking such a large area are biological; moreover, if the area were occupied mainly by women, children, and old people, I think there is little doubt that American public opinion would prefer using a biological agent which could cause the fewest number of deaths."

Despite a growing opposition to its war plans, the capitalist government is pushing ahead into newer, more dangerous military adventures. Public opposition can delay war plans but will not stop the capitalists from engulfing the whole world in germ-gas-nuclear destruction. More than ever, it is necessary to back up public opinion with the establishment of a government that is truly representative of the sentiments of the American people for peace, economic security and social welfare. It is necessary to work for and build a Workers and Farmers Government.

## ... New York Killer-Cop

(Continued from Page 1)

pected felon or to prevent a crime . . .

"If Gilligan's story that Powell attacked him is believed, the question of self-defense arises . . . Some of the witnesses say Gilligan came out of the repair shop with drawn gun. Gilligan says he drew after coming out but before Powell faced him. In either event, Powell first saw Gilligan as an armed stranger at close quarters [and in civilian clothes]. The readiness of the gun caused its use, whether

or not there was an attack, not the danger to Gilligan from a half-grown boy."

The CORE report points out that even if all the witnesses to the contrary are discounted, and even if Gilligan's story is accepted at face value and in every detail, the killing was still unjustified, though a technical case could be made out under present law that the cop was within his legal rights.

### Law Unsatisfactory

"This state of the law is obviously unsatisfactory," continues the CORE report. "Policemen should not shoot boys half their size. Had forbearance entailed some risk to Gilligan, so be it. The police exist to protect citizens, not to shoot them. No sympathy can be extended to a 200-pound adult, professionally trained to use force, who kills a small boy to avoid some personal risk." It should be added that the knife allegedly held by Powell was of the small pocket variety, commonly carried by boy scouts.

The CORE report concludes: "A minor, indeed comic, street incident results in death. The occurrence is not unusual. Before and since the Gilligan case there have been other police shootings in ambiguous circumstances. The odds on every day greatly favor that a new incident will take place and that it will involve a Negro victim. The constitutional rights which surround a citizen mean little to the dead and maimed."



Roy Wilkins

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A MILITANT INTERVIEW

# Students Describe Their Visit to Cuba

By Barry Sheppard

"The vast majority of the Cuban people support the Revolution and the Castro regime," is the conclusion of students who went to the island republic this summer in defiance of the U.S. State Department's travel ban. Avra Matsoukas, from Oberlin College, Luis Valdez, a Mexican-American attending San José State College, and William Sumner, a student at San Francisco State, agreed in an interview they granted to *The Militant*, that "about 80 per cent of the Cuban people support Castro."

"I met people who didn't like the revolution, and didn't like the fact that there is no more discrimination against Negroes now," added Avra. "But you have to distinguish between real counter-revolutionaries and people who are opposed but are apathetic. I would say that out of every 20 people against the Revolution, about 17 are not opposed enough to actually fight against it."

Luis commented: "A *gusano* [Cuban term for counter-revolutionary, literally meaning worm] is the type of guy who will say: 'You know what the government has done? It took away two of my three houses, one of my three cars, and I don't have money in the bank anymore.'"

Queried on why they went to Cuba, all three students replied that they wanted to break the travel ban and see Cuba for themselves. "I have been to most of the other countries in Latin America, and I wanted to see what a revolutionary country in Latin America was like," explained Bill.

The students were impressed with the gains the Revolution has made in the fields of education and culture. "Seventy-five per cent

of the people are going to school or are in some kind of class," Avra said. "There are classes in the factories which workers attend, and women who have children also go to class because there are nurseries that take care of the children."

"The literacy program — the alphabetization drive that taught the illiterates all over the country to read and write — shows the concern of the government for the common man," interjected Luis. "This is also reflected in the agrarian reform, and the help given to small farmers by the government. Houses are being built for the people all over Cuba. This is what impressed me the most about the Revolution — its concern for the little man."

### Flowering of Arts

Bill stated that there was a "tremendous flowering in the arts, especially in literature." All commented on the development of Negro culture. The revolution brought to the surface an Afro-Cuban culture, which had been preserved among the people, and is giving it expression. Luis noted that the national ballet was studying and performing Negro dances and incorporating them into its repertoire.

Mobile film theaters tour the provinces. "Many of the people had never seen a movie," Bill said, "and they started talking to the pictures. There are new theaters, a film institute, and a new national art museum. In this new museum, paintings from many countries are displayed, and there is a flood of Cuban painting. It is pretty abstract stuff, as abstract as anything here, and is a far, far cry from socialist realism."

The students felt that the main effect of the blockade imposed by

the U.S. has been to reduce the quantity of U.S.-made goods in the stores to zero. There has been a drop in the availability of certain consumer goods as a result. "But no one is starving," declared Bill, "and the Cubans are better off than the people in any other Latin American country."

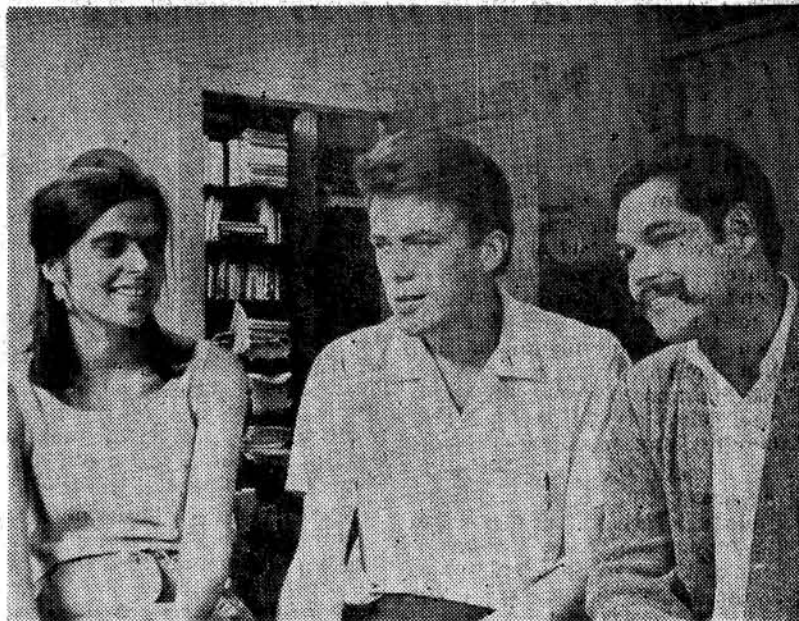
"Everyone gets three-quarters of a pound of beef per week; this is not very much, but before many never saw meat, and now it is divided equally," Avra pointed out. "But they do get one chicken per week, and eggs and fish. Every child gets a quart of milk per day."

Luis said that there is adequate food, but that the blockade has had the effect of limiting the variety. "Housing, as I see it, is excellent. The only place I might have some questions is in Oriente province, where some of the peasant huts still stand. But these may have been temporary ones built after the hurricane destroyed many homes. In the rest of the five provinces, and in most of Oriente, they are building new homes."

"At first, they gave the new projects to those who lived in the worst slums. They are moving away from the more elaborate projects and are helping people build their own homes. The government provides pre-fab houses."

### Shortage of Doctors

Bill remarked that medical care has been extended to many areas that never had it before, "but there aren't enough doctors." Many doctors became *gusanos* after the revolution, and there is a general shortage. Avra added: "Many of the students we talked to are studying to be doctors, and are required to spend two years



THEY LIKED CUBA. Interviewed by *The Militant*, Avra Matsoukas (left), William Sumner (center), and Luis Valdez, described the great accomplishments of the Cuban Revolution they had seen during a visit this summer.

in the provinces as part of their training."

They all agreed that in Cuba there was no race problem. The Revolution completely wiped it out, with the exception of the prejudice of some individuals.

Another program of the Revolution has been the rehabilitation of prostitutes. Before the Revolution, Cuba was a center of prostitution and vice, catering largely to the American tourists. "Prostitutes were given the choice of going to jail or going to school. Their jails are not like our jails, and they attempt to rehabilitate them there. In the schools they are given an elementary education — most of the prostitutes had no education — and they are taught a trade. They are also taught not to be ashamed, that it wasn't their fault, but the fault of the society they lived in," Avra observed.

"And we didn't hear any news of crime. We met only two beggars during the whole trip," she said.

Luis described the organization of the new revolutionary party, the PURS (United Party of the Socialist Revolution). "The members are elected by the workers themselves in general assemblies of all the workers in a factory or farm. The main attribute a worker must have to become a member of the party is the confidence of the other workers. The party members we met were of the people — this was especially obvious in the provinces where they were clearly peasants."

### Escalante Period

Asked if there was any discussion of the Escalante period, Bill replied that there was on an informal level. During the Escalante period a bureaucracy was developing, "they were getting Cadillacs and this kind of stuff, and the people were glad that Escalante had been denounced. I didn't hear anyone complain that they thought the same kind of bureaucracy represented by Escalante was continuing."

Luis pointed out that "The Cubans do not deny they have made mistakes. The people know that there have been mistakes by the leaders, but Fidel — every time he has made a mistake — he goes before the people and tells them. The people respect and admire his honesty. The Escalante period was such a mistake. I don't think that another error like that will occur."

The three were emphatic in their belief that the U.S. should change its policy in regard to Cuba. "We should lift the blockade, return to normal trade relations, and aid them without strings attached," Luis said.

"I think Americans could learn something about education from the Cubans," he added. "Here we go to school to get money, and there they go to help each other."

They all said that they had been very warmly welcomed as Americans. "I have never been so well received in my life," Avra said. "They separate the American government from the American people."

Luis added, "I was welcomed both as an American and as a Mexican. I was picked out as a Mexican, and people would say 'Are you Mexican? Good!' Mexicans and Cubans have close ties."

## THEY, TOO, WERE INSPIRED BY CUBA

# 2-Month Work-Tour by Canadian Fair Play Group

By Ross Dowson

TORONTO — The Canadian students who have just returned from a two-month work-tour of Cuba "were especially impressed by the spirit and enthusiasm the people have for building socialism in their country."

Twenty-seven of the group of 45 students arrived here Aug. 30 after having been delayed and split up due to the submission of British authorities in the Bahama Islands to U.S. pressure. A plane supplied by the Cuban government was refused permission at the last moment to land at Nassau and the students were compelled to return via Mexico, with some of them flying direct to Vancouver and Calgary.

Organized by the Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee in co-operation with the Cuban government, the project drew students

from universities throughout Canada. Coming from widely varied backgrounds, many of them leaders in campus organizations, the 45 had been selected by a special committee of eminent educators in the Toronto area.

### Two Declarations

The most impressive aspect of their reactions to what they saw and heard in Cuba was their almost unanimous, highly enthusiastic approval. When they entered the air terminal at Malton the students immediately presented two declarations to reporters, one signed by 27 of the English-speaking students and another signed by the ten French-Canadian students. Six had been compelled by previous teaching commitments to leave the group before the statements had been drawn up.

The press hunted up those who did not sign the statements. One, who characterized the rest as "a bunch of starry-eyed people," explained he had not signed because the declaration "was all positive and no negative." Another of the non-signers made the same criticism to the probings of Canadian press representatives at a special conference that evening. But when asked to comment on some negative features, she was, to her embarrassment, unable to do so. Another replied that she had not signed because, in the search for unanimity, the statement had become "too watered down," although it was not inaccurate.

The declaration expressed gratitude to the Cuban people for "the opportunity to witness their revolution first hand" and "the hope that Canada will move to better her relations with Cuba in the form of increasing her cultural and trade exchanges, and of protesting the embargo with a bolder, more independent voice."

The declaration then marked out five points upon which — on the basis of their own real experiences — they felt that the Canadian people hold misconceptions. They state that the "overwhelming majority of the [Cuban] people support with enthusiasm the revolution and Fidel Castro"; that the revolution "is firmly established" and "will not be dislodged by an economic blockade nor by an invasion." They note that the people are not starving: "now everyone receives staple foods and children and old people get special attention"; that there is freedom to criticize the revolution, and that any Cuban is free to leave the country.

The declaration signed by the entire French-Canadian contingent, if anything, is even stronger — ending up with the words, "We have seen a free territory, the first in America." It scores American propaganda regarding Cuba as "completely false." "The enslavement of Cuba," they say, "is to the dignity of man; the tyranny to which Cuba is subjected is the freedom to work, the freedom to study at all ages, without distinction in color, or social class, and freedom to construct a just and free society."

### School-City

The students were eight weeks in Cuba all told — ten days of which they spent working on the site of the great Camilo Cienfuegos school-city, alongside Cuban workers, digging foundations, hauling cement, eating the same food, sharing the same accommodations.

One of the students characterized this as "an unique experience." Another commented on the strong spirit of the workers to build the school and the warm relationship between the workers and the supervisors. Three of the

students — Jacquie Henderson, Ruth Tate and Andre Beckerman — were honored as vanguard workers and another three — Bob Mahood, Dave Adams and Fay Frazer — with another award.

In response to various questions as to constitutional government and elections, several of the students stated that there appeared to them to be more elections in Cuba than anywhere else in the world. Kathy McLay said that the Cuban people are much closer to their government than Canadians are to theirs. "Fidel always goes to the people and they talk to him."

### Workers' Enthusiasm

David Middleton, a former New Democratic Party [Canada's labor party] federal candidate who supervised the tour, commented on the enthusiasm demonstrated by bakery workers who use Canadian flour, and workers at a rope factory whose product goes to Canada, at meeting the Canadian youth. The rope workers insisted on turning up at the factory on their day off to meet them and pointed out with pleasure that Canada had not joined the OAS [Washington's rubber-stamp hemisphere organization].

The students attended the July 26 celebrations at Santiago. There they played a baseball game with a Cuban team which included Fidel Castro. The Canadians were clobbered.

The students expressed enthusiasm to return to their campuses to tell their fellow students of their experiences. FPCC national chairman Vernel Olson told the press conference that the committee plans to publish two comprehensive booklets — one in English and the other in French — containing articles contributed by the students.

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## MARXISM AND THE NEGRO STRUGGLE

## Why Negroes Are in Vanguard

By George Breitman

A program to win the Negro struggle for equality must be based on a correct analysis of its main features. Among these are its independence, its vanguard role and its need for independent political action. We shall compare the Socialist Workers Party positions on these questions with what Harold Cruse claims are its positions (in *Liberator*, May and June).

Cruse says the growing independence of the Negro movement produces a crisis for Marxists: "the greater the Negro movement becomes as an independent force . . . the deeper does the crisis become for the Marxist movement itself. For the 'alliance' it attempts to forge with the Negro must be one where the Marxists dominate."

But facts are stubborn things, and the record bulges with facts refuting Cruse's claim that the SWP is opposed to the independence of the Negro movement from the labor movement, or from anything else, including the SWP itself. Throughout its entire existence the SWP has thought, said and argued just the opposite. It was the first radical organization in this country to assert the correctness and necessity of Negro independence.

As long ago as 1939, when the SWP was only a year old, it declared in a unanimously adopted convention resolution: ". . . the awakening political consciousness of the Negro not unnaturally takes the form of a desire for independent action uncontrolled by whites. The Negroes have long felt and more than ever feel today the urge to create their own organizations under their own leaders and thus assert, not only in theory but in action, their claim to complete equality with other American citizens. Such a desire is legitimate and must be vigorously supported . . ." (In *Documents on the Negro Struggle*, Pioneer Publishers.)

The SWP has never wavered in this position in the 25 years since then, as an examination of its latest (1963) convention resolution will prove. It states that "the liberation of the Negro people requires that the Negroes organize themselves independently, and control their own struggle, and not permit it to be subordinated to any other consideration or interest." (*Freedom Now: The New Stage in the Struggle for Negro Emancipation*.)

Why do genuine Marxists take this position? Why do we advocate that the Negro movement must be independent, even of the SWP? Because the history of Negro oppression in this country has been such that the more independent the Negro movement becomes, the more revolutionary it becomes. And the more revolutionary the Negro movement becomes, the better it is for all revolutionists, white and black. The radicalization of the Negroes cannot help stimulating radicalization among whites too.

Contrary to J. Edgar Hoover —

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or to Harold Cruse — we Marxists have no interest whatever in "dominating" the Negro movement. Our aim is to influence the Negro movement, as it is to influence the labor and any other progressive movement, and we make no secret of that. We do so by offering it our revolutionary ideas, which the participants in the Negro movement of course can freely accept or reject in accord with their own estimate of what they need and want.

We believe that the sooner the Negro movement becomes completely "undominated" (that is, the sooner it becomes completely independent and revolutionary), the sooner it will approach and accept the ideas and policies that the Marxists have reached; and that the process of ever-growing independence will in the end inevitably lead it, as the result of its own experiences, toward close collaboration with other revolutionary forces, including the SWP. That kind of fraternal relation, rather than domination, is the only one worth having, and it is the only one we seek.

One of the more astonishing statements in Cruse's article is that "the Negro movement's rise to the ascendancy as a radical force in America completely upsets Marxian theory" and therefore deepens the alleged crisis of Marxism.

We can only wonder what "Marxian theory" Cruse is talking about. Since he insists, wrongly, on identifying the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party as "twin branches of the same withering tree trunk of western Marxism," despite the irreconcilable differences between them, maybe he is thinking about some kind of "Marxian theory" coming from the Communist Party. It certainly is not and never has been any theory of the SWP, which is the target of his present polemic.

#### Permanent Revolution

Our theory has been strikingly confirmed by "the Negro movement's rise to the ascendancy as a radical force." For Leon Trotsky, making use of the Marxist conception of the permanent revolution, predicted more than 30 years ago that the Negroes could become "the most advanced section" of the working class, that they could reach revolutionary consciousness ahead of the white workers, that they could become the revolutionary vanguard. Twenty-five years ago the SWP adopted a convention resolution declaring that the Negroes were destined to become "the very vanguard of the proletarian revolution." (*Documents on the Negro Struggle*.)

So the Marxist theory which Cruse tries to discredit foresaw the radicalization of the Negro movement (not in all its detail, but in its general sweep) long before it happened, when the empiricists of that day and others stupefied by the status quo could not even dream of such a development.

Moreover, the SWP not only predicted that the Negro movement would become the radical vanguard, but advocated it, and worked for it, and exults now that it is happening. Why in the world then should we feel that our theory has been upset? Why should the confirmation of our theory by real life throw us into a crisis? If only all our theories could be "upset" this way! The truth, once again, is the opposite of what Cruse says, and happens in this case to be an especially good reason for black radicals to become better acquainted with the Marxist method and program.

When we say that Negroes will play a vanguard role, Cruse tries to confuse what we mean, and to imply a manipulative motive, by attributing to us the "belief that the 'historical laws' have pre-

ordained the Negro movement in America to be used as a kind of transitional social phase leading to the 'Marxian revolution.'"

If he will be so kind, we would like to state our position ourselves, minus the slanted terms he prefers. We do not know of any "Marxian revolution," with or without quotation marks, and that is not what we advocate. The American revolution will be a social revolution — that is, it will remove the present ruling class from political power and reconstruct society on new, non-exploitative foundations.

Nor do we consider the Negro movement to be any kind of "phase," transitional or otherwise. We expect it to be an integral part of the revolution, before, during and after the winning of power, until it, the Negro movement, is satisfied that racism is abolished beyond the possibility of return.

#### Vanguard Position

What we think is this: Historical conditions, yes "laws," have placed the Negro movement in a vanguard position — in the leadership of the mass struggle to change society socially, politically and economically. Its radicalization marks the opening stage of the revolution that will accomplish these changes. As this revolution continues and develops, the whole political structure will begin to come apart, and other forces will be drawn into the revolution, for and against. Which side wins will depend on which draws the strongest support from the as-yet uncommitted and inactive majority.

Cruse's snide implication that the Marxists plan to "use" the Negro movement and then cast it aside has no basis at all. We have said a thousand times what we said in our 1963 convention resolution: "The SWP believes and acts on the belief that the working class cannot achieve its aims without the Negro people achieving theirs. The American revolution for a socialist democracy cannot succeed unless it is based on an equal and mutually acceptable partnership between the working class and the Negro people."

This is our perspective, openly stated. It does not involve subordination of the Negro movement "to any other consideration or interest." It does not involve the slightest infringement on the independence of the Negro movement, which at all times must be led by its own representatives and animated by its own goals. We do not believe that this perspective is inconsistent with what black radicals want, if what they want is revolution. If we're wrong, we'd like to be shown.

In the light of what has already been said, Cruse's distortions about the SWP's attitude to the Freedom Now Party can be handled rather briefly. His four charges, somewhat contradictory, are:

- 1) We don't believe in or want a truly independent black political party.
- 2) We engage in maneuvers against the Freedom Now Party.
- 3) We compete with the FNP, even before it is established, by running a Negro candidate for president in 1964 (Clifton DeBerry).
- 4) We disrupt the FNP's development.

The SWP's well-known position in favor of Negro independence of course applies with full force to black political action. For many years we have endorsed and supported independent Negro candidates running against the capitalist party candidates. To support such candidates when they band together in a party of their own, and to defend their right to do so in their own way, is only an extension of our long-held position, and comes almost automatically for us.

Every politically informed person in the country knows this. The anti-Marxist writers, Tom



**KEEPS SPREADING.** Civil-rights demonstration in Dayton, Ohio. The Freedom Now struggle has spread to every major area of the country.

Kahn and August Meier (in *New Politics*, Spring, 1964), have even said that the all-Negro Freedom Now Party idea "was originally projected by the predominantly white Trotskyites and for some months received its chief organizational support from them."

This is untrue. The SWP's 1963 convention resolution endorsing "the idea of a Negro party, a civil-rights party or an equal-rights party" specifically noted that the idea had been raised in previous years by Adam Clayton Powell and *Liberator*, and early in 1963 by Elijah Muhammad and William Worthy. We would be glad to claim credit for conceiving the idea, but it would be dishonest to do so. What we can claim credit for is having publicly supported the idea of an independent black party before anyone had taken organizational steps to create one.

But if we did that, then why, even before the new party has been established nationally and on a stable basis, would we rush to "compete" with it? Cruse calls us "astute." But what's astute about encouraging the formation of another party if your first response, before it has even been assembled, is to compete with it? The charge is ridiculous on the face of it.

There isn't the faintest trace of "competition with the FNP" in Clifton DeBerry's presidential candidacy, except inside Cruse's head. When DeBerry was nominated by the SWP, it was perfectly plain that the FNP would not be able to run a presidential campaign in this, its first year of existence. Moreover, DeBerry, every chance he gets, expresses his and the SWP's complete support for the effort to create a mass, independent FNP. (And gets criticized by Cruse for doing so. What is DeBerry supposed to do: keep silent — or oppose it?)

#### Michigan Ballot

The FNP has won a state-wide place on the ballot only in Michigan. There, the day after the FNP filed its petitions last spring, the SWP, which had filed its own petitions and won ballot rights in 1963, publicly stated that it was in the campaign to fight the Democrats and Republicans: "We are not campaigning against the Freedom Now Party, which in our view has valuable contributions to make to the electoral struggle for a world free of oppression and exploitation. We welcome its entry into the election campaign, and hope it will get a fair hearing from whites as well as Negroes." As proof that this is not just talk, the Michigan SWP is not running against, and is endorsing, the FNP candidates in every Michigan district where they have the slightest chance of being elected.

Clifton DeBerry has already refuted the "maneuver" charge. The claim that he "linked himself with the Freedom Now Party without the party's permission to do so" rests in its entirety on the fact that DeBerry, without even pretending to be a spokesman of the FNP, expresses support for the FNP and urges black militants to help build it. Any expectation or demand that DeBerry has to get permission from the FNP, or the Democratic Party, or the Republican Party,

before he expresses his political views about them, is — what shall we say? — slightly fantastic.

The "disruption" charge is equally baseless. DeBerry and the SWP are said to be "disrupting" the development of the FNP because when they discuss the FNP's meaning and effects, "they must attempt to project the idea of the Freedom Now Party in their own Marxian image, with the old worn-out, discredited theme of Negro-Labor unity."

What this means is that DeBerry and the SWP discuss the significance of the FNP as Marxists. But what's wrong with that? Does it stop other people from discussing it from whatever angle they wish? Does it interfere with Cruse's right to discuss it as an anti-Marxist? Or the right of any FNP member to discuss it as he pleases? How is DeBerry's exercise of his right to express his opinion, whether the opinion is right or wrong, "disruptive" to the FNP's development?

#### Support to FNP

The whole charge is further exploded when we observe that Cruse bases it exclusively on a *New York Times* report that had DeBerry saying he supports the FNP as "a step toward independent political action by labor and Negroes." Twisting this a little, Cruse paints this as opposition to the FNP: "The Trotskyist theoreticians realize very well that a truly independent black political party which functions irrespective of what white labor does and does not do will further deepen the already serious crisis of Marxist creed in the West. It could show that Marxian ideas about capitalism in advanced countries are not to be taken seriously."

Even if DeBerry said it the way the *Times* reported (a "step to independent political action by labor and Negroes") rather than the other way around ("by Negroes and labor"), Cruse knows very well what is meant: That DeBerry and the SWP believe that a mass black party, by upsetting and then destroying the Democratic-labor-Negro coalition, will give impetus to the formation of an independent labor party too.

And what's so terrible, worn-out or discredited about such a prediction? Does Cruse think that the stimulation of an independent labor party by the growth of a mass FNP would be bad? Then let him argue that. Does he think it impossible? Then let him argue that. And let him not substitute for such arguments, which would be fruitful, his unfounded claim that we cannot be for a truly independent black party because it would deepen "the crisis of Marxism."

The only crisis it would deepen would be the crisis of capitalist politics, the crisis of the Democrats, the labor bureaucrats, the liberals, the Negro gradualists — which is precisely one of the reasons we are so strongly for it. And by the way, aren't the break-up of the two-party system and the radicalization of American politics high on the list of "Marxian ideas about capitalism"?

To be concluded next week.



# 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.]

## Petitioning for DeBerry

New York, N.Y.

The last issue of *The Militant* carried the good news that the Socialist Workers Party had filed 21,000 signatures with the Secretary of State in Albany for a place on the New York ballot. I participated in the collecting of these signatures and would like to give

## 10 Years Ago In The Militant

"BIG BUSINESS PROPAGANDISTS KEEP POUNDING INTO OUR EARS how wonderful life is in America . . . But they do not tell us that we are also haggard with fear — fear of depression, of the witch hunt and, above all, of atomic destruction. Every once in a while some incident reveals how deep and widespread the latter fear has become. Such an event happened near Boston, in Eastern Middlesex County . . .

"Two unidentified jet planes flying at 20,000 feet over the town of Melrose cracked the sound barrier, causing an explosive supersonic shock wave that rocked a 25-mile area, shaking buildings, breaking windows and cracking ceilings. The blast, which residents of 12 towns in the area took for an 'enemy sneak attack,' set off a terrible panic.

"A report from Melrose in the *Boston Globe* said that the two explosions 'turned this city of 27,000 into a madhouse.' Within seconds 'houses all over Melrose were emptied as residents swarmed into the streets . . . Others more prudent took to their cellars.' — September 13, 1954.

## 20 Years Ago

"ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL WENDELL BERGE DIVULGED ANOTHER PAGE in the hitherto hidden record of the crimes of Big Business last week when he cited some facts in the dealings between the Bausch and Lomb Optical Company, Rochester, N.Y., and Carl Zeiss, the German optical trust.

"Berge showed how the secret cartel deals made in violation of the Versailles Treaty and of the United States anti-trust laws helped Hitler prepare for war. On April 28, 1921, Bausch and Lomb made an agreement with the German monopoly under which the American firm got a monopoly on the U.S. market for military optics and Zeiss got the rest of the world market. Zeiss was given power to determine who should head the Bausch and Lomb military department, which was supplying America's military services. This secret agreement remained in force after Hitler came to power.

"Thus even after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, Hitler obtained secret military information on American production of such vital equipment as periscopes, range-finders, bomb-sights, torpedo directors, gun-sights, etc. . . . It curtailed American production of such equipment.

"These cartel arrangements are typical, said Berge, of other deals between American and German monopolies . . ." — Sept. 16, 1944.

readers of *The Militant* an idea of the gratifying response of New York City ghetto-dwellers toward the candidacy of Clifton DeBerry, the first Negro in U.S. history to be nominated by a political party for President. Two incidents, both of which occurred on the corner of 135th and Lenox in the heart of Harlem, illustrate this.

One evening I was approached by a group of young girls — so young, in fact, that I was sure they were not old enough to be registered voters. They politely inquired as to what I was doing. I explained that I was collecting signatures to put the first Negro candidate for President on the ballot so that voters would have an alternative to the racist Democrats and Republicans. Their response was immediate and enthusiastic. "Oh, can we sign?" said one. "Give us some petitions and we'll collect signatures from all our friends," said another.

I was sorry to have to tell them that only registered voters were eligible to sign or circulate the petitions. Several of the girls looked so crestfallen (it turned out they were only 15 years old) that I hastened to add that there were other ways young people could support the campaign. I gave them a Students for DeBerry and Shaw Committee leaflet summarizing the SWP election platform and urged them to contact the SDSC for further information.

After glancing at the leaflet the teen-agers asked me for additional copies. After I gave them all the leaflets I had, they thanked me and continued down the street engaged in animated conversation.

A short while later a very young boy who couldn't have been more than seven or eight years old edged up to me, tugged at my shirt to gain my attention, and shyly asked me why I was collecting signatures. I showed him a picture of Clifton DeBerry and explained that I was collecting signatures so that DeBerry could be listed on the ballot along with the other candidates for President. The youngster looked at the picture, studied it a moment and then raised his eyes to me with an incredulous look on his face. "A colored man running for President?" he asked. I said, "Yes, that's right." His young face quickly broke into a proud smile and he turned and half-ran to join his young friends down the street to tell them about the "colored man running for President."

Many thousands of ghetto-dwellers both young and old had a similar, though in most cases more subdued, response to our request for their signatures. The contrast to previous petition campaigns was marked and reflects the enormously increased level of political consciousness in the ghetto.

John Britton

## Baltimore "Riots"

Baltimore, Md.

Baltimore is now calm after nearly a week of apprehension of "race riots." The public was first informed of the riot "threat" when Republican Mayor McKeldin and Democratic Governor Dawes made an official statement. The mayor was told by "reputable sources" that "outside agitators" were coming to Baltimore to foment Harlem-type disturbances. After several days, the most that inquisitive reporters could elicit from Mc-

Keldin was that the information on the "outside agitators" came from police sources. Yet neither top state or city police nor civil rights leaders knew where the mayor or the governor got the information on which to base their public statements. One Baltimore paper stated that the Muslims were planning the local riots.

The National Guard was ordered on the alert over the Labor Day weekend along with the city and state police. The mayor met with civil rights and religious leaders including the Muslim minister, Isiah Karriem. Influential Negroes have been appearing at station breaks on radio and TV to advise those that might participate in the riots, that looting and violence will hurt their cause.

Instead of alleviating the specific social and economic conditions to which he alluded in his statement, McKeldin went fishing as soon as he felt the situation was under control.

R.S.

## Worthy Confirmed on Hill?

New York, N.Y.

It may have seemed to some people that William Worthy was a bit too harsh in his article in the June issue of *The Realist* in which he hammered the Uncle Toms in the leadership of the civil-rights movement. He bore down particularly hard on the conservatizing influence of Socialist Party members in CORE and report-

ed that militants in CORE were saying that, "in CORE's national office, Norman Hill and his wife are the Socialist Party's pet Negroes."

Today the *New York Times* reported that Norman Hill, who describes himself as a "disciple" of Norman Thomas and considers A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin his "civil-rights god-fathers," has resigned from CORE and taken a job with the AFL-CIO. Hill said he was quitting CORE because it had not accepted the proposal of the so-called "summit conference" of Negro leaders to call off demonstrations during the election period in order to help Johnson.

Mr. Hill should certainly get along well with Meany and Reuther.

H.C.

## On Speaking Out

Orange, Calif.

I thought your readers might be interested in the following letter of mine which was published in the *Orange Register*.

\* \* \*

I heard on the U.A.W. radio "Eye Opener" the other A.M. that Barry Goldwater had not spoken out about the killings and bombings in the South. If Barry Goldwater has not spoken out he is not the only one. I have yet to remember of reading anywhere of any senator or representative or governor of the South having

# It Was Reported in the Press

**Freudian Slip** — We wonder if some one in the composing room of the *New York Times* was thinking about the CIA when he made a typographical error in the story on the Chilean election results. The paper said right-winger Julio Duran "received \$124,869 votes."

**Dog Food Sales** — The Chinese recently tried to make a propaganda point about the millions of dollars that Americans spend on their dogs each year. However the figures are somewhat misleading. The Aug. 1 issue of *Health Bulletin* reported: "Inez Robb, the plain-spoken columnist . . . reported last week that many older Americans living on small pensions are buying dog food for their own use. She claims that supermarket clerks are now accustomed to the sight of old people — including those not known to keep pets — loading their shopping carts with cans of dog food. Price is the main attraction of pet food for people living on the brink of poverty."

**No Songs Please** — George Oslin, the man who dreamed up the lucrative "singing telegram" gimmick for Western Union, has retired.

**Smoked Hams?** — Commenting on widespread viewer complaints about their favorite programs being canceled to cover the major party conventions, one TV executive said: "The politicians of both parties would scream to high heaven if they thought they had to compete with 'Gunsmoke.' They know they would be clobbered and they would never stand for it."

**America, the Beautiful** — Current American building practices

were lashed by architect Edward Durell Stone. Assailing "the colossal mess we've made of the face of this country," he declared, "Everything betrays us as a bunch of catchpenny materialists devoted to a blatant, screeching insistence on commercialism. If you look around you, and you give a damn, it makes you want to commit suicide."

**Big Ears** — Rep. Cornelius Gallagher of New Jersey says the U.S. is fast becoming "a nation of snoopers" assaulting one another's privacy electronically and psychologically. Gallagher is head of a three-man House subcommittee assigned to probe whether government agencies are invading the privacy of Americans in violation of their constitutional rights. He better check that the Justice Department doesn't bug the committee's meeting room.

**Adding Injury to Insult** — New York cliff dwellers who watch big new apartment buildings going up that most of them can't afford to move into will be interested in learning that these buildings are adding significantly to the pollution menace. City Air Pollution Control Commissioner Arthur Benline said that many "magnificent"

new apartment houses on the fashionable East Side "belch poisonous black smoke just as if they were a fleet of old-fashioned steamboats." He called on builders "to stop erecting buildings which, without proper equipment, are a menace to the health of our city."

**Bi-Partisan Persuaders** — Robert Kennedy's advertising for his New York senatorial campaign will be handled by the Madison Avenue firm of Papert, Koenig, Lois, Inc. The company previously handled campaign advertising for Jacob Javits, Republican Senator from New York.

**They've Got No Complaints** — The New York Chamber of Commerce is vigorously opposed to proposals for a civilian review board to probe charges of police brutality.

**Birthday Boy** — "Happy Birthday, Dear Walter," was sung for United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther by Chrysler Corp. negotiators during bargaining talks in Detroit Sept. 1. Reuther's fifty-seventh birthday. The singing was led by John D. Leary, Chrysler vice president in charge of labor relations.

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## Thought for the Week

"How can we explain to a mother when her child is burned by napalm? And how can we expect a young man to fight for us when his aged father was killed by artillery fire? Indeed, how can we claim to be with the people when we burn their homes simply because their houses happen to be in the Vietcong-controlled territory?" — From a Sept. 1 criticism of U.S. policy in Vietnam by Rev. Augustine Nguyen Lac Hoa, Catholic priest and organizer of the "Sea Swallows," a Catholic force organized in South Vietnam to fight against the peasant liberation movement.



## Which Choice for President Debated at N.Y. Symposium

NEW YORK — It was a hot Friday night on Labor Day weekend but 150 people turned out for a Sept. 4 Militant Labor Forum symposium on "Which Road to Social Progress in the '64 Elections?"

The speakers were Edward Shaw, vice-presidential nominee of the Socialist Workers Party; Russ Nixon, general manager of *The National Guardian*; David McReynolds, secretary of the War Resisters League, and Harry Purvis, maverick Republican who ran for Congress as an independent peace candidate from Nassau County in 1962.

Shaw urged support for the Socialist Workers ticket against both

major parties, arguing that a vote for either Johnson or Goldwater could only further the rightward shift of American Politics. He reviewed the consequences of the "lesser-evil" theory as applied over the past several decades and showed how the choice between the "evils" had steadily narrowed, with each set of contenders further to the right than the previous.

Nixon also opposed voting for Johnson as a means of stopping Goldwaterism, arguing that the cold-war, witch-hunting policies of the Democrats made them a road, not a road block, to fascism. He said he would abstain in the elections because he felt the socialists could not register a meaningful protest vote.

McReynolds, one-time Socialist Party candidate for Congress, declared that radicals should get out and campaign to roll up a big vote for Johnson. He said he favored such a course even though he did not support Johnson's political positions. He argued that a big vote for Johnson would constitute a popular repudiation of Goldwater's reactionary views.

Purvis argued against such a commitment to Johnson, because of his acts of aggression in Vietnam and other militaristic stands. He would consider voting the SWP ticket as an anti-war protest, he said, but if the outcome of the election appeared close he might decide to vote for Johnson in order to stop Goldwater.

The lively exchange of views was tape-recorded and *The Militant* plans to publish major excerpts of the discussion.

## Malcolm X Hits Both Goldwater And Johnson

Malcolm X, the militant black nationalist leader, has publicly declared that he will not vote for either Goldwater or Johnson in the coming presidential election.

This statement, along with other views on the current election campaign, appears in a lengthy article, entitled "I'm Talking to You, White Man," in the Sept. 12 *Saturday Evening Post*. The article consists of excerpts from *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* by Alex Haley and Malcolm X which is soon to be released by Doubleday & Co.

"Johnson and Goldwater," Malcolm X writes, "I feel that as far as the American black man is concerned, are both just about the same. It's just a question of Johnson, the fox, or Goldwater, the wolf. 'Conservatism' is only meaning 'Let's keep the niggers in their place,' and 'Liberalism' is meaning 'Let's keep the kneecaps in their place, but tell them we'll treat them a little better. Let's fool them more, with more promises.' Since these are the choices, the black man in America, I think, only needs to pick which one he chooses to be eaten by, because they both will eat him."

Goldwater, Malcolm writes, "isn't another liberal just trying to please both racists and integrationists, smiling at one, and whispering to the other. Goldwater flatly tells the black man he's not for the black man." After comparing the Republican and Democratic presidential candidates, Malcolm concludes: "I wouldn't put myself in the position of voting for either one, or of recommending to any black man to do so."



Malcolm X

## Negro Nominee Hits Wilkins for Stand on Riots

BOSTON — The recent suggestion by NAACP head Roy Wilkins that there be a federal probe of possible outside influences in outbreaks in Negro areas was criticized by Noel Day, civil rights leader and independent candidate for Boston's ninth Congressional seat.

"Such an investigation," Day said, "will not pacify those attacking the civil rights movement. More to the point would be a federal crash program designated to supply jobs for the more than 25 per cent of young Negroes now unemployed."

"Dissatisfied people need no outside organization," Day continued, "and dissatisfaction among the urban poor, both Negro and white, is becoming widespread." He said that civil rights leaders must become more militant in fighting for the needs of the nation's dispossessed, white and black.

### Powell Killing

Day also criticized the recent exoneration of New York Police Lt. James Gilligan, whose shooting of 15-year-old James Powell touched off the Harlem riots. "Insensitive handling of street incidents by local police units," Day said, "together with the increasing glaring rift between abundance in store windows and rapidly deteriorating living conditions of the nation's poor are two major reasons for riots and will be halted only if the civil rights leadership becomes more politically oriented and prepared to fight for legislation designed to aid the urban dispossessed."

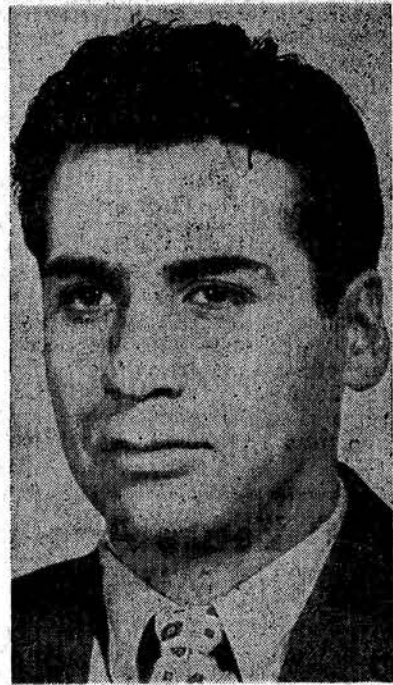
## Garza Raps Kennedy-Keating Position on School 'Busing'

NEW YORK, Sept. 9 — "By their recent statements on school 'busing,' Senator Kenneth Keating and Robert F. Kennedy have deliberately sought the support of and given aid and comfort to the organized forces opposed to ending segregation in New York City's schools," declared Richard Garza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator, in a statement to the press here today.

"There is no other interpretation, possible," said Garza, "since these statements against 'busing' were made at a time when the very modest plan to pair eight city schools is about to be implemented and when the forces of bigotry are at the height of their campaign to stop this move — a campaign centered around the emotional and misleading slogans of 'no busing' and 'defend the neighborhood schools.'"

Garza referred to statements by the Republican incumbent, Keating, on Sept. 5 and by his Democratic rival, Kennedy, Sept. 8 in which each said he was opposed to "compulsory busing" over "long distances" to effect integration. Actually, no long distance busing has been advocated or is planned, but the white opponents of pairing schools slander the move in those terms and have called for a white boycott of the schools beginning Sept. 14, opening day.

In his statement to the press, Garza further declared: "The remark by Kennedy that 'it doesn't make sense to move children from one place to another and bring down the level of education so that everyone is more equal' is



Richard Garza

particularly offensive. The inference here is that ending segregation will bring educational levels down. All experience is to the contrary. The truth is that when as much money and space and as many competent teachers are assigned to schools in Negro neighborhoods as are assigned to schools in middle-class white neighborhoods, then the educational level will go up. If Negro parents feel that pairing the schools will help bring this about, they deserve support, not a stab in the back by their supposed liberal 'friends.'"

## ALL-OUT FOR DeBERRY AND SHAW

# Young Socialists in Vigorous Campaign

By Peter Camejo

The National Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance voted to give wholehearted endorsement and support to the election campaign of the Socialist Workers Party at its plenary meeting held in New York over the Labor Day weekend. Members of the leading committee of the YSA from all over the nation discussed their experiences in the campaign so far and made plans for the fall.

The YSA has been active, along with other supporters of independent political action — from Boston to Los Angeles — in Youth for DeBerry and Shaw groups and Committees for Independent Political Action. Detroit members reported that high-school participants in their Youth for DeBerry and Shaw Committee had pasted up 200 large posters reading "Vote Socialist Workers" in downtown Detroit, in addition to leafletting high schools, holding street meetings, etc.

YSAers from Minneapolis and St. Paul have been doing some campaigning in rural areas in Minnesota, Iowa and North Dakota, where farmers have been engaged in militant struggles. They also have made plans to campaign at the University of Minnesota and Carleton College. YSA groups in every area have been working on the campaign during the summer, and youth supporter groups are ready to begin intensive campaigning as soon as the schools and colleges open.

### Helped Petition

In those states without impossibly restrictive ballot-qualification laws, the YSA helped SWP candidates get on the ballot. Thus in New York, where the SWP made a great effort to collect 21,000 signatures, the New York YSA was instrumental in petitioning

throughout all the state's 62 counties.

Nationally Students for DeBerry and Shaw have put out over 60,000 pieces of campaign material, ranging from buttons to posters to leaflets, which local groups have already ordered and are putting to use. In conjunction with the Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee, Youth for DeBerry and Shaw groups are planning to make the national speaking tours by both candidates in the fall the most successful campaign tours of any socialists in recent decades.

### Campaign Rallies

Clifton DeBerry, SWP nominee for President, and Edward Shaw, nominee for Vice President, will culminate their tours in three regional rallies — in the West, Midwest and East. The West Coast rally, to be held in Berkeley, will be sponsored by the Committee for Independent Political Action. The other two will be in Detroit and New York under the auspices of Youth for DeBerry and Shaw. The rallies will be part of weekend educational conferences centering around discussion of the idea of political action against the two ruling parties of war and racism.

Besides concentrating their campaign in support of DeBerry and Shaw on the campuses, YSAers have already been active in reaching the Negro ghettos with the SWP program and ticket, and with the fact that the first Negro nominee for President in U.S. history is running against the racist Democratic and Republican parties. One of the YSA activities this summer has been the sale of *Militants* in the ghettos — in Boston, for example, the YSAers have been selling 500 *Militants* of each issue.

Organizational, the growing strength of the YSA was registered at the plenum in the increased activities projected for the coming period and in the high level of political consciousness reflected in the discussions. The YSA looks forward to a year of continued modest growth as the best organized and most highly

developed of the socialist youth tendencies in the United States.

The plenum of the National Committee of the YSA also discussed the general political situation in the country and the tasks before the YSA which flow from this situation, singling out the Negro struggle for a special point on the agenda.

## Youth-for-DeBerry Leader Heard in Chicago TV Debate

Ed Heisler, chairman of the Chicago Youth for DeBerry and Shaw, appeared recently on "Conversation Piece," a local television panel show, along with two liberals and two supporters of conservatism. The liberals were Al Raby, chairman of the Illinois Freedom Democratic Clubs, and Robert Windbush, executive director of the Illinois Third State. Miss Cleveland, a member of the Constitution Research Association, and J. C. Miller, a spokesman of the Prohibition Party, represented the right wing.

Miss Cleveland said that her first choice for President was Senator Strom Thurmond of North Carolina, and her second was Governor Wallace of Alabama. She stated that she had gone to school in Louisiana and "the colored schools are just as good as the white schools." When asked about Negroes being lynched in Alabama and Mississippi, she replied that in the North "white girls are raped without just cause and usually are raped by Negro men."

Heisler described Governor Wallace as "a cheap politician" who is "doing everything in his power to

maintain the suppression, the repression, and the exploitation of black people in Alabama."

Discussing the clashes with police this summer in the Negro ghettos, Al Raby said these were an indication of the "tremendous frustrations of the demands for Freedom Now and of the failure of the power structure." He said he had some hope for the Democratic Party and hoped that his group would "pull it to the left." Heisler declared: "Goldwaterism is racism . . . There's been a 'backlash' in this country to the black people's demand for freedom ever since Reconstruction." He also said: "We had a little Goldwaterism from President Johnson when he carried out his unprovoked attack on North Vietnam." When challenged on the word "unprovoked," he replied by quoting Senator Wayne Morse's speech revealing that U.S. vessels had been standing guard while South Vietnamese ships in the Gulf of Tonkin shelled the North Vietnam coast.

Youth for DeBerry and Shaw has been very active in campaigning for the SWP ticket in the Chicago area.