

Voters Slam Ultra-Right But Workers Will Still Get Short End of Stick

By Harry Ring

The landslide Democratic vote was far more a vote against Goldwater than it was a vote for Johnson. Virtually all sections of the population made it clear that they are not ready to accept the ultra-rightism that Goldwater had become the symbol for.

For the Negro people, Goldwater represented stark racism. So, feeling they had no practical alternative, they swallowed their feelings about the "tall Texan" and pulled down the Democratic lever.

Working people, deeply concerned over job security and reacting to Goldwater's open anti-union bias, also felt they had no choice but to support Johnson.

Senior citizens, alarmed by Goldwater's attacks on their already miserable social security standards and angered by his opposition to Medicare, voted in their great majority for Johnson.

Large numbers of Americans, fearful of the drift to the right and deeply concerned by the bomb-rattling which Goldwater symbolized, closed their eyes to Johnson's bombing of Tonkin Gulf and chose him as the "lesser evil."

On all counts, the returns registered an emphatic repudiation of the ultra-right. Clearly, the conditions were unripe for a mass mobilization around the banner of reaction. But the underlying cold-war, witch-hunting trends which enabled the ultra-right to capture the Republican machine remain operative. The rightists were clobbered at the polls but they have not given up the battle.

They remain a well-financed, well-entrenched force in the nation, with a network of cadres that can enjoy a swift revival at some future turn of events.

Their defeat was not a final one because the Democrats do not represent a really meaningful alternative to them. Johnson's re-election will not solve any of the great problems that the voters were concerned with when they put him back in office.

Big-Business Support

His administration, enjoying the support of big business, will continue on a course that is in the interests of big business — a course contrary to the interests of the great majority of the American people and, indeed, to the interests of the people of the world.

The drive to roll back the Asian, African and Latin American independence movements will continue. U.S. forces will still be garrisoned around the globe. This world counter-revolutionary role

Freedom School Is Burned Down In Mississippi

INDIANOLA, Miss. — Within a 20-minute period on Oct. 28 night-riding vigilantes threw a tear-gas bomb into the Freedom House at Sunflower, eight miles to the north, and set fire to the Freedom School here.

[Two Negro churches were destroyed over the Oct. 31-Nov. 1 weekend. The Antioch Baptist Church near Ripley was destroyed in a pre-dawn fire Oct. 31, hours after 200 persons gathered there to hear Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party candidate for Congress. The church had been used as a Freedom School during the Mississippi Summer Project organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the Council of Federated Organizations.

The rural St. James Methodist Church, about 20 miles east of Jackson, was burned to the ground early Nov. 1. Rev. J. L. Parker, who found it burned when he arrived for Sunday services, said the church has only 35 members.]

Tear-Gas Bomb

At the Freedom House in Sunflower, which is the home of Mrs. Annie Mae King, a tear-gas bomb was thrown through a window at about 1:00 a.m. James Dann, 24, a white SNCC worker from Warwick, R. I., and Ernest Smith, 14, a Sunflower Negro volunteer, were sleeping inside. They were awakened by the crash, but the fumes blocked the doorways and they had to break a window to get out. Smith got a cut on his leg which — when he got medical attention — required ten stitches.

Dann drove Smith to Indianola where SNCC project director John Harris, a 24-year-old Negro from Birmingham, was staying. Harris and Dann then drove to the Freedom School for a first-aid kit for Smith. There they discovered the lock pried off and a fire inside. They fought the fire with a fire extinguisher, putting out the flames, then called the fire department.

The firemen stood around until prodded by the civil-rights workers to do something. Then they doused the place with water, doing further damage. Afterwards the volunteer firemen walked in and out of the building in a festive mood, one of them remarking that he wished the building had been completely destroyed.

Local officials have now threatened to condemn the building unless expensive repairs are completed immediately. FBI agents

(Continued on Page 4)



Johnson

will, in turn, continue to promote the rightward drift at home.

Domestically, the administration will continue to pay lip service to the demands of the Negro people and simultaneously continue in its stubborn refusal to act decisively against racism.

Hold Down Wages

The labor movement will be subjected to continuing government efforts to hold wages within "non-inflationary" limits while profits are permitted to hit new peaks. Johnson will still buck labor's demand for a shorter work week to combat automation job losses.

Realization of many of these facts was the reason why the vote of many people was a rejection of Goldwaterism and not an expression of confidence in the President. The Gallup Poll consistently showed that about 20 per cent of the voters saw no differences on major issues between the two candidates.

They felt, in short, that they were faced with a choice between bad and worse. Unless there is a movement to build independent black and working class political movements, it is safe to venture that the choice in 1968 will be even more dismal.

WITH U.S. BACKING

White Mercenaries Killing Congo Prisoners

By Constance Weissman

A careful reading of reports even in the American press, which so subserviently supports the State Department line on the Congo, affords a glimpse of the character of the contending military forces there.

The forces of the U.S.-Belgian puppet of the Congo, Tshombe, which are led by white mercenaries, are executing all rebel prisoners, according to an article by Lloyd Garrison in the *N.Y. Times* of Oct. 25, who accompanied the mercenaries in their recapture of the city of Bumba.

Garrison gives an eyewitness account of the murder of a wounded prisoner by the counter-revolutionary army. The rebel was sitting on the side of the road. His foot had been blown off. He was wearing a Red Cross armband. A mercenary with an automatic rifle fired six rounds into him.

The murdered prisoner was a medic who had been in the Congolese army for 15 years before going over to the rebel side. He probably felt that he was protect-

ed by his Red Cross armband, according to the terms of the Geneva Convention. The white mercenary officer in command of the government troops was a graduate of Sandhurst, the British West Point.

"I don't like shooting prisoners,



Nkrumah

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DeBerry Calls on S. Vietnam To Spare Doomed Student

By David Herman

NEW YORK, Nov. 3 — Clifton DeBerry, presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, today cabled Premier Tran Van Huong, new head of the cabinet in South Vietnam, to spare the life of a student scheduled for execution. DeBerry's action followed an appeal by the National Union of French Students (UNEF) for a world-wide campaign to save young Le Hong Tu, now awaiting death in Saigon.

In a communication sent Oct. 28, UNEF explained that on May 24, 1962 four people — three university students and Professor Le Quang Vinh had been condemned to death for opposing the Diem regime and those who upheld it. One of the students was Le Hong Tu. Protests in Vietnam and abroad caused the government to put off the executions.

Now, two years later, the government of South Vietnam has decided to execute Le Hong Tu, apparently for no other purpose than to strike fear into the hearts of the increasingly restive population of the country.

On Oct. 15, the regime of Gen. Khanh carried out the public execution of 19-year-old Nguyen Van Troi, accused of plotting against the life of the U.S. ambassador. The young man was put to death by a firing squad before a crowd of reporters and TV cameramen. International pressure on Saigon to spare Nguyen Van Troi included an attempt in Venezuela to bargain his life against that of a kidnaped U.S. colonel. The South Vietnamese government and Washington thereupon proclaimed that no definite plans or date for had been set for the Vietnamese youth's execution. As soon as the U.S. colonel had been released in Venezuela, however, Van Troi was shot.

The UNEF sent the following telegram of protest to the Premier of the Republic of South Vietnam:



POLICIES LIVE. The late South Vietnamese dictator Ngo Dinh Diem. His successors want to kill a young man he condemned to death.

"The students of France (UNEF), highly indignant over the decision of your government to execute within the next few days the student Le Hong Tu, condemned under the Diem Regime two years ago, protests such an act as unjustifiable and contrary to the desires of the Vietnamese people for peace and justice, and demands that the life of student Le Hong Tu be spared."

DeBerry sent a similar message to the South Vietnamese ambassador in Washington. He called upon all Americans opposed to the brutalities of the regime in South Vietnam to send similar messages of protest.

Messages on behalf of Le Hong Tu should be sent to: Tran Van Huong, Premier of the Republic of South Vietnam, Saigon, South Vietnam; and/or the Ambassador of the Republic of South Vietnam, Embassy of Vietnam, 2251 R St., NW, Washington 8, D.C.

SWP Hits Hoax In Pa. Election

On election eve in the Negro districts of Philadelphia, Pa., there were mass distributions of leaflets purporting to support Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party Presidential candidate. The leaflets also carried material under the byline of right-wing columnist Ralph De Toledano attacking the civil-rights record of Lyndon Johnson. Finally, they accused Johnson of "destroying the free-enterprise system." The leaflets and posters that were put up were fakes, declared DeBerry Nov. 3, and were "unauthorized by me or my campaign committee and apparently are a hoax similar to that reported in connection with Martin Luther King."

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

The Episcopal Bishop of Michigan, a member of a mediation commission seeking to end the 17-week-old Detroit newspaper strike, practically blew a blood vessel, blasting the striking unions at a Nov. 2 news conference.

Said the Right Rev. Richard S. Emrich:

"They have closed down two papers, deprived a large metropolitan area of needed news before an election, put thousands out of work, and caused a big enough mess to bring in a Mayor, a Governor, and even the President, to no effect . . . This strike has gone on long enough, and in ways hard to measure, has done incalculable harm. Since the strike hurts the newspapers, throws thousands of innocent people out of work, and injures the cause of good unionism, what in the name of Heaven is the sense of it?"

From that, one could only conclude that the Printing Pressmen and Paperhandlers must be asking for the hands of the bosses' daughters in marriage or some such confiscatory demand. The Right Reverend had not a single harsh word to say about management, nor did he mention the simple fact that the strike would end immediately if the bosses would just let the moths out of their pocketbooks long enough to pay for time-and-one-half pay for Saturday night work and quit trying to run the heavier presses without the few extra men required to do the extra work.

The federal government set up Teamster President James R. Hoffa for a "jury-tampering" conviction by enlisting an informer and paying him \$1,200 to supply information about jury-tampering before the trial in which Hoffa's alleged tampering took place. This point is made in friend-of-the-court brief filed Nov. 2 by the American Civil Liberties Union asking the Sixth Circuit to reverse Hoffa's conviction.

The brief argues that Hoffa's right to counsel and due process

was denied by the government's procedures. The government's handling of the case was the direct responsibility of the then Attorney General, Robert F. Kennedy.

The leadership of the State, County and Municipal Employees, AFL-CIO in New York City received a shock last month when a newly-formed, independent union defeated Local 371 of the SCME in an election for the right to bargain for several thousand professionally-trained workers in the city welfare department. The SCME retains bargaining rights over the non-professional workers.

The new union, the Social Service Employees, won in the great majority of the city's 37 welfare centers, defeating the AFL-CIO union by a margin of 1,000 votes out of a total of 3,000 cast. The main grievance against Local 371 was its refusal to wage an effective fight to get management to reduce case loads to a reasonable level. Federal standards call for a maximum of 60 cases per case workers, but the average case load in New York City is over 80. Workers complain of severe pressure, bureaucratic indifference, and the impossibility of servicing their welfare clients effectively. The SSE — which was formed by rebels from Local 371 — promised a militant fight on this issue.

In a virtually unprecedented case, the American Civil Liberties Union has interceded on behalf of union members suing officers of their union under federal law for a redress of undemocratic procedures.

The ACLU filed a friend-of-the-court brief with the U.S. Supreme Court in a case involving three members of District 1 of the National Marine Engineers Beneficial Association, AFL-CIO. The members complain that their right to nominate candidates for office are infringed by MEBA rules which, among other things, require that only members who have previously served as full-time, paid union officers are eligible to the District presidency.

The ACLU agrees with the men that rights guaranteed to them under Title IV of the Labor Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 are being denied. The ACLU brief was prepared by Prof. Thomas G. S. Christensen of the New York University Law School and Melvin L. Wulf, ACLU legal director.

Paid holidays are tending to increase in U.S. industry according to the National Industrial Conference Board. Some contracts are now calling for "floater" paid holidays — putting the day off on Friday or Monday to provide a three-day weekend. Modern industrial workers still have a long way to go, however, to catch up to the leisure allowed peasants in the "natural economy" of the Middle Ages, when over 100 holidays a year without work were observed.

New York MLF Slates Bargain Book Bazaar

NEW YORK — Bibliophiles and just plain book readers will find a variety of bargains at the book bazaar to be held Saturday evening, Nov. 14 at the Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place.

Along with a wide selection of low-priced general fiction and non-fiction there will be a wide selection of specially priced out-of-print socialist literature.

The books will go on sale at 12 noon. A modestly-priced buffet supper will be served at 6 p.m. and there will be a book auction at 8:30 p.m. Admission is free.

History of CIO By Art Preis Now Available

NEW YORK — The long awaited book by Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step — Twenty Years of the CIO*, has been published by Pioneer Publishers, and is now available.

Art Preis spent six years in writing *Labor's Giant Step* and 30 years in acquiring the material. Born in 1911, he attended the University of Pennsylvania and Ohio State University.

In 1933 he helped found the Lucas County Unemployed League in Toledo, Ohio, which grew into the largest organization of the unemployed in the country. Throughout the 1930s he participated in the struggles of labor and the unemployed.

In 1940 he joined the staff of *The Militant* and became its labor editor. In that capacity he covered the major strikes of American workers until the late 1950s. Preis writes:

"I have the advantage over many writers of history. I can say not only that I wrote hundreds of contemporary articles about the events described in this book; I can add, in the case of many historic labor events: 'I was there.'"

Complete History

This 538-page book is the only full history of the CIO. It starts in 1929 with the Great Depression and the developments which led to the initiation of the CIO and ends in 1955 with its merger with the AFL.

For the first time the CIO's momentous development is related to the economic, social and political course of modern America and world events.

The leading figures of the American labor movement are portrayed in all their strengths and weaknesses — John L. Lewis, Philip Murray, Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky, Walter Reuther and many others — along with innumerable unnamed heroes who fought for the CIO.

5 Indicted for Contempt In Harlem Riot Probe

NEW YORK — Five persons were arrested Oct. 27 and charged with contempt of the grand jury investigating the disturbances in Harlem last July. District Attorney Frank Hogan announced that the charges stemmed from the refusal of the five to answer questions on the grounds that they might incriminate themselves.

New York has a law abrogating the Fifth Amendment in cases where witnesses have been granted "immunity" from prosecution. The law has not yet been fully tested in the courts. The witnesses were granted "immunity" from prosecution by the grand jury.

The grand jury which questioned the five was the same one which had indicted William Epton of the Progressive Labor Movement for advocating "criminal anarchy."

Those charged with contempt were William McAdoo, Vivian Anderson, David Douglas, Michael Crenovich, and Nathaniel Barnett. They each face penalties of up to one year in jail and \$500 fine. Crenovich, president of an offset-printing company, was also charged with second degree perjury for denying that he knew with whom he spoke at the Harlem Defense Council about a printing order for a poster.

The grand jury attempted to smear the witnesses, when they refused to answer questions, by entering into the record questions about Molotov cocktails and incitement to riot.

The defendants appeared before the grand jury at several hearings starting in August.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THE VILLAGERS "HUASIPUNGO." By Jorge Icaza. Southern Illinois University Press, 1964, 223 pp., \$5.95.

Poverty means ugliness, filth, ignorance and drunkenness. And in the subhuman oppression of the Ecuador Indians where sickness and hunger are almost constant, it also means an almost complete hopelessness because an effective revolt requires a consciousness that goes beyond the most immediate problems.

Jorge Icaza wrote this great novel of social protest 30 years ago, and it has been translated into a dozen languages, but only now into English.

The condition of the Ecuador Indian has not changed since the novel was written. Huge landed estates are still sold with the peons included. They still get a wage of only ten cents a day, plus a tiny plot on which to grow vegetables and — maybe — a bonus at the end of the year. It is almost impossible to conceive how a human can exist under these conditions until one reads a work like "Huasipungo."

It means that the starving Indians will crawl out in the dead of night to dig up a diseased ox the *patrón* had forced them to bury, because he feared rebellion if the Indian learned what meat tastes like. The rotten meat sickened the Indians, "Don't throw up the meat yet, one Indian told his wife, it is a shame to waste it." She attempts to comply, and dies in agony.

Simply and clearly, Icaza shows the Indian caught in the middle of an oppressive triangle — the big landowner, who uses him as a slave, supported by the whip and the gun of the local police force, and the local priest who cynically uses the Indian's ignorance and religious superstitions to keep him in line. The "white foreigner" with money to invest is also there, showing Ecuador's status as a semi-colonial country.

The conditions of the Ecuador Indian not only have not changed but they are not confined to Ecuador. In Peru today, Indians are still sold with the land and they still work for ten cents a day. And in Chile in 1960, "of 30,000 newborn infants, 20,000 had died of hunger before reaching one year of age."

As in B. Traven's novel about the mahogany camps in Mexico's Yucatan peninsula, *The Rebellion of the Hanged*, the rebellion of the *huasipungueros* is a spontaneous act of despair. Isolated and without direction, it is bound to fail. Icaza's work, so powerful in its simple honesty, is an appeal to the world for a solidarity with the most oppressed — and for the consciousness necessary for a revolutionary overthrow.

— Della Rossa

CULTURE AGAINST MAN by Jules Henry. Random House, 1963, 495 pp., \$7.95.

Jules Henry, professor of anthropology and sociology at Washington University in St. Louis, has written a very good, powerful and courageous book about "contemporary American culture — its economic structure and values, and the relation of these to national character, parent-child relations, teen-age problems and concerns, the schools, and to emotional breakdown, old age and war."

An illuminating description and a radical indictment of how capitalism distorts, degrades and dehumanizes people in this country, it could more fittingly have been



entitled American Capitalist Culture Against Man.

Not that Henry is a Marxist; he seems to be a humanist, in the best sense of that abused word, writing in the tradition of Thorsten Veblen and C. Wright Mills. He sees class differences, but not class struggle or its outcome, and his suggestions for change are few and small. But he is honest, unequivocal and acute, and Marxists will agree with most of what he writes, finding much of it's useful for their own work.

For this reader Henry's chapters on advertising and schoolrooms were the sharpest, but the whole book is fascinating; only completely insensitive people will not be moved by the chapters on parental mistreatment of children and institutional "care" of old folks. This is a long book that one wishes was longer; a chapter on how capitalist culture influences and shapes race relations would have been most welcome.

G. B.

WANTED — For Butchery, Botchery, Torture and Premeditated Effrontery: The varmints responsible for a movie advertised as *The Threepenny Opera* by Brecht and Weill, made in Germany and now playing in the U.S. with crude dubbing in English. They have chopped up this great work, cut and transposed the songs without rhyme or reason, removed or watered down the social criticism, and rendered it hopelessly dull. All who have ever seen, heard or read the work in any form, even amateur, are hereby warned for their own good and welfare not to see this version.

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vs.

Moscow

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By William F. Warde

The first comprehensive appraisal of the Sino-Soviet dispute from a Marxist standpoint

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BOSTON

THE SINO-SOVIET DISPUTE AND THE KHRUSHCHEV OUSTER. Speaker, Tom Kerry, editor of the *International Socialist Review*. Fri., Nov. 13, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., rm. 307. Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

THE MYTH OF AMERICAN LIBERALISM. Speaker, Jack Barnes, national organizer of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Nov. 13, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues., Nov. 10, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Nov. 11, 9 a.m.). KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

THE DOWNFALL OF KHRUSHCHEV. Speaker, Milt Alvin, socialist writer and lecturer. Fri., Nov. 13, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

HARVEY O'CONNOR, author of *Revolution in Seattle*, will speak on *Revolution in Seattle: A Chapter in American Labor History*. Fri., Nov. 13, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

BOOK BAZAAR. Sale starts at noon. Auction of out-of-print Marxist literature at 8:30 p.m. Buffet supper at 6 p.m. Party later. Sat., Nov. 14, 116 University Pl.

ROUSING EAST COAST YOUTH CONFERENCE

Spirited DeBerry-Shaw Rally Caps Parley

By Robert Shann

NEW YORK, Nov. 1 — A highly successful student conference on independent political action wound up a weekend of activities here today. The highlight of the conference, which was organized by Youth for DeBerry and Shaw, was an enthusiastic Saturday night election rally of over 300 people, mostly young, for Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President, Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw.

Besides the candidates, rally speakers were James Shabazz of Harlem's Muslim Mosque, Inc.; economist Dr. Otto Nathan; Sharon Krebs; Freedom Now Party representative Paul Boutelle; and Richard Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from New York. Other speakers scheduled to address the rally were unable to attend, and sent messages of support to the conference. Slater King, leader of the freedom movement in Albany, Ga., sent the following letter:

"Dear Friends: After I accepted your invitation to speak at your conference on independent political action, circumstances arose which make it impossible for me to attend. Being involved in the civil-rights movement here in Georgia, I have come to support the idea of no marriage of Negroes to either major party. I wish your conference and election rally every success, and I regret I will not be able to participate. Sincerely, Slater King."

Milton Henry, Freedom Now Party candidate for Congressman from Michigan's First District, has been engaged in a hot campaign against John Conyers, who is a Negro running on the Democratic Party ticket. Henry wired the student conference: "Regret that important campaign commitments here prevent me from being with you. Wish your conference every success and urge the largest possible protest vote for Clifton DeBerry, first Negro candidate for President of the United States."

James Shabazz evoked considerable laughter when he compared the campaign of the two major parties to a "long con job" and to "the close of the sale. When a shoe salesman asks you whether you would like to wear them out or have them put in a box, you are being offered an alternative close to the sale. In this country every four years they offer an alternative close which they call a presidential election. When you are asked if you like Johnson for President or Goldwater for President, you are being offered an alternative close." Either way, you get the same bill of goods.

Sharon Krebs was one of the young people who went to Cuba last summer in defiance of the State Department's travel ban. "If I had more time, I could tell you about Cuba, but since I don't,



James Shabazz

Photo by Finer

I'll tell you what Fidel said about the U.S. elections. He said that the choice was between something bad and something worse. And that's why I am going to vote for DeBerry and Shaw, who offer a real alternative," she said.

Dr. Otto Nathan, who is the executor of Albert Einstein's estate, said that "the Socialist Workers Party is the only party fighting for socialism and against capitalism. I'm going to vote for DeBerry and Shaw and Garza because this is the only ticket that gives me an opportunity to express my belief in socialism.

"I want to protest the policy of the United States government in Latin America, Cuba and China. I want to protest against the administration of Kennedy and Johnson for not being for peace," the noted economist declared.

Paul Boutelle, the Freedom Now Party candidate for state senator from the 21st District in Harlem, recounted his development from an Eisenhower supporter to a revolutionist. "Vote for DeBerry and Shaw in '64," Boutelle said. (Boutelle is suing the City of New York for \$250,000 because police prevented him from making campaign speeches in Harlem, because of an injunction issued after the social upheaval which rocked the black ghetto last summer.)

A telegram from Rev. Albert B. Cleage Jr. was read to the rally. Cleage is the candidate for Governor of Michigan on the Freedom Now Party ticket. His message was:

"Greetings to your conference. Both major parties have proven to all Negroes everywhere that there is absolutely no hope in either the Democrats or Republicans. That is why the Freedom Now Party is needed from here on — to politically represent aspirations of black people for human dignity. We are going to stop voting for our oppressors. Everything is on our side. Personally, I want to restate my support for Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President."

Senate Race

Richard Garza pointed out that his campaign against Robert Kennedy and Kenneth Keating offered voters a real choice to the meaningless, gutter campaign and programs of the two major parties.

"The senility of this decaying system is reflected in both Johnson and Goldwater," explained Edward Shaw, the SWP vice-presidential nominee. "We can vote against both the Republican and the Democrat expression of this senility. I think Goldwater should be defeated — you can vote against him and you can vote against Johnson, who also should be defeated," he said, "by voting for the SWP candidates."

Clifton DeBerry, presidential candidate of the SWP, ripped into Johnson and Goldwater. "They

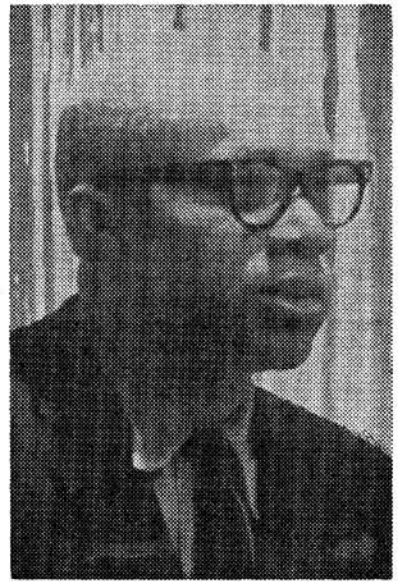
have not discussed the real issues of the campaign — how to end unemployment, poverty, racism and how to stop the drift toward war. They have spent a lot of time talking without saying anything on these and other problems facing the American people."

DeBerry lashed those "leaders" of the Negro people, labor, and various radicals who lined up behind Johnson. This campaign has separated out "the phonies and Dr. Thomases," he said.

DeBerry spoke of the gains the SWP campaign has made, even though the SWP isn't on the ballot in many states and the vote for the SWP will be modest. "We talked about the real issues. We presented the ideas of socialism, and we put forward an alternative to the two major parties, especially for young people."

Earlier in the day on Saturday, about 130 young people heard a sharp exchange of views on Vietnam in a debate between representatives of Youth for Goldwater, Youth for Johnson, and Youth for DeBerry and Shaw. Mr. J. Dudley Devine, 38, spoke for the Goldwater group. He was for a policy of "victory" in Vietnam, and urged the U.S. to begin guerrilla operations in North Vietnam.

Devine predicted that if Goldwater won the election, there would be a step-up in the Vietnam war. "The same will happen if the Democrats win," he said. "The Democrats will have to fol-



Clifton DeBerry

low many of Goldwater's stands on South Vietnam."

"Under present circumstances," Devine declared, "the question of political reform in South Vietnam is secondary to waging the war."

Bob Clampitt, a lawyer, represented the Young Democrats. Clampitt was a founder of the reform movement in the Democratic Party, and is a campaign worker for the Johnson-Humphrey-Kennedy ticket. Youth for DeBerry and Shaw put up Ralph Levitt, former student at Indiana University and one of the defendants in the famous Bloomington "sedition" case at IU last year.

Levitt recounted the history of Vietnam as a colony of the French and now of the U.S., and pointed out that the Vietnamese people have been fighting against foreign domination for a long time. The struggle against the U.S. and the U.S.-backed tyrannical regime is a continuation of the fight of the Vietnamese for freedom from foreign rule. Levitt urged the adoption of a peaceful foreign policy by the U.S. "The only foreign troops in Vietnam are those of the U.S.," he said, "and they should be withdrawn immediately."

The greying representative of the Young Democrats began by deploring both the guerrilla forces and the Khahn regime. He also criticized past U.S. policy in



Ralph Levitt

Southeast Asia, which he said tended to identify the U.S. with colonialism. "But President Kennedy changed all this," Clampitt maintained.

The most interesting aspect of the debate was that as it proceeded, the Johnsonite and Goldwaterite found more and more in common against Levitt's socialist position. The thing they agreed upon the most was the "necessity" to keep U.S. troops there, fighting at all costs. "I have to agree with Mr. Clampitt that we cannot withdraw our troops," said Goldwaterite Dudley Devine. This bi-partisan gang-up was quite educational for the audience, which was generally favorable to the demand to withdraw U.S. troops and allow the people of South Vietnam to determine their own destiny.

The conference was held at the Woodstock Hotel in New York, and was similar to two earlier student conferences, one in Berkeley Calif., and one in Detroit. The three conferences were held on the last three consecutive weekends of the campaign. Students and other young people from New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Washington, D.C. came to the weekend of political discussion. Aside from those at the rally, 280 registered for at least one conference session, and 130 registered for the entire weekend.

A total of 18 colleges were represented, including Boston University, Brooklyn College, Harvard, University of Pennsylvania, Yale, MIT, Columbia, NYU, and University of Connecticut. There were also students from seven high schools.

Modern Slaves

In a powerful and spirited talk entitled "Twentieth Century Slaves," James Shabazz acquainted all these young people with the mood that is growing in the black ghettos. Shabazz pointed out that Negroes are still political slaves, despite the Emancipation Proclamation. He rejected the term "second-class citizen," arguing that if Negroes were denied the rights guaranteed to citizens in the U.S. Constitution, then they weren't citizens at all, but slaves. However, he added, "when it comes to our obligations to the government there is no 'second class.' There is no 'second-class' draft or 'second-class' income tax. The only time we are not citizens is when we are on the receiving end and the government is on the giving end."

He rejected any doctrine which teaches that when "someone socks you in the jaw, you should turn the other cheek. It would be better to be idolators and to bow down to rocks than to any such teaching." Shabazz excoriated the "Negro leaders," the "Negro intellectuals" who refuse to tell the truth about the Negro's condition to the Negro, and whose only goal is to become accepted by the white rulers.

The first session of the conference began Friday night with a symposium on "The Negro Ghetto and Political Action." Speakers on the panel were Joanne Grant of the *National Guardian*; Staughton Lynd, Yale professor and Director of the Mississippi Freedom Schools; Lawrence Stewart, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from New Jersey; Marion Barry of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; and Leonard Sneed of the Muslim Mosque, Inc. *Militant* writer Robert Vernon was chairman.

In addition to the Saturday night rally, there were three conference sessions during the day Saturday — the debate on Vietnam, Shabazz's talk, and an analysis of Goldwaterism and the drift to the right by Farrell Dobbs. Dobbs is the national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, and was a leader of the famous 1934 Minneapolis Teamster strikes.

Dobbs explained the root causes of the drift to the right as deriving from the capitalist system, and the ultra-right as a result of this process and not its cause. Analyzing the forces behind Goldwater, and explaining what fascism is, Dobbs pointed out that it is erroneous to call Goldwater a fascist, and that indiscriminate use of the term fascist will only confuse people and make any fight in the future against real fascism more difficult. He further pointed out that far from being a bulwark against fascism and the ultra-right, the liberals capitulate to rightist pressure and pave the way for the rightists.

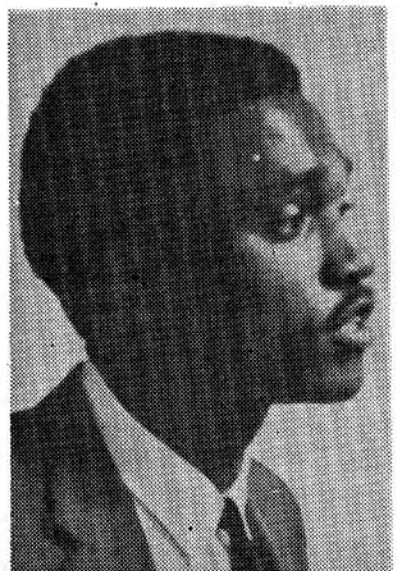
Final Session

The conference's final session was held Sunday morning. Barry Sheppard, National Chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, spoke on "How This Generation Will Change Society." Sheppard explained the failure of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the labor bureaucrats, and the conservative Negro leaders to break with the Democrats. He pointed to the forces represented at the conference as those which will build a new leadership capable of organizing for year-round independent political action against the capitalist power structure. The union of idealistic youth, Negro leaders who didn't capitulate to the pressure to support Johnson, and class-struggle traditions represented by men like Dobbs, he said, will build this new leadership.

Sheppard urged the young people present to join the socialist movement and, as a result of the conference, a number from Boston, New York, Washington, and Philadelphia joined the Young Socialist Alliance.



SENT MESSAGE. Rev. Albert B. Cleage, leader of Michigan Freedom Now Party sent message to rally urging support for DeBerry.



Paul Boutelle

THE MILITANT

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The Socialist Workers Campaign

The national vote for the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket will not be available for at least several weeks. Barring a pleasant surprise, the likelihood is, of course, that the vote will be a modest one. Yet it can be said in advance of those returns that the SWP campaign was a successful one.

In a contest where too many radicals yielded to the pressure to accept the big business candidate, Johnson, as the "lesser of two evils," the Socialist Workers campaign maintained the vital tradition of independent socialist political action. In doing so, it offered a meaningful alternative for those opposed to the pro-war, witch-hunting, racist policies of the major parties.

Equally important, the campaign offered young people the opportunity to support a ticket that did not do violence to their regard for truth, morality and meaningful proposals to meet the great problems of the day. One of the outstanding achievements of the campaign, in our view, was the gratifying number of young people who supported the Youth for DeBerry and Shaw. The success of the student conferences on independent political action organized by the committee was testimony to its vitality and the good attendance showed a growing interest in socialist ideas among young people.

Finally, we think Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw — both of whom were contesting for national office for the first time — did a splendid job and we extend to them a well-earned salute.

The B-57s in Vietnam

In a stunning hit-and-run attack a week ago, a handful of daring Vietnamese guerrillas cost Washington at least 25 million dollars. They destroyed five and damaged 15 more B-57 bombers. According to General Westmoreland, chief of U.S. intervention forces, the guerrillas were apparently using mortar ammunition captured from the French during the Indo-Chinese war before 1954.

The contrast is ironic. On the one hand, the liberation fighters are using out-dated weapons which they have captured over the course of their 20-year liberation struggle.

On the other hand, the U.S. forces are equipped with the most advanced nuclear weapons . . . and B-57's aren't counter-guerrilla weapons. The B-57 is a long-range bomber equipped with heavy nuclear bombs, designed for attacking industrial centers and large military installations. They are the backbone of the Strategic Air Command.

The Pentagon statement that these planes had been sent to Vietnam on a "training" mission didn't jibe with President Johnson's first remark — that the planes would immediately be replaced.

The fact, which Washington can hardly conceal, is that the guerrilla's had attacked a secret SAC base — part of the network of U.S. bases surrounding the Soviet Union and China, from which H-bomb-bearing B-57s can be launched at a moment's notice to wipe-out all major cities in those countries.

The guerrillas put the spotlight on the Pentagon's real concern in South Vietnam — the construction and maintenance of huge jet bases for use against China. U.S. imperialism's number-one priority in Vietnam is to hold on to these bases.

The sinister hand of the cold-warriors was startlingly exposed by the guerrilla attack, on the very eve of the American elections — a bloody reminder that one of the most crucial issues in world politics was not even discussed in the campaign of the two big-business party candidates — the disarming of the U.S. militarists.

Score Board

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
St. Louis	\$ 100	\$ 65	65
Cleveland	550	300	55
Twin Cities	1,200	600	50
Boston	850	404	47
Denver	200	91	45
New York	4,300	1,866	43
Chicago	1,500	575	38
Detroit	900	314	35
Oakland-Berkeley	700	233	33
Los Angeles	3,700	911	25
San Francisco	700	167	24
San Diego	400	77	19
Connecticut	200	35	18
Allentown	150	20	13
Milwaukee	300	40	13
Newark	150	10	7
Philadelphia	200	5	3
Seattle	550	00	00
General	350	78	22
Totals through Nov. 2	\$17,000	\$5,791	34

... Racist Terror in Mississippi

(Continued from Page 1)

found rags and bottles which were used to set the fire.

In Sunflower, nine Negro teenagers, who were attempting to guard the tear-gassed Freedom House, were told by police Oct. 29 to get off the streets or they would be shot. The youths, members of the Sunflower Youth Movement, had seen a man trying to break into the house, and several cars cruising around the house and a church used for voter-registration meetings. They had then volunteered to watch the two buildings. When civil-rights workers called the police they were told the police would protect the Freedom House.

Three days earlier, Bob Newell, 19-year-old COFO worker, was beaten at the entrance to the Sunflower County Courthouse. Newell was accompanying Negroes who were registering to vote inside. An unidentified white man walked up to Newell, punched him several times in the face, knocked him down, stepped on him while he was down, and then ran off. During the beating, Sheriff W. I. Hollowell was standing in the corridors of the courthouse with three FBI agents. When the incident was reported to Indianola Police Chief Alexander, he replied that it was county territory and, "Take it to the sheriff."

When the incident was reported to the sheriff his comment was: "This sounds impossible. No one would try that sort of thing right in front of the courthouse." This was the sixth incident of violence. Other incidents of violence against civil-rights workers in Sunflower County in October included a beating, a shooting, a car burned and an attempted hit and run.

The independent Catholic lay magazine *Ramparts* has published a special issue on the murder of the three civil-rights workers, James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, in Philadelphia, Mississippi, last June. The issue contains an article in which author Louis Lomax reports that eyewitnesses have identified at least six members of the lynch mob. Lomax gives a description of the murders based on eyewitness reports as follows:

"The frogs and the varmints are moaning in the bayous. By now the moon is midnight high. Chaney, the Negro of the three, is tied



THEIR KILLERS STILL FREE. Michael Schwerner (left), James E. Chaney (center), and Andrew Goodman, the three civil-rights workers murdered in Mississippi last July. So far, the government has not brought their killers to justice.

to a tree and beaten with chains. His bones snap and his screams pierce the still midnight air. But the screams are soon ended. There is no noise now except for the thud of chains crushing flesh — and the crack of ribs and bones.

"Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner look on in horror. Then they break into tears over their black brother.

"'You goddam nigger lovers!' shouts one of the mob. 'What do you think now?'

Breaks Away

"Schwerner cracks; he breaks from the men who are holding them and rushes toward the tree to aid Chaney. Michael Schwerner takes no more than ten steps before he is subdued and falls to the ground. Then Goodman breaks and lunges toward the fallen Schwerner. He too is wrestled into submission.

"The three civil-rights workers are loaded into a car and the five-car caravan makes its way toward the pre-determined burial ground. Even the men who committed the crimes are not certain whether Chaney is dead when they take him down from the tree. But to make sure they stop about a mile from the burial place and fire three shots into him, and one shot each into the chests of Goodman and Schwerner."

Lomax says the names of the six lynchers who have been identified "cannot now be revealed" because they have not been charged with the crime. The editor of *Ramparts*,

Edward M. Keating, says the names of the eyewitnesses are being withheld also because their lives are in danger.

Lomax reports that the death site and burial ground for the three civil-rights workers were chosen long before they were murdered, and that after the murder "the whites involved went to a bootlegger, got themselves several gallons of moonshine and proceeded to get drunk and brag about the two white nigger lovers and the nigger they had just finished killing."

"Despite what [Neshoba County] Sheriff Rainey, [Mississippi] Governor Johnson and the two Mississippi Senators said," reports Lomax, "within 24 hours after the triple lynching, everybody in the county, Negro and white, knew that the civil-rights workers were dead. They also knew who committed the crimes."

The special issue of *Ramparts*, entitled "Mississippi Eyewitness," contains other articles by experts on different aspects of the case, including one by Dr. David M. Spain who did the autopsy on Chaney. In an interview with the magazine, Dick Gregory, who rushed to the scene of the crime as soon as he heard of the disappearance of the three youths, describes his experiences in working with the local Negro population and the civil-rights forces in uncovering the facts of the case.

Federal Laws

The noted civil-rights attorney William Kunstler details the federal laws on the books which are not being enforced in Mississippi. Says Kunstler: "It is true that Mickey was shot to death by a Southern index finger curled around the trigger of a police special. It is equally true that almost everyone in Neshoba County knows who murdered him and his ill-fated companions. But what is not clear at all is that the ultimate responsibility for the lives of these three blameless young men — and of so many others — must rest squarely and directly with the federal government . . .

"When confronted with the unmistakable evidence of both official and unofficial violence, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy consistently maintained that the Justice Department did not have the power to do any more in Mississippi than it was doing — which was very little. During my trip to Oxford [the training school for the Mississippi Summer Project volunteers] I heard John Doar, the second-in-command of the Department's Civil Rights Division, reiterate this refrain at one of the orientation sessions in Peabody Hall. 'We simply do not have the necessary tools,' he explained to his frankly incredulous audience, 'to cope with the problem.'

"Yet as he and his chief well knew, there is an imposing body of existing law which gives the President ample authority to do what is necessary to make the Magnolia Jungle, as writer P.D. East calls it, safe for non-racist human habitation."

SOCIALIST FUND

You Can Help Train Young Socialists

Dear Friends:

Today I want to talk about the results of that socialist educational program we have written so much about. In many a fund-drive story I have stressed the fact that it is the right and duty of all supporters to provide the money necessary to educate young, newly awakening people in the principles of scientific socialism and the program of the Socialist Workers Party.

Now I can point specifically to a few of those results. The Oct. 26th issue of *The Militant* carried a center spread of pictures and biographies of SWP state and congressional candidates — only a few of whom are veterans in the movement. The rest are all young people who became socialists when they were even younger, worked hard as activists in the trade-union and Negro movements, studied hard and listened hard to the many lessons to be learned from the older comrades who gave so fully of their time and knowledge to teach. In the beginning these young socialist candidates-to-be had one thing in common — some formal education but little or no actual Marxist knowledge or understanding; and a deep conviction that capitalism was worn out and had to go.

The presidential ticket — Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw — is a prime example of the above. Each of them came into the movement as a very young man; each took the tools your past contributions helped to provide, and put them to work. Each came with the conviction that a real socialist program held the only promise for the future of mankind and then went to work to implement that conviction with he knowledge and know-how necessary to carry the program to the people of the country. They couldn't have done it without your help.

We need many more DeBerry, Shaws, Garzas, Davids, Sells, Garretts, Stewarts, Luomas and Taplins. We have many more within our ranks, and there are thousands of young, potential leaders whom we are only now beginning to reach. Your contributions in the past helped to educate the young people I have been talking about, but your contribution to the current Socialist Campaign Fund is needed *right now* for those young men and women who are yet to come to us as a result of the election campaign.

Please send your contribution to 116 University Place, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Marvel Scholl
National Fund Director

AT NATIONAL GUARDIAN SYMPOSIUM

Left-of-Center Editors Exchange Election-Policy Views

By John Pederson

NEW YORK — An enthusiastic and somewhat partisan crowd of 500 gathered to hear editors of eight left-of-center publications present their views on "The '64 Election — and Beyond" at a symposium sponsored by the *National Guardian* last Wednesday evening, Oct. 28.

The panelists were: M. S. Arnoni, *Minority of One*; Dan Watts *Liberator*; James Weinstein, *Studies on the Left*; George Lavan, *The Militant*; Mike Davidow, *The Worker*; David Dellinger, *Liberation*; and James Aronson, *National Guardian*. These panelists engaged in a lively discussion revolving mainly around the question of independent political action.

For Johnson

Arnoni and Davidow unequivocally took the position that Goldwater had to be defeated at all costs — by voting for Johnson. According to Arnoni, Goldwater represents a "military-industrial cabal" headed by Generals Curtis LeMay and Power which was responsible for President Kennedy's assassination and whose goal is to take over the government by any means. Arnoni informed the audience that the immediate objectives of this "military-industrial junta" is to maneuver the U.S. into a war with North Vietnam and China and to obtain additional funds from Congress for bomber development.

Davidow, in presenting the viewpoint of the Communist Party, warned that the fascist menace today in the United States is too great for people to be arguing about lesser-evilism or what Johnson will do some time in the future. He argued that the Republican Party has been captured by ultra-reactionaries and in answer to this unprecedented danger the broadest coalition since the New Deal has grouped itself behind



James Aronson

Johnson and the Democratic Party on an anti-Goldwater program. He accused the Socialist Workers Party of being "ridiculously sectarian" and to prove it quoted from an article in *The Militant* which criticized Negro leaders who did not support candidates independent of the capitalist parties.

George Lavan, managing editor of *The Militant*, blamed the labor bureaucrats and those radicals who insist on supporting capitalist candidates for the "drift to the right" in American politics. He pointed out that the only way this drift can be halted and reversed is by independent political action on the part of the American working class. (See speech this page)

Dan Watts of the black-nationalist magazine *Liberator*, said that the decisive question facing this country is the survival of the 20 million Americans of African descent. He cited the long record of betrayals of the Negro people by the labor movement and Democratic Party, concluding that the Negro people need an alternative to supporting Johnson and the Democratic Party. He mentioned

as possible alternatives the evolving of a viable economic program of self-help for American Negroes and disruption of society.

James Weinstein, editor of *Studies on the Left*, felt that "the left is almost totally irrelevant to American politics." The main reason for this, according to him, is that "the left has not put forth a program which is relevant to the American scene." He concluded by calling for a political initiative of the left in opposition to what he called the "liberal consensus."

David Dellinger of *Liberation* attacked the concept of lesser-evilism and directly excoriated Davidow and the *Worker* for its support of Johnson. To voting he counterposed non-violent direct action.

Fred Jerome, editor of *Challenge*, presented the views of the Progressive Labor Movement. He harshly criticized those radicals who support the Democratic Party, citing the sorry records of Johnson and Humphrey on war, civil

rights, and civil liberties. In his summary he proposed an immediate conference composed, to begin with, of "such groups as rent-strike committees, rank-and-file union groups, student peace clubs, reformers, radicals and revolutionaries . . . to put working-class candidates on the ballot" in the next elections. He said it wasn't important how people voted in this election.

The last panelist to speak, James Aronson of the *National Guardian*, began by saying that "contrary to what a lot of people think, the position of the *National Guardian* is not a non-position." He said, "there are times when true leadership means forcing people to think for themselves." Addressing himself to the '64 election, Aronson said, "your opportunity on election day is only a tactical one, not one of principle . . . The opportunity of principle — and it may be your last opportunity — comes immediately thereafter, and it will come in helping to develop what



David Dellinger

we have for these 16 long years of political paralysis sought to advocate: independent political action to offer the people of America a real alternative."

Lavan: Let's Eliminate Political Oxcart

[The following is the text of the opening remarks by George Lavan at the New York symposium on election policy Oct. 28.]

Backward countries are usually cited as examples of uneven or combined development, where in a city you may see, for example, an oxcart waiting beside the latest model car for the light to change.

But this country with its great industry and technology is also an example of uneven development. And it has its political oxcarts. This is the only capitalist country where there is no mass party of the working people — where government is completely monopolized by the capitalist parties.

Our two capitalist parties claim to be non-class or above-classes, indeed, to represent all classes.

The Democratic Party, for example, claims to represent and serve both the employer and his worker, the landlord and his tenant, the Southern Negroes and the cotton planters, and so forth and so on.

Big Bandwagon

But despite the presence on the Democratic bandwagon of Henry Ford and Walter Reuther, of Martin Luther King and Gov. Faubus, of the *Worker* and the Hearst press, this is a fraud on the people. Not the workers and the oppressed and exploited, but the rich and powerful dominate and control — are represented and served by — the Democratic Party, as well as by the Republicans.

It is this fraud on the people which is responsible for the reactionary political climate in the country — responsible for the cold war, the nuclear threat, the witch hunt, anti-labor legislation and the lack of any really effective laws or enforcement to stamp out racial inequality.

Labor Party

The absence of a party of the working people — a labor party or a movement for such a party — can be charged primarily to the cowardly, corrupt labor bureaucracy the unions are saddled with. But it can be charged secondarily to the left — or those sectors of it, formerly dominant — which repeatedly and doggedly herded the left behind the Democratic Party's candidates and which are still doing so.

For while the left by itself cannot form a labor party, it can by continuous education and agitation among the workers do much to create sentiment for building such a party.

This does not mean giving lip-service by saying every now and



Photo by Finer

George Lavan

then that "it would be nice if we had a labor party," or "we favor a labor party someday" — in the fashion that the social-democrats used to mention socialism once a year on holiday occasions.

It means actively working for it by opposing the candidates of both capitalist parties, by backing all independent working-class and Negro candidates who run against the capitalist parties and by setting an example of independent class politics by backing or running socialist tickets.

Basic Premise

Those who call themselves leftists should recall that the basic premise of Marxism is the need of independent class policies and organizations of the workers — independent economically and politically. The birth of the CIO finally brought such economic organization of the American workers; the creation of their own party by the American workers will end company unionism in politics and leftists should be working to hasten that day.

That is what *The Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party are trying to do. And it is precisely during election campaigns that working people are thinking about politics and are ready to listen to arguments about breaking with the capitalist parties and building a new working-class party.

But the liberals, Communists and social-democrats in each election campaign are busily pushing people towards the Democratic Party and furnishing rationaliza-

tions for supporting their miserable candidates.

Whether they employ the term "lesser evil" or pretend not to, they all tell the workers to vote for it. They say: The Democratic Party is a lesser evil than the Republican; Stop the Republicans by voting for you-know-who; A Republican administration would be a disaster while the Democrats would be only the usual catastrophe.

Changing Status

Adlai Stevenson was a lesser evil than John F. Kennedy (who in his turn had been a greater evil than Kefauver); Kennedy was a lesser evil than Lyndon Johnson (who was then anti-labor and the choice of the Dixiecrats). Now Johnson is a lesser evil than Goldwater. Will this course to the right continue?

Will Goldwater at some point become a lesser evil to Welch or Sen. Eastland?

And will proposals to build a movement for a labor party and to run socialist candidates always meet the injunction from the *Worker* that now is not the time, that the recurrent four-year emergency is upon us and the current Republican candidate has to be stopped?

SCEF to Help in Organizing Jobless And Underpaid Workers in the South

NEW ORLEANS, La. — The board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) has voted to join other civil-rights groups in organizing jobless and underpaid workers in the South.

Such action has been talked about as one of the main aims of the rights movement since passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Announcement of SCEF's plan to join in this work was made by Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, president of the organization, after the board of directors held its semi-annual meeting here over the week-end.

The board said in a statement: "Workers are being pitted against each other by the rising unemployment resulting from the increased use of automatic machinery. Jobs must be found for these workers or they must receive a regular income until work can be found for them.

"The federal government must also help to bridge the cultural lag resulting from poverty and poor schools. The Southern states especially must have federal aid to education.

"Better schooling is urgently needed to meet the demands of more complex machines. People must also be equipped for leisure-time pursuits being rapidly created by the technological revolution.

"Students should also be given subsidies and guaranteed incomes to insure their tuition in junior colleges and colleges, and to pay for their textbooks. Being a student must be recognized as a full-time occupation and paid as such."

The SCEF board also called

upon the federal government to find a way to draw jurors from all over the U.S. for trials involving the race question in the South.

The board declared: "Federal juries in the South are becoming notorious for their failure to indict or convict whites accused of crimes against Negroes, and for their unflinching punishment of Negroes in cases involving race.

"This is one country. If the police are looking for a person, the case extends from border to border, but if a person is then put on trial the jurors are limited to a relatively small area around the scene of the trial. This must be changed."



Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth

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CRISIS IN BOLIVIA

Overthrow of the Paz Regime

NOV. 4 — Radio news bulletins have just announced that Paz Estenssoro has fled Bolivia.

By Dick Roberts

NOV. 3 — Bolivian troops of the government of President Victor Paz Estenssoro fired on rebelling tin miners in Oruro, 120 miles southeast of the capital, La Paz. At the same time, army troops moved against Huanuni, about 40 miles south of Oruro, and began shelling the city's outskirts.

A radio station controlled by miners in Huanuni reported that 30 miners had already been killed, and many more injured.

Paz, meanwhile, mobilized a 10,000-man emergency force to quell further demonstrations by university students, following a wave of student demonstrations in six major cities. Declaring a state of emergency, Paz warned "subversion is on the march."

The student demonstrations were sparked when police in Cochabamba attempted to crush a student protest in support of higher wages for teachers at the University of San Simone, Oct. 21. Failing to subdue the demonstrators with tear gas, the Cochabamba cops opened fire on the students, killing at least two.

Throughout Bolivia, students turned out in mass protests of the Cochabamba murders. In La Paz, nearly 1,000 students were arrested and there were reports of as many as six deaths and over 100 injured.

Realizing that the student demonstrators would be joined by militant tin miners, shutting down Bolivia's key industry, Paz declared a state of emergency last week, and rushed forces to Oruro where today's fighting occurred. Meanwhile, "security" police have rounded up leftists throughout the country.

In La Paz, police raided the

Price Squeeze On Tin

Adding to Bolivia's political and economic troubles of the past decade, has been the cynical manipulation of the world market price of tin by the U.S. Under guise of giving economic aid, Washington has been buying Bolivian tin at low prices, and stockpiling it as a "strategic material." But when the world price hit an all-time high this month, coinciding with Bolivia's political crisis, the U.S. threatened to sell the reserves, drive the price back down, prevent Bolivia from gaining on the present higher price, and incidentally . . . reap the profits.

Any wonder Latin Americans call the U.S. imperialist?

home of former Vice President Juan Lechin, leader of the tin miners' union, who was in hiding. However, they seized, beat, and jailed Lechin's aide, Rolando Requena, despite his claim of parliamentary immunity.

The Bolivian demonstrations have strong anti-American overtones. In Santa Cruz, yesterday, students burned an American flag, destroyed the headquarters of the United States Information Agency and burned the office of the Bolivian-American Cultural Center.

Following the example of civil-rights fighters in America, La Paz students have threatened to stage a mass "freedom march" on the capitol, rallying all anti-government forces.

Bolivian politics have been in crisis for almost a year. In late

September, the Paz government announced that it had uncovered a plot for an impending coup and exiled 33 political leaders, arresting many others. Lechin, the leader of the left wing of the Revolutionary National Movement (MNR), whose house was raided yesterday, has probably been in hiding since the September arrests.

In December, 1963, Lechin led a prolonged strike of the 25,000-strong tin miners' union demanding higher wages. In the course of the strike, Paz, who leads the MNR's right wing seized union officials in La Paz and imprisoned them. Lechin retaliated by seizing mining officials and technicians, including four Americans.

President Paz, utilizing the same tactics he is now apparently using, mobilized a militia of Bolivian peasants to break Lechin's strike. The lack of co-ordination and unified program between Bolivian peasants and miners has been consistently exploited by President Paz and his anti-labor government.

Following the December strike, the MNR split, and Lechin was nominated by the left-wing of MNR to run against Paz. However, at the time of elections, Lechin and all other opposition candidates withdrew in protest of plans to rig the balloting and called for a boycott. Paz was elected unopposed.

Since Bolivia's 1952 Revolution, the United States has cynically manipulated the world price of tin to strangle Bolivian economy (See box), while refusing to extend aid under the so-called Alliance for Progress. In 1963, the U.S. stipulated that Bolivia would qualify for aid in modernizing the tin industry, if it raised \$800 million on its own — 20 times the total of Bolivia's non-military budget.

Police Unleash Fierce Attack On Students in Puerto Rico

A demonstration of hundreds of Puerto Rican students organized by the Federation of University Students for Independence (FUPI) was attacked by police on the grounds of the University of Puerto Rico on Oct. 28. The police used clubs and tear gas against students, who defended themselves with rocks.

Other students joined in the clash, swelling the demonstrators' ranks to over 1,000. The cops fired their guns above the heads at the students, wounding several. The students succeeded in overturning and burning at least one of the police cars.

After two hours of clashes, a large crowd of students gathered inside the university and was addressed by Juan Mari Bras, President of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence (MPI).

The next day, the students demonstrated outside the university and then marched across San Juan to the capital building to demonstrate against the brutality of the police the previous night.

The original FUPI demonstration was in support of the election boycott organized by those who advocate Puerto Rican independence to protest the colonial status of Puerto Rico. The students also demanded university reforms giving students more independence. On the second day, their signs pro-



Juan Mari Bras

tested biased reporting on the clashes in the press.

It was reported that 9 were injured in the clashes and that eleven were arrested.

NEW YORK — a new social club for Puerto Ricans has been opened here. Friends of Puerto Rican independence will be welcome at many social affairs to be held at it. The club, called Casa Borinquen, is located near Union Square at 106 E. 14th St., second floor.

Articles by Vernon on Black Ghetto Now Available in Pamphlet Form

A new pamphlet, *The Black Ghetto* by Robert Vernon, a contributor to *The Militant*, has just been published by Pioneer Publishers. It contains a preface by Rev. Albert B. Cleague, Jr., chairman of the Michigan Freedom Now Party, and an introduction by James Shabazz, a spokesman for the Harlem Muslim Mosque, Inc., and an associate of Malcolm X.

In his preface, Rev. Cleague says that Vernon is "one of the few journalists in America today who understands the Negro's struggle for 'FREEDOM NOW' well enough to write about it intelligently and in depth. He understands and radiates the white hot anger of Negro artists when they clash with the smug complacency of white liberals at a symposium. He not only knows that they are angry — he knows why they are angry. He understands the smoldering anger of Harlem streets during the riots . . . Through the eyes of Robert Vernon the riots become much more than mere 'violence in the streets,' and we can

understand why the riots happened and how the people felt . . ."

In the introduction, Shabazz says the author "is unique in two respects: first, as a Negro, he has approached the ghetto from the ghetto viewpoint — a viewpoint so rarely expressed, yet so necessary if meaningful solutions are to evolve; second, he has the ability to translate that viewpoint — the viewpoint of the participant — into the language and experience of the spectator . . . The authenticity of his data can be vouched for by any member of the Harlem community. For he is no stranger there, but can be seen at rallies, interviewing the residents of the ghetto and those who claim to lead them, or even 'hotfooting' it after a group of racing teenagers in the darkness of a 'racial disturbance.'"

The body of the pamphlet consists of a series of articles, which appeared in *The Militant*, in which Vernon — who writes with unusual humor and perception — reports and analyzes a number of typical discussions and historic events which took place in and about Harlem recently. Published together here for the first time, the articles deal with the ghetto view of "integration" and "separation," a Black Muslim rally, the Harlem rent strike, an attack by the liberal editor of the *New York Post* on Malcolm X, the famous June 15 Town Hall confrontation between white liberals and black artists and writers, last summer's social explosion in Harlem, and an article on independent black political power.

The pamphlet sells for 35 cents and may be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York, New York 10003.

World Events

For Soviet Democracy

The National Committee of the Union of Communist Students in France has passed a resolution demanding that the circumstances of Khrushchev's ouster be revealed publicly and in full. Their statement said in part:

"A total return to Communist democracy in all fields constitutes one of the elementary conditions . . . for resolution of the internal contradictions of the socialist countries and the problems posed in the organization of the workers movement." The debate in the world Communist movement, they said, "cannot be resolved except by deepening the discussion among the ranks."

Castro Hits Bureaucrats

In a Nov. 1 speech to a transportation Congress, Fidel Castro proposed a ten-year freeze on the hiring of state employes to cut down on inefficiency and waste. He said employes in offices now overstaffed could be transferred to new offices which would be opened as the Cuban economy grew. "The tremendous vice of bureaucratism," he said was one of the most serious problems facing the revolution.

Brazil CP Ousts Prestes

Luis Carlos Prestes, secretary general of the Brazilian Communist Party since the 1930s, was deposed at an underground Central Committee meeting in Rio de Janeiro in September, according to a *New York Times* report of Oct. 16. He was made "honorary chairman," and the more militant 38-year-old Mario Alves was named head of the party. Prestes was accused of allowing the party to be caught off guard by the reactionary coup last April. Pres-

tes, a long time Stalinist, and more recently a Khrushchevist, held that parliamentary methods could win for socialism in Brazil.

Plan New Paper in Ceylon

The Ceylonese Trotskyists, organized in the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section), are planning an English-language publication to be called *New Spark*. The first issue is scheduled for November.

The party is already publishing a paper, *Samasamayaya*, in Sinhalese, the language of the country's majority. It also publishes *Putachi* [Revolution], in Tamil, the language of the minority of Indian origin, begun as a monthly, now bi-weekly.

Venezuela Plans 'Mop-up'

The Leoni government, deeply worried over a rise in guerrilla activities in Venezuela, has decided to "mop-up" the mountainous Bocono region in the state of Trujillo. It has indiscriminately bombed zones suspected of containing freedom fighters. And, taking a page from the book of the South Vietnamese government, it has ordered evacuation of the entire peasant population from the region.

Agence France Press reported from Caracas Oct. 24 that the Bocono guerrilla forces are rumored to be led by Fabricio Ojeda, a leader in the 1958 uprising which overthrew dictator Perez Jimenez. Ojeda escaped from his jailers last year, after being imprisoned for a year on charges of armed rebellion.

Angolans To Intensify Fight

Holden Roberto, president of Angola's government in exile, announced Oct. 23 in Dar-es-Salaam, capital of Tanganyika, that a

"massive onslaught" against the Portuguese imperialist rulers is planned by Angolan guerrillas, commencing with the onset of the rainy season.

Fight to Free Mozambique

The struggle to free Mozambique, the African colony, from Portuguese imperialism has taken an active turn with resumption of guerrilla warfare. In Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) announced that 20 Portuguese troops had been killed and several wounded since late September.

On Oct. 23 FRELIMO leader Eduardo Mondelane announced a rebel government will presently be set up and that only "exceptional circumstances" would make it go into exile.

Meanwhile, the Portuguese have assembled 25,000 troops in the colony, mostly along the border with Tanganyika. Savage reprisals by these troops against the African population have driven thousands of refugees across the Ruvuma river into Tanganyika. Imitating President Johnson's conduct in the Tonking Gulf, the Portuguese government has threatened to bomb Tanganyika, charging that it is to blame for the liberation struggle.

Change Name to 'Socialist'

The ruling party of Tunisia, headed by the well-known moderate, Habib Bourguiba, changed its name at its recent congress from Neo-Destour to Socialist Destour. Bourguiba, however, made clear that Tunisian socialism would be moderate. Nationalizations, he said, will be undertaken only when they can be shown to be profitable, not just to promote social justice.

Yours for the Asking

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

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place
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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.]

Khrushchev's Ouster

Denver, Colo.
Now that Mr. Khrushchev got the "bum's rush" in Moscow, I would like to read what *The Militant* has to say about the new de-

velopments in the world's struggle for socialism.

It seems to me that the removal of Mr. Khrushchev has been a victory for the Chinese Communist Party leaders. Up to now the American Communist Party has followed the "party line" dictated by Moscow as the word of God. Anyone who doesn't follow it is a renegade or a traitor.

I'm voting for the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

J.G.

From Veteran Socialist

Vashon, Wash.
I see by my wrapper that my sub needs renewing and I'm going to do just that.

I became acquainted with socialist ideas back in 1892. That was when the popular epithet was "anarchist." Today it's "communist."

In 1896 I began reading a paper published by Victor Berger in Milwaukee, the *Social Democratic Herald*, and that convinced me that socialism was a sound philosophy.

I listened to Debs in Seattle a couple of times. He told the audiences: The Republican politician comes and tells you what fine, intelligent folks you are if you'll vote his ticket. He is followed by the Democrat who peddles the same story. And I come to tell you what ignoramus you are if you vote for either one of them.

What Debs said applies today. I see there will be two socialist parties asking for votes in Washington and that's too bad. There should be only one and then they might accomplish something.

Nothing would make the Republican and Democrats make concessions quicker than a combined socialist vote of about six million. I'll never see it for I'm 94 years old and that won't happen until the Russians, Chinese and Cubans make sufficient gadgets to satisfy all their people and are competitors in the world market.

Yours for socialism.

W.S.

Criticizes Oswald Coverage

Seattle, Wash.
I'm an enthusiastic supporter of *The Militant*, but I have one big criticism that must be made.

The *Militant's* whole approach to the Kennedy assassination has been very timid and defensive. When the long-awaited (and much-heralded) Warren Report came out, you had an editorial which expressed criticism of the weaknesses of the Report, and pointed out the actual legal limitations of such a document. Your skeptical, legalistic criticism fell far short of what is required. Considering the magnitude of the crime investigated; the contradictory and mysterious facts surrounding the case; and the establishment, with much ballyhoo, of a commission of eminent big-shots from the capitalist political structure, the Warren Report is a shabby, irresponsible document, the real purpose of which is to shut up the skeptics without answering any questions. It should be characterized for what it is: a monstrous whitewash.

The *Militant* has seemed highly reluctant to do what most other left-wing publications did instinctively, as their natural duty to their readers — expose the frame-up of Oswald, expose the Warren whitewash, and ask the big, unanswered question of our day: Who killed Kennedy? Anyone familiar with the case knows that

Oswald was framed by the Dallas Police Dep't and the FBI (and the press), and that the Warren Commission is putting its seal of approval on this frame-up in order to prevent a full investigation. That's the purpose for which it was established. The American people have the right to ask, "Why?"

There is a possibility — no, a likelihood — that high-ranking people in the government were involved in Kennedy's murder. We have no idea what momentous, behind-the-scenes developments the assassination may be only an outward manifestation of, or a prelude to. It may have some relation to the right-wing coup in the Republican Party. It may affect our international relations far more than a mere change in the administration could.

The "Establishment" — FBI, Dallas Police, press, radio, "informants" or "sources" "close to" the Warren Commission — have been using the technique of the Big Lie, a form of brainwashing. They have repeated, time after time, the monotonous formula, "Oswald did it, he did it alone; there was no conspiracy, left or right." Using the Warren Report as an exclamation point, they are attempting to make people believe, in contradiction to the actual evidence, that Lee H. Oswald murdered John F. Kennedy, unaided. The voices of opposition can scarcely be heard above the chanting.

We must constantly counter the Big Lie with questions: "Was Oswald a CIA and/or FBI agent?" "Why did the FBI tell millionaire H. L. Hunt to leave Dallas shortly after the assassination?" "Which right-wing groups in Dallas actually advocate political assassina-

tion?" "What about that meeting Ruby was at with Tippit, Weissman, and (so some sources say) a Texas oil millionaire?" etc., etc. But, most important of all: "Who killed Kennedy?"

We must demand publication of all material the Warren Commission has gathered. We must give aid and publicity to the Citizen's Commission of Inquiry. A paper that fails to do these things is not fulfilling its obligation to its readers.

R.V.G.

Not to Liking of Liberals

St. Albans, N.Y.
The following is a letter which the local Negro and white "liberal" papers would not print:

To put it mildly, I am disappointed. I would think that the Negro press and the white liberal press could find the space — among its reporting of social affairs, of the results of sporting events, of the plaque-awarding and token appointments of the politicians, and of the extensive monetary and military aid which we send to Europe — to report on its front pages, and maintain each week a chronology and a box score of the bombings of Negro churches and homes, the wanton murders of black Americans, and the rifle and shotgun attacks on our people by the whites "down South" in Mississippi, Georgia, etc., and "up South" in New York, Detroit, Hempstead, Cambria Heights, Philadelphia, St. Louis, etc. At the time of this writing, the latest reported bombings and shotgun attacks occurred in Vicksburg and Meridian, Mississippi.

Since your middle-class, literate readers "would rather write than fight" for their human dignity and

equality of opportunity, the least you could do would be to keep before them the chronology and box score, and urge your readers to DEMAND that the government divert some of our foreign military assistance from overseas destinations to our own shores for use by black American citizens in those areas of U.S.A. where local, state, and federal authorities will not grant them protection from the vicious, brutal, racist attacks.

It is unforgivable blot upon the consciences of Negro publishers and of their white liberal contemporaries that they have, by degree, treated these matters so lightly. You have been very quick to prove your "whiteness" to earn "acceptability" by a unwarranted blanket condemnation of the "Freedom Fighters" of Harlem, Brooklyn, Rochester, Newark, and Philadelphia; and have rather studiously avoided any prolonged comments or demands for the protection of our African-American citizens.

I realize fully that their demands for governmental protection will be as futile as the plea by Dr. M. L. King to the conscience (???) of White America, — however, it is high time that they learn this fact and realize they must co-operate jointly in the common objective of self protection and survival.

I trust that I have written this letter in the "acceptable, moderate responsible, middle-class, don't-antagonize-our-white-friends" tone so you can print it without upsetting the "reasonable" posture of your newspaper.

Umkonto Pogo
Executive Director,
Afro-American Economic
Development Center

10 Years Ago In The Militant

"LITTLE SCOTTSBORO' FRAME-UP VICTIM DOOMED TO DEATH — Walter Lee Irvin, sole survivor of Florida's 'Little Scottsboro' frame-up has been doomed to die in the electric chair during the week of Nov. 8.

"The signing of Irvin's death warrant by Acting Governor Johns is betrayal of a pledge to a state-wide committee of Florida liberals by both candidates for governor. The 'informal' understanding was that the Negro youth's death sentence would be commuted to life imprisonment if defenders of Irvin refrained from raising the issue of the frame-up during the race for governor. Acting Governor Johns made public the setting of the execution date on Nov. 2 after the voting had begun.

"Irvin, now 26 years old, entered the death house five years ago. He previously escaped death at the hands of a lynch mob which killed another defendant, Ernest Thomas. When Irvin and Samuel Shepherd, condemned to death by an all-white jury, were granted a new trial by the U.S. Supreme Court, Sheriff Willis McCall tried to end the case by shooting his two handcuffed prisoners. Shepherd died but Irvin miraculously survived." — Nov. 8, 1954.

20 Years Ago

"MASS JIM-CROW 'MUTINY' TRIAL CONVICTS FIFTY NEGRO SAILORS — In a drastic move to maintain its vicious jim-crow segregation policy, a seven-man, gold-braid navy court-martial has found 50 Negro sailors guilty of 'mutiny.' Penalties may range from extended prison sentences to the maximum, death. The verdict was brought in after only 45 minutes of deliberation upon the conclusion of 33 days of contradictory testimony and summation arguments.

"The case goes back to the Port Chicago disaster, when a ship being loaded with ammunition blew up, causing the death of 327 men and tremendous damage. The great majority of the men were Negro sailors in 'labor battalions' doing longshore work. All the men brought to trial were involved in the tragedy, being either survivors or among the squads that cleaned up the wreckage and remnants of bodies dismembered by the explosion . . .

"The navy uses Negro labor gangs extensively in the San Francisco area to load ships. They usually work under the direction of white officers. Training for skilled types of work is often insufficient. It has been pointed out that the longshoremen's union does not permit men to work ammunition until they have had five years' experience. Yet some of the men at Port Chicago were put on ammunition after two or three months' training." — Nov. 11, 1944.

It Was Reported in the Press

Junior Politics — We heard the following election-eve discussion between a group of New York youngsters about eight to ten years old. First youngster (in a slightly awed tone): "Do you know there's a Negro running for president?" Second youngster (equally awed): "Yeah? In what country?" First youngster: "Right here! In this country!" Third youngster: "You mean Johnson's a Negro?" First youngster: "No, there's another party running, they're running a Negro. It's called the Socialist — the Socialist Workers Party." The first youngster was, however, somewhat dubious of the SWP's prospects. He further reported to his friends: "Do you know, this party had another candidate. He ran four times and never won once!"

The Free Enterprisers — A business spokesman complained that too many companies prefer stealing their competitors' products to developing their own. Harvey Smith told an American Marketing Association gathering that: "Industrial spying . . . is debilitating the creative research originality of many business firms." Included in the arsenal of industrial spies, he said, are helicopters, matchbox cameras, long-range telescopes, duplicated office keys, wastebasket-refuse purchase, bribery, blackmail and theft. Mr. Smith urged businessmen to follow the Golden Rule.

Calm Down — A recent medical-journal drug ad shows a doctor talking to a fellow who looks like an average working stiff after

a rough eight hours on the job. The patient is explaining: "Trouble is I don't see any way out. I'm at a dead end on this job and with the kids and all I can't start over now learning another." The solution to the problem, according to the ad, is simple: "When you recognize depression and anxiety traceable to an emotionally charged situation . . . start the patient on Deprol."

The Pollsters — Phony poll-takers were nearly as prevalent during the campaign as real ones. A survey of several thousand people showed 24 per cent had been approached by "interviewers" who turned out to be salesman as against 29 per cent who were interviewed by legitimate researchers.

14% Meat? — The New York *Daily News* reports: "Not even the lowly but popular hot dog is safe from the adulterating hands of the get-rich-quick." Three New York packers have been accused

of using an excessive amount of "extenders" such as cereal, starch and dry milk — as much as 14 per cent. At this late date we find it hard to get indignant. We have not eaten an honest-to-god, unadulterated hot dog since childhood. If city authorities were concerned about "excessive" use of "extenders," they wouldn't permit any. As far as that 14 per cent figure is concerned — we thought the packers followed the practice of the restaurant operator who put equal amounts of horse meat and rabbit in his "rabbit" stew, one horse to one rabbit.

Note to U.S. Farmers — Australia just sold China 56 million bushels of wheat for an estimated \$90 million.

And Anti-Senile — We are indebted to *The Realist* for the information that *Vogue's* movie critic characterized the Beatle's film, "A Hard Day's Night" as "viciously pro-youth."

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Thought for the Week

"I'm not sure whether I should be congratulated or offered condolences . . ." — Tran Van Huong, premier of the new South Vietnam "civilian" regime installed by the military junta there.

Victim of Detroit Police Raps Brutal Practices

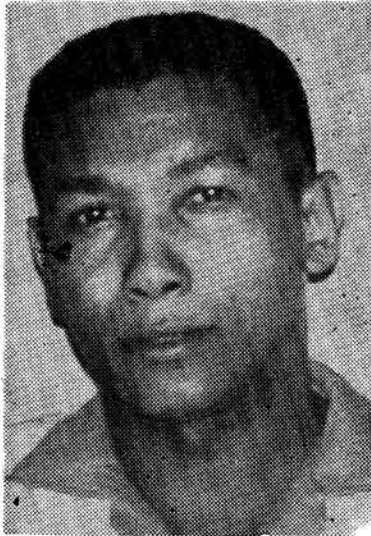
DETROIT, Oct. 28 — Richard T. David, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the 13th District, lashed out today at law-enforcement practices here. The Alabama-born Negro auto worker said, "Five of my supporters and I were picked up Saturday morning in front of my campaign headquarters by 'Detroit's finest' in as clear an instance of racial and political harassment that I have yet seen."

David and Robert C. Higgins, a 17-year-old Negro high-school student, have been charged with assault and battery. David has also been charged with malicious destruction of property. Three whites, Dorothea Breitman, Edward D'Angelo, 18, and Daniel Rosenshine, 20, have been charged with interference with an officer. Court examinations have been set for Nov. 5 for the three whites and Nov. 10 for David and Higgins.

The incident leading to the arrests took place at 2:30 a.m. Oct. 24. David and Dorothea Breitman were sitting in a car in front of the SWP headquarters at 3737 Woodward, waiting for Robert Higgins to emerge from the building.

At that time, says David, "Two white men, who turned out to be policemen in plain clothes, passed the car, calling Mrs. Breitman a 'nigger lover.' I jumped from the car and a physical scuffle ensued, the two men not having identified themselves as police officers. Mrs. Breitman tried to intercede to stop the altercation and was knocked to the ground. Robert Higgins, came out of the headquarters and saw the two men, apparently hooligans, fighting with me, his congressional candidate. Young Higgins also interceded pulling one of the men off of me. This man, seeing himself in the position of having to contend with someone on a one-to-one basis, quickly flashed a police badge. This was the first time either of them had identified themselves as police officers, and at this time I still did not know it. By this time uniformed officers had arrived. As the cops were putting handcuffs on me, I was struck in the face with a flashlight and given a choke hold that almost made me black out. Since then I have received hospital treatment for these injuries."

Within moments, two Young Socialists, Daniel Rosenshine and Edward D'Angelo, were placed under arrest with the others. According to Rosenshine, "I merely inquired of the officers whether Robert Higgins and Dorothea Breitman, co-workers and personal friends of mine, were under arrest. One of the officers an-



Richard David

swered with very strong language indicating that I should mind my own business. I then, in a moderate tone, asked for the officer's badge number so that I would be able to follow up properly at the police station. I was immediately placed under arrest. So was Edward D'Angelo, who standing by my side, and had not said a word."

James Griffin, 17, was also arrested on the charge of interfering with the police. According to Griffin, "he was standing on the sidewalk watching the incident when he was recognized by an officer who had previously picked him up for passing out socialist campaign literature to high-school students. The prosecutor has since dropped the charges against Griffin."

The defendants state that they were subjected to racial insults on the way to the police station. Griffin, D'Angelo and Rosenshine claim that they were told by an officer, "You guys sound worse than those niggers, talking about police brutality all of the time."

At the station, David learned that he was to be charged with malicious destruction of property. He was accused of breaking the window of a policeman's private car with his fist. In his statement, David says, "If this charge were true there would be cuts or bruises on my hands. There are not."

David went on, "charges such as 'assault and battery' and 'interfering with an officer' sound very imposing to a person who has been educated to think that policemen are protectors of the people's welfare. My education in life is that the police break more laws than the people they pick up, especially where Negroes are concerned. In this case, the police have lied, stating that I attacked them because I 'hate all whites.'"

All five defendants will be defended by Milton Henry, prominent civil-rights attorney and former Pontiac city councilman. Henry is currently the Freedom Now Party candidate in the 1st Congressional district.

On Oct. 28, David sent Congressman Charles C. Diggs Jr., his congressional opponent, a telegram requesting Diggs' intervention in the case. The telegram read, in part, "I demand that you investigate this incident in your district. Issue a statement against police brutality in general and this case in particular. The fact that I, a candidate for public office, was attacked shows that no Negro is exempt. Plans are being made for formal complaints to Michigan Civil Rights Commission and Police Commissioner Girardin. Request that you be co-complainant and actively intervene."

Congressman Diggs replied by telegram next day: "Please notify me where and with whom you have filed complaint and I will investigate."



Milton Henry

WHY SOME GM STRIKERS ARE STILL OUT

Report from a Calif. Auto Assembly Plant

OAKLAND, Calif. — The GM workers have voted to accept the national contract and end the national GM strike, but most of the assembly plants voted to stay out for "local demands." It may help you to understand the situation if you get a picture of what was probably a pretty typical ratification meeting at one of the assembly plants — United Auto Workers Local 1364 at the BOP (Buick, Oldsmobile, Pontiac) plant in Fremont, an industrial town near here.

This particular plant — with 4,100 workers — has been in operation only 14 months. So intense has the speed-up been in that time that there has been a turnover of 3,100 men. Most of the young kids hired couldn't last out the day. A guy will go on his relief, and just never come back. The gate guard tried to stop one guy and tell him he couldn't leave without a pass. He told the guard he just wasn't big enough to stop him and kept on going.

Judging from the familiar faces, the turnover has been much lower among the Negro brothers than among the whites. The Negro brothers have a harder time finding another job and have to stay and take the gaff — which accounts for the fact that today approximately one third of the work force at GM BOP Fremont are Negroes.

More Speed-Up

This 80 per cent turnover gives a good idea of the working conditions in the plant. The speed-up is indicated by the fact that when the new models started this year, the line speed was set for 35 cars per hour. Just before the strike, production had risen to 45 cars an hour with no increase in personnel.

The press reported Oct. 19 that President Johnson had requested that the company and the United Auto Workers sit down and negotiate an end to the four-week-old strike in the "national interest." UAW President Walter Reuther immediately called a meeting in Detroit of the union's GM Council — composed of local leaders from GM plants across the country. On Oct. 21, the Fremont local received a telegram instructing it to set up a ratification meeting for Sunday, Oct. 25, on the national and local agreements.

Anxiety reigned among the workers when word of this telegram got around because, remembering past experiences, they expected a sell-out was in the cards. The main concern was that we would be forced back to work without the local agreements on wage, seniority and shift preference, and without settling the some 700 grievances that were on the books gathering dust before the strike started.

Spirit High

On the Friday before the ratification meeting, about 1,000 men lined up for strike-benefit checks and a lot of guys took it upon themselves to go up and down the line talking it up against any back-to-work movement without a local settlement. Spirits were very high even after three weeks of strike-benefits of about \$20 per single man and a maximum of \$30 for family men.

One old-timer was giving the young men a piece of his mind — telling them how they had never really been on strike before, how they didn't know what a real struggle means, how they probably bought a new car a week before the strike and couldn't make the payments and the wife was pregnant and they faced all those pressures to knuckle under, but are they men or are they mice? He was really flailing them



Walter Reuther

and most of them were agreeing with him.

There was a lot of good-natured bantering about not going back to work: "Now we got General Motors where they're hurting" . . . "I guess by damn we can tighten up our belts for another couple of weeks" . . . "Who's hurting the most, GM or us?"

There had been some action on the picket line during the week. Pickets had been harassed by local management. It had advertised for job applicants to come through the picket line for interviews inside the plant, and supervisors had run through the line in cars at dangerously high speeds. So the union decided to do a little harassing on its own by stopping and turning away all salaried personnel for a three-hour period.

Scuffle With Cops

This resulted in half the Fremont police force being called out immediately and there was some scuffling and a couple of pickets were arrested. The police chief personally escorted the supervisors (who were reluctant to pass through the picket line) into the plant. The supervisors seemed nervous and under pressure. Here they'd been hanging around in the plant — all those bosses — and nobody around to boss.

At the ratification meeting, 1,428 out of the 4,100 showed up. Most were the older seniority men. Conspicuous by their absence were the youthful new hires. The meeting opened with a reading of the national agreement, point by point, which took an hour and three quarters. When the man at the microphone got to the point where it says the 18-minute-relief time is not going to be put into effect immediately, and it is not clear just whom it will cover, and this will be decided in further negotiations between management and the international union, a tremendous murmur arose from the crowd.

The floor was opened up for questions. A number of pointed questions were asked about speed-up. The contract's weasel-wording about forced overtime was also raised. (Overtime is compulsory at GM, and instead of a provision in the contract against it, the union got only a statement from GM that management would give consideration to workers who want to refuse overtime for personal emergencies.)

Then the debate period opened. The chairman of the Shop Committee said he and the Local president were among the ten (out of 250) on the GM Council who had voted against the national agreement in Detroit. But that when they got back to a meeting of the

Local Executive Board it was unanimously agreed to recommend acceptance of the national agreement. The reason given was that there would be an overwhelming vote for acceptance nationally and that "this is the best we could do. We have a foot in the door."

A brother from the floor attacked the agreement, pointing out there was nothing in it on guaranteed employment, no provisions ending speed-up, nothing on the threat of automation. He cited figures to demonstrate how there are less men in the union today producing more and more cars because of automation and speed-up.

National Problem

Another speaker objected that speed-up is a national problem that should be handled on a national level, and the agreement doesn't do that. Another said: "It's too vague in wording and there are too many loopholes." Another said about the pension improvements: "Nine out of ten guys here aren't going to retire . . . automation will replace them before they reach retirement age." Another: "Working conditions are terrible and are not being improved."

There was apprehension that UAW Regional Director Paul Shrade would not go along with the continuation of a local strike. But when Shrade said that on behalf of the international union, he recommended acceptance of the national contract, and continuation of the local strike, the men gave him warm applause. He also said that if the local voted to stay on strike on a local basis, the international would assure that local GM dealers would be sealed off from getting cars coming from other areas.

The vote to accept the national agreement was 1,029 to 387. The shop chairman then discussed the progress of local negotiations. He said out of 720 grievances, 650 had been settled, but that management had refused even to discuss 83 local demands. A motion was made to continue the local strike. With a tremendous roar a sea of rank-and-filers stood up, waving their hands and yelling in agreement. The vote was 1,428 to 2 to stay on strike for "local demands."

Local Issues

These "local demands" concern seniority-right violations, transfer-right violations, excessive disciplinary layoffs that have occurred, and many demands touching on working conditions. It is believed that half the strike demands will now have to be thrown out because they conflict with and are superseded by the national agreement.

It is generally conceded by the more outspoken militants that Reuther has cleverly manipulated a situation whereby the outstanding issues of forced overtime and speed-up have been dumped back in the lap of the local leaders. But these local leaders can't negotiate gains on these questions that will not conflict with the national agreement. And Reuther has once more sidestepped the all-important issue of the shrinkage of job opportunities because of automation. As for pensions, the feeling amongst the men today is that automation will prevent many of the young fellows in the industry from ever reaching retirement.

Appeal to Be Heard

The North Carolina Supreme Court was slated to hear arguments Nov. 4 on the appeal in the case of Mae Mallory, Richard Crowder, Harold Reape and John Lowry who were framed-up in the Monroe, N. C. "kidnap" case.