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REPORT ON OPPONENT ELECTION CAMPAIGNS

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I. NATIONAL PICTURE

McCarthy Movement

I'm including the McCarthy movement in this report. It didn't disperse after the Democratic Party convention and is still very much with us.

The professional politicians involved in the McCarthy campaign have joined with some of the Kennedy forces to form the "New Democratic Coalition." This organization held a two-day conference in Minneapolis Oct. 5-6. 225 persons from 40 states attended, according to the New York Times. The Times reported that the coalition "will attempt to reform the Democratic Party to make it more responsive to the will of the voters on issues and candidates."

Most of the Kennedy people, including Senator Edward Kennedy himself, are supporting Humphrey. McCarthy, O'Dwyer and other Democratic "doves" are refraining from openly endorsing Humphrey because doing so would jeopardize their ability to divert antiwar sentiment into support for the various Democratic Party "peace candidates."

A small remnant of the McCarthy movement made up mainly of left liberal academic types and CPers decided they could most effectively put pressure on the Democratic Party and hold on to the young McCarthy supporters who became disillusioned with the Democratic Party after Chicago by keeping the McCarthy presidential bandwagon going by means of the "New Party." But McCarthy refused to renew his candidacy and instead flew off to France for a well-deserved (from a capitalist viewpoint) vacation.

The leading organizer of the New Party, Marcus Raskin of the Institute of Policy Studies, predicted initially that they would get McCarthy on the ballot in over 30 states. Rather feeble efforts were actually made in 9 or 10 states but they failed even to get the requisite signatures in most of these.

In New York, however, the State Supreme Court granted ballot status to McCarthy presidential electors though McCarthy had sent a letter to the Secretary of State requesting that his name not be put on the ballot. This ruling is being appealed by the Democratic Party.

Write-in campaigns in behalf of McCarthy have been launched in California, Michigan and Massachusetts. The campaign in

California has been endorsed by the California Democratic Council. The legality of the latter two efforts have been challenged by state officials.

The New Party group in Colorado put Dick Gregory on the ballot instead of McCarthy. The Indiana New Party is trying to do the same thing.

The New Party forces held a national conference in Washington, D.C. in late September. According to the Daily World, the group met to select "its national committee and to carry out plans 'to build a new political base for all citizens alienated by the political status quo.'" The World reported an attendance of 100 delegates from 29 states. Dr. Spock was one of those elected to a nine man executive committee. Also named were Raskin, Rev. Andrew Young of the SCLC, and Gore Vidal, the author. Paul Booth, former SDS leader, has been active in New Party efforts in Illinois.

The McCarthyites are energetically backing eight senatorial campaigns selected by McCarthy as key: Senators Wayne Morse of Oregon, J.W. Fulbright of Arkansas, George McGovern of South Dakota, Frank Church of Idaho, Paul O'Dwyer of New York, Alan Cranston of California, Gov. Harold E. Hughes of Iowa, and former Representative John J. Gilligan of Ohio.

These campaigns are attracting many young antiwar activists as did the McCarthy campaign itself. Thus, the McCarthy pamphlet is still useful and literature dealing with a specific state campaign can be put out by local campaign committees to expose these candidates and their reactionary role in channeling opposition to the war into the Democratic Party. Literature exposing the New Party maneuver may be valuable in some areas.

Peace and Freedom

The Peace and Freedom Party was initiated in late September, 1967 by the Draperites in California. A ballot drive was launched requiring, to be successful, the registration of about 67,000 voters into Peace and Freedom. King and Spock were the projected candidates.

Tremendously boosted by the prospect of a Nixon-Wallace-LBJ line-up in November, 1968, the drive succeeded beyond anyone's expectations, with over 100,000 people having been signed up by the early January deadline and many liberal Democrats and antiwar activists having become active in the PFP. The CP, whose proposal for a "third ticket" was narrowly defeated at the New Politics convention in Chicago, but which opposed the PFP registration drive because it conflicted with the McCarthy campaign within the Democratic Party, was now forced to become involved. Progressive Labor decided to get in on the action, too.

While the liberals, CPers and Draperites came to an agreement on a formal "minimal" capitalist reform program for the PFP, the various factions weren't able to agree on candidates. This is why there are two PFP presidential candidates, at least six vice presidential candidates, and a number of local candidates reflecting these political differences.

Dick Gregory is the presidential candidate of the CP-liberal wing of the PFP. Gregory first announced his protest write-in campaign for president a year ago last spring. Last winter, needing a candidate to put on their petitions, the CP-controlled PFP group in Pennsylvania named Gregory figuring they could make changes through the vacancy committee.

In California, when unaffiliated radicals, reluctantly joined by the Draperites, launched a drive to make Eldridge Cleaver the PFP presidential candidate, the CP countered with Gregory. The CP considered Gregory more moderate and therefore more consistent with the "minimal" program than Cleaver but still radical enough so they wouldn't be discredited by backing him.

Cleaver, having been named as the PFP presidential candidate in the California nominating conventions and at the New York convention, went on to get the nomination at the national PFP convention in Ann Arbor, Michigan August 17-18.

But the CP didn't consider this binding on PFP groups they controlled. In Pennsylvania, Gregory was retained as the presidential candidate. The Colorado New Party, the Virginia and New Jersey PFP groups and the New York Freedom and Peace Party put Gregory on their state ballots. According to the Daily World, the Indiana New Party is in court seeking to put Gregory on the ballot there.

If the Indiana court case is won, Gregory will be on the ballot in six states.

The Gregory campaign is being used by the CP to divert those forces being impelled toward a break with Democratic Party politics into a reformist third capitalist party formation. At the same time, the CP is continuing its activity inside the Democratic Party. The CP isn't repeating its adventurism of 1948 when it put most of its electoral eggs in the Progressive Party basket.

A few months ago the Draperites were talking about getting Cleaver on the ballot in over 30 states. They actually got him on the ballot, definitely, in only four states: Arizona, Minnesota, Iowa and Michigan. In California votes can be cast for PFP presidential electors, but Cleaver's name will not appear on the ballot because of his age. In New York, the PFP presidential ticket has been ruled off the ballot entirely for the same reason, though this is being appealed. It looks

as if Cleaver will be on the ballot in some form or other in 5 states.

The announcement of Cleaver's presidential candidacy last April provided a badly needed shot in the arm for the PFP. McCarthy had made his impressive showing in the New Hampshire primary, LBJ had announced his withdrawal from the presidential race and Kennedy had made up his mind to enter the race. These unexpected developments caused the liberal Democrats and progressives who had joined the PFP to decide the situation within the Democratic Party wasn't so dismal after all and many of them began re-registering as Democrats.

The Draperites expected a massive "second wave" of support to the PFP after the Democratic Party convention and Humphrey's nomination. This, of course, hasn't materialized to any significant extent.

Cleaver has just opened a one week campaign tour of New York state. Prior to this there has been very little campaigning in his behalf and very little campaign literature distributed. It remains to be seen how active the campaign will be in the next few weeks.

When and where PFP campaign meetings do occur the pamphlet on the PFP published by the National Campaign Committee can be sold. Also, the October issue of the Young Socialist has an excellent article on the PFP by Mary Alice Waters.

The Communist Party campaign

This is the first CP presidential campaign since 1940 when the CP ran Earl Browder and got on the ballot in 22 states. It is the 3rd prong of a "3-pronged election strategy" involving work "inside and outside" the Democratic Party. The specific objectives of the CP campaign are 1) to counter the SWP campaign within the political vanguard; 2) gain publicity for the CP; 3) probe the possibilities of more open CP activity; and 4) recruit to the CP.

The CP ticket of Charlene Mitchell and Mike Zagarell will be on the ballot in 2 states, Washington and Minnesota. Getting on the ballot in Minnesota involved a court case that resulted in a significant civil liberties victory as well as a lot of publicity. It was a very good development for the CP campaign. The CP tried and failed to get on the ballot in Colorado where 300 signatures are required.

The CP candidates have been touring the country but are avoiding situations where political give and take with Halstead-Boutelle supporters is likely. Their tour stops have mainly involved a street meeting or two, radio, TV and press interviews and private meetings by invitation only.

The main effort of the CP is, of course, mobilized behind the Democratic Party "peace" candidates and the Gregory campaign.

Socialist Labor Party

The SLP will be on the ballot in 14 states (if a court case is won in Indiana) compared to 15 in 1964. The only states the SLP is on where we are not are Massachusetts (automatically, because of a peculiar provision of the election statutes) and in Virginia. The SWP is on the ballot in more states than the SLP for the first time this year.

II. NEW YORK SITUATION

McCarthy movement

The "fourth party" grouping here is called the Coalition for an Independent Candidacy, or Coalition Party for short. It has been seeking a separate line on the voting machines for pro-McCarthy presidential electors and for Paul O'Dwyer, the Democratic senatorial candidate. A recent state supreme court decision ruled the Coalition Party on the ballot but this is being appealed to the state court of appeals by the Democratic Party which rightly believes that McCarthy on the ballot almost certainly dooms Humphrey's chances of carrying New York.

A recently issued leaflet reveals the aims of the Coalition Party: "We are a broad coalition of Democrats, Republicans, Liberals, and independents working to affect change. We are urging our members and others to stay in (or join) one of these three parties; to vote in the primaries; and to work for change from within where possible. We are NOT trying to destroy or fragment the Democratic or any other party. We will support progressive candidates from any party whose views are in common with our own."

Peace and Freedom

The Peace and Freedom movement in New York has broken into fragments corresponding to the different political tendencies involved.

The CP backed fragment is the Freedom and Peace Party. The FPP successfully gained a ballot position for Dick Gregory and Mark Lane for president and vice president and Herman Ferguson for U.S. Senator. Also, these local candidates are running on the FPP ticket: Beulah Sanders for state assembly from Manhattan; Flora Brown for state assembly from Brooklyn; and Grace Mora Newman for congress and Caroline Rivers for assembly from the Bronx. All the local candidates with the exception of Caroline Rivers are black or Puerto Rican.

There has been little sustained campaigning on the part of any of these candidates as yet though Beulah Sanders, who has been associated with the welfare rights movement, has been endorsed by the Social Service Employees Union. Gregory has been endorsed by Dr. Spock and Lincoln Lynch, according to the 10/12 Daily World. The only campus meeting in the New York City area that has come to my attention was one at the State University of New York where Dick Gregory spoke to over a thousand students. He is scheduled to speak at other campuses, too.

The Ferguson Freedom and Peace campaign is interesting in that it directly conflicts, from the CP viewpoint, with the O'Dwyer campaign. The CP only reluctantly acceded to the "black caucus" demand that Ferguson be the FPP senatorial candidate last June at the FPP state convention. In fact, his nomination may have signalled the loss of control by the CP of the "black caucus" which originated as the Brooklyn section of the National Conference for New Politics "black caucus." Since that time there has been no mention of the "50% vote for the black caucus" concept the CP had previously pushed so energetically and demagogically.

In recent weeks the Daily World has hardly mentioned the Ferguson campaign while giving very prominent treatment to O'Dwyer. Meanwhile, many black militants in New York, including the Black Panther Party, consider Ferguson to be their candidate.

Ferguson says he is for a black party and justifies his FPP candidacy on the grounds that he couldn't have obtained ballot status otherwise. Ferguson's campaign literature, however, makes no mention whatever of his stand in favor of a black party. Ferguson is presently in jail, having been sentenced to 2 to 15 years after conviction on a frame-up "conspiracy to murder" charge. His bail has been revoked and it remains to be seen whether he will be released pending appeal so that he can actively campaign.

The New York Peace and Freedom Party is running Eldridge Cleaver for president and Judith Mage, former president of the Social Service Employees Union, for vice president. They have been ruled off the ballot on account of Cleaver's age, but are attempting to obtain ballot status for their presidential electors. In addition to the presidential ticket there are several local candidates: Dave McReynolds for Congress and Harry Drexler for state assembly; Barbara Lawrence and Penny Neiderer are PL inspired candidates for state assembly of the "West Side Peace and Freedom Party," the PL-backed PFP fragment. PL and the West Side PFP have nothing to do now with the state organization.

The New York Black Panther Party is running no candidates either on their own or on the PFP ticket. There was originally supposed to be one congressional candidate, David Brothers (Chairman of the NY Panthers), but no attempt was made either by the PFP or the BPP to petition for him.

The Panthers have had very little to do with the PFP in New York. There was no Panther representation at the state convention which nominated Judith Mage. Jorge Aponte, a leader of the NY Panthers, was recently scheduled to participate in a panel at a PFP meeting on the New York school situation but didn't show up and didn't send a substitute.

McReynolds, who withdrew as the PFP senatorial candidate under pressure from the Panthers, is running a fairly active campaign for Congress. Professional looking campaign literature has been put out in his behalf and he has been speaking around the city. He is a member of the Socialist Party, a registered Democrat and was an active supporter of McCarthy.

Judith Mage has been doing little campaigning thus far. At a recent Social Service Employees Union membership meeting she stated that she was "personally" for O'Dwyer and spoke in favor of a proposal that the SSEU endorse O'Dwyer.

With only a few weeks remaining before election day, the Cleaver-Mage campaign in New York has yet to really get off the ground.

Communist Party Campaign

The CP campaign in New York has been no stronger than anywhere else in the country. The candidates have held 3 or 4 street meetings in Harlem and the Garment District, and that's about it. The Daily World has announced the printing of "attractive" campaign literature including the CP election platform in a two-color, four-page tabloid format. But very little of this literature has been distributed.

Committee for Independent Political Action (CIPA)

CIPA, which ran James Weinstein in 1966, is running Manuela Dobos for state assembly this year. Dobos is an ex-Spartacist and a graduate student at Columbia. Her campaign doesn't appear to be a serious effort.