

How to Fight Goldwaterism

By Clifton DeBerry

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for President
and

Edward Shaw

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Vice President

Widespread concern has arisen over Senator Goldwater's nomination as the Republican presidential candidate. It stems from the spectacle of a highly-organized, lavishly-financed machine crushing all opposition to put its man across on a brazenly reactionary program.

In foreign policy Goldwater promises to outdo the Democrats in nuclear brinkmanship. He is against Negro demands for full equality. He denies any governmental responsibility toward the underprivileged and poverty-stricken, repudiating even the token concessions of the Johnson administration. His record and his program are anti-labor.

At the same time Goldwater invites racists, labor-haters and ultra-rightists into his coalition. He attempts to throw a cloak of respectability over Birchers and the KKK.

The swift repercussions to Goldwaterism symbolize the opening of a major shake-up in national political alignments. On the surface it appears that the initiative comes from the forces of reaction, that Goldwater is on the prod because a majority of Americans accept his tenets. Actually, that is not the case.

The Goldwaterites are political buzzards feeding on the putrescence of white supremacy. That is made plain enough by the quick withdrawal of Governor Wallace, the Dixiecrat standardbearer, from the presidential contest after Goldwater's nomination. Although Goldwater embraces ultra-right rabble like the Birchers, that is neither the central feature nor the main support to his coalition. Before everything else Goldwaterism is racism. As such, it is the by-product of yet another and increasingly powerful force that is impelling the country toward social change in a progressive direction.

That primary cause of the developing shake-up in national political alignments is the determined struggle of 20 million Negroes for Freedom Now. Rejecting token-

ism and gradualism, the Negro people are moving into mass action to back up their just demands. To an increasing extent Negro freedom-fighters are proclaiming their right to self-defense against racist violence. Negroes are demanding a direct voice in government to enforce their rights. Their struggle is shaking the whole capitalist power structure, from the economic underpinnings to the political and cultural superstructure.

Lacking its own independent political vehicle, the Negro movement remains unable to directly register its full impact on national politics. Instead, the struggle becomes expressed in distorted forms that not only fail to meet Negro needs but actually lead them into political traps. Such a trap is now in the making through the outcry for all-out support to President Johnson, who as Democratic leader of the Senate upheld and defended the Dixiecrats. He is now touted as a "friend" of the Negroes and of all labor, as the "champion" of peace, freedom and prosperity.

The record shows, however, that Johnson and the
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FBI Agents in Mississippi Chums of Racist Cops

CLARKSDALE, Miss. — The discovery of two more mutilated bodies of Negro citizens of this terror-ridden stronghold of racists has prompted new calls for federal investigations. Dr. Aaron Henry, Mississippi NAACP president, on July 14, called on Attorney General Kennedy to find out who killed Charles Moore, 20, and Henry Dees, 21, and cut their bodies in two. The lower halves of both bodies were found in a river on July 12 and 13.

The mutilated bodies were discovered during the continuing search for Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman and James Chaney, the civil-rights workers who disappeared near Philadelphia, Miss., June 22.

Charles Evers, NAACP state field secretary and brother of the murdered Medgar Evers, said 14 Negroes have recently disappeared, been slain, or died mysteriously in rural Mississippi. Dr. Henry said this fate has befallen nine

Negroes in the Delta area in the past seven months and in none of the cases has an arrest been made.

"Most of these murders were committed by local police officers," Evers said. He also declared: "The FBI hasn't been able to get enough evidence to put anyone in jail. You really begin to wonder, what good are they? What are they doing here?"

In a letter to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Evers expressed extreme shock at his recent statement that "lawlessness in the South is no worse than lawlessness in the North."

"We must feel," Evers declared, "that when the national director of the FBI can make statements such as this the lunatics who would deliberately destroy human life or property are encouraged."

Police Chief Ben Collins of Clarksdale, Miss., who has been leading a reign of terror against

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Harlem Defends Itself Against Wagner's Cops

By Robert Vernon

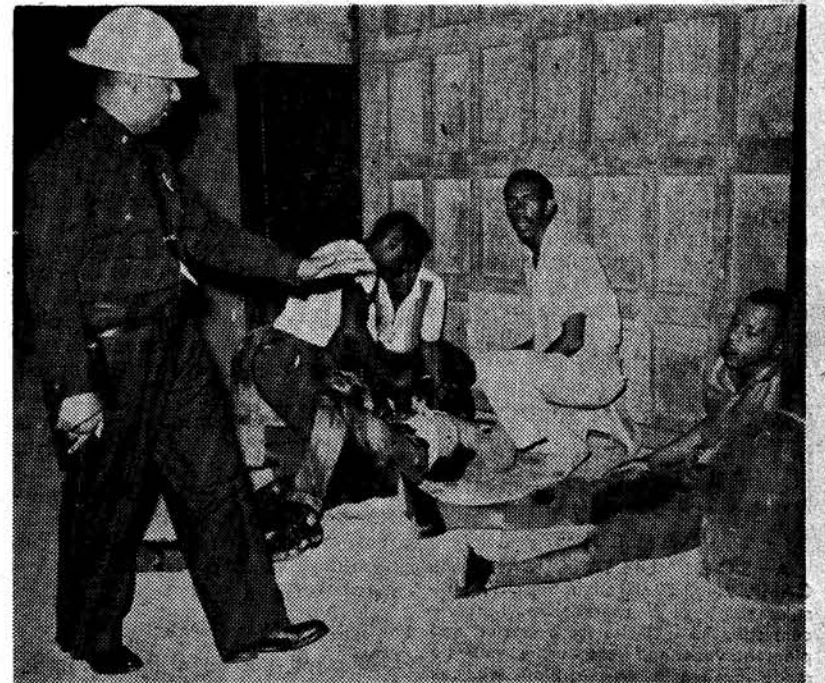
NEW YORK, July 22 — Armed with nothing more than courage, bottles, bricks, bare fists, and occasional Molotov cocktails, Harlem's residents, provoked by years of savage brutality by New York's corrupt and racist cops, managed to fight the tactical riot force of the police to a stalemate in three days of demonstrations and open hostilities.

The immediate cause of the outbreak was the killing on July 16 of a 15-year-old Negro boy, James Powell, by a white police lieutenant wearing civilian clothes. Harlem children attending a summer school in the Yorkville section that day were sprayed with a water hose by a white building superintendent who, the children say, yelled racist slurs at them.

Some of the teen-agers chased the super into his building.

Schoolchildren eyewitnesses report that James Powell, who they do not believe was directly involved in the dispute with the janitor, ran into the building to avoid the excitement. Upon emerging, he was shot twice by Police Lieutenant Thomas R. Gilligan, a man who holds 27 citations, including some for disarming grown men wielding firearms. He was off duty at the time and in civilian clothing.

The killer, Gilligan, claims the boy came at him with a knife. Witnesses say they saw no knife. Subsequently it was reported that



HARLEMITES SHOT BY COPS. A wounded man sits propped against wall while another is attended by passers-by. Police claim the two were shot for causing a disturbance after being told to "break it up."

a small knife (3½ inches) was "discovered" in a gutter in the area. Police refused to let the press photograph the "evidence," and instead a story was planted in the daily press to the effect that the victim had left home that morning with "two knives" on his person.

A protest demonstration was organized by CORE on Saturday night, July 18, in front of a police station in central Harlem to protest this and other cases of police savagery and to demand redress. Police charged the demonstration, yelling, "Arrest those niggers! Get them all!" The CORE spokesmen were arrested on the spot.

The police then went on a rampage throughout the district, provoking rioting which continued into the early morning, with scores of injuries and some stores smashed and looted. The police fired 2,000 rounds of ammunition, using all they had. They killed one Jay Jenkins who, they claimed, was hurling bricks from a rooftop, and wounded scores of others.

James Farmer, national director of CORE, reports seeing a cop shoot a woman in cold blood on the street. The woman, in panic, had merely sought assistance from the cops to get a cab, so she could leave the area.

Farmer also saw cops emerge from a car, yell, "Let's get those niggers!" and wade into a group of Negro youth walking down 125th St. Other cops stormed into

a grocery store and flailed nightsticks in all directions, at customers and employes, young and old, men and women, beating any black person. Police fired bullets into windows of tenements and into the 8th floor of the Theresa Hotel, abused people on the street,

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An Eye-Witness Account

The Battle of St. Augustine

By Henry Gitano

I had occasion to spend a few days in St. Augustine during the recent racist reign of terror there. Getting off the bus, I asked a friendly looking white youth the way to the center of town. At the sight of a stranger, he scowled and replied ominously: "What you all going to do down there? You're Jewish, ain't you? If you are, you might never make it to the Plaza."

The man who laid the groundwork for changing old St. Augustine is Dr. Hayling, a young Negro dentist. He told me that a group of Negro youngsters had asked him to be their adviser and that he had supported and counseled them. In the summer of 1963, two boys and two girls, 14 to 16 years old, were sentenced to six months each in a state correctional institution for picketing against lunch-counter segregation. He then realized the futility of negotiating behind the scenes with local politi-

cians and he organized for direct mass action.

Dr. Hayling was one of four Negroes abducted to a Ku Klux Klan meeting last September. He was brutally beaten and then charged with assaulting 350 Klansmen. His home has been attacked twice in the past year, the gunfire injuring four Negro youths and killing his dog. He is only now regaining the full use of his right arm following the KKK beating.

At the Elks Rest, a Negro social center, I met Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, leader of the Birmingham movement. He told me about the reign of terror. "We have exposed the rule of the city by the Klan and demonstrated the determination of our people to stand up to them. The Klan will have to learn that they're not going to control the streets. We won't let mob violence terrorize us and run us out of town. The Klan has

infiltrated the police department. Law and order has broken down and organized violence has taken over."

Later in the day Shuttlesworth was knocked to the ground while leading a wade-in.

I saw an evening march led by Rev. C. K. Steele who organized the Tallahassee bus boycott. As the freedom fighters, mostly young and predominantly women, paraded two abreast through the Negro quarter, they sang freedom songs. Then, as the corner was turned on Cordova Street, a signal was given and all was quiet. Now the march was in enemy territory. The police were out in full force and so were the hoodlums.

The first greeting consisted of exploding firecrackers. The marchers kept looking straight ahead as the hate-filled crowd of hundreds — parallel to and separated by only a few feet from

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NEW YORK

RALLY TO PROTEST POLICE TERROR IN HARLEM

Speakers:

PAUL BOUTELLE
Rep. Freedom Now Party

CLIFTON DeBERRY
Socialist Workers Party Presidential Candidate

JAMES SHABAZZ
Rep. Organization of Afro-American Unity

MAJOR WILLIAMS
Director Harlem Community Council on Housing

Fri, July 31, 8:30 p.m.

116 University Place
Ausp. Militant Labor Forum

'Long Hot' Negotiations Begin For Detroit's Auto Workers

By Jim Campbell

DETROIT, July 19—To quote the corporations' public-relations men, this will be "a long hot summer" of negotiations with the United Auto Workers. This is their jocular way of saying that although a lot of hot air will be coming from the negotiating chambers—which isn't unusual—they expect a suitable agreement to be reached by Aug. 31, the contract-expiration date.

What may be a joke to the bosses is no joke to auto workers who, unlike their negotiators, work in places which are not air-conditioned. In fact summer temperatures in the plants range from 90 to 110 degrees.

"A calm sea and a prosperous voyage" would be a better prediction for the negotiations of the UAW with the Big Three (GM, Ford and Chrysler). The outlook is for some heat but no lightning, if things go according to Hoyle.

Wheel Horses

The "hard bargaining" is being entrusted to the wheel horses of the industry and the union, who have lots of experience from past negotiations; for the Big Three—Seaton, Denise and Leary, their counterparts from the union—Woodcock, Bannon and Fraser. This ensemble sets an amicable tone for the summer negotiations.

The corporations' major concern seems to center on the extent of the "costs" of the union demands. Whether the companies accept Reuther's criterion of a 4% productivity increase is not yet known. Based on a \$3-an-hour

wage level, 4% would mean a 12-cents-an-hour boost in "costs," a figure likely to be considered reasonable toward a "package" settlement.

Reuther's proposals vary from company to company but are designed primarily to extract additional benefits from the huge pension, SUB (supplementary unemployment benefits), and insurance funds which have accumulated in the corporations' treasuries. These proposals would not add more than a pittance to the costs of these funds. But auto workers can expect to hear a great deal of demagoguery about them, the better to obscure the relief-time issue.

The relief-time and production-standards issue is at the core of the auto workers' demands. The goal of the men in the plants is to slow down the assembly line and to get increased relief from the deadening monotony of "production."

Ford Speech

The corporations take an equally serious view of this demand. Henry Ford II, using the occasion of a speech to a recent business convention in Coronado, Calif., warned workers against "undue militancy" (possibly he had in mind the unexpected 1961 strike) arising out of the "myth" of the "doctrine of class conflict." He has phrased elsewhere as "folklore that says management is the enemy of the worker."

Ford threatened the auto workers with a "strike" should they remain resolute on this issue. He labels the demands for some relief from the pace and monotony of the assembly line as "featherbedding."

The companies' main concern is production. And 1964 promises to be a record year. A disturbance of the "calm sea" of industrial relations through a strike or a modification of "production standards" would spoil the perspective of record profits.

Modest Demand

Worked out on a weekly basis, the relief-time demand would mean a 35-36 hour week within a 40-hour work span. This is a modest enough demand compared to the demand of a 30-hour work week at 40 hours' pay.

It will be instructive to watch Reuther's wriggling and maneuvering to get around this demand. As always, he will rely upon the most conservative moods among the workers. His success in getting around the issue will depend upon the degree to which these conservative moods continue to be dominant. While cracks in the equilibrium of class relationships are appearing in the plants, as yet the general mood among auto workers—reinforced this election year by UAW brass' coalition with the capitalist politicians of the Democratic Party—remains one of making concessions.

Mass Arrests Hit Boston CORE

By Ray Wooden

BOSTON—The local chapter of CORE demonstrated against hiring policies of the Hayes-Bickford restaurant chain. The demonstration resulted in 27 arrests, the first mass civil-rights arrest in Boston. CORE claims the restaurant chain has hired only a few Negroes and has no Negroes in its managerial training program.

Concentrating on three restaurants, the demonstrators forced their closing by monopolizing the booths and counter space. The manager of each summoned police and held a conference with them. The police then told the demonstrators to place their orders or leave. Each demonstrator thereupon ordered a cup of tea or coffee and paid with

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Farmer said. In general, the cops had themselves a racist orgy. Even Uncle Toms caught hell from New York's "Finest."

At a Sunday protest meeting at the Mt. Morris Presbyterian Church, a militant audience called out for action and even "guerrilla warfare." James Farmer was booed on rising to speak, but was heard politely when it became clear he came there to expose the brutal police force and not to talk Gandhism. Bayard Rustin, a vice chairman of the March on Washington, was booed and jeered when he praised turning the other cheek and urged the people not to fight back.

Like Occupied City

All Sunday, Harlem was occupied as if by a foreign power. Helmeted riot cops were stationed at all strategic corners and swaggered in groups down the main streets. The cops waited until evening, however, before resuming the offensive.

Harlem residents had been filing quietly past the casket of young Powell all day Sunday, at a funeral parlor on Seventh Ave. near 132 St. People began to gather in the wide avenue as the time of the funeral approached. Riot cops began to pile up like vultures, further irritating the people by their very presence. The police began the offensive by rushing

Seeks Cop's Help, Gets Bullet Instead

Mrs. Barbara Barksdale, a 23-year-old Negro mother, on her way home from a relative's apartment in Harlem the night of July 18-19, found herself near the fighting at the corner of Lenox Ave. and 128th St. Not wishing to become involved, she looked for a cop to help her flag a taxi. A cop came at her with a drawn gun, took careful aim and shot her in the groin.

"You shot me, you shot me," she cried. The cop looked at her and said: "Well, lay down and die then."

"That cop shot me intentionally," she told reporters, "I think he was hating all of us Negroes when he did it."

Carolina Vote Drive Defies Klan

ENFIELD, N. C. — A 17-foot-tall, eight-foot-wide fiery cross blazed as a calling card of the Ku Klux Klan outside the home of a Negro school teacher and civil-rights leader here July 4. This was the latest incident of mounting racist activity in Halifax County.

On July 2, robed KKK members — several of them masked and carrying guns — staged a motor-

cade and rally here and traveled into Negro neighborhoods in an attempt to spread fear and terror. The cross-burning was aimed principally at Mrs. A. Reed Johnson who, with her husband, is one of the active leaders of the Halifax Voters Movement. Mrs. Johnson, who recently lost her teaching job due to her civil-rights activities, is suing a number of county officials in an effort to regain her position.

One of these officials is Joe Branch, school-board attorney, who is also state campaign manager for Klan-supported Democratic Party nominee for governor, Dan K. Moore.

Mrs. Johnson has also been harassed by threatening phone calls. The opposition of both capitalist parties in North Carolina to granting Negroes their constitutional rights was noted by Durham's Negro newspaper, the *Carolina Times*, when it pointed out editorially that the Republican candidate for governor also opposed any federal intervention in behalf of Negroes' rights or safety.

"It now appears," said the *Carolina Times*, "that both [Republican] Preyer and [Democrat] Moore are two evils . . ." That is a statement which can be generalized on a national scale.

Defiant Parade

In the early evening, black youth defiantly paraded through streets in central Harlem, winding down from 125 St. to 116 St. Later on, small engagements spread all the way to the east side of Harlem. Fires broke out in trash cans and two theatres. Trigger-happy cops, scared Negro Uncle Tom cops being among the worst, bagged several more victims. Every corner taken over by cops was soon recaptured as the cops were diverted elsewhere.

At 11 p.m. a defiant demonstration swung down 125 St., in the very faces of scared cops shooting over the demonstrators' heads, and proceeded up St. Nicholas Ave. This march included over 1,000 people, mostly youth. Their ranks extended across the entire width of the street. They held aloft newly printed posters bearing a photo of Lieutenant Gilligan, the killer of young Powell, with the words

beneath: "WANTED FOR MURDER!" These marchers chanted, "WE WANT JUSTICE!" so loudly that it could be heard for blocks despite the noise of police gunfire and sirens.

At 128 St., the demonstration was stopped by a pincers' movement of patrol cars. Cops fired red flares into the sky to bring reinforcements. They fired into the crowd, at rooftops, at people emerging from the subway, and wildly in any direction from which bottles were coming. They were unsuccessful in dispersing the marchers.

Second Front

At the same time Brooklyn's ghetto, the Bedford-Stuyvesant area, was opening a second front against the enemy with a march which stopped traffic at Nostrand Avenue and Fulton Street and proceeded down to Bedford and Atlantic, swelling in numbers as it went, and drawing its own share of patrol cars and riot cops.

By Tuesday, the fourth day, it had become eminently clear that the police effort to quell and pacify Harlem by brute force and intimidation was a complete failure. If anything, the people of Harlem were learning more each day about the weak spots and tactical responses of the occupation force; whereas the police were becoming only more panicky, undisciplined and dangerous.

Strategic Spots

Mounted cops, tear gas, and high-pressure water hoses were still being held in reserve. Some firetrucks had been deployed at strategic spots. No police dogs had been brought out. Riot-control experts, quoted in the daily press, noted that Southern cities shy away from indiscriminate gunfire in dealing with "their Negroes," considering that tactic too provocative.

Most of New York's white population had been psychologically prepared for this type of police action by the daily press, which in the past months magnified every instance of racial conflict and engaged in an orgy of slander and lies against Harlem in the infamous "blood-brothers" hoax.

On Tuesday, the Johnson administration took its first steps in the undeclared war against Harlem with the threat of federal troops and FBI intervention — not to protect the people of Harlem from the brutes in uniform, but to do the job the cops are no longer able to perform. Thus, Johnson, Rockefeller, and Wagner, the darlings of the liberals, line up in solid array against the black people of the Northern ghettos.

Malcolm X Blames N.Y. Police Tactics

Malcolm X, in Cairo, Egypt, for the meeting of the Organization of African Unity, said July 20 that the fighting in Harlem was caused by "outright scare tactics used by New York police. Malcolm said New York police formerly used "wiser methods" than cops in most U.S. cities in racial matters, but that under Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy "tactics have changed." "This won't work," he continued, "because the Negro is not afraid. If the police tactics are not changed, this could escalate into something very, very serious."

Malcolm went to the OAU meeting to ask the assembled heads of state of 34 independent African nations to bring the denial of human rights to Afro-Americans before the UN.

Weekly Calendar

WEST COAST

A SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL CAMP. Aug. 29 through Sept. 7. Fifty miles south of San Francisco. Magnificent site. All facilities for a relaxed and pleasant vacation. Reservations must be made in advance. In San Francisco, call VA 4-2321; in Oakland, call 444-8012; in Los Angeles, call AN 9-4953.

DETROIT

THE CIA—AN INVISIBLE GOVERNMENT? Speaker, Paul Lodicco, Fri., July 31, 8:30 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

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7 — CAN GOLD-WATER WIN? Speaker, Leslie Evans, Southern California Chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance. 8:30 p.m. Militant Labor Forum, 1702 E. 4th St.

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary, August 4, 7:45 p.m. (Repeated August 5, 9 a.m.), KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

RALLY TO PROTEST TERRORISM OF N. Y. POLICE IN HARLEM. Speakers: Paul Boutelle, representative of the Freedom Now Party; Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President; James Shabazz, representative of the Organization of Afro-American Unity; Major Williams, director of Harlem Community Council on Housing. Fri., July 31, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7 — BRAZIL AND THE CHILEAN ELECTIONS: The Coming Showdown in Latin America. Speaker, Jay Garnett, staff writer for The Militant.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14 — THE MEANING OF THE GOLDWATER NOMINATION. Speaker Tom Leonard, contributor to The Militant.

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the marchers — made threatening gestures while screeching, "Kill the black apes" and — to a white man who had a Negro lady for a march partner — "Look at that white nigger! White trash! Whamsamatta can't ye find a white woman to sleep wid?"

Acid was hurled in the face of a 14-year-old Negro girl and a number of marchers were beaten. These assaults could easily have been prevented had the police dispersed the hooligans inside the plaza. A racist attempted to yank a white marcher from the line and a Negro march captain blocked the attempt by placing his own body between them. The Negro was arrested.

Seated on the platform of the First Baptist Church at a mass meeting June 22 were some of the wounded freedom fighters. These casualties in the liberation war told their stories. Young Mrs. Elaine Evans from a jazz-musician family on the West Coast, whose nose had been fractured in two places, offered her witness: "Everything seemed calm at the beach. The police and the cameramen were there, I felt pretty safe. Then this man tried to hold my head under water. When I got up he punched me in the face."

Peter Bancroft, a young white New Englander is spending part of his school vacation supporting the struggle. His head was shaven and bandaged, his face beaten, his eyes blackened. A few days earlier racists attempted to drown him and clubbed him on the head with a wooden two-by-four.

He described his experience with the law-enforcement officers at the beach: "Four state police pushed me between two cars and clubbed me. In the police car, the police worried about my blood getting on their seat, but they didn't care about the wound on my head with blood streaming out. They told me to drip the blood on the floor. I understand they will have to get new seat covers. The hoodlums yelled 'white nigger' — they thought they were insulting me, but I felt proud when they called me that. All I answered was 'God forgive you.'" The police weren't finished with



Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth

Bancroft. The following day he was arrested at Dr. Hayling's office accused of assault with a deadly weapon at the time he was clubbed by the police.

This follows the pattern of local justice. For example, on June 20 a racist attacked an integrationist who swam at the beach; both the attacker and his victim were arrested. Bond for the peaceful demonstrator was set at \$1,000; for the racist assailant it was \$25.

Mrs. Peggy Maul, the lone white resident of St. Augustine to participate in the freedom marches, was there with her four children. She had received 35 threatening phone calls that day and her house was surrounded by a segregationist gang. Emergency housing for Mrs. Maul and her children was found.

Those just released from jail

... FBI in Miss.

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civil-rights workers, is quoted in the July 13 *New York Times* as saying that the FBI has not bothered him about charges made by civil-rights leaders. "The FBI comes in here every day," said Collins, "and we have coffee every day. We're good friends."

At a news conference in Jackson, Miss., July 10, FBI Director Hoover declared: "We most certainly do not and will not give protection to civil-rights workers. In the first place, the FBI is not a police organization. It is purely an investigative organization. The protection of individual citizens either natives of this state or [those] coming into the state is a matter for the local authorities. The FBI will not participate in any such protection."

GREENWOOD, Miss.—One hundred and eleven people were arrested here in Freedom Day demonstrations July 16. Several hundred persons marched to the Greenwood Courthouse to attempt to register to vote. Those carrying picket signs protesting the state's discriminatory voter tests were arrested under the state's unconstitutional anti-picketing law. (Local whites have been picketing a downtown movie theatre every day this week, unhindered by the authorities.)

Those who offered passive resistance were dragged and beaten. One woman, eight months pregnant, was dragged by a cop holding a billy club against her neck, strangling her. Another woman, protesting the mistreatment of her sister, was grabbed by a highway patrolman who yelled: "Arrest that bitch." When she spit in his face, she was pushed into the van and beaten with a billy club.

Stokely Carmichael, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee field secretary for Greenwood and Leflore County, was arrested when he attempted to protect a girl from a cop who was shocking her with an electric cattle prod.

were asked to stand and received a loud ovation. This was followed by the organization of a car pool for the next day's wade-in.

Since St. Augustine is completely dependent on tourism, the civil-rights demonstrations have effectively shattered the local economy. Besides this, Washington is undoubtedly embarrassed by the world attention focussed on this symbol of our civilization. Thus there is great pressure for some arrangement.

At Monson's, the motel where 239 integrationists have been arrested, I talked with manager James Brock, who a few days earlier had slushed acid at a group of integrationists in the swimming pool. Brock has been a sometime spokesman for those who favor negotiations. From behind a pyramid of cannonballs on his desk, he gave me a "moderate" line.

"I'm not a John Birch. I'm not a member of the Klan. I don't carry hatred in my heart for anybody. We had no difficulty until this fellow Hayling came in. All these outside agitators have set back the harmonious relations between the races by 20 years. After they are gone the races can live together peacefully. I've been raised in a free society — this is a further encroachment of the socialist trend."

"Harmonious Relations"

I returned to the Negro area and talked with those who were smashing the "harmonious relations" based on the Negro serving as a door-mat for the whites.

The Elks Rest, a two-story wooden frame structure in the heart of the Negro community, serves as a social center. On the second floor a group was improvising jazz numbers. Cots were piled against the wall; freedom fighters, whose home is the Movement, live here. Since mass arrests have put many local activists behind bars, reinforcements have been brought in.

Downstairs, where there is a lounge and lunch counter, I spoke with 18-year-old Roland Abney of Savannah. He has been jailed nine times for participating in sit-ins, marches and demonstrations. I asked what his thoughts were when engaging in these direct actions. "I wonder whether I'm going to get hurt or maybe killed," he replied. "I think about the way the whites look at you. I'm scared, but something within me tells me to keep going. It's faith in what you are doing."

Responsible Man

During mass actions captains patrol the group. Mr. Abney is one of them. I asked what the duties are. "The captain is responsible for the people nearest him. If you see someone's going to get hit, you jump in front and take the licks. The most important thing is to protect the women, because the Klansmen will beat the women to make us fight, so we protect them with our bodies."

Miss Jackie Eubanks of St. Augustine, a lively 17-year-old high school student, has been jailed twice. She led 350 students away from Murry High School last March after a student had been expelled for leading another action: "We felt that since the students were not as yet coming to the meetings, we would take the action to the school, and we won."

Cecil Arnold, also from St. Augustine, was reading a *National Geographic* when I introduced myself. He is 21 years old, tall and lithe, a veteran of three years with army airborne and three jailings in the fight for equal rights. He told me how he wound up in jail. "I was lying-in at the St. George pharmacy. We thought that if they wouldn't serve us at the counter, maybe they would serve us on the floor. I served 40 days. It took me out of college, but I made it up. I was in the stockade chain gang. It was pretty rough, but I always kept my purpose in mind. I expect to be in jail again."

This Civil-Rights Marcher Couldn't Stand Rockefeller

By Tom Brewer, M.D.

SAN FRANCISCO — On July 12 I marched with 35,000 down Market St. from First St. to the Civic Center. I carried a picket sign: "U.S. Get Out of Vietnam — Intervene in Our South," and I held it up above my head and turned it from side to side so people on both sides of the street could see it. One plump lad with a large Goldwater-for-President button on his business suit's lapel snarled at me: "Communist traitor!" I advised him to seek psychiatric help but I'm sure he won't — in fact as I think of it now that was poor advice since at the national American Medical Association convention here at the end of last month, a poll showed over 80 per cent of the physicians supporting the conservative senator from Arizona.

The line of marchers was pretty quiet at first, being made up of Democrats for the most part where I was — people with signs which said: "Vote NO on 14," which is a reference to the initiative to repeal the Rumford Fair Housing Act up to the voters this year. I looked far up ahead and saw a sign demanding that the FBI get to work in Mississippi by the "Parents of Civil Rights Workers in Mississippi." I think they're in their rights to demand protection for their idealistic young people but I wonder if they realize how much violence, both physical and emotional, has been dealt out to millions of people in the past few hundred years there in the South and all over the country.

Freedom Chant

I started a human-rights chant that we've been using a lot here in the struggle with Mel's Drive-In, the Sheraton-Palace Hotel, and the Cadillac Agency: "What do you want?" And a few voices answered, "Freedom!" "When?" I shouted, "Now!" they answered, and after a few more times a big voice was created. So then I went on to Jim Crow — Must Go, Segregation — Must Go, Discrimination — Must Go, and then Goldwater — MUST GO! came in really strong. Police Dogs — Must Go, Police Brutality — Must Go, Bombed Children — Must Go, Goldwater — MUST GO!

It seemed strange to me that they came through strongest on this political note. And I was scheming in my mind such things as Johnson — Must Go, Pentagon — Must Go, CIA — Must Go, Cold-War — Must Go, Nuclear Bombs — Must Go, Curtis LeMay — Must Go, McNamara — Must Go, but I realized it would only be a parrot trick for them. I realized what a long and hard road lies ahead for those of us who want to see sanity and reason, human understanding and compassion come into our national political life. But I know there are a growing number of our people fed up with the inept and irresponsible leadership of the two big bourgeois political parties.

There were a lot of people there from the Christian churches in town; they had on buttons about civil rights with a cross on them. Strange, isn't it that they've had so many years to solve this basic problem of world brotherhood, the problem of racial antagonisms, and they've failed. I believe their failure has been due to their failure to understand the nature of the class struggle — their preachers are paid by their business men.

We made it to the Civic Center singing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" and gathered around a platform to hear some of the national leaders of the civil-rights movement — Ralph Abernathy, James Farmer, John Lewis and A. Philip Randolph. They said what you'd expect them to say about the struggle and how they wouldn't stop fighting until all



Nelson Rockefeller

discrimination was stamped out and how bad Barry Goldwater would be and is. Nobody was worried about the colored children being napped in Vietnam or the threat of war with China — but I don't blame them — their struggle is a hard one. I blame the white people there, the Democrats and liberals, who don't have to put up with racial discrimination — they should be thinking about those other just as real and just as important aspects of the worldwide racial discrimination problem.

I noticed a commotion behind me at the edge of the mass of people; I thought it was a fight but somebody went over and came back and said, "It's Nelson Rockefeller." In a few minutes he came striding along surrounded by about 15 men all very neat in business suits. He was smiling that eating grin of the wealthy aristocrats who become governors and celebrities and eat well all their lives.

Some Celebrities

The next thing I know, Jackie Robinson, one of the first Negroes to make it into the celebrity class, is up on the platform introducing Nelson as the greatest friend the Negro people have ever had in their struggle for civil rights. He introduced Mrs. Rocky first — how she got up there I don't know; she didn't come in with him. And then he got up and began the "Thank God, we have a free America where people can gather to protest" [their lack of freedom?] . . . and he went on and on and on.

It was sickening; I wonder how the colored people, the Spanish-speaking people in Venezuela would take it — these people in this crowd clapped wildly for the RICH MAN. I kept thinking how he wants to sell thermonuclear weapons to the Nazis in West Germany, and other dark thoughts about how high finance-capitalism exploits people all over the globe.

I came to march for racial equality here and around the earth and I had to listen to Mr. Capitalism; it was too much so we worked our way out of the crowd and left. There were two members of the Black Muslims on the edge of the gathering selling *Muhammad Speaks*; I knew they would never applaud Rockefeller and I felt a little better. I bought the first issue of *Afro-American Dignity News* from a handsome young man across the street. We walked on down McAllister St. for three blocks and I could still hear the oily, smug, patronizing (it is so good of the great man to come out here to give us his precious time) voice reverberating between the city's buildings . . .

"... and the Republican Party will stand by the Negroes, my fellow Americans, to the bitter end."

Socialist Addresses Finnish Federation

Everett Luoma, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Minnesota, was one of the speakers at a summer festival before 300 people in Virginia, Minnesota, July 11. Virginia is a mining town in the depressed Iron Range region. The festival was sponsored by the Minnesota Federation of Finnish Civic Clubs. A large percentage of the audience reads Luoma's articles regularly in the Finnish newspaper, *Industrialisti*, published in Duluth.

Publicity for the meeting suggested the possibility of a debate between senatorial candidates. The Democratic incumbent, Eugene McCarthy, did not show up or send a spokesman, but Wheelock Whitney, the Republican candidate, appeared. He praised the owners of the mining companies as really "common people who also save their money for a rainy day" and left immediately after his speech.

Speaking in both Finnish and English, Luoma told the audience that trusting any of the candidates of the bosses to deliver on their promises was like believing in Santa Claus. "Maybe it is about time we learned that Santa Claus either does not exist or does not give a damn for us," he said.

The Socialist Workers Party, he said, doesn't believe in Santa Claus but does believe that workers should organize politically and fight for their own interests. He urged the audience to vote for DeBerry and Shaw, the SWP presidential ticket, and for himself for Senator.

THE MILITANT

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Goldwater's Victory Beginning of End

Crisis of Two-Party System

By Tom Kerry

Spokesmen for what the Goldwaterites stigmatize as the "Eastern Establishment" are agonizing over the threat to the viability of the two-party system involved in the capture of the Republican Party by the upstart from Arizona and his band of ultras from the political hinterlands of America.

They reason that the Goldwater nomination based on an "unrealistic" right-wing philosophy, policy and program, will lead to so overwhelming a landslide for the Johnson Democrats that the Republican Party could be reduced to a political splinter, thus creating a vacuum in which rival parties could arise whose challenge to the existing order would be of a more fundamental character than that of the bi-partisan safety valve hitherto provided by the traditional loyal opposition of the Republicans.

The Goldwater pundits argue that the interest of the American two-party system can best be served by offering the voters a genuine choice between what they call "conservatism" and me-too "liberalism." Or, as they put it, the people want "a choice not an echo."

Worry Well-Founded

This concern over the preservation of the two-party system is well founded. The system has served the American capitalist ruling class admirably well. Under it Big Business, which dominates both major capitalist parties, has perpetuated its power and privileges by siphoning discontent onto the strictly circumscribed arena in which all fundamental issues are submerged in the sound and fury of sham battle between Tweedledee and Tweedledum.

It would be a mistake, however, to consider the conflict a mere exercise in deception. The capitalist class is not homogeneous. It is divided by sectional, economic and material interests and is often sharply split over policy questions which find expression within each of the two major parties as well as in conflict between them. However, these differences are fought out within the rigid framework of maintaining and preserving the existing social order.

Whenever confronted by a threat to the interests of the capitalist



Barry Goldwater

Southern Opportunity

Goldwater saw in the civil-rights explosion an opportunity to wean the racist South away from its traditional support of the Democratic Party. With the assassination of Kennedy, the Goldwater perspective seemed doomed. The elevation to the office of president of a Democrat from Texas, whose record on civil-rights was in the tradition of uncompromising Dixiecrat resistance, appeared to write finis to the Goldwater candidacy.

Especially since the amazing Mr. Johnson, taking the bit between his teeth, raced hither and yon over the national landscape promising all things to all men. In Georgia, the Texas windbag received what was reported as the largest mass welcome ever accorded a president of these United States. Labor fell into line without missing a step. The conservative Negro leaders, entertained at the White House, were completely beguiled by Johnson's demagogic charm. And Big Business, especially its Wall Street branch, wallowing in lush profits of historical magnitude, eagerly clasped Johnson to their bosom. Along with Walter Reuther and George Meany there were added the names of hitherto staunch Republicans like Henry Ford, Morgan Guaranty Trust, etc., etc.

Discordant Note

It was an amazing performance — while it lasted. There was, however, one discordant note. With all his demagoguery Johnson could not cajole the Negro struggle for civil rights into quiescence. No amount of liberal verbiage could dampen this irrepressible conflict. Nor could the siren promise of civil-rights legislation curb the militant demand for Freedom Now which can no longer be derailed or diverted by the meager crumbs of tokenism. North and South, the Negro struggle for equality mounted in intensity. This inevitably brought the federal administration into collision with the more aggressive Dixiecrat wing of the Democratic Party.

When the unspeakable Wallace of Alabama, in his Democratic primary election campaigns in Wisconsin, Indiana, Maryland and Illinois, running on an open white-supremacist platform, piled up a significant minority vote, the Goldwaterites were given a shot in the arm. Along with their vision of capturing the South they now saw the possibility of garnering the support of what they dub the "white backlash" in the North.

Just as the struggle against chattel slavery destroyed the Whig Party and gave birth to the Republican Party in the mid-Nineteenth Century, so today, the Negro struggle for Freedom Now is bursting asunder the traditional bonds which have for so long constricted American politics within the straitjacket of the two-party system. The Goldwater phenomenon is just the beginning.

—J. G.

The Liberal Politicians and Harlem

The attempt by New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner's cops to repress the people of Harlem by brute force and open violence is not a sudden reflex. These police military tactics are well thought out and known in advance in top governmental circles. They thus had the approval and sanction of Mayor Wagner, Governor Rockefeller and President Johnson.

As the *New York Times* reported on July 20: "In theory, the Police Department was fully prepared several months ago for the riot. Police Commissioner Michael J. Murphy and his staff had brought their riot-control plans up to date in the light of predictions of a 'long hot summer' of agitation."

The real issue here is not merely one of police brutality and anti-Negro prejudice which could be solved by some sort of "improved understanding" between Harlem residents and the police. The simple truth is that the police are assigned the "thankless" task of enforcing law and order in an unjust, illegal, and criminal social system. They are, for example, ordered to force people to pay rent, but not to force landlords to repair rat-infested buildings. The police carry out their orders. They cannot expect to be loved by the victims of the oppression they enforce.

While the liberals like Wagner, Rockefeller and Johnson claim to be friends of the Negro (that is, friends of the Negro middle class), it is abundantly clear that they are hateful enemies of the working-class black people in the overpopulated ghettos of New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Birmingham, Washington, Atlanta and other urban centers.

The civil-rights bill and the "friendship" for Negroes of Northern liberals are totally irrelevant to the problems of automation, worsening chronic unemployment, police brutality, denial of decent education, abominable housing, rent gouging, rat bites, cockroaches, low-quality and high-priced food, and lack of independent political power, which are the real problems faced by black people in the urban centers.

Capitalist society has nothing whatever to offer these black people—except exploitation. Capitalist politicians, including the liberal variety, can only seek to repress the ghettos, because capitalists—including the liberal ones—grow rich off that exploitation and don't intend to give up their gravy. The black people of the ghetto are no longer satisfied with empty promises. They are not frightened any more. So the capitalist politicians must resort to brute force to repress the growing demand for justice. And the liberal capitalist politicians will cite their "friendship" with some Negro "leaders"—as they move to drown the working-class black ghettos in blood.

"Leaders" who are interested solely in concessions within the capitalist system for their own middle-class interests are worse than useless to the black masses. They were worse than useless in the defense of Harlem against the police repression of the recent days. And they are worse than useless for organizing the revolutionary political struggle which is required to win justice, decent housing, jobs, and human dignity for the black working-class.



Once again The Militant Army goes over the top in the drive for 3,000 new readers. Our final scoreboard shows 3,573 new subscribers but this is not the whole story. Because of important election campaign work, two important areas, Detroit and the Twin Cities, were not able to concentrate on getting subscriptions. They will continue their campaigns through August and we are sure to receive another 500 subscriptions from them.

The most inspiring development of this sub drive has been the participation of young people throughout the country who have made this campaign so successful. From Baltimore we received the following note, "We here in Baltimore wonder if it is too late to get on the scoreboard with a quota of 50 subscriptions. We have 23 already and can easily make 50 and will try to top it." Baltimore hasn't quite made the 50 but it is close to it and we are sure to hear from them with more subs.

A student at Kent University

writes that they hadn't realized the drive ended July 15. They want to continue with their sub work which includes a trip to Akron.

When all reports are in and a final count is taken we expect it to reach the figure of 5,000.

City	Quota	Score
Chicago	1,000	1,083
New York	600	637
Detroit	500	325
Cleveland	150	280
Boston	200	271
Oakland/Berkeley	200	159
San Francisco	100	151
Milwaukee	100	104
Minneapolis/		
St. Paul	200	101
Seattle	75	76
Philadelphia	60	56
Denver	50	50
Newark	150	48
Los Angeles	—	43
Baltimore	50	37
Connecticut	25	21
St. Louis	15	12
General	—	62

Total through July 22 3,500 3,573

MOVIE REVIEW

The Workers' Struggle

THE ORGANIZER. Starring Marcello Mastroianni. Directed by Mario Monicelli. Italian dialogue, English subtitles.

Contrary to its title, this film is not the story of one man whose unique abilities enable him to bring a struggle to victory. It is first and foremost a tale of the working people's fight for a better life in an Italy whose bourgeois nationalist leaders had raised their hopes in the wars for national unity, but who had let them down when it came to fulfilling them.

The sweatshop conditions of the industrial revolution in the textile mills of Italy are vividly portrayed. The workers' revulsion against the speed-up, unsafe working conditions and the 14-hour day, is the setting first for a work stoppage, then a strike, and — as the workers gain confidence — an attempt to seize the factory which is put down by the armed force of the state.

Even though the workers themselves speak a language other than English, their personalities, their problems, their attitudes toward life and the struggle, become far more real than in American movies.

As in every working people's fight, obstacles, material and psy-

chological, as well as prejudices, stand between them and a victory. They have to be able to provide for their families during the fight; they have to overcome racial-national divisions among themselves; they have to bury the myth of female inferiority to get the maximum participation of the women workers; and they have to steel their ranks against any faint-heartedness.

Only in this context does the role of "the organizer" have meaning. Shown as a real human being, with the shortcomings of his middle-class upbringing, he belongs to the idealistic generation of socialists and anarchists who tempered themselves in the mass movement near the turn of the century and learned how to make its power effective.

The film has its humor and its tragedy, its human irrelevancies and its lessons — for example, on the difficulty of persuading hungry workers not to scab because they are betraying their class.

Although it glorifies neither the workers, their rank-and-file leaders, nor the organizer who comes from outside, the film, like history itself, leaves no doubt as to the justice and the necessity of the workers' fight.

—J. G.

Ceylon Revolutionists Hit Coalition Sell-Out

The following statement was released by Edmund Samarakkody, secretary of the Provisional Committee of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section) of Ceylon, on June 12 immediately after certain LSSP leaders had accepted cabinet posts in the government of Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, prime minister of Ceylon and head of the liberal capitalist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP).

Our erstwhile comrades, N. M. Perera, Cholmondeley Goonewardena and Anil Moonesinghe, have now become Honorable Ministers of Her Majesty the Queen. Henceforth, vested with the authority of the capitalist state, they will serve Her Majesty and their new leader Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, in keeping the Ceylon masses in subjection to the capitalist class. This is only the formalization of the abandonment of the LSSP and its revolutionary programme by Dr. N. M. Perera and his followers like Mr. Leslie Goonewardena, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, Mr. Bernard Soysa and Senator Doric de Souza.

Three of the 14 points accepted by the Hon. N. M. Perera and his colleagues were not mentioned by them at the Party conference where they got the mandate for the abandonment of the program of our Party. These are the points relating to religion, language and citizenship rights, which the SLFP leadership is reported to have insisted upon. The acceptance of these points makes it clear that the Hon. N. M. Perera and his colleagues have capitulated completely to the ideology of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie. Furthermore names like N. M. Perera, Colvin R. de Silva and Leslie Goonewardena can no more be associated with the fight for democratic rights of the minorities in Ceylon.

As for the workers, the vast

mass on the plantations who were deprived of their citizenship and voting rights by the citizenship laws of D. S. Senanayake's UNP [United National Party] Government, will now remain deprived of these elementary democratic rights with the support of the Hon. N. M. Perera and his followers.

The workers in the private sector are to get nothing that has been thought worth mentioning. Workers in government employment and in state enterprises are merely to be given the right to form committees to advise their bosses on how to get the best results from the sweat of the workers.

For the rural masses, there is no promise of land or jobs. All they are offered is the right to form Vigilance Committees. What these committees will be expected to do for the Government remains to be seen.

For the rest, the masses will be invited to be patient and to back whatever candidates the Hon. Sirimavo Bandaranaike may select from the SLFP or from the Hon. N. M. Perera's Party to ensure that she will be able to form a government after the next elections.

The British imperialists, in particular, must be quite pleased at the turn of events. The Hon. N. M. Perera and his Party are now pledged to play the game of capitalist parliamentary politics under the leadership of the Hon. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, so that capitalism in Ceylon will be maintained either under the blue flag of the SLFP, or, if the new combination fails, under the green flag of the UNP.

Thus Messrs. N. M. Perera, Leslie Goonewardena, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva and their Party have completely betrayed the working class and the toiling people. Rarely has treachery by leaders of the working class been so naked.

Letter of Support to LSSP Left

World Trotskyism Greet Conference

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International on July 10 sent the following letter to the Emergency Conference of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section) of Ceylon, held in Colombo, that nation's capital, July 18-19.

The United Secretariat of the Fourth International, in behalf of the world Trotskyist movement, expresses warmest fraternal greetings to your gathering. Your firm stand in support of the basic principles of revolutionary socialism in face of the blow struck by N.M. Perera and the figures associated with him has been hailed by Trotskyists everywhere. Your principled actions have clearly demonstrated that you represent the revolutionary socialist future of the workers and peasants of Ceylon.

In connection with your struggle, the United Secretariat of the Fourth International has passed the following motions in addition to the ones contained in its declaration made public June 22 [printed in the July 13 Militant]:

- 1) To approve the decision that was made to hold a conference at the "Workmen's Resort" in Colombo on June 7.
- 2) To approve the decision of those present at this conference to "hereafter function as the LSSP (Revolutionary Section) on the basis of the program of the LSSP which had been abandoned" by the group headed by N. M. Perera.
- 3) To approve the election by this conference of a Provisional Committee.
- 4) To approve the scheduling of an Emergency Conference of the LSSP (RS) for the purpose of electing the permanent bodies of the party and carrying out other tasks proper to such a conference.
- 5) To recognize this Emergency Conference as officially constituting the continuing body of the

Trotskyist movement in Ceylon and to empower it to speak for and conduct any matters pertaining to the section of the Fourth International in Ceylon.

6) To approve the continued publication by the LSSP (RS) of the Sinhalese-language weekly *Sama Samajaya* in accordance with the positions adopted by the Reunification Congress.

7) To appeal once again to all those who voted for Perera's proposal to enter a bourgeois/coalition government, or who have not yet broken with him because of fear of a "split," to rally to the LSSP (RS) which is the only organization in Ceylon that stands on the programme on which the Ceylonese Trotskyist movement was founded.

We should like to make the following brief observations to your Emergency Conference, reserving other points and more extensive remarks for subsequent elaboration:

There is no doubt that the capitulation of N.M. Perera and his group constitutes a serious setback for the Ceylonese vanguard. It can help relieve the political crisis facing the Ceylonese bourgeoisie. In combination with some concessions from the Prime Minister it can help create illusions among a sector of the population about the possibility of reforming capitalism structurally. Thus Perera's policy of supporting and entering a bourgeois coalition government can serve to give Ceylonese capitalism a longer lease on life.

A Short Path

However, the path of concessions and reforms will in reality prove to be a short one in Ceylon. The scope of the problems demanding solution transcends by far the resources and capacities of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie and landowners. The need to turn to revolutionary solutions will be seen more and more clearly as an imperative that can be postponed only at the risk of political and social disaster. The vanguard will presently be faced with the immense duty and opportunity of taking power in Ceylon.

In light of this perspective, the prognosis for the Ceylonese Trotskyists is early recovery from the injuries inflicted by the Perera leadership. To assure this, however, it is necessary to draw the proper lessons from the experience, to work with redoubled energy, and to find ways toward common action with other militant currents on the basis of transitional demands. A correct transitional program, it must be stressed, remains of central importance for resolving the crisis of proletarian leadership in Ceylon.

In this course you can count on the solidarity and comradesly support of the entire world Trotskyist movement, which is keenly interested in Ceylon and its future.

At the same time, we are sure that Trotskyists throughout the world feel that the LSSP (RS)

will open a new chapter in offering help and support to the Fourth International. As you are well aware, under the previous leadership, fraternal relations were often a matter of lip service. This signified weakening the Fourth International as a world organization and bolstering the rightist tendency in the LSSP as well as fostering similar nationalist or regional tendencies elsewhere. This disregard of internationalism deepened during the years in which the world movement was split. Observance of the principle of democratic centralism suffered especially.

Reunification Congress

With the reunification of the world movement last year, a stronger force came into operation against all the centrifugal, nationalist tendencies, which in Ceylon were represented to a high degree by N. M. Perera. This new force could not but appear to the right wing as a danger to their tendency that would surely mount with the firm consolidation of a reunification based on the revolutionary-socialist principles laid down at the Reunification Congress. Undoubtedly, the prospect was an additional consideration in their decision to rush into a bourgeois coalition. In their flagrant breach of discipline, the Perera tendency found common ground with tendencies elsewhere in the world, some of them of ultra-left coloring, whose "Trotskyism" does not extend to something as serious as observance of the principles of democratic centralism.

The LSSP (RS) has already demonstrated its capacity to live up to these principles, and its example has thereby strengthened the Fourth International and helped to consolidate the reunification on the basis of the program adopted at the Reunification Congress. We count on your playing a more and more important role in this respect in the future.

A Good Start

You have already made an auspicious beginning in assuming responsibility for publishing *Fourth International*, the official theoretical organ of the world Trotskyist movement. With your co-operation we hope now to regularize its appearance and to make it the full success it deserves to be.

In struggling against the opportunist tendency led by N. M. Perera, the main cadres of the Ceylonese section of the Fourth International have set an example in which Trotskyists everywhere can take pride. We expect that as you move forward on the basis of what was accomplished and learned in this battle, the Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary Section) will not only reconstitute itself as a mass organization based on the principles of revolutionary socialism, it will serve this time as a model in the international arena in helping to construct the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky.

July 10, 1964

... Socialists Tell How to Fight Goldwaterism

(Continued from Page 1)

Democratic Party are none of those things. The Johnson Democrats are no less nuclear brinkmen than the Goldwater Republicans, as the Cuban crisis and the dirty war in Vietnam prove. The Johnsonites offer nothing more than token concessions to the Negro people, and they refuse to use the governmental power to stop racist violence.

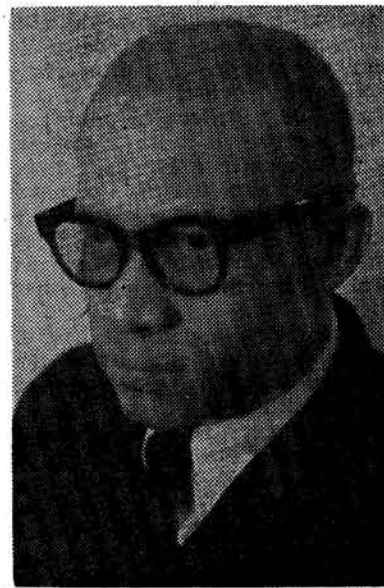
Johnson's so-called "war on poverty" is a cruel hoax that plays cynical politics with the needs of millions of poverty-stricken people. The Democratic Party of Johnson bears equal responsibility with the Republican Party of Goldwater for the witch hunt in American society. To the millions who suffer discrimination and exploitation under capitalism,

"friend" Johnson is no friend at all.

What is more, the Johnson Democrats can now be expected to move farther to the right. They feel they already have the labor and Negro vote in their pocket. So their main concern will be to compete with Goldwater for the conservative vote. That means appeasement of labor haters and white supremacists at the expense of the union and Negro movements. It means intensified militarism in foreign policy. It means the opposite of the actual needs of the overwhelming majority of Americans.

The "lesser-evil" trap of support to Johnson can be expected to catch a good many victims, mainly because they feel they have no alternative. Blame for that falls squarely on the union bureaucrats and conservative Negro leaders who have kept the labor and civil-rights movements tied to the Democratic Party. Equally guilty are the Social Democrats and the Communist Party hacks who have helped maintain the entrapment in Democratic Party politics. The evil fruit of this class betrayal is a political dead end in which the millions who toil are the losers. Today none of these misleaders have anything to offer, except more of the same.

If the labor and Negro movements are to defend their interests, they must break with the Democratic and Republican parties and take the road of independent political action. A few prominent Negroes have come to recognize that need, and they have issued a call for a Freedom Now Party, led and controlled by Negroes. In Michigan the Freedom Now Party is running its own slate of state candidates in opposi-

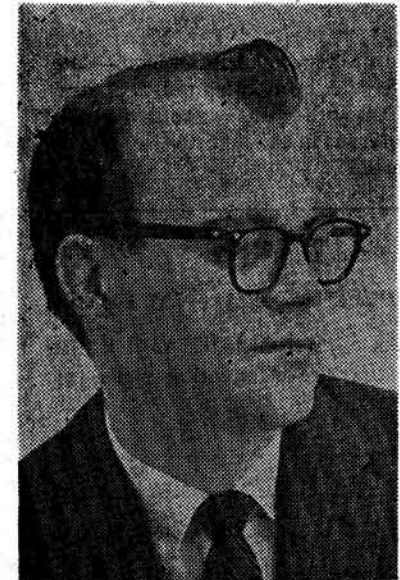


Clifton DeBerry
SWP Candidate for President

tion to both the Democratic and Republican tickets.

The Socialist Workers Party welcomes the action of the Michigan Freedom Now Party and we extend to it our fraternal support. We commend the Michigan example to the civil-rights movement as a whole. We urge the union movement to follow the Negro example by breaking with capitalist politics and forming an independent labor party opposed to both Democrats and Republicans.

The question is, what to do right now? In reply we address ourselves to all workers, black and white, to all who suffer discrimination and exploitation under capitalism. We say to you: Vote your own interests by supporting the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.



Edward Shaw
SWP Candidate for Vice President

Local Directory

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

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-8044.

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.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Federal 2-7761. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-3 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7882.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Militant Labor Forum: 592 Lake Park Ave., Oakland. Phone 444-8012. Marxist literature available: write to Labor Book Shop at above address.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum P.O. Box 8412.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-2669. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books, Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

SEATTLE. 3815 5th N.E. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

Behind the Events in the Congo

Tshombe Seeks to Halt Colonial Struggle

(World Outlook) June 30 marked an important turning point in the history of the Congo. On that date the United Nations occupation of the Congo came to an end. On that date, too, President Kasavubu's four-year mandate as head of the Republic of Congo ended and the Congolese parliament completed its first term.

As the deadline neared, anxiety rose among imperialist circles and their stooges in the Congo over possible collapse of the neo-colonialist Kasavubu-Mobutu regime. Their main figurehead, "socialist" Premier Cyrille Adoula, publicly admitted the bankruptcy of his stewardship. He is virtually powerless outside of the "European" [white] quarter of Leopoldville and even there his authority has come under increasingly serious challenge from underground forces. Vast reaches of the country, including the provinces of Kouilou, North Katanga, Eastern Province and large sections of Kivu, have set up new Lumumbist administrations which do not recognize the authority of the puppet central government.

As for Mobutu's army, it is dis-

integrating. Repeatedly, contingents of the army have refused to engage in pitched battle with insurrectional formations. During one of the skirmishes in Kivu, General Mobutu himself had to lead the advance, like a feudal warlord, in order to get some of his own soldiers to start marching in the same direction.

Capitalists abroad reveal their pessimism over perspectives in the Congo. In Brussels, quotations on the stock of the most powerful Congo trust, Union Miniere, have dropped to barely ten percent of their highest point in 1957.

Both the Belgian capitalists, who are most directly interested in tapping the Congo's huge natural wealth, and those in the U.S., who feel most acutely that it is their duty to "save the Congo for free enterprise" and keep it from "going Communist," have been frantically looking for a way out — some way to prevent their neo-colonialist regime from going down like a house of cards. The solution they seem to have decided to try out is a rather curious one. They are pushing out into the center of the stage a new saviour, a figure by the name of Moise Tshombe.

This is the South Katanga tribal politician who, through various tricks and stratagems and a liberal slush fund, succeeded in first becoming premier of the province of Katanga, then head of the "independent" country of Katanga. This operation, mounted in direct collusion with Belgian military personnel and Belgian capitalists, was carried out when the Congo first achieved independence in July 1960. Tshombe's treachery triggered the huge internal crisis in the country that eventually led to the occupation by United Nations troops.

The use of UN military forces, said the General Assembly resolution, was to help restore the country's unity; the real aim was not openly stated. But it soon became apparent with the ouster of Premier Patrice Lumumba and his subsequent foul murder. Eventually fighting broke out between the UN troops and Tshombe's "gendarmes." Tshombe was deposed and this sinister figure then went into exile in Madrid, where Franco's fascist regime extended him every courtesy.

Tshombe did not return to the Congo directly from Madrid. He stopped off first at Brussels where he had long talks with Foreign Minister Paul-Henri Spaak and U.S. Ambassador Douglas MacArthur III. The cordiality of these briefings of the prospective Chiang Kai-shek of the Congo, as reported by the press, leaves no doubt that Tshombe is returning to his field of operation with the mandate of imperialism — above all, the mandate of President Lyndon Johnson.

Tshombe was carefully groomed during the final stage of the UN occupation of the Congo for his new role of saviour, unifier and pacifier of his country. This grooming was rather essential, for too many people were aware of how he destroyed the unity of the country by taking Katanga into secession, how he paralyzed the central government by withholding more than two-thirds of the taxes and customs on which it depended, how he directly participated in the murder of Patrice Lumumba and how he sought to cover up the crime. He became deeply associated in the public mind with the scum in his entourage — OAS bandits fresh from backstabbing in Algeria, former German SS men still smelling from the gas chambers, Cuban counter-revolutionaries looking for temporary jobs before again invading their own country.

One of the main moves in this

careful grooming for his new role as "arbiter," the man above all the tribes and political parties of the Congo, was the splendidly timed "revelations" he made to a reactionary Belgian journalist about the murder of Lumumba in which he white-washed his own role and hung the rap on Cyrille Adoula. [See Feb. 24 Militant.]

(The generally accepted version of that murder still remains that one of Tshombe's main lieutenants, his former Minister of the Interior Munongo, personally killed Lumumba, after the Congolese leader had already been badly maimed through frightful mistreatment on the plane that brought him from Leopoldville to the Katanga capital of Elisabethville.)

Upon his arrival in Leopoldville as imperialism's own trusted man, Tshombe at once called in Kasavubu, Adoula and the main leaders of various neo-colonialist parties and sects. He made it clear that he wanted a ground-breaking operation — a general amnesty for political prisoners and an invitation to the Lumumbist leaders to return from exile. To make his new liberal halo look really authentic, he demanded the immediate release of Antoine Gizenga, Lumumba's most prominent lieutenant and former vice-president of the Adoula government who has been imprisoned on an island in the Congo River although parliament has repeatedly called for his release.

Bid for Approval

Another maneuver not to be overlooked was Tshombe's stop-off at Bamako, the capital of Mali, on his way from Brussels to Leopoldville, where he evidently made a bid for a stamp of approval from all the African independent states as to his "legitimacy."

The imperialist press co-operated deftly in this game by playing up the "popular" response to Tshombe's reappearance in the Congo. Perhaps some "demonstrations" did occur. Their spontaneity is another matter. Tshombe is a well-heeled saviour. He has several million dollars in gold and hard currency on tap in European bank accounts, while the other Congo leaders of his temperament, training and loyalties are flat broke. His arrival as a "live" one was bound to create a good deal of excitement among the bar flies.

Tshombe's reappearance has, of course, a deeper meaning in the context of Leopoldville politics. The bankruptcy of the Adoula government has entailed extensive unraveling of the state fabric. The politicians themselves constitute the hardest, most avaricious nucleus of the Congo compradore bourgeoisie-in-formation. Nothing less than their immediate livelihood and future prospects are involved in keeping up the state apparatus. Since no faction is strong enough to impose its rule on the whole country, they are driven toward a general compromise that would affect all the local and regional politicians and chiefs. Tshombe still retains authority in the country's richest region, South Katanga, and has the full backing of the colonial masters there. Thus the decision to make him the nominal head of a government of "national reconciliation" is not so illogical as it may seem.

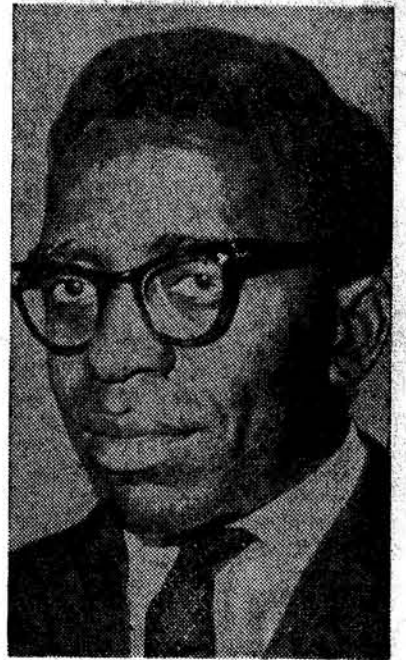
For Tshombe to succeed in his assignment, however, an essential condition remains to be fulfilled. The Lumumbist insurrectional groups operating in various areas must be persuaded to accept Tshombe, to co-operate with him and to take posts in his government. Will they do this? Can they accept a neo-colonialist stooge who still has some 2,000 armed

"gendarmes" on the shelf in Angola where they have been keeping in form under the guidance of the Portuguese colonial masters?

Unfortunately, there is great danger that many of them will be tempted. Gbenye, who led the MNC-Lumumba [*Mouvement National Congolais*] parliamentary group in Leopoldville after Gizenga's arrest until he himself had to go into exile, reportedly negotiated directly with some important Belgian financial groups for the "re-integration" of the Lumumbist forces into "Congolese legality." He was expelled from the Committee of National Liberation in Brazzaville, formally on charges of embezzlement of funds, but one of the main guerrilla leaders in the Congo, Gaston Soumialot, still recognizes his authority. Many former Lumumbist leaders are said to have become demoralized and corrupted.

In addition, they have fallen into such suicidal maneuvers before. During one of the peaks of the civil war, Gizenga, who headed the rival central government of Stanleyville and had a strong army and controlled most of the north and east of the country, accepted "reconciliation" with the Leopoldville government. The result was destruction of his base, his subsequent loss of the post in the coalition government with which he had been paid in return for dismantling his Stanleyville stronghold and his eventual arrest and imprisonment.

Lumumba himself made two colossal errors. Instead of strengthening his revolutionary base and mobilizing the population in the style of Fidel Castro, he invited in the United Nations. When this led to his being deposed as premier in Leopoldville, he did not retreat at once to Stanleyville where he had a strong following and could have organized a counterbase from which to recover his position. He stayed in Leopoldville in order to personally protest and argue the illegality of Kasavubu's moves against him. The tragic result was his martyrdom.



Antoine Gizenga

Most of the radical political leaders of the Congo have not yet drawn the necessary conclusions from such mistakes. Many of them are ready to commit the same errors twice. Perhaps the influence of the Chinese Communist Party and similar tendencies will help the opposition to Tshombe's blandishments. The revolutionary instincts of the guerrilla fighters who have been mobilized in the struggle will weigh in the same direction.

It remains to be seen, however, whether — in the absence of a strong revolutionary party — these tendencies will prove sufficiently strong to prevent the Lumumbist leaders from dropping into Tshombe's web, thereby granting him the opportunity he seeks to achieve a kind of temporary neo-colonialist stabilization. If they prove alert to the trap, Tshombe's "national reconciliation" will turn out to be nothing but a regroupment of conservatives — against the rising tide of the Congolese revolution.



Patrice Lumumba

Vacation School Set For Aug. 29 in Calif.

SAN FRANCISCO — The West Coast Vacation School has announced that its 1964 session will be held at a "magnificent camp site" in the Santa Cruz mountains 50 miles south of here. The session will run from Aug. 29 through Sept. 7.

Camp grounds are 30 acres of trees, playing fields, hiking and riding trails plus a trout stream flowing through the camp. The facilities include modern plumbing in the main buildings, an up-to-date hotel-type kitchen and a large redwood-paneled dining room. The large camp swimming pool is filtered and heated. For those who desire ocean swimming and fishing Santa Cruz is ten miles distant.

A series of lectures and seminars is being planned on the main ideas of the "Triple Revolution" document issued by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution. Many active participants and local leaders of the civil-rights movements and Freedom Now movement are being invited to participate in the symposiums.

Early reservations are being urged and can be secured by calling VA 4-2321 in San Francisco, 444-8012 in Oakland and AN 9-4953 in Los Angeles.

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Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Best Candidate

New York, N. Y.

The major point in the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party and its presidential candi-

date, Clifton DeBerry, is one that cannot be repeated too often: namely, that the Negro people and its supporters have nothing to gain by supporting either of the two big status quo parties in this country. Both Republicans and Democrats are tied up with the powers of privilege and racism from beginning to end.

The U.S. State Department maintains the closest relations with the Nazi-style South African government, which, as *The Militant* has reported, just imposed stiff jail sentences on the leading civil-rights fighters of that country. Certainly, the very Democratic Party which follows a racist and even genocidal policy with regard to non-whites around the world cannot support the just demands of the black people of the U.S.A.

Conversely, the same Democratic Party, which holds political power, on the basis of racism, in the South, and which relies on such reactionaries as J. Edgar Hoover, Governor Paul Johnson and ex-CIA boss Dulles to solve the "Mississippi Crisis," can hardly be expected to carry out a foreign policy which reflects the needs and desires of the people of America or of the world.

The only candidate in the coming election who is not tied to the power structure, who has nothing to gain by deals with racists in South Africa and Mississippi, is DeBerry. The opposite is true. As a Negro, native of Mississippi, and a trade unionist, DeBerry is tied to the cause of racial justice and honest civil-rights efforts. In this he is backed by the unequivocal platform of the Socialist Workers Party, which does not compromise with racial injustice, but which is dedicated to its elimination from the face of our society.

R.L.

Togetherhness

Detroit, Mich.

Henry Ford II has announced that for the first time in his life he is planning to vote for a Democratic candidate for President. He will cast his vote for Johnson regardless of whom the Republicans run. Ford thinks Johnson is "terrific." Speaking glowingly of the President, Ford said, "He's doing an excellent job as President. I've heard him say many times that he's for all the people in the country — for business, labor and the general public. I agree with what he says."

Ford was quite active in persuading Eisenhower to run for President and has long voted Republican. It seems he's been buttering his bread on both sides, however, because in recent years he, along with other members of the family, have contributed financially to the Democrats. According to a survey by *Congressional Quarterly*, the three Ford brothers (Henry, Benson and William) gave a total of \$15,500 to the Democrats during the 1962 election campaigns.

Another famous trio of brothers in the Detroit area are, also, Johnson boosters — the three Reuther brothers (Walter, Victor and Roy). Of course, these labor leaders have been long-time Democrats. About a quarter of a century ago these three brothers were leading the United Auto Workers in a long and bitter struggle

against the Ford Motor Company which was then run by old Henry, the grandfather of the present Ford trio. Periodically the UAW and the Ford management have sat across conference tables during contract negotiations. Now the head of the UAW and the head of the Ford Motor Company can sit chummily together at \$100-a-plate Democratic dinners.

To carry this "togetherness" a step further, it has been announced that Charlotte Ford, 23-year-old daughter of Henry II, and John Reuther, 20-year-old son of Victor and nephew of Walter, have both joined the steering committee of the newly organized Young Citizens for Johnson Committee.

When told that the labor leader's son would be her fellow member, Charlotte bubbled, "That's great, I'll be anxious to meet him." Mrs. Reuther thought it was wonderful that her son would be campaigning alongside the boss' daughter.

The thought of all this jolly, warm political togetherness brings a lump to my throat. As a matter of fact, the whole business seems to stick in my throat. I find it hard to swallow this buddy-buddy act. It's about time for labor to leave the boss parties to the bosses and start building their own party. How's about some working-class togetherness?

Evelyn Sell

On "Freedom Democrats"

New York, N. Y.

I am glad to see the analyses of the Mississippi Freedom campaigns in *The Militant*. I agree that any step which serves to expose the Democrats is a good one. But I am disturbed by the statement, repeated in both articles, which grants that sending a Freedom Delegation to the Democratic Convention, as a tactic, "could prove to be a great embarrassment to the Democratic Party."

Could the Freedom Democrats conceivably embarrass the Democrats on their own ground — even with this intention? My feeling is that they could not.

The Democrat leaders would surely invite the FD leaders for coffee and treat them royally; they would hint at possible results all along the way, in the seating of delegates, in the various points of the platform, in the selection of candidates, in the post-election appointments and legislation.

Let's for argument rule out the quite real possibility that the Dems might seat the FD delegation from Mississippi — a gesture to win votes nationally which would not tie their hands after the election.

At what point during the convention would the FD group say, "No, we have waited too long; we

will wait no longer," and then demonstrate, picket, and sit-in, to "expose" the Democrats. Let's assume they could act in unison and not split ten ways over how long they could wait.

As long as they've said that they want to be Democrats, whether or not they've committed themselves beforehand to supporting the decision of the Convention, they will have harmed themselves far more than the Democrats. Anti-Democrats will know they have been suckered; pro-Democrats will say that they broke the faith, that they did not really want to be Democrats. The Democratic convention will not be the first or the greatest betrayal by the Democrats of the hopes of the Negro people.

And will even the waverers learn something from the verbal exchanges of a convention which they cannot be convinced of by the daily facts of life under a Democratic regime?

The thing to do with both Democrats and Republicans is to boycott them and to picket their conventions denouncing their racist role locally and abstentionist role nationally. Ahy equivocation on the need for political independence of the Negro people from the racist parties will bring only continued tragedy and suffering.

J.G.

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE urged Attorney General Brownell to make a thorough investigation of the racist violence at Trumbull Park Homes in Chicago and to prosecute vigorously those responsible for the terrorism.

"NAACP Secretary Walter White and Washington Bureau director Clarence Mitchell took the matter up with Brownell in Washington on July 14 . . .

"For almost a year now, Negroes who moved into the previously all-white federally owned project at Trumbull Park have been under attack from racist and fascist elements. Violence has flared repeatedly and damage has been done to the government-owned property by hoodlums who gather nightly in the environs of the project . . .

" . . . White told the attorney general that this situation is 'only a part of a larger housing problem which has been aggravated by the policy of such government agencies as the Federal Housing Administration, the Veterans Administration, the Public Housing Authority and the slum-clearance program which continue to give federal assistance to housing planned for the exclusive use of one race.'" — July 26, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"BLESSED AND BACKED BY A POWERFUL SECTION OF THE MORE FARSIGHTED WALL STREET interests, Franklin D. Roosevelt was renominated virtually automatically last week as the Democratic Party's 1944 presidential candidate. His platform, which reveals throughout his personal imprint, contains but one tangible plank—a pledge to prosecute to successful conclusion Wall Street's war for world domination, and to impose a conqueror's 'peace by force.'

"Roosevelt, as he himself stated in his nomination acceptance speech, stands 'on the record.' That record shows that Roosevelt in his foreign policy has consistently advanced Wall Street's fundamental program of world domination. Under his regime at home, Big Business, through its control of the war production program, has immeasurably strengthened its monopoly grip on America's productive facilities and resources. It has piled up unprecedented war profits and thrust its hands into a grab-bag containing billions worth of government-financed plants and land developments. It has fastened such government shackles on labor as compulsory arbitration, wage freezing, forced labor decrees, anti-strike legislation, extortionate taxes.

"While Big Business takes due account of past favors, it is never guided by considerations of gratitude. The plutocrats demanded additional guarantees for the future. They secured them . . ."—July 29, 1944.

It Was Reported in the Press

If You're Black — Whack! — The N. Y. *World-Telegram* reported that a flying squad of policemen caught up with a Negro man they believed to be a part of a "gang of rioters" they were chasing. "They pounced on him, pummeled him, whacked him with a nightstick and threw him into a patrol car." Then they discovered he was a plainclothes patrolman on special duty in Harlem.

Brainwashers — Jacob Fuchsberg, spokesman for an organization of claims attorneys, charged that segments of the insurance industry are waging a "brainwashing campaign" designed to cut down the size of awards to plaintiffs in personal injury suits. He said insurance companies are attributing hikes in premium rates to large damage awards by juries in accident cases. "If all the verdicts in the country were doubled," he said, "the increased cost to each normal-limit policy holder would be about 25 cents."

Patriotic Lies — A recently declassified Defense Department report will cause concern to those who hope for a lasting agreement in the field of arms reduction while preserving military secrets. According to *Newsday*, the document raised the possibility that American officials could lie and avoid detection by a lie detector if the agreement made called for lie tests. "A really patriotic official could tell lies for his country, about underground nuclear tests and weapons development without any emotional upset."

You Just Can't Win Dep't — Almost the only redeeming features of summer life for youngsters in New York's ghettos has been the fire hydrants, which afforded an inexpensive substitute for the sea-

shore or a pool. But the July 9 *New York Post* reports that this, like all good things under capitalism, is fast coming to an end. The Water Commission is now installing "hydrant harnesses . . . designed to prevent unlawful opening of the fire-fighting faucets."

Advertisers Retreat—Stan Freberg's religious commercials will not be heard on radio station WNEW. "I am not opposed to religious jingles," remarked the general manager of the New York radio station, "but I'm not sure our audience will find them compatible with our regular music programming." The commercials have a modern, jazzy beat and a chorus that sings, "Doesn't it get a little lonely out on that limb, without Him?"

Weapons Progress—One problem U.S. imperialism faces in propping up puppet regimes on the edge of its shrinking sphere of influence consists in bringing force to bear quickly. A new proposal, designed to overcome this difficulty, calls for an "intercontinental ballistic troop transport capable of firing a battalion of 1,200 marines to any trouble spot on earth in 45 minutes." According to the *UPI* dispatch, its authors say it "could be operational by 1975." By that time all "trouble spots" may be within walking distance.

Suggestion From Dulles—Apparently with a straight face, former CIA head Allen Dulles suggested that as a safety measure civil-rights workers in Mississippi should keep the state or local police notified at all times. Why not eliminate the middle man and notify the Klan directly?

Think You're Mixed Up—Rev. J. A. Bogles, author of a book on the John Birch Society, thinks the Birchers are touching on a real problem but are extremist in their attitude toward it. He advises: "It is sobering to remind ourselves, and to remind even the Birchers, that, if we do not defend freedom and rationality as the norms of political conflict, we ought not to be surprised to find ourselves caught in a totalitarianism not only from the left or from the right, but perhaps even from the center."

God's Foreign Policy—W. R. White, president emeritus of Baylor University in Texas, discloses: "God is very much on the side of peace. That is, He is for those conditions that make for peace. He is not for peace at any price."

Blood Brothers—Drew Pearson confided in his syndicated column: "President Johnson and Gov. Paul Johnson of Mississippi don't like to admit it but they get along well together."

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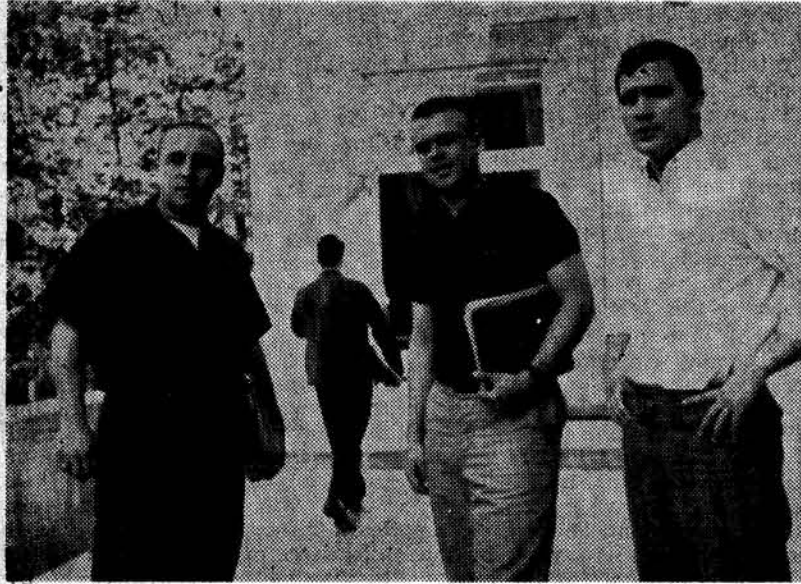
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Thought for the Week

GM's already fabulous profits have climbed higher and higher to a new record every year. No other industrial corporation in the history of the entire world ever made as much money. Last year, GM's profits before taxes came to \$2.4 billion. That's a profit for GM of \$106.35 every second in the entire year. It's a profit of \$383,000 every hour of the year. Furthermore, GM in 1963 gave its stockholders a special dividend (\$2 a share) equal to 73 cents an hour worked by every GM worker in the U.S. during the year.—UAW Vice President Leonard Woodcock.

Prosecution Files Appeal In Indiana "Sedition" Case



INDIANA "SUBVERSION" DEFENDANTS. Ralph Levitt (l.), James Bingham (c.), and Tom Morgan, officers of the Young Socialist Alliance at Indiana University, whose victory in lower court is being appealed by witch-hunting prosecutor.

By George Saunders

The Indiana "Sedition" Case will definitely be carried to the Indiana supreme court. This became clear July 17, when Prosecutor Thomas A. Hoadley filed his appeal brief within the time set by law.

Hoadley is the witch-hunter responsible for the indictment on May 1, 1963, of Ralph Levitt, James Bingham and Tom Morgan — officers of the Young Socialist Alliance at Indiana University. The three students were charged, under a McCarthy-era state sedition law, with having assembled for the purpose of advocating the violent overthrow of both the federal and Indiana state governments.

This was the first time in U.S. history that students had been charged with sedition in connection with campus activities. One of the main charges was that they had sponsored a campus meeting at which a young Negro socialist

spoke on civil rights. Thanks to a nation-wide defense — the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students — and the support of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, whose chief counsel, Leonard Boudin, drew up the constitutional defense brief, the prosecution was defeated. The local judge threw out the indictments March 20 on the grounds that the thought-control law was unconstitutional. Similar laws have been ruled unconstitutional in other states.

The Indiana press reports that Hoadley will petition for an early hearing this fall. This should alert all civil libertarians and CABS supporters to keep the public aware of this precedent-setting case. Inquiries and contributions to the students' defense may be sent to CABS, P.O. Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, N. Y., 10003.

San Francisco Labor Council Discusses Union for Jobless

By Gordon Bailey

SAN FRANCISCO — Recollections of the Depression of the 1930s were evoked recently as the Central Labor Council here debated a proposal to charter special locals of the unemployed. During the debate, 200 jobless workers and their friends underlined the issue with a picketline outside.

The call for an AFL-CIO sponsored unemployed organization came from the Labor Committee for Full Employment, formed last fall by leaders from the Longshoremen and other independent unions, some leaders of building-trades locals, and individuals.

Jack Waggoner, a long-time leader of San Francisco's pile drivers, now retired, presented the case for the unemployed. He told the Council there were 130,000 jobless in the city officially but that these figures did not include the many who cannot draw unemployment compensation. This number would grow, not diminish, he declared, since nationally automation was wiping out 40,000 jobs a week.

Waggoner said the unemployed needed their own organization because workers with jobs were not sufficiently concerned with their unemployed brothers. But the unemployed should be affiliated to labor, not only to benefit from its strength but to ensure that the jobless are allies of the unionists and not their enemies.

Other delegates supported the

idea of unemployed locals. One recalled how militant action by unemployed groups in the 1930s had won WPA and other relief measures. Another declared the goals of an unemployed organization would aid all labor. A delegate from the Typographers told how some desperate, unemployed printers were scabbing. A Welfare Workers Union delegate said that an indigent worker in San Francisco gets only \$1 a day for food.

But the CLS leaders did not concur. Secretary G. W. Johns claimed unemployed locals would constitute dual unions since unemployed workers already belonged to the unions of their trades and industries. He did not explain how this was so for jobless youth and Negroes barred from many unions. Johns also argued that political pressure by an unemployed movement would constitute a form of dual unionism to the AFL-CIO's political education (COPE) committees. Rather than try new steps to deal with unemployment, Johns declared he was satisfied with the AFL-CIO's progress toward a shorter work week.

No one opposed the shorter work week, but considering labor's slowness in moving towards it, it will make no foreseeable dent in the number of jobless.

The motion lost by 76 to 25. But many listeners learned the economic facts of life for 1964.

African Students Charge NY Cops Attacked Them

NEW YORK—In the course of a single week there were two complaints of brutality against this city's cops by visiting African students. The first involved Mr. Douglas Magua, Mr. Kamau and Mr. Njuhigu, students from Kenya. On June 30, while on their way to get a cup of coffee at Broadway and 110th St., Magua was jostled by a white man in civilian clothes who also called him "nigger."

The three students followed the jostler and his two companions (all of whom turned out to be off-duty policemen) into the restaurant to demand an apology. Instead they got more insults and abuse and Njuhigu was arrested by the off-duty cops.

At the 126th St. police station, Njuhigu was given further instruction in the American way of life. He was beaten and told, "whenever you see a white skin, you say, 'Sir.'"

Kenya's ambassador to the United Nations, Buridi Nabwera, made the incident known at a press conference. He even produced the victim's blood-stained shirt as evidence. As for the police counter-claim that the Kenyan had injured them, he challenged the police to exhibit their alleged injuries.

The second incident, on July 5, involved two students from Uganda, Mr. Kudda and Mr. Lule, who are roommates. Allegedly to see Kudda's license two cops went with them to their apartment. Lule objected that since Kudda was a part-time UN employee he enjoyed diplomatic immunity and did not have to show his license to city police. Thereupon the cops beat them up. Both required medical treatment as a result. As is customary, the cops claimed the Africans had attacked them and they had beat them only in self-defense.

How Henry Ford II "Divides" His Political Loyalties in 1964

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT — Henry Ford II, who has already declared his support for Democrat Lyndon Johnson, has now announced that he will back incumbent Republican Gov. George Romney for another term.

"I'm still an independent," Ford explained, "but after 14 years of union rule and domination of the governor's mansion, I think we should have a Republican in the Statehouse." According to Ford, former Democratic governors John Swainson and G. Mennen Williams were too "hooked up" with the United Auto Workers.

When he learned of Ford's statements, Ken Bannon, UAW Ford director, said, "It is interesting to know that Mr. Ford has put himself in the position of having one foot in Gov. Romney's camp in Lansing and the other foot in President Johnson's camp in Washington."

The Ford political acrobatics prove once again that both the Democratic and Republican parties are the instruments of the bosses. Ford finds no difficulty in crossing party lines because he knows his capitalist interests will be well protected by both a Democratic chief of the national government and a Republican chief of the state government.

But what about the political acrobatics of the UAW leaders — who have one foot in the ranks of the auto workers and the other foot in the Democratic Party machine?

The benefits won by the unions on the picket lines and at the

St. Louis Ghetto Explodes In Fury Against Brutal Cops

A recent anti-police outburst in the St. Louis ghetto typifies the explosive situation in cities across the country. On the evening of July 6, St. Louis cops used police dogs and gas grenades to disperse a shouting, missile-throwing crowd of some 400 Negroes.

According to police, one officer had answered a call to assist a heart patient, Mrs. Naomi Murphy, whose sons were fighting. Entering the Murphy home, the cop tried to separate them and, he claimed, the two boys turned on him. He said he quickly left to radio for help.

When the cops tried to re-enter the Murphy home, they met resistance. According to the St. Louis *Post Dispatch*, Mrs. Murphy "tried to seize their night sticks." According to the *Globe-Democrat*, "she began cursing and fighting police after the officers were forced to use night sticks to subdue her sons."

Embattled Cops

Additional officers, some with dogs, were then rushed to the assistance of the embattled cops. Anti-police sentiment must have been smoldering in the neighborhood for some time, for occupants of houses in the area joined the crowd that was trying to drive the police away.

Cops later claimed that more than a dozen of them had been injured by the stones and other objects thrown by the demonstrators, and that two cops had been knocked out by flying bricks.

After about an hour some 35 cops succeeded in dispersing the crowd with gas grenades and dogs. Mrs. Murphy was among the eight youths and four adults arrested.

A part of the crowd followed the prisoners and the cops to the stationhouse on Lucas Ave, and made their opinion of the police and the arrests known in no uncertain terms.

The demonstration at the stationhouse stopped shortly before midnight and was replaced by a number of CORE pickets carrying signs denouncing police brutality.

'Throw Wallace To Lions,' Shout Toronto Pickets

TORONTO—Thousands of Canadians demonstrated their solidarity with the U.S. Negro Freedom Struggle on the evening of July 8 and again in the forenoon of July 9. On each occasion massive picket lines protested the presence of Alabama's racist Governor George Wallace as guest speaker at the Lions' international convention.

As the convention opened on the evening of July 8, a picket line numbering almost a thousand whites, with a sprinkling of Negroes, and a very high proportion of youths, circled Maple Leaf Gardens, home of the famous Maple Leaf hockey team, in the heart of downtown Toronto. Delegates to the convention had to run the gauntlet of pickets who sang "We Shall Overcome" and carried placards reading: "Throw Wallace to the Lions," "Segregation — Democracy's Enemy," "We Need to Extend Civil Rights in Canada Too." Hundreds of sympathizers of the pickets lined the other sides of the streets where the police maintained a horse-mounted squad in reserve.

Support by Labor

These crowds had responded to an appeal issued by 18 various organizations and the Toronto and District Labor Council which urged city authorities to deny Wallace the usual civic reception. At the head of the picket line, as it expanded to take in the whole city block, were Rabbi Feinberg, a prominent spokesman of the anti-nuclear movement, and David Lewis, a vice president of Canadian labor's New Democratic Party.

Spontaneously, and simultaneously with the downtown demonstration, two others took place. A group of demonstrators appeared at Toronto's international airport to meet Wallace as he landed in his private plane emblazoned with the Stars and Stripes and the flag of the Confederacy, accompanied by body guards and a squad of heavily armed state troopers. Another group of demonstrators met him as he arrived at the swank Royal York Hotel where he was flanked by a busload of RCMPers (federal police) and quickly whisked up to his suite.

While many thought that the next day's forenoon demonstration, called by the union movement during working hours, would be anti-climactic, almost another thousand people turned up to demonstrate their hostility to Wallace and the racism he represents.

These massive protests sharply cut across all the hoopla and shenanigans of the 35,000 Lions who jammed all the hotels and night clubs and tied up city traffic with their parading. Governor Wallace's speech, which followed formal welcomes from the Toronto and Metro mayors and the provincial premier, was restrained.

The following evening, as the visitors prepared to wind up their festivities and choose between a Puerto Rican millionaire and a Texas tycoon as Lions president, the members of the Toronto typographical workers union struck all three daily newspapers in a dispute with the owners over who should control the introduction of new processes.



Gov. George Romney

bargaining tables are erased or watered down by the laws passed by Democratic politicians. Union rights are undermined by the judges appointed by the Democratic officials. Negro unionists fighting against racism are conned into voting for the party of the worst racists in the country! Goldwater is mild compared with the Eastlands, Wallaces, and countless Southern sheriffs elected on the Democratic Party ticket.

Ford can support both Democrats and Republicans and not betray his own interests. When the union movement supports Democrats, however, it betrays the interests of every single rank-and-file member. Unionists who wouldn't dream of scabbing on a strike are actually political scabs every time they vote for a representative of the boss parties. Don't be a political scab — vote socialist in 1964!