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That Civil-Rights Bill — A Pretty Thin 'Victory'

By David Herman

JUNE 17 — After 75 days of talk, the U.S. Senate on June 10 voted to stop the filibuster on the civil-rights bill. It did this only after a still weaker substitute bill had been introduced in place of the already weak bill passed by the House. This watering-down deal was arranged by reactionary Republican Senator Everett Dirksen, liberal Democratic Senator Hubert Humphrey and Attorney General Robert Kennedy.

This new version of the bill suffered one more amendment by Southerners — limiting the provisions for contempt-of-court prosecutions. The bill is now expected to be passed within a week without any further major changes. Consequently it is worth examining what the eleven-title bill provides.

Title I is supposed to make it easier for Negroes to vote in the South. It prohibits certain devices used to prevent Negroes from registering, such as oral tests of literacy. It also instructs the Civil Rights Commission to investigate denials of the right to vote. However, it applies only to federal elections, not to state and local elections. Furthermore, it leaves control of registration and voting in the hands of the states. The new version removed a provision allowing the Commission to investigate vote frauds.

Criminal Contempt

The Civil Rights Act passed in 1957 provided a penalty of only 45 days in jail and \$300 fine for those found in criminal contempt of court (without a jury trial) for not carrying out court orders to stop voting discrimination. The new bill leaves this unchanged. As a measure of how civil-rights laws are enforced, it should be noted that there has been only one such contempt trial so far since 1957.

Title II deals with discrimination in hotels, motels, restaurants, theaters, and sports arenas involved in inter-state commerce. That doesn't mean discrimination in public accommodations is made a crime. This bill doesn't make any kind of discrimination a crime. It merely says that it should stop and offers some ineffective means to try to stop it. It doesn't prohibit discrimination in barber shops, retail stores, private clubs or other unspecified public accommodations.

The methods provided to stop discrimination are as follows: An individual discriminated against may bring a suit in court to obtain an injunction ordering the place to stop discriminating. If there is any local or state agency with jurisdiction over such cases, it first has 90 days to settle the matter. If that doesn't succeed, the court may send the case to a Community Relations Service, to be set up under the bill, for as long as 180 days.

The head of the CRS is to be appointed by the President and approved by the Senate. He would choose the rest of the members. The CRS is supposed to try to conciliate the parties involved. It can investigate the complaint, but is not allowed to make public any of its findings. It is a crime, punishable by a year in jail and \$1,000 fine, for a member of the



Hubert Humphrey

Service to make any findings public.

CRS conciliation failing, the case would be tried in court. Since the bill allows the judge to make the loser pay the winner's legal costs, a Negro losing a case could be forced to pay to the acquitted discriminator what amounted to a large fine.

The bill bars the U.S. attorney general from initiating a suit on behalf of an individual or supporting an individual suit. But he may initiate a suit against a "pattern or practice of resistance."

If an individual finally obtains an injunction and the discriminator refuses to heed it, the latter can be indicted for contempt of court. The bill, however, guarantees a trial by jury in every criminal contempt case arising under it save in those involving voting. Trial by jury in the South, where juries are chosen by discriminatory means, is tantamount to acquittal for a white supremacist.

This title is generally conceded to be the bill's most important
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Socialist Nominee Blasts Johnson for Not Stopping St. Augustine Klansmen

By Alex Harte

NEW YORK, June 16 — Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, today scored President Johnson "for failure to use the powers of his office to halt police and Klan violence against Negro demonstrators in St. Augustine, Florida."

"Johnson hasn't even spoken out against the terror being employed against non-violent demonstrators for fear of offending the Southern racist wing of his own Democratic Party," DeBerry charged.

Under the direction of Rev. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Negroes in St. Augustine have been demonstrating for integration of hotels, motels, and restaurants, and for jobs. "Johnson's failure to act demonstrates that his claimed devotion to civil rights is so much hot air, because he has refused to protect the Negroes of St. Augustine who are demonstrating for the things the civil-rights bill is supposed to guarantee," the socialist candidate said.

"The president has all the power of the United States government at his disposal to enforce the laws.



Clifton DeBerry

But he can't even enforce the Constitution in St. Augustine. A government representing the Negroes and workers would have no hesitation about swiftly moving in with whatever was necessary to stop the criminal actions of the

police and Klan and to guarantee the rights of Negroes."

Police, mobs encouraged by the police, and Klansmen sworn in as "sheriff's deputies," used rifles, clubs, bricks, arrests and arson against Negro demonstrators.

The SCLC began its St. Augustine project in the last week of May with an economic boycott. The SCLC drive was countered by a South-wide mobilization of the Ku Klux Klan.

Persons accused of bombing in Birmingham, Alabama, have been seen around the city. Klansmen cruised the city in cars equipped with radios. Police with dogs halted an attempt by more than 175 Negroes to march into downtown St. Augustine on the night of May 29.

Then sporadic shootings began to occur against integrationist workers and Negroes. Newsmen and TV cameramen were mauled during the course of a peaceful demonstration at the site of the old slave market in downtown St. Augustine.

Federal Court

SCLC attorney William C. Kunstler charged in federal court that the St. Johns County sheriff had recruited deputies from the ranks of the Klan. Sheriff Davies later said that he had deputized several businessmen and had appealed to the city's "civic clubs" to help "maintain order."

On the evening of June 7 vandals virtually destroyed a cottage which Dr. King had rented. They overturned furniture, broke windows, pulled cabinets from the walls and set it afire.

The next morning King told a New York press conference that although he had appealed to the federal government to restore order and bring justice to St. Augustine, administration officials only promised to look into the matter.

On June 9 racists were allowed to break through police lines to attack non-violent demonstrators. The following night a cursing, brick-hurling mob attacked demonstrators shouting, "Communist niggers!" Several Negroes said they had been burned by acid thrown by the mob.

Rev. King and 17 others were
(Continued on Page 2)

Urges World Action to Save S. Africa Freedom Fighters

Despite a government order prohibiting him from making any kind of public utterance, Chief Albert J. Luthuli, former head of the African National Congress, has managed to release a statement to the world protesting the life sentences given South African liberation leaders in the recent "sabotage" trial. Luthuli, a Nobel Peace Prize winner, is confined to his home by South Africa's racist rulers.

Chief Luthuli's statement says: "Sentences of life imprisonment have been pronounced on Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni in the Rivonia Trial in Pretoria. "Over the long years these leaders advocated a policy of

racial co-operation, of goodwill, and of peaceful struggle that made the South African liberation movement one of the most ethical and responsible of our time. In the face of the most bitter racial persecution, they resolutely set themselves against racialism; in the face of continued provocation, they consistently chose the path of reason.

"The African National Congress, with allied organizations representing all racial sections, sought every possible means of redress for intolerable conditions and held consistently to a policy of using militant, non-violent means of struggle . . .

"But finally all avenues of resistance were closed. The African National Congress and other or
(Continued on Page 3)

HE'S RACKED UP A COOL \$9 MILLION SO FAR

Johnson's Personal Victory in War on Poverty

By Art Preis

President Lyndon B. Johnson has won a major battle of his "war on poverty." His family is "one of the wealthiest ever to occupy the White House," with a fortune of \$9 million dollars, the June 9 *Washington Evening Star* reported.

This fortune, says staff reporter John Barron, "was amassed almost entirely while Johnson was in public office; mainly since he entered the Senate and began his rise to national power in 1948."

The bulk of the Johnson fortune, the article points out, has been derived from investments in Texas television and radio, with added accumulation in land, banks and stocks.

By sheer coincidence, the big boost in the Johnson fortune came during his first term in the Senate when he was a member of the Commerce Committee, which has jurisdiction over the Federal Communications Commission. The FCC, in turn, regulates all television and radio stations.

According to the newspaper's account, the FCC's public records "show no evidence that Mr. Johnson ever sought preferential consideration from the regulatory agency."

"There is evidence, though," the report adds, "that Mr. Johnson was personally involved in gaining interests in radio and television stations."

Special Consideration?

If Johnson never sought "preferential consideration" from his connection with the regulatory agency, nothing in the record suggests it ever did him any harm.

In fact, the latest FCC ruling affecting the Johnson interests, says the article, has placed "fatal restrictions upon an Austin television-cable firm which is competing with one allied with the Johnson company." This could eventually be worth between \$5 and \$10 million to Capital Cable, the company allied with the Johnson interests.

The popular version of the

source of the Johnson fortune attributes it to the acumen and energy of Mrs. Johnson, in whose name a small, debt-ridden Austin, Tex., radio station was bought up in 1943 for \$17,500. The legend has it that she parlayed this up to \$9 million.

But while the *Star* concedes that Mrs. Johnson is what the vulgar might call a sharp little cookie ("Mrs. Johnson undoubtedly has made impressive contributions"), the paper insists "there is strong evidence that Mr. Johnson himself has participated vigorously in the family business ventures.

"Several Texans who dealt with the Johnsons prior to last November say they always dealt with Mr. Johnson, never with his wife.

"Mr. Johnson, it should be noted, owns no stock in the company which has title to most of the Johnson property and has provided the family with such amenities as limousines, an airplane, a cabin cruiser and the LBJ ranch
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Lyndon Johnson Swore to Defend System

99-Day Michigan Strike Saw Ominous Scab-Herding Move

By Ron Strachey

DETROIT — Hillsdale, Mich., a town of 7,600 people, was recently the scene of a 99-day strike. The strike began Feb. 28 when 180 members of Local 810 of the AFL-CIO International Union of Electrical Workers walked off the job at the Essex Wire Co.

The workers, who had just formed their union three months earlier, were demanding equalization of their wages with those paid by the company at its Indiana plant. The company conceded that its Hillsdale workers were making from "40 to 60 cents below the wages paid the employees in the Essex plant at Fort Wayne."

Soon after the strike began the company began importing workers from out of state as strikebreakers. When the strikers tried to prevent them from entering the plant, the company hired a private police force. This incited the whole town. Minor skirmishes with the company cops followed. The vice president of the union local was slashed in the face; a plant guard was shot in the leg, another clubbed.

Invade Plant

At one point 15 masked men invaded the town's power plant to shut off Essex Wire Co.'s electricity. They decided not to do so, however, when they saw that they would also be shutting off power to the hospital.

A truce seemed possible in April when the strikers offered to return to work if the company would rehire all those who had walked out. Management agreed, but at the last minute reneged by asserting it would rehire on an individual basis so that it could "weed out the trouble-makers." This type of double-dealing by the company got no national news coverage.

An incident on May 27 finally brought the Hillsdale struggle into the national news. About 150 people were at the Essex Co. gate when a car with armed guards tried to enter. A rock was thrown through the car's windshield and a guard jumped out and pulled a gun. In the ensuing struggle he

fired two shots. Police put him back in the car which then drove away. But the cops hauled three members of the crowd off to jail.

Thereupon some 500 people gathered outside the jail, threw rocks and jeered at the cops. They did not disperse for four hours. Next day three townspeople sympathetic to the strike were arrested with no reasons given.

At this point Governor George Romney of Michigan — who gained his fame as president of the American Motors Corp. — stepped in, with an emergency order shutting the plant and disarming the company's guards. Picketing, demonstrations and public assemblies in the streets were also banned.

National Guard

A force of 800 national guardsmen was sent in to enforce the order. This was the first use of the national guard in a labor dispute in Michigan in many years. It reminded many, even some of the guardsmen, of the historic sit-down strikes in Flint during the formation of the CIO.

The union thought it had gained a victory. But suddenly Romney lifted the ban on the company's operation of the plant on the claim that otherwise a court order for its opening would be forthcoming. The strikebreakers now returned to work under the protection of national guard bayonets.

The union protested that it should now be allowed to resume picketing. Romney refused. He thereupon set up around-the-clock negotiating sessions between management, which was operating its plant under military protection, and the union which was forbidden even to picket.

Not the local union's negotiating committee, but IUE President James B. Carey did the bargaining. A settlement was announced June 6 but its terms were not made public, pending a ratification vote by the local union.

REUTHER'S PENSION PLAN

UAW Ranks Should Take a Close Look

By Jim Campbell

DETROIT — Walter Reuther's big pitch for his "early retirement plan" at the United Auto Workers' bargaining council sessions in Detroit should provide rank-and-file auto workers with food for thought.

The quiet burial of Reuther's "profit-sharing" plans can undoubtedly be considered a victory for labor. Widespread disillusionment has developed with profit-sharing as it has worked out in the UAW contract with American Motors and the United Steelworkers' contract with Kaiser Steel on the West Coast. These schemes put very little in the workers' pockets and did not "create" jobs. But worst of all, they have not eliminated the speed-up. Recognition of this is a testimonial to the much belittled "class awareness" of organized workers.

In like manner, auto workers should take a close look at Reuther's pension proposals in the forthcoming negotiations with the auto industry. Closer examination may explode much of the balldoo of Reuther's extravagant promises about the early retirement demand.

Company-Controlled

First it should be noted that the Big Three pension funds are completely company controlled. Also they have accumulated huge reserves (especially General Motors') thanks to Reuther's generous concessions in past contracts. It should surprise no one if Reuther co-operates with the auto companies on the limits to which these funds can be "stretched" in "improving" pensions. This undoubtedly is the hidden meaning of his proposals for "flexible bargaining" on this issue. The UAW bigwigs receive the annual statements on these funds, though they are kept secret from UAW members.

Second, it should be said that Reuther's proposals are an attempt to catch up with terms of retirement already embodied in the United Steelworkers' contracts. True, with his usual flamboyance he is "proposing" to out-do his



BIG OPERATOR. Walter Reuther usually has some high-sounding plan going. Mostly they turn out more beneficial for the bosses than for the workers he's supposed to represent.

friendly competitor, David J. McDonald. That is, he is proposing retirement at 60 and a \$400-a-month minimum income for retirees. But retirement bonuses (lump-sum payments) and the factor system (age plus years of service, totaling 85) as a basis for earlier retirement, are already a part of Steelworkers' contracts (the figure used there is 80.)

However retirement for steelworkers is not all it is cracked up to be. I can state that there are many steelworkers in their late 60s still working — often at hard jobs — simply because the retirement benefits do not add up to a livable wage.

A report on the U.S. Steel's pension plan in the May issue of the *Ohio Works Organizer*, the paper of Steelworkers Local 1330 in Youngstown, Ohio, shows, what the auto workers may be up against. U.S. Steel also happens to have the most "liberal" contract on fringe benefits in the steel industry.

Workers on Pension

Close to 100,000 steelworkers are now on pension and Social Security the report states. They get from \$175 to \$250 a month. The longer their years of toil, the higher the amount. The figures for U.S. Steel retirees are more precise. Workers retired before 1961 get \$70 (pension) plus \$105 Social Security, or \$175; those retired after 1960 get \$92 pension plus \$116.74 Social Security, or \$208.74. The average therefore for all U.S. Steel workers retired is \$87.60 pension plus \$114.40 Social Security, or \$202.

In addition, all steelworkers get a bonus of three month's pay, or up to \$1,500 upon retiring. Enough, let us say, to make only a partial payment on their house mortgage. Housing is important to older workers, but under our "free-enterprise" system only half as

many new homes are being built yearly as are needed. The result is the high-cost housing problem for workers looking forward to retirement.

Auto workers speculating about Reuther's proposals on retirement plans should not only bear in mind McDonald's generous (to the company) settlement with U.S. Steel, but the recent UAW contract with the Unitcast Corporation in Toledo.

Voluntary Retirement

UAW Local 48 has just signed a contract with that company for retirement at 60. Workers retiring voluntarily at the age will receive \$125 a month plus \$2.85 for each year of service to that corporation. (Until he reaches 62 when he is eligible for reduced Social Security benefits, then the company's pension fund will reduce its monthly payments by \$100.) Thus a Unitcast worker who retires at 60 after 25 years of service will receive less than \$200 a month. A far cry from Reuther's vaunted figure of \$400!

The great deficiency of pension funds, especially in such marginal companies as Unitcast, is their uncertain future. They are subject as much to the strains in the economy as anything else. Too many workers are aware of the fate of mine workers under the UMW Welfare Fund.

Auto workers would be well advised to press upon Reuther demands like the following: 1) Open the books of the pension funds for inspection by all workers; 2) Full wages upon retirement; 3) Industry-wide pension funds controlled by the union to eliminate inequities to workers in marginal companies; 4) federal underwriting, with union control, of pension funds to safeguard against the danger of their depletion; 5) investment of these funds in low-cost housing to provide decent housing for the elderly.

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten per cent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

CLEVELAND

THE DIRTY WAR IN VIETNAM. Speaker, F. R. Holt, Sun., June 28, 7:30 p.m. Ausp. Cleveland Militant Forum, 5927 Euclid Ave.

DETROIT

U.S. IMPERIALISM IN S.E. ASIA: How American Actions Threaten World War. Speaker, Evelyn Sell, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, Fri., June 26, 8 p.m., Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

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

LOS ANGELES

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Fri., June 26, 6:45 p.m. KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

SYMPOSIUM ON THE TRIPLE REVOLUTION: Cybernetics and Automation; Civil-Rights Revolt; Weaponry and Nuclear Revolution. Panelists: Dr. JOSEF GARAI; DAVID HERMAN, Reporter, The Militant; and Dr. J. T. SCHWARTZ. Fri., June 26, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.



Chicago Widens Gap

By Karolyn Kerry
Business Manager

Our Chicago campaigners continue to lead the way for the Militant Army with 729 new readers at the half-way mark in our campaign. The campaign director wrote us last week that "Les, our top Militant sub getter, has 71 subs. Of these 28 were gotten in one day, setting a record here for the most in one day. The 'Dunnes' are the leading team with Dave W. as captain." This was from a letter dated June 9. Our friends in Chicago move so fast that this record may be broken. Since then 161 more subs have arrived from Chicago.

Meanwhile the Twin Cities makes the most spectacular jump this week, adding 44 new readers to our scoreboard.

San Francisco and the Bay Area are helping to keep California on the map by sending us 76 new readers. Paul Montauk from Oakland writes, "A helpful hint for getting subs is to get out and do some walking and talking. The more walking and the more talking . . . the more subs you secure."

New York, of course, can add to that prescription, for here in New York you have to walk, climb and talk. They have shown what can be done by meeting their quota in one month.

City	Quota	Score
Chicago	1,000	729
New York	600	601
Oakland/Berkley	200	127
San Francisco	100	97
Twin Cities	200	84
Cleveland	75	74
Philadelphia	60	50
Milwaukee	100	29
Newark	150	26
Denver	50	23
San Diego	75	21
St. Louis	15	8
Detroit	500	6
Cincinnati	—	6
Boston	200	2
Connecticut	25	2
Los Angeles	—	2
Seattle	75	—
General	—	35
Total as of June 17	3,425	1,922

...Hits Johnson on St. Augustine

(Continued from Page 1)

arrested as they attempted to eat in one of the city's better restaurants on June 11. Two days later King was released on \$900 bail.

Federal District Judge Bryan Simpson in Jacksonville spoke out June 11 against the "cruel and unusual punishment" which St. Augustine officials have meted out to demonstrators. He ordered the reduction of bonds and an end to the placing of prisoners either in padded cells or in an outdoor pen unshaded from the sun.

Jackie Robinson, speaking at a rally in St. Augustine on June 15, said "It appears to me that the man in the White House, who has made so many pronouncements on civil rights, refuses today to hear

pleas for help in this city."

New York rent-strike leader Jesse Gray has demanded that Johnson send troops to St. Augustine to protect Negroes.

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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Four Mississippi Negroes Campaigning for Congress

(From the Council of Federated Organizations)

JACKSON, Miss. — For the first time in this century, four Negroes are candidates for national office from Mississippi. One is a candidate for the Senate and three for the House of Representatives.

The four campaigns are being co-ordinated under the auspices of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), an umbrella civil-rights organization in Mississippi comprising SNCC, CORE, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the NAACP.

All four candidates . . . are running on what is called the Freedom Democratic Party. [They entered the Democratic Party primary and were all defeated June 2; they are continuing as independent candidates in the general election in November.]

The candidacy of the Freedom Candidates is a direct challenge to

the lily-white one-party political structure of the state. Only 28,000 or 6.6 per cent of Mississippi's 422,000 Negroes of voting age have been registered to vote; 525,000 whites are registered voters . . .

For those not allowed to register on the official county books, there will be a separate program: FREEDOM REGISTRATION. COFO has set up its own unofficial voter-registration books for the purpose of registering as many as possible of the disfranchised Negroes . . .

Freedom Registration will serve as a mechanism through which Negroes can organize across the state, it will be the focus of attempts to get Negroes registered on the official books, and it will form the basis for Freedom Elections to be held at the same time as the official elections.

In the Freedom Elections, the only qualifications will be that voters be 21 or over, residents of the state, and registered on the Freedom Registration books before the election. Whites as well as Negroes will be allowed to vote. Democratic and Republican candidates will be listed on the Freedom Election ballots as well as Freedom Democratic Candidates.

'Freedom Elections'

Through Freedom Registration and the Freedom Elections, it will be made clear that thousands of Negroes who are denied the right to vote in the official elections would do so if they could. The seating of successful Republican and Democratic Party candidates will be challenged in Congress and in the federal courts on the grounds that a significant portion of the voting-age population has been denied the right to vote because of color or race.

As a further part of its political program, the Freedom Democratic Party will send a Freedom Democratic Delegation to the national Democratic Convention at Atlantic City in August. The four candidates will serve as titular heads of the delegation. Other delegates will be chosen through a series of meetings on the precinct, county, district, and state levels, just as in the regular Mississippi Democratic Party.

At the Atlantic City convention, the Freedom Democratic delegation will attempt to have the regular Democratic delegation unseated and the Freedom delegation seated in its place. It will do this on the grounds that the regular Democratic delegation was chosen by undemocratic means and that the Democratic Party of Mississippi has been disloyal to the national Democratic Party.

'Split' in 1960

The regular Mississippi Democratic Party split with the national Democratic Party in 1960. It did not support the national Democratic ticket selected by the convention: John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson. It also refused to support the platform adopted by the national convention. The regular Mississippi Democratic Party candidates in the gubernatorial race of 1963 told the voters that the Mississippi Democratic Party stands for white supremacy and against Negro voting power. The principles of the national Democratic Party make it clear that a state party which behaves in the manner of the Mississippi Democratic Party stands in violation of national party policy. This is sufficient grounds, according to national Democratic Party rules, to withdraw recognition of the state party.

The Freedom Democratic delegation will be pledged to support the national Democratic ticket and the national Democratic platform chosen at the national Democratic convention — as well as being pledged to work for the full and equal rights of all Americans.

COFO's Miss. Election Policy

Are Northern Democrats Really Different?

By Fred Halstead

Printed on this same page is a press release from the Council of Federated Organizations, the united front of civil-rights groups in Mississippi. It outlines the directly political aspects of COFO's Mississippi Summer Project.

In an article in the June 1 *Militant*, we commented critically on the tactics of running the civil-rights candidates in the Democratic Party primaries. Our point was that this tactic involves the danger of bolstering the illusion that the Democratic Party can be the vehicle for effective political action by the forces of justice and racial equality.

The building of political machinery outside the Democratic Party, and the running of candidates opposed to the Democratic and Republican candidates in the November elections, however, are steps in the right direction.

The right direction is independent political action; the building of a political party which is independent of, and opposed to, the capitalist power structure which controls the Democratic and Republican parties; the building of a party controlled by, and responsible to, the forces of social progress, not the forces which profit from racism and colonialism.

From this viewpoint the COFO statement outlining the tactic of sending a Freedom delegation from Mississippi to the national convention of the Democratic Party contains some disturbing elements. On the one hand, the tactic could prove to be a great embarrassment to the Democratic Party. It could serve further to expose the racist character of that party — which seats lily-white delegations from areas where Negroes are deprived of the right to vote by terror and subterfuge. On the other hand, the COFO release contains certain statements which tend to foster the illusion that the national Democratic Party is fundamentally different from the Southern party, and that the national Democratic Party deserves the support of civil-rights fighters.

The statement that the Mississippi Democratic Party split with the national Democratic Party in



Robert Moses
COFO Projects Director

1960 is highly exaggerated to say the least. The Mississippi Dixiecrats did — and still do — flaunt their racism in violation of the purported principles of the national party. But the national party did not — and does not intend to — expel them for this. The Mississippi Dixiecrats still enjoy all the privileges of full national party membership — including the key positions on Congressional committees to which they are elected by the entire Democratic Party delegation in Congress.

Occasional 'Battles'

The Dixiecrats and their Northern Democratic Party comrades act out an occasional sham battle. But when the chips are down, they are all in the same party, and they are all loyal to the same system.

The COFO statement says that the Freedom delegation will be pledged to support the national Democratic ticket in the 1964 elections and the national Democratic Party platform. This is apparently designed to heighten the contrast between the Freedom delegation — which in all probability will be refused seats despite its

declaration of loyalty — and the regular lily-white Mississippi delegation which is always seated despite its avowed disloyalty to the platform's civil-rights sections and its threats of not supporting the presidential ticket.

Actually, the Democratic Party platform is meaningless anyway. It is no more loyally supported by the Northern liberal Democrats than by the Dixiecrats. The Northerners play lip service to its "progressive" planks, but they don't put these planks into effect.

To be really effective, the new party of the Mississippi civil-rights forces will have to elaborate its own platform. This would be a platform expressing the needs of the people the party represents and of Mississippi's poor whites, with whom the Negro movement seeks an alliance.

The COFO statement that the Freedom delegation will be pledged to support the Democratic Party presidential ticket also feeds the illusion that the national Democratic Party is a fitting instrument of the civil-rights struggle.

Won't Fight Eastland

But Johnson is not going to break the tyranny of the Eastlands in Mississippi anymore than Kennedy did. Johnson will be passing out the patronage and the federal judgeships to the white racists in the usual fashion.

Those elements within the civil-rights movement who are not prepared to take the revolutionary steps required by the struggle are presently engaged in a campaign to trap the movement within the Democratic Party, where it cannot possibly accomplish its aims. Some of these people may be sincere in their ideas, but their loyalty to the capitalist system, to the stability of business profits, to the colonialist foreign policy which feeds these profits, is greater than their loyalty to the struggle for Negro equality.

Whenever the struggle for Negro equality begins to threaten the stability of the profit system, they back away from the struggle — or what is worse, they use their influence to put a damper on the struggle, to derail it, to trap it in the blind alley of support to the system.

The truth, however, is that there is simply no chance whatever that either the Democratic or Republican Parties — North or South — can be transformed into instruments of the kind of revolutionary change needed to win the struggle for Negro equality in Mississippi — or elsewhere in the U.S.

Educators Protest Georgia Conviction



Joni Rabinowitz

The appeal of Joni Rabinowitz, a young Antioch College student convicted of perjury last November in Albany, Georgia, has been joined by 73 members of the academic world who have signed a friend-of-the-court brief to the U.S. Court of Appeals.

Among the signers are Alexander Meiklejohn, recipient of the President's Medal of Freedom; Robert Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic; Mark DeWolfe Howe, of the Harvard Law School; Harold Taylor, former president of Sarah Lawrence college; Mark Van Doren, former professor of English at Columbia; and Hans J. Morgenthau, professor of political science and history at the University of Chicago.

Slater King, head of the militant Albany Movement, three other active members of the Movement, and Miss Rabinowitz were indicted by the federal government and convicted of perjury charges last winter. In an attempt by Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to ingratiate himself with the Southern racists, the six were accused of perjury to cover up "conspiracy" to injure a federal juror. A white grocer in Albany charged that his store was picketed because of his role as a juror; rights activists insisted it was because of his hiring policies.

An all-white jury of eleven men and one woman ignored conflicting testimonies of prosecution witnesses in coming to the decision against Miss Rabinowitz.

On Dec. 23, along with several others in Albany, Miss Rabinowitz was sentenced. She received four years under the youth-correction act. She is now free on appeal bond.

... Jailings in South Africa

(Continued from Page 1)

ganizations were made illegal; their leaders jailed, exiled or forced underground. The government sharpened its oppression of the peoples of South Africa, using its all-white parliament as the vehicle for making repression legal, and utilizing every weapon of this highly industrialized and modern state to enforce that 'legality.' The stage was even reached where a white spokesman for the disenfranchised Africans was regarded by the government as a traitor. In addition, sporadic acts of uncontrolled violence were increasing throughout the country. At first in one place, then in another, there were spontaneous eruptions against intolerable conditions; many of these acts increasingly assumed a racial character.

"The African National Congress never abandoned its method of a militant, non-violent struggle, and of creating in the process a spirit of militancy in the people. However, in the face of the uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies the African and other oppressed South Africans their rightful heritage — freedom — no one can blame brave just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods; nor could they be blamed if they tried to create an organized force in order to ultimately establish peace and racial harmony.

"For this, they are sentenced to be shut away for long years

in the brutal and degrading prisons of South Africa. With them will be interred this country's hopes for racial co-operation. They will leave a vacuum in leadership that may only be filled by bitter hate and racial strife.

Moral Stand

"They represent the highest in morality and ethics in the South African political struggle; this morality and ethics has been sentenced to an imprisonment it may never survive. Their policies are in accordance with the deepest international principles of brotherhood and humanity; without their leadership, brotherhood and humanity may be blasted out of existence in South Africa for long decades to come. They believe profoundly in justice and reason; when they are locked away, justice and reason will have departed from the South African scene.

"This is an appeal to save these men, not merely as individuals, but for what they stand for. In the name of justice, of hope, of truth, of peace, I appeal to South Africa's strongest allies, Britain and America . . .

"I appeal to all governments throughout the world, to people everywhere, to organizations and institutions in every land and at every level, to act now to impose such sanctions on South Africa that will bring about the vital necessary change and avert what can become the greatest African tragedy of our times."

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Monday, June 22, 1964

Brinkmanship in Laos

The U.S. government is carrying out a policy in Laos that it is unwilling to make public. What is it?

"The Johnson Administration is now prepared to commit U.S. aircraft, with U.S. pilots, to deliberate combat against the Laotian Reds — not just for aerial surveillance, or to protect the reconnaissance missions, but to attack specific military targets on a highly selective, on-again-off-again basis."

"The fact is — as everybody knows here, but none in authority will say — that the Dulles type of brinkmanship is being practiced in Laos."

Who made these statements? The first comes from the *Wall Street Journal* of June 16, and the second from Ted Lewis, Washington columnist for the *New York Daily News*, in the June 17 issue.

So far American pilots and planes have attacked the Pathet Lao as well as flown reconnaissance and other missions in Laos. Further involvement of U.S. forces is clearly intended unless things begin to go the way Washington would like them.

This is just one more in a growing list of acts of war undertaken by the President without consulting Congress. Consulting the American people who do the dying and pay the taxes which finance the war is never even considered.

The American people should demand that the government stop the flights over Laos and begin to abide by international law.

Guantanamo: A Powder Keg

The United States Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay is a malignant foreign body lodged in the flesh of Cuba. It is a continuous source of provocation to Cuba — a veritable running sore in U.S.-Cuban relations. And it is clear that Washington wants to keep it that way.

The latest provocation was revealed last week when the Cuban government announced that a Cuban sentry outside the base had been shot and wounded by a U.S. Marine.

Such incidents receive little, if any, notice in this country's hate-Cuba daily press. But they are well-known to the Cubans and to the rest of the world. Just recall how a year ago three U.S. servicemen were spirited back from Guantanamo because of their involvement in the lynching of a Cuban civilian employe on the base and the whole case quickly hushed up by America's "managed" press.

The Guantanamo base is on Cuban soil. It was carved out of Cuba against the wishes of the Cuban people to begin with and remains there today despite the Cuban people's continuing demand for its evacuation.

Numerous accounts in books, magazine and newspaper articles have appeared since the Bay of Pigs invasion documenting the use of the Guantanamo Naval Base by CIA agents and Cuban counter-revolutionaries as a jumping-off place for forays into Cuba.

In a June 13 speech Cuba's Vice Premier and Defense Minister Raul Castro charged no less than 470 provocations by base personnel since April 20. These included such acts as throwing rocks at Cubans, and desecrating a Cuban flag, to the firing of weapons. It would appear that precisely in the period when attacks and the threats of attacks on Cuba are being stepped up for the benefit of Johnson's election campaign, the base authorities have stepped up the provocations.

The only way to end the provocations is to end the basic provocation — the occupation of a people's territory against their will. In other words: Let's get out of Guantanamo!

Local Directory

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

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

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 23, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, Telephone 222-4174.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

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REVIEWS and REPORTS

NORMAN THOMAS, a biography by Harry Fleischman. W. W. Norton, 1963, 320 pp., \$6.50.

SOCIALISM RE-EXAMINED by Norman Thomas. W. W. Norton, 1963, 280 pp., \$4.

The main question raised by this admiring biography of Norman Thomas and his latest book is: What is Thomas politically?

He calls himself a socialist, a "democratic socialist." He is the most prominent figure in the Socialist Party. The capitalist press, which hates socialism but praises or respects Thomas, calls him a socialist. And yet . . .

Many people call themselves things they are not, either out of ignorance or desire to deceive. If this is true about people singly, it can be true about political organizations they form or join; the labeling of a party can be as misleading as the labeling of merchandise. The capitalist press, which vilified Eugene V. Debs when he was the chief spokesman of the Socialist Party, likes Thomas; is it merely because of his advanced age, or does it have something to do with the ideas he calls socialism?

A Confidence

Fleischman, former Socialist Party official and campaign manager for Thomas, confides in his preface that when he joined the socialist movement as a teen-ager in the early 1930s, "with the arrogance of youth, I considered Thomas a mere activist and probably a petty-bourgeois opportunistic humanitarian Socialist . . . Years passed before I could appreciate his brand of socialism which, as the *New York Times* put it, consists mainly of 'jumping in wherever he thinks human beings are abused or human rights ignored, and doing something about it.'" Such jumping and doing are commendable, but is that socialism?

A laudatory review of these books in *New Politics* notes of *Socialism Re-examined*: "It is not always clear what Thomas means by socialism, and hence what it is that is being re-examined." This is kind, but not altogether fair. What Thomas means, and what he stands for, is quite clear when he makes many statements like this one in his book: "Except for its routine criticism of 'socialism,' and its opposition to birth control, Pope John's encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*, compares favorably with most democratic socialist platforms." Omit routine disavowals of "socialism" and add support of birth control, and it would be hard to distinguish John from Thomas. But again, is that socialism?

In Debs' Day

No one would deny that in Eugene V. Debs' day the Socialist Party was a socialist party. That is, despite its contradictions and weaknesses, it stood for a struggle by the workers and their allies to take power away from the capitalist class and use it to reorganize society on the basis of production for use, not profit.

After the Russian Revolution and the departure of the Socialist Party's left wing to build the Communist Party, it began a long decline, not only losing numbers and influence but degenerating politically and theoretically. This decline continued with only one interruption during the 1930s, when membership increased somewhat and a new left wing developed. But the interruption ended when this left wing departed to form the Socialist Workers Party.

Norman Thomas' political distinction is that he presided over



Norman Thomas

the decline of the Socialist Party and ultimately its liquidation as any kind of revolutionary force. He ran for president six times, but his campaigns did more to publicize him as an eloquent speaker than to popularize socialist ideas or strengthen socialist organization.

Finally — and this is the only "contribution" Thomas ever made to political or organizational theory — he proposed that the Socialist Party cut its last link to its Debsian past as an independent party by discontinuing its own election campaigns and supporting the candidates of capitalist parties. Here is how he puts it:

Limited Resources

"Wherefore, around 1950, I began a campaign within the Party to utilize our limited resources of money and manpower in campaigning for socialist ideas rather than for a presidential ticket doomed to little notice and humiliating defeat. By 1960, this became the prevailing opinion of the Party. The majority put its hope on the political front by working for a meaningful political realignment. Socialists are now allowed by their Party not only to vote, but to work for those candidates of other parties who come nearest to the socialist position. The reasoning behind this is that the welfare state has incorporated a great many socialist 'immediate demands.' In doing so, it has precluded, we hope, the necessity for immediate, if peaceful, internal 'revolution.'"

So this year, as in 1960, the Socialist Party, in pursuit of what it calls "political realignment," will be working for Lyndon Johnson and other candidates of the capitalist class on the ground that

their liberal demagoguery and welfare-state type of reforms bring them "nearest to the socialist position." Precluded, Thomas hopes, is any kind of revolution, peaceful or otherwise. The road to what he calls "socialism" lies through gradual reform accomplished by converting the capitalists and their politicians.

Norman Thomas will have a place in the history of recent decades because, as the *Times* said, he has "jumped in" against injustice many times. For this, especially his role in defense of civil liberties, he deserves credit, and he gets it from revolutionary socialists as well as others. But this has nothing to do with his politics, which has no connection with authentic socialism, except in words — poor mistreated words.

Fleischman quotes others who have questioned the correctness of thinking of Thomas as a socialist. In the late 1930s, Leon Trotsky charitably observed that Thomas called himself a socialist "as a result of a misunderstanding." Dwight MacDonald, during his anarchist phase in 1944, wrote:

What Definition?

"My objection to Norman Thomas can be put briefly: he is a liberal, not a socialist. A socialist, as I use the term anyway, is one who has taken the first simple step at least of breaking with present-day bourgeois society . . . His role has always been that of left opposition within the present society, the fighting crusader in small matters (like Hageuism and other civil liberty issues) and the timid conformist in big matters (like the present war)."

Thomas' evolution in the subsequent 20 years confirms this estimate. When we view him as a liberal, his political course is fairly consistent and makes sense. Unfortunately he muddles an understanding of what he represents by his persistence in calling himself a socialist. This is his democratic right, however much it tortures reality. So what should he be called? Maybe Lenin's terminology will help. During World War I he used the names "social-patriot" and "social-imperialist" to describe people who called themselves socialists at the same time that they were violating the most elementary norms of socialism by supporting the imperialist war. "Social-liberal" is untidy for the tongue, but it probably comes closest to an accurate designation of Norman Thomas as a political figure.

—G.B.

... Johnson Scores Victory

(Continued from Page 1)
itself. A majority of the family company stock, 84.45 per cent, is owned by Mrs. Johnson and her daughters."

Since Johnson inherited the presidency, the family's company stock has been put into a trust. For the time being, and presumably as long as the Johnsons are living in the White House rent-free, they are not supposed to have anything to do with the administering of the trust.

A personal legal adviser to Johnson told the *Star* that since he became president he has not engaged in or discussed any family business. "But in gathering material for this article, the *Star* has received allegations to the contrary."

The *Star* complains of difficulties in finding out about the Johnson fortune. "Reliable businessmen, knowledgeable about the Johnson wealth and how it was

acquired, generally are most reluctant to talk about it. Those who will usually extract an oath that their names never will be mentioned."

While a few other presidents were wealthier than Johnson, they had theirs before entering public office. The late John F. Kennedy is reported to have left a personal fortune of \$10 million, but he was bankrolled by his father whose wealth was estimated a few years ago by *Fortune* magazine to be in the neighborhood of \$400 million.

President Johnson presents the picture of a true-blue self-made American capitalist, an inspiration to every American boy and girl. He has shown how hard work, sobriety, thrift, individual initiative, free enterprise, a strategic spot in the Senate and flexible ethics can make you a multi-millionaire. Especially if you have a co-operative wife.

James Wechsler's Attack on Malcolm X

Why Black Nationalism Upsets Liberals

By Robert Vernon

Many participants, supporters, and observers of the Negro struggle are perplexed at the attitude, common to many Northern Negroes, that the Northern liberal is "worse" than the Southern racist. But anyone engaged in a struggle has to deal with his immediate opponent, not the opponent far away someplace else, and in the North it is not the Southern racist who holds political and economic power, but the Democrats and Republicans who claim to abhor racism and who take pride in the ways the North differs from the South.

Still, Northern liberals who personally are not politicians directly responsible for administration policies feel themselves to be victims of unjustified abuse when militant Negroes reject their guidance in the North. An article by James Wechsler, a prominent Northern liberal, in the June issue of *The Progressive*, a liberal monthly, unwittingly bares many of the reasons why Northern Negroes reject liberals as reliable allies.

In the article, "The Cult of Malcolm X," Wechsler returns to the sour comments of his column in the *New York Post* about the Militant Labor Forum of last April 8 when Malcolm X addressed an audience of 800 in New York. Wechsler has no use for either revolutionary socialists or black nationalists, but apparently is not sure which are worse. He expresses disgust at the fact that so many whites, especially young whites, in the audience applauded Malcolm X throughout. Wechsler forthrightly and courageously defends the rights of white liberals to "speak and be heard" and to play more than the "role of water boy" in the struggle, i.e., their "right" to lead the struggle and guide Negroes. Wechsler casts his vote for the true and "dedicated" Negro leaders, who by coincidence happen to be the "leaders" who owe their positions and salaries to white liberals.

White liberals clearly feel sympathy for Negro middle-class goals, and want Negroes to be allowed to partake of the American Way

of Life, which liberals feel is civilization's most sublime achievement. But liberals identify only with a part of the black people's struggle, and even then only so long as approved methods are used. Methods which would upset the society itself, or which might sully the liberals' dream of a noble, pure, morally uplifting and ethical struggle, are verboten.

Liberals display class indifference or hostility toward the working-class black people in the ghettos. Liberals are unaware that the ghetto workers have any specific demands or needs of their own. They insist that these black people stay in their non-violent place, and that they obediently follow the "leaders" that the white liberals have so kindly picked out for them.

In his entire article the editorial page editor of the *N.Y. Post* lays bare his alienation, his incomprehension of the total black struggle, his utter and unsympathetic bewilderment, as the plebeian leaders and masses of the black ghettos begin to make themselves seen and heard.

Standard Argument

Wechsler tells us that the spectacle at the April 8 Militant Labor Forum "evoked the revulsion one would experience if one watched a predominantly Negro audience respond warmly to a segregationist speech by a White Citizens Council spokesman." This is a standard argument of liberals, that Malcolm X and other black nationalists are no different from Southern white racists. But racism, an inseparable feature of the American Way of Life, combines economic and social oppression of Negroes with humiliation and insult, branding Negroes as biologically inferior and ridiculing or stigmatizing non-white physical features.

American racism does not begin and end with insults and WHITE ONLY signs. These symbols are but a verbalization of the exploitation and oppression that go on day in and day out, North and South, in both segregated and "integrated" communities. American chauvinism finds milder expression in the tacit notion that Negroes have to make themselves "accepted,"

and in the arrogant assumption that black people must identify with America and not with Africa.

An honest examination of Malcolm X's remarks, printed in full in the April 27 *Militant*, clearly proves that Malcolm made not one single derogatory remark about physical features of whites, or imputed any biological inferiority to whites. Certainly no one will claim that Malcolm X or any other black people exploit or oppress whites, or seek to exploit them. Where then is the racism? The statements and ideas which upset Wechsler and other liberals had to do with the politics of most whites, their social position in American society, their behavior and attitudes, their class bias and class outlook.

All-Black

How about the argument that the tendency of black militants to build all-black organizations, excluding whites from participation, is racist? In large measure this too is more of a class policy than a racial one. The population of the black ghettos in the North is almost entirely working class in composition. The struggles centered in the ghetto are directed not against individual bosses, but against the entire fabric and essence of capitalist society. Not being subject to the stranglehold of a Reuther-Meany type bureaucracy, and free from the leaden weight of the more conservative white workers, the black ghetto is more solidly working-class and revolutionary in outlook than the trade unions, or anything else to be found in America today.

White liberals are almost invariably unsympathetic to the needs of the black ghetto on their own doorstep, and instead put their money, connections, and talents to the service of the Southern integration struggle (if that struggle remains non-violent and does not threaten basic changes). All-black organization thus counts out the white liberal as a bourgeois influence.

The middle-class Negroes feel out of place without their white liberal friends, and feel uncomfortable and alienated in all-black radical organizations. Middle-class Negroes seldom identify with their working-class ghetto brethren, and take the attitude "I may be your color, but I'm not your kind (and if that *Skintona* could work, I wouldn't be your color either)." All-black politics thus effectively shuts out the Negro middle class.

Other Influences

White radicals are another middle-class influence eliminated from the scene by all-black organization. Many white radicals are themselves middle-class — some of them even hire Negro maids. Others are privileged white workers living better than black workers. The "working class" they identify with may have been militant 30 years ago, but since then three decades of steady employment, seniority, and their share in the super-exploitation of black people in America and colonial peoples elsewhere have affected their outlook. In addition, many white radicals are political followers of privileged "socialist" bureaucracies living high off the hog in "socialist" countries abroad. All of these factors put them in conflict with the class needs of the ghetto.

But again this is not strictly a race question. Revolutionary white socialists who identify unreservedly with the black ghetto and its revolutionary outlook who are willing to learn what black militants have to teach them, and who try to apply their Marxist learning to the ghetto's problems, find that even the most intransigent "anti-white" black militants will welcome them as class brothers and blood brothers.

At the April 8 forum, Wechsler forcefully insisted that Malcolm



JARRED LIBERAL JOURNALIST. Malcolm X delivering the Militant Labor Forum speech which proved so unsettling to liberal journalist James Wechsler.

X show special deference to Rev. Klunder, a young and idealistic white minister who lost his life under a bulldozer at a lie-in protest in Cleveland last April. Wechsler centers his main fire on Malcolm X's response: "We're not going to stand up and applaud one white person when 22 million American Negroes are being tortured."

Malcolm X's irritation is not difficult to understand. Standing out like a sore thumb is the white chauvinist assumption that the loss of a white person's life is an extraordinary tragedy. When black people die in the struggle (and tens of millions of black lives have fallen victim to this Way of Life since the first slave boats were loaded up) — well tough, those things happen, you know. But when a white person loses his life, it is a major catastrophe, calling for moments of silence, sackcloth and ashes, and a 30-day moratorium on all activities. Moreover, liberals feel that whites who sacrifice nobly "for the Negro" have the right to dictate the aims and tactics of the black struggle.

Black people have not so soon forgotten the absurd and grotesque hoax perpetrated by the white liberals in palming off J. F. Kennedy as a martyr who died "for the Negro."

A prime characteristic of liberals in any struggle for keeps, and in particular in their attitude toward the black revolution, is that although they are for the revolution, they can't stomach so much revolution! The Cuban Revolution was all right until it started to step on the toes of Cuba's real oppressor, U.S. imperialism. Then liberals discovered that those who are carrying the revolution through to completion are "betraying" a noble dream. Similarly, Wechsler draws the line with "Americans who have not deserted the March on Washington." Anyone who seeks to carry the struggle beyond the ineffectual and polite outing of last August is "deserting" Wechsler's noble dream.

Bewildering Solidarity?

Amusingly enough, our bewildered liberal finds it difficult to understand how followers of Leon Trotsky could solidarize themselves with a plebeian and "heartless" revolutionist like Malcolm X. Apparently the "socialists" that Wechsler knew in the radical days of his youth were parlor intellectuals who were only kidding about the class struggle and thought Harlem was a foreign country. Any white socialist who claims to reject capitalist society, and yet cannot find anything in common with black revolutionists who reject that same society and want to "separate" from it, is as phoney as a nine-dollar bill.

There were Wechslers in the days of Lenin and Trotsky. Dozens of them. They abounded in the drawing-rooms, cafes, and editorial

offices of liberal Russian publications. Reminiscing on the days of their youth, when they were radical too, they clucked their tongues with pity at the "tragedy" of cultured and gifted men like Lenin and Trotsky identifying with those positively vulgar Russian workers and muzhiks. Why, that rude and vile rabble wanted to separate from the "free world" of 1917!

The most interesting portion of Wechsler's article is an exchange of correspondence between him and an unidentified Negro woman who, while not quite a black nationalist, shares enough black soul to tell Wechsler off — politely but firmly.

Wechsler's unnamed correspondent shows a penetrating grasp of the liberal mentality in her letter. She writes: "... civil rights is not an intellectual issue with us ... You speak of 'better dreams' and the 'real world.' My world is one of white domination with a white foot eternally on my neck ... I see liberals as ... searching for gratitude, after all you have done for us. I suspect the hardest lesson liberals will learn is that ... you must not pick our leaders ..."

75 Students Defy Cuba Travel Ban

In defiance of a State Department ban on travel to Cuba, 75 American students arrived in Havana June 12. Their trip, which is sponsored by the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, was organized to fight the travel ban and to provide Americans a "first-hand evaluation of the Cuban revolution."

Of the 57 students who visited Cuba last year, four are under indictment on charges which could bring each of them 15-year jail sentences and \$15,000 fines. The State Department revoked the passports of all of them.

On both trips students have not had to pay over \$100 for travel expenses. The entire remaining cost, including room and board, are paid by the Cuban Federation of University Students.

Raul Castro, in addressing a meeting of the Young Communist Association, June 13, which the American students attended, praised them for "defying the reactionary tendency of their government."

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By Harry Ring

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'Invisible Gov't' Wants to Stay That Way

Reveal Attempt to Suppress Book on CIA

By Constance Weissman

Top officials of the Central Intelligence Agency tried unsuccessfully to suppress or censor a book just published and a magazine article adapted from it. This attempt was followed by a mysterious offer to buy out the entire first edition of the book, *The Invisible Government*.

The June 9 *New York Post* reported that CIA officials had gotten in touch with both Random House, publisher of the book, and *Look* magazine, in an effort to change what was about to be disclosed about the CIA, particularly about its role in the Bay of Pigs invasion.

Bennett Cerf, head of Random House, said the CIA "suggested it was somehow unpatriotic to publish the book," but that Random House considered it "completely accurate." The would-be purchaser of the entire edition was told that he could have it but that another printing would be quickly brought out.

The authors of the book and magazine article so feared by the CIA are David Wise, chief of the Washington bureau of the *New York Herald Tribune*, and Thomas B. Ross, a member of the Washington bureau of the *Chicago Sun-Times*. They give details and name names about the major decisions involving peace or war that are being made out of public view. In the June 16 *Look*, the authors describe two governments in the U.S. — that which people read about in their newspapers and students learn about in schools, and a second, an invisible government that "gathers intelligence, conducts espionage and plans and executes secret operations all over the globe."

This Invisible Government includes ten agencies, such as Army and Navy intelligence and the Atomic Energy Commission. But the heart of the Invisible Government is the CIA.

"To an extent that is only beginning to be perceived," they say, "this shadow government is shaping the lives of 190,000,000 Americans . . . An informed citizen might come to suspect that the foreign policy of the U.S. often works publicly in one direction, and covertly, through the Invisible Government, in just the opposite direction."



Richard Nixon

The intelligence network secretly employs about 200,000 people and spends "several" billion dollars a year. It has been accused by such people as ex-President Harry S. Truman of "meddling deeply in the affairs of other countries without Presidential authority."

Furthermore, although a handful of congressmen are supposed to be kept informed by the Invisible Government, they know relatively little about how it works. Overseas, its agents are supposed to work under U.S. ambassadors, but a Senate committee calls this a "polite fiction." The CIA was originally set up to deal only with foreign intelligence, but it maintains a series of offices across the U.S. It is deeply involved in such domestic concerns as a broadcasting station, a steamship company and universities.

The Invisible Government is controlled by the Special Group, whose head is CIA chief John Alex McCone. Even President Johnson was not briefed on its activities while he was vice president.

The CIA has a \$46,000,000 hideaway in Langley, Virginia. It is set "in the middle of nowhere, veiled by a thick screen of trees and surrounded by a wire-mesh fence."

The CIA directs and finances Cuban refugee activities, as has

been revealed in another recently published book, *The Bay of Pigs* by Haynes Johnson. Johnson, who got his material from the counter-revolutionary Brigade members, who were part of the defeated invasion, writes that the Brigade leaders were told by a U.S. military officer on temporary duty with the CIA that certain elements in the administration were opposed to the invasion. The Cubans were advised by the officer that if orders should come from Washington to call off the invasion, they should pretend to arrest the CIA advisors and go ahead with the invasion plans. "We will give you the whole plan, even if we are your prisoners," the officer told the Cuban leaders. In actuality, the Cubans never knew what the invasion plan was until they were on the ships being carried to the Bay of Pigs.

Tourists, travelers, and American residents of foreign countries are used by the CIA to spy abroad. It is not unusual for it to contact Americans about to visit Soviet-bloc countries as tourists. The *Look* article also tells how the CIA plants its own "sightseers."

Secret Plans

The authors relate how the CIA's secret plans for the invasion of Cuba played a role in the 1960 presidential campaign which does no credit to either Kennedy or Nixon. Both, of course, were convinced the invasion would topple Castro. Nixon hoped the invasion would take place before election day because he was sure that he would then be elected in the glory accruing to the Republicans. Kennedy had heard the rumors about invasion. To get in on the expected victory, he charged in his last TV debate with Nixon that the Republican administration was not giving enough help to the Cuban counter-revolutionaries to overthrow Castro. This was calculated to allow Kennedy to take credit for "suggesting" the invasion plans. It was also infuriating for Nixon who claimed to have been the author of the secret plan.

The sickening conclusion that comes from reading about our Invisible Government is that the average American carries no weight at all in the making of the decisions which are shaping his fate.

... Civil-Rights Bill Pretty Thin 'Victory'

(Continued from Page 1)

section — certainly as far as the South is concerned. But it provides no realistic means of ending discrimination in public accommodations. The most that can be said for this title is that Southern Negroes demonstrating against Jim Crow establishments will be able to point out that the federal government has outlawed such discrimination — on paper, at least.

Title VII, the fair-employment provision, is the other important part of the bill — a part that might affect the Northern ghettos. It supposedly prohibits discrimination in employment based on race, color, religion, sex or national origin.

The same precedence of state and federal "conciliatory" agencies set forth in Title II is also provided for in the field of job discrimination.

This title would go into effect a year after the bill is enacted and would cover only businesses and unions with more than 100 workers for every working day during 20 weeks in the year. The size limitation would decrease by 25 each year till it reached 25. There is a move on to weaken this provision to cover only those employing more than 100 workers.

The title covers only "intentional" discrimination. It specifies that it does not grant preferential

treatment to any individual or group and does not provide for any job quotas for any group.

The new bill deleted a provision allowing groups such as the NAACP to bring charges in behalf of a worker. The attorney general can be permitted by the court to intervene in a case initiated by an individual. Otherwise, the enforcement provisions are like those of Title II.

It must be pointed out that stronger fair-employment-practices laws have existed in a number of Northern states for many years, without any noticeable effect in removing discrimination against employment of Negroes.

Step Backward

A number of the bill's provisions actually represent steps backward. Thus, the bill limits rather than increases the power of the president to act against discrimination in many cases.

Title VI on discrimination in federally assisted programs limits action to those projects that are directly supported by federal funds, not including federally insured projects. Previously, presidential executive orders covered the wide field of government-insured housing (FHA and VA mortgages).

It is interesting to note that it was the prominent Democratic liberal, Rep. Emanuel Celler from

Brooklyn, who introduced the amendment removing government-insured projects from coverage.

The liberals often weakened sections of the bill which might apply to the North. For example, an amendment to Title VIII — which provides for a voting census by race in areas designated by the Commission on Civil Rights — to extend the census to the whole country was defeated. The amendment had been introduced by Rep. William Tuck, a racist Democrat from Virginia, to show up the Northern liberals.

The school-desegregation provision, Title IV, covers only segregation by law, the situation that exists in the South. It doesn't cover Northern *de facto* school segregation. But it specifically excludes "the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance."

The main reason that the civil-rights bill was introduced, and that such a big fuss is made over it in Congress and the newspapers, is to convince Negroes that the government is doing something to end discrimination. The politicians and editors want to convince the Negroes that the way to end racist discrimination is not by militant protests or by independent political action but by sticking with the old, corrupt two-party fraud which has maintained Jim Crow all along.

Massive Sit-In Strikes Fan Growing Crisis in Argentina

(World Outlook) Having managed to clamp down a counter-revolutionary lid on Brazil, U.S. imperialism must now consider what to do about another Latin-American caldron that appears ready to boil over. This time it is Argentina. The Illia government, which won a rigged election July 7, 1963, is in deep trouble.

The new rise in the class struggle began May 18 when the Confederación General de Trabajadores (CGT) opened the second phase of its "plan of struggle." This was the occupation of the plants, each action being undertaken by surprise.

By June 5 a total of 3,850 industrial establishments and public services had been occupied. The number of workers involved had reached the impressive total of 1,900,000.

When Illia came to power, the CGT levelled the following demands:

- 1) An increase in pensions and retirement pay.
 - 2) Abolition of the decrees and repressive laws limiting the free exercise of trade-union rights.
 - 3) Effective action against the rise in the cost of living which has deeply affected the workers' purchasing power.
 - 4) Establishment of a minimum scale and a sliding scale of wages.
- The government made some concessions on the first point but stalled on the others. It referred the demand about the repressive laws to congress and it set up a parliamentary commission to study the question of granting a sliding scale of wages. During March and April, the CGT suspended application of the second phase of the "plan of action" because of these government gestures. Finally on May 18, the CGT an-

nounced that it could wait no longer.

In face of the power and scope of the workers' action, the Illia government has felt forced to proceed quite cautiously. As yet it has not mobilized massive armed force as in previous comparable situations.

However, it has now threatened the leaders of the CGT with application of a law that could carry sentences of up to six years in prison. The attorney general has begun action accusing the CGT heads of "illicit association" because of their "desire to change the social order and to undermine the essential individual rights guaranteed by the Constitution."

The "individual rights" referred to are the property rights brought into question by occupation of the plants.

The CGT responded to the threat by issuing a declaration that in case of any arrests there will be "a general occupation of all establishments for an indefinite time."

The latest events in Argentina show once again the depth of the economic and social crisis in which the country is caught up. With the downfall of Juan D. Peron in 1955, U.S. imperialism counted on the establishment of a more pliable regime. However, this signified "austerity" for the masses and particularly an effort to crush the political opposition centered around the unions in the form of "Peronism." This has not succeeded. The occupation of the plants may foreshadow a resurgence not so much of "Peronism" as a new militancy owing much more to Fidel Castro than to the figure who retired to Spain, abandoning the movement that mistakenly took him as its symbol.

Four Puerto Rican Groups Press Independence Drive

By Hedda Garza

NEW YORK — Representatives of four Puerto Rican organizations have come to the U.S. in their first unified action to protest the colonial status of their country.

Representatives of the four organizations included Hanibal Rodriguez of APU (Accion Patriotica Unitaria); Juan Mari Bras of MPI (Movimiento Pro-Independencia); Benjamin Ortiz Belavel of FUPI (Federation Estudiante Pro-Independencia, the student youth group); and Reverend Victoriano M. Santiago, a Catholic priest and leader of the CPC (Christian Patriotic Crusade of Puerto Rico, a "non-partisan political movement . . . convinced that only independence is in complete harmony with the Christian socio-political doctrine").

They and their supporters picketed in front of the White House on June 9 to protest the first meeting of the Commission for the Study of the Political Status of Puerto Rico, set up by Congress. "We believe that it is too late to begin a study," explained Bras. "The U.S. has to get out of Puerto Rico and recognize its full sovereignty and independence." Rev. Santiago added that "the commission is the best admission on the part of the U.S. that . . . the colonial status of Puerto Rico remains basically unsolved . . . the legal authority exercised by Congress over Puerto Rican affairs is conclusive proof of Puerto Rico's dependent status."

This commission is composed of seven Americans and six Puerto Ricans, five of whom were selected from anti-independence parties. Another purpose of the group's visit is to petition the UN Special Commission on Colonialism to discuss the case of Puerto Rico at this UN session despite the U.S.

assertion that Puerto Rico is not in the colonial category. According to Bras, at a meeting with the president and vice president of the Commission, the ambassadors of Mali and Cambodia respectively, the Puerto Ricans were assured of support for their petition. A vote will be taken this week to decide whether the subject will be on the current agenda.

Concurrently, a call has been issued for a "strike" against the November elections in Puerto Rico. Many Puerto Ricans have come to recognize the farcical nature of the general colonial-style elections there. Secret police (an offshoot of the FBI) conduct a continuous campaign of harassment against anybody expressing independence sympathies. Also, it is impossible for "third parties" to achieve ballot status. To counteract the growing cynicism, expressed clearly by the fact that new registrations this year were a third lower than anticipated, the government revived the almost non-existent Independence Party with an official subsidy of \$200,000 and placed it on the ballot.

Rev. Santiago expressed the opinion that reaction against these colonial policies is growing. During the electoral registration period, secret-police cars parked in front of his house in the rural western sugar mill district of Arecibo, where he is the priest of the Parish of Soller. Sugar workers and others of his parish came out and sat in the road. After hundreds had arrived, the police, fearing an incident, left.

All four leaders stressed that the people of Puerto Rico would not hesitate to fight — as the Algerian people had — if the U.S. attempted to annex them into statehood or continues to keep them as colonial subjects.

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.]

No Thanks on Vietnam

New York, N. Y.
On May 25 the *New York Times* published an article, "Ohio Couple Sends a 'Thank-You' Letter to GIs in Vietnam." It was explained in the article that the couple wrote their thank-you note to let the GIs in Vietnam know that they

are appreciated for what they are doing.

The *Times* reported that after going through the highest military channels, the thank-you note has reached American troops in Vietnam. Enclosed is a letter I have sent to the Ohio couple, Mr. and Mrs. William Gieger of Kettering.

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Gieger,
I am writing this letter in the belief that had you known the true nature of the war in Vietnam you would not have written your thank-you note to American soldiers fighting there. On the contrary, it is my strong hope that you would have written them a letter explaining to them the injustice of making war on the Vietnamese peasants who have struggled from the beginning of World War II for the independence of their country from the imperialist powers who have run it to the detriment of the Vietnamese people.

I'm sure that had you known of the napalm bombing of peasant villages, the forced relocation of peasants into government-controlled hamlets, away from their fields and means of subsistence, that you would have second thoughts about the nature of U.S. activity in Vietnam. Had you known of the defoliation experiments with its subsequent destruction of peasants' crops, of the torture of suspected members of the Viet Cong (An AP wirephoto widely publicized in the past few days shows South Vietnamese soldiers preparing to drag such a suspect through a stream from the back of an armored vehicle) and of the many other atrocities committed in the name of democracy against the Vietnamese people that you would join with me and others in demanding that the U.S. get out of Vietnam and let the Vietnamese people settle their affairs with the oppressive American-backed dictatorship in their own way.

Jack Arnold

Comments and Suggestions

Chicago, Ill.

Congratulations on George Breitman's recent article on the strong and weak points in Malcolm X's program. I am glad to see *The Militant* point out the ruling-class role that the UN plays and the need to link up the Negro struggle with that of the working class — Negro and white.

Our too frequent use of the term "white power structure" tends to obscure the fact that the "power structure" is the arm of the ruling class, that there are whites in our society who are also oppressed by it and who therefore are outside it and are the natural allies of the Negroes.

The various publication of civil-rights groups do a good job of reporting the day-to-day aspects of the Negro struggle, but pointing to the needed next steps — finding the road to link up with the working class — is an analysis that *The Militant* is uniquely competent to make. In fact, that analysis is probably its most important contribution to the struggle.

Congratulations also on the interesting and important articles on the American economy by Art Preis. I wish they could be moved outside of the inside pages and up to major headlines instead of the

bottom of page one. The information is important and timely, and a more major headline treatment might make it easier to sell *The Militant* to white workers, whom we also need to reach.

D.W.

Meany's Illusion

Indianapolis, Ind.

In the last week, here in the Midwest, we've seen three separate instances of corporations initiating violence against the trade-union movement. In Evansville, Indiana, in West Allis, Wisconsin, and in Hillsdale, Michigan, employers have attempted to break union picket lines by importing scabs, in some instances across state boundaries. In Wisconsin, it's been reported that college students have been brought in to scab, under the protection of the police.

The McDonalds, the Meany's and the rest of America's conservative labor bureaucrats claim that we've entered a period of co-operation between bosses and employees, that the corporations have changed their stripes and now wish to renounce all their old tactics. That sure flies in the face of reality, and a harsh reality at that.

R.L.

Socialism and Civil Rights

Red Bank, N.J.

I have been quite dismayed over the trend that the whole civil-

rights movement has followed. The so-called "leaders" are deluding the Negro workers by telling him that he can achieve equality within the framework of the decadent capitalist system.

What is really needed by all workers, needed desperately, is class consciousness, the ability to recognize what the workers' interests are as a class. Only then will the workers see that capitalists are capitalists, regardless of their skin color, and that they are completely indifferent to the color of the skin of the workers they exploit. Remember, only under Socialism can there be equality!

D.B.

7-Letter Far East Policy

New York, N.Y.

In a single, seven-letter word, Secretary of State Rusk clearly reveals the archaic, unrealistic character of the Far Eastern policy of the United States. He calls the capital of the 15-year-old, 700-million strong People's Republic of China, PEIPING — the name used by Chiang Kai-shek when the Generalissimo strutted briefly in China's ancient seat of government on his way to exile and oblivion, and still accepted by some who, like Rusk, have not yet moved up into the 20th Century.

When I heard our bland, bumbling Secretary say, "Peiping" in a recent television interview, I was

reminded of Governor Wallace of Alabama, who flies the Confederate flag in a vain attempt to delude himself and his followers that they are still living in their slave oligarchy which passed into history a hundred years ago.

Taylor Adams

The Shah and the CIA

New York, N.Y.

A new book about the CIA should provide some useful ammunition for a continuing barrage against the Shah of Iran, that proxy for the oil interests. [See article, this issue.]

The Invisible Government by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross, to be published late in June, has already gotten a good bit of pre-publication notice. Supposedly, the book names some 50 CIA agents and gives details about current CIA operations, which has caused CIA spokesmen to complain that "the book will actually compromise present and future intelligence operations around the globe."

A typical "intelligence" operation described in the book, according to a front-page report in the May 23 *Christian Science Monitor*, "makes clear the United States — and the British — role in ousting Premier Mohamed Mossadegh in Iran." The reporter added that this "won't help the Shah's reputation much."

Charles Gardner

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"LABOR'S DAILY, JUNE 11, REPORTS THE FORMATION OF A NEW RACIST organization in Atlanta, Georgia, headed by Bill Hendrix, former Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan.

"Hendrix said the new organization 'the White Brotherhood,' intends to 'educate people' on the subject of segregation. The chief of the lynch-minded organization claims that the White Brotherhood will 'try to avoid killing and violence.'

"The record of recent years shows hundreds of unsolved crimes of secret terrorist violence against the Negro people in the South and throughout the country.

"The appearance of this new organization indicates that the Southern Bourbons plan new terrorist acts. Meanwhile not a single racist murderer has been brought to justice by the FBI or local police." — June 21, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"THE PATTERN OF THE POST-WAR WORLD WHICH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM intends to construct was outlined by President Roosevelt on June 15 in a formal statement which foreshadows the creation of a modified League of Nations dominated by a three-power military alliance of the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union.

"Appearing ten days after Allied troops had waded ashore on the Normandy coast to commence the liberation of Europe, Roosevelt's 'master design,' as Washington commentators have referred to it, should serve to shatter all remaining illusions built up around the idealistic promises of the 'Atlantic Charter.'

"Allied soldiers are shedding their blood, not in order to liberate the European peoples from Nazism, not to assure exercise of the right of self-determination by all nations and peoples, not to establish the 'Four Freedoms' in the four corners of the earth — but to restore the old balance of power system in such manner as to guarantee the world domination of American imperialism.

"Roosevelt's statement contemplates the formation of an international organization . . . 'We are not thinking of a super-state with its own police forces and other paraphernalia of coercive power. We are seeking effective agreement and arrangements through which the nations would maintain, according to their capacities, adequate forces to meet the needs of preventing war . . .'

"The phrase 'according to their capacities' indicates what Roosevelt has in mind. American imperialism has built up the mightiest armed forces of all time . . . It is not difficult to see that Wall Street will dominate Roosevelt's proposed international organization." — June 24, 1944.

It Was Reported in the Press

Jobs Program — The president of the American Economic Association advises that the way to increase job opportunities for young people, particularly Negroes, is to eliminate minimum-wage regulations. "The basic method of decreasing discrimination in the job market," said Prof. George Stigler of the University of Chicago, "is to offer a class of workers at bargain rates." An even greater incentive to employers would be simply to sell them the young job-seekers outright.

Think You've Got Troubles? — "Caldrons of Trouble — Asia Boils, and Cyprus, the Congo, Algeria and NATO Simmer Away." Headline in the June 11 *New York Times*.

Brazen Gall Dep't — A mass mailing of 45 million is being projected for this fall in which Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower will appeal for funds for the two major parties. Recipients will be asked to give to the major party of their choice. Independents will be asked to contribute to both.

Not In Favor of Poverty — The *Washington Report* of the Chamber of Commerce says the "idea of alleviating the hardships of the poor has always been an appealing one." Further, "You should know that the Chamber and its affiliated organizations have been engaged for a long time in an anti-poverty campaign." The root source of unemployment, it continues, is not a shortage of jobs, just lack of education or training. The Chamber favors more of both.

Bankers Happy — Consumers are paying off their installment debts more promptly than they

have in almost five years. The American Bankers Association enthusiastically characterized this achievement as "outstanding," and, in a burst of good will, added: "This is indeed a tribute to the consumer's honesty and integrity toward debts he has incurred."

Psychiatric Warfare — A rather glum *New York World Telegram* editorial, June 8, commented: "News that psychiatrists have been studying troop morale in Vietnam may indicate the government is on the right track. Perhaps these scientists can find out why a practically naked tribesman will fight like a lion — but put him in a nice uniform at regular pay and he tends to concentrate on keeping out of trouble." The editorial concludes: "If the world is to be saved, some means must be found to get through to these people in words they can comprehend. Maybe the psychiatrists can help." Maybe, but first they should be sure to get the right patient.

Psychiatric Warfare (II) — The South Vietnamese government is considering installation of a television system in the country. U.S. advisers are divided on the issue. "The villagers are starved for entertainment," one U.S. Army of-

ficer said. "Here's a chance to reach many thousands at a time with a strong pro-government message." But another officer says: "Imagine the reaction back home if we spent a lot of time and money installing idiot boxes." Others fear a French company might get the contract and slip Gaullist propaganda into the programming. "If we're going to get television anyway," opined another U.S. official, "I'd much prefer that an American outfit get the business."

Texan War on Poverty — Dallas welfare commissioners are reviewing the basic food allowances for relief recipients which is based on 1952 food costs. A single adult on welfare in Dallas County is allowed \$26 a month for food. As part of the war on poverty this may be boosted as high as \$35 a month.

News for Shoppers — Steady patrons of supermarkets will surely be astonished to learn that "Supermarkets are designed to trap you at every step. When you step in the door, it's a battle of wits to go home with what you came for." This bit of research was offered by a co-op market manager to a Baltimore symposium on "Consumer Gyps."

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Thought for the Week

"Long An province, just south of Saigon, is a potentially rich area. Its fertile land produces quantities of rice and fruit, and large numbers of the white Peking ducks so highly favored in Vietnamese cuisine are raised locally. But prosperity hasn't touched most of the province's 300,000 inhabitants. Many live on small plots of rented land and pay 50 per cent or 75 per cent of their crops to landlords." — A report from South Vietnam in the June 15 *Wall Street Journal*.

Harlem Parley on Automation Urges United Drive for Jobs

NEW YORK — An Action Workshop on Automation and Unemployment, sponsored by the Labor and Industry Committee of the NAACP branch, was held in Harlem June 13. The conference was called to explore the question, "Whither the civil-rights movement and the trade unions in the developing automation revolution?"

During the morning session there were speeches by economists Robert Theobald and Leon Keyserling, Anthony Scott of Local 1814 of the International Longshoremen's Association, and A. Philip Randolph, President of the Negro American Labor Council and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Theobald, Randolph and Keyserling foresaw the development and inevitable deepening of an unemployment crisis affecting millions of Negroes and whites, but hurting Negroes more seriously. Their proposals, while differing in details, sought to meet the job crisis along the lines of welfare legislation and government economic regulation.

Members of the NAACP Labor and Industry Committee and others took the floor in the after-

noon to present proposals for dealing with the job crisis. Paul Boutelle of the Freedom Now Party in New York presented a resolution supporting all-black independent political action, such as the Freedom Now Party, and in favor of a labor party based on the unions, minorities, and unemployed; this was adopted unanimously.

The conference went on record in support of self-defense by Negroes menaced with racist attacks and unprotected by the government. It addressed resolutions to the trade unions, rights organizations, churches and community groups on the need for linking the fight for equality to the fight for jobs. It adopted a resolution proposing a united front of Negro organizations, trade unions, and other groups to form a council for a mass struggle for jobs.

Several speakers stressed the need for independent political action. The general feeling was that the present union leadership constitutes an obstacle to militant struggle and that if the present system could not meet the demands of the unemployed, then the system would have to be scrapped.

REPORT BY AFRICAN STUDENTS

The Terror in Angola

NEW YORK — Three young Africans from Angola, Tanganyika and Nigeria told the Militant Labor Forum Friday, June 12, of the life-and-death struggles now going on to rid their continent of colonialist domination and of apartheid in South Africa.

Carlos Kabanda, a former student now representing the Angolan Government-in-Exile, described the conditions under which he had grown up — seeing his asthmatic father sent into forced labor, watching his people die for lack of proper medical care, walking in constant fear of the Portuguese government.

He said that when the Africans revolted against this treatment in March, 1961, the Portuguese instituted an even more repressive regime, banning gatherings of three or more in the streets, and carrying out the most brutal forms of terror — burying Africans alive, cutting their ears off and forcing them to eat them, putting them in boxes and dumping them into the sea.

The U.S., Kabanda said, has provided Portuguese imperialism with over \$403 million since the end of World War II and enables it to continue this repression. He urged the freedom fighters of this country to support his people's struggle.

"Freedom is indivisible. When the last man is free, then we will have freedom. If there is no freedom, there is no peace."

The other speakers echoed this sentiment. Chibuzo Ajuka, a student from Nigeria, described the history of the Pan-Africanist idea. He credited the Afro-Americans Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. DuBois with major roles in its beginning and explained the evolution and accomplishments of Pan-Africanism up to the formation of the Organization of African Unity in May 1963 in Addis Ababa.

Common Experience

Ajuka said Pan-Africanism grows out of a common experience of slavery, colonialism, and neocolonialism. Political unity of the African continent, he explained, was the key to economic growth and true freedom.

Of South African apartheid, he pointed out that Africans would not allow the Verwoerd dictatorship to continue repressing the black people. With the failure of attempts at negotiation, he said, African states were considering united military action.

Lugo Taguaba, a student from Tanganyika, discussed the conviction and sentencing to life imprisonment of Nelson Mandela and several other nationalist leaders in South Africa which had just occurred. He read the statement of Chief Albert J. Luthuli and the communique of the African members of the UN concerning these convictions.

Then he asked, why these leaders had not been given death sentences, as all had expected. They had not evaded the charges; they made no apologies for their deeds. It was, he said, "because of organizations like yours," which represent "good conscience among mankind," and the protests they have raised.

Moderator for the evening was George Murray from Trinidad-Tobago.

Cops Rough Up CORE Pickets In New Haven

A demonstration by New Haven CORE on June 4 led to a dramatic scuffle with the police and the arrest of seven of the demonstrators. Charges of police brutality were made by Grace Lockett who is the chairman of the local CORE branch.

The demonstration began peacefully at about 5:20 p.m. at the edge of the Green in downtown New Haven. An hour later CORE members attempted to set up a tent and some pieces of furniture they had been carrying with them on the picket line.

The tent and the furniture were to dramatize the plight of Mrs. Katherine McCleese, a Negro woman with five children, who had been evicted from her apartment two days before and had no other shelter available. Five CORE members had been arrested for trying to block the eviction.

As soon as the CORE demonstrators attempted to erect the tent over the furniture, the police moved in. There followed a general struggle between demonstrators and police over the possession of the tent and the furniture. Police finally wrested it from the demonstrators.

Walter Brooks, vice chairman of the CORE chapter and one of those arrested, accused one cop of having dealt him a "sharp blow to the kidney." The others arrested were Benjamin Wise, 27, Richard Brooks, Albert Morgan, 38, Irving Rice, 28, Judah Leon Rosner, 24, and Mrs. Louise Harris, 35.

The CORE group marched around the police station until all seven were released on bond. CORE Chairman Grace Lockett said that all of those arrested during the week would be represented in Court by attorneys from national CORE.

Threats of Violence Reported Directed Against Malcolm X

NEW YORK, June 17 — When Malcolm X appeared at Queens Civil Court Monday, June 15 he was guarded by eight of his followers. Some 32 policemen and detectives guarded the building and the street. According to the *Herald Tribune* of June 16, they were there because of anonymous tips to the press that Malcolm X would be shot if he appeared in court.

He was in court because of a suit filed by the Muhammad Temple (followers of Elijah Muhammad) to evict him from his home. The home is owned by Muhammad's organization and was given to Malcolm X for his use when he

Noted Liberties Spokesman Condemns Tyranny in Iran

The arrival in the United States of the Shah of Iran has been the occasion for protests against the Shah's tyrannical regime. America's foremost civil-libertarian, Roger Baldwin, for decades head of the ACLU and now honorary president of the International League for the Rights of Man, and Jan Papanek, the League's current chairman, sent a letter to U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations on June 4 protesting the grave violations of human rights in Iran. The letter said:

"We have had occasion in the past to call to the attention of the proper agencies of the United Nations the grave violations of human rights in Iran. Documentary evidence makes it clear that under the guise of a constitutional monarchy with democratic professions, the present regime follows the most extreme autocratic methods of suppressing opposition.

"We have in our possession the names of many Iranian citizens, some of them well-known in public life, prosecuted before military tribunals for acts not associated with violence or subversion. It is a matter of record that martial law has been in effect for many years in order to silence the opposition; that political prisoners are tortured; that judiciary proceedings are for political ends; that indeed a year ago, hundreds if not thousands of persons not engaged in armed rebellion were shot down by the military.

"These serious crimes against the Iranian people committed by agents of an autocratic government should not go unnoticed by the United Nations. We trust that whatever lies within the competence of any U.N. agency will be done to inquire into the situation — so grave as to shock all those familiar with it."



Roger Baldwin

Baldwin and Papanek also sent the Shah a letter in the name of the League protesting the imposition of military rule, the outlawry of the National Front, the torture of prisoners and the activities of the secret police." The letter concluded: "We urge the abandonment of these policies which shock the conscience of mankind and which appear wholly unnecessary to the security of your nation."

Shah Picketed

During his visit the Shah was picketed by Iranian students in Washington, D.C., in New York and at the University of California at Los Angeles while he was being given an honorary degree.

After reporting a demonstration against the Shah at New York University inaccurately, the *N.Y. Times* of June 13 printed a letter from Hassan F. Zandy, Professor of Physics at the University of Bridgeport, correcting the report. It read in part as follows:

"I personally witnessed the demonstration and happen to know most of the 90 picketing students, either from Iran or from acquaintance with them in America. The demonstrators were all Iranians who prefer to work their way and study peacefully in American colleges rather than face the oppressive atmosphere created by the Shah's military policing on the campus of the Teheran University and other colleges in Iran."

Slate N.Y. Symposium On Automation Impact

NEW YORK — The impact of cybernation and automation on U.S. society will be the theme of a panel discussion at the Militant Labor Forum.

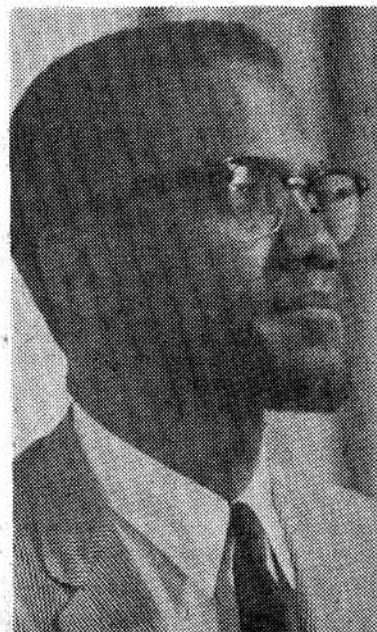
The participants — Dr. Joseph E. Garai, Dr. J. T. Schwartz, and Militant staff writer David Herman — will discuss the findings of a conference on the subject being held in New York the weekend of June 19-21 under the auspices of Scientists on Survival.

Both Dr. Garai and Dr. Schwartz will have participated in the conference. David Herman will have attended it as a reporter for *The Militant*. Dr. Garai is co-author of *Where the States Stand on Civil Rights* and will be the conference reporter on "Our Concept of Man." Dr. Schwartz, a specialist in mathematical economics and author of *Lectures on the Mathematical Method in Analytical Economics*, will make the summary report at the conference of the discussion on automation.

The Militant Labor Forum discussion will be held Friday, June 26, 8:30 p.m. at 116 University Place.



FOR UNITY. Delegates to All-African People's Conference in Accra, Ghana, in 1958.



Malcolm X