

THE MILITANT

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Nat'l Parley Called Against Vietnam War

By Fred Halstead

JULY 6 — An important conference of persons active in the anti-Vietnam war movement across the country is expected for the weekend of August 8 in Washington, D.C. The gathering will come in the midst of a variety of protest activities in the capital on the anniversaries of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, August 6 and 9. The gathering will be non-exclusive — open to all interested individuals. Participants in local antiwar, civil rights and community action groups through the country are invited.

The conference was suggested in a call for a "Congress of Unrepresented People to Declare Peace in Vietnam," signed by some 30 individuals active in the more militant antiwar movement. Included are veterans of important teach-in, civil rights and student activities such as Staughton Lynd, Bob Parris, Dave Dellinger and Carl Oglesby. The call states:

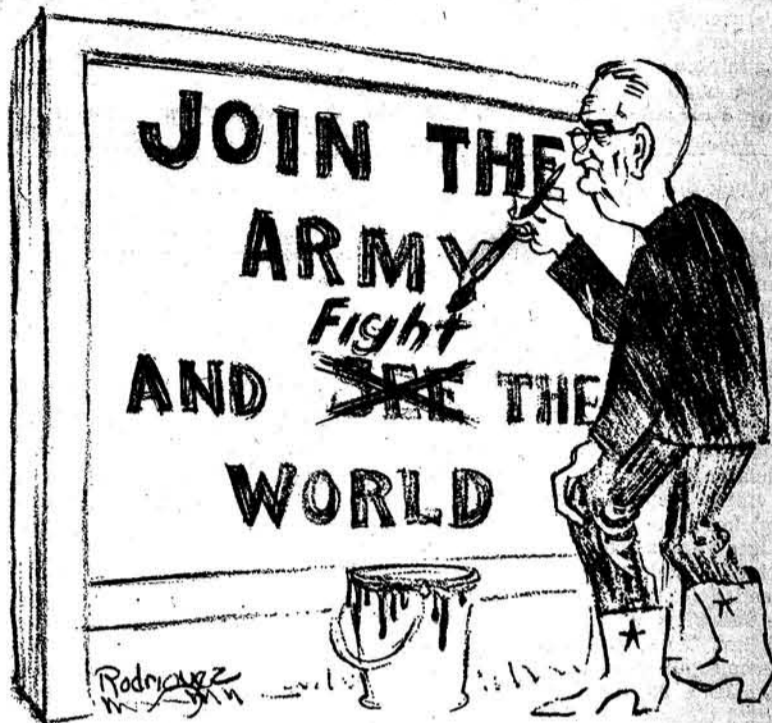
"In Mississippi and in Washington the few make decisions for the many. Mississippi Negroes are denied the vote; all Americans are denied influence over the terrible war carried on in our name in Vietnam. We must make it plain to the administration and to the world that we will not be accomplices to a war we did not declare, that we intend to have a government which truly represents us even if we have to create it for ourselves."

The call proposes that, following the Hiroshima day protest activities in the capital (already organized by the traditional peace groups), a "day of workshops" be held. "Here," says the call, "we will seek to break down the barriers between movements. A variety of long-term plans may emerge from these discussions. Also, here people can exchange ideas for ending the war."

Sit-In Proposed

In addition, the call proposes that on August 9, Nagasaki day, those who care to do so might join a march and sit in at the House of Representatives to demonstrate it is not really representing the people on the question of Vietnam. The call continues:

"To implement this plan, we suggest that one focus for community organization between now and August 6 be discussion of what the government should do in Vietnam. The results of these



The Johnson Doctrine

discussions could be embodied in declarations of peace which representatives could bring to Washington."

The call is the result of a meeting in Washington June 20 organized by the Washington Action Project, WAP is a summer-long program of opposition to the Vietnam war which is being coordinated by Eric Weinberger and Bob Parris. Weinberger is with the Committee for Nonviolent Action and Bob Parris with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, but their WAP activities are as individuals.

In addition to demonstrations, the WAP program includes educational workshops to discuss the interrelation between the issues of peace, civil rights and poverty. People directly concerned and suffering from these problems are urged to attend the workshops.

The August 6 to 9 events in Washington are not expected to involve tens of thousands of people, as did recent mass demonstrations against the government's Vietnam policies. But this national gathering together of activists in the movement for serious discussion is significant and could result in realistic plans for a more ambitious "Congress of Unrepresent-

ed People" in the near future. Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, urged support to the gathering and said he would attend.

Preparations for the August 8 weekend gathering are being coordinated in Washington and correspondence on it may be addressed to Eric Weinberger or Bob Parris, 107 Rhode Island N.W., Washington, D.C.

A committee established by the Organization of American States has admitted the discovery of at least 18 bodies buried at a spot just north of Santo Domingo where farmers last month reported seeing troops of the U.S.-backed Imbert junta machine-gun some 50 prisoners — sympathizers of the constitutional revolution. The announcement was made July 4 by Daniel Schweitzer of Chile, one of three criminologists investigating the complaint. Still unknown is the fate of thousands arrested by the junta.

Malcolm X's Murder And the N.Y. Police

By George Breitman

DETROIT, July 4 — Some mystifying questions about the assassination of Malcolm X arise if you carefully read the New York newspaper reports printed right after the assassination, as I have just done. Some of them concern the role of the police.

I should explain, at the beginning, that I have no fixed theory about the killing. I don't know if agents of the Black Muslims did it; or if agents of white racists did it; or if agents of the government of the police did it; or if agents of a combination of these forces, who all hated Malcolm, did it. I am, at this point, only asking some questions provoked by studying different editions of the six New York daily papers after the killing.

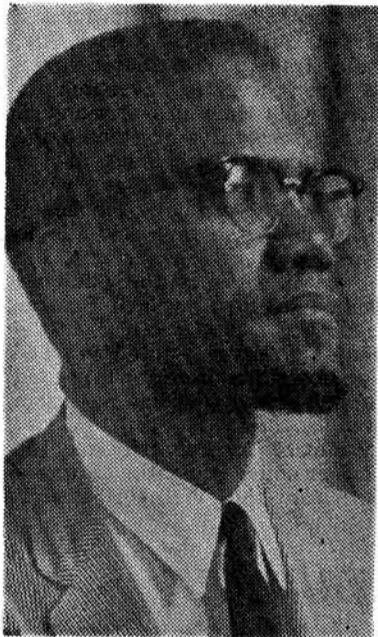
Certain things seem agreed upon by everybody:

The Organization of Afro-American Unity had scheduled a rally on Sunday afternoon, Feb. 21, at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem. This was one week after Malcolm's home was fire-bombed and he and his family narrowly escaped injury or death. People entering the rally were not searched. On the other hand, they were all scrutinized by OAAU aides as they entered the hall.

Malcolm had just begun to speak when two men began a scuffle deliberately designed to distract the attention of Malcolm's guards. Three men rushed toward Malcolm, opening fire and wounding him mortally; they then ran out of the ballroom, pursued by several of Malcolm's supporters.

Police said that one of the three, identified later as Talmadge Hayer, 22, of Paterson, N.J., had received a bullet in the leg by the time he got to the exit of the building. The police also alleged that he had been wounded by Reuben Francis, a Malcolm guard.

Hayer was seized outside the building by the people pursuing him. So was another man. The people began to beat and kick



Malcolm X

Hayer and the second man. Police arrived and rescued the two being beaten, taking them away from the crowd.

The third man got away. He got away because the crowd did not catch him. Hayer and the second man also would have got away if the crowd hadn't caught and held them until the police showed up.

Now let us turn to the New York Herald Tribune dated Monday, Feb. 22. This is a morning paper, which means that the first edition of the paper dated Monday actually appeared Sunday evening, a few hours after the killing. The top headline in the first (city) edition reads: "Malcolm X Slain by Gunmen as 400 in Ballroom Watch." The subhead, over the lead article by Jimmy Breslin, reads: "Police Rescue Two Suspects."

Breslin's story in this edition reports that Hayer was "taken to

(Continued on Page 3)

Statement of the Fourth International

Defend Algerian Revolution!

[(World Outlook) — The following declaration was issued by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International June 23.]

The military coup d'état in Algeria June 19 ended the alliance between the wing of the Front de Libération Nationale led by Ben Bella, which was oriented toward socialism, linking itself to the masses through "workers' self-management," and the "frontier army" headed by Houari Boumedienne, which favored an Islamic "Arab socialism." It was this alliance that enabled the Ben Bella-Boumedienne combination to topple the regime of the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic in the summer of 1962. The coup d'état constitutes a heavy blow against the left wing of the Algerian revolution and places in danger the main conquest of the revolution up to now — workers' self-management of the nationalized enterprises.

The support immediately accorded to the new regime by the uléma [Muslim theologians], the absence of any support for the



Ahmed Ben Bella

coup d'état from the unions or the youth of the FLN, the massive arrests of left-wing militants, the first popular demonstrations against the coup d'état and in favor of Ben Bella, all confirm this estimate of the basic meaning of this grave development.

On the other hand it would be a serious error to view Boumedienne's military dictatorship as the direct instrument of a social counterrevolution, as the direct instrument of bourgeois or neo-colonialist forces. Subjectively, Boumedienne and the army cadre favor continuing and even expanding the nationalized sector of the economy — but along the lines of Nasser's Egypt. Objectively the new regime is Bonapartist and under the given relationship of class forces could not restore the nationalized sectors to capitalist ownership for quite a time. To consolidate his power, Boumedienne is capable of taking some steps in the direction of the second

agrarian reform promised by Ben Bella although this would run against the wishes of the Algerian landowners to be seen behind the Muslim clerical faction for whom Boumedienne has become a spokesman. But due to his isolation from the masses, Boumedienne, even more than Ben Bella, will find himself obliged to keep in the good graces of French imperialism.

The ease with which Ben Bella was removed from power at the very moment when his prestige appeared to be the highest and when he seemed to have all the strings of government in his own hands shows the correctness of the criticisms which the revolutionary Marxists offered while supporting Ben Bella against the right-wing forces that sought to block, slow down and derail the Algerian revolution.

The reasons for the easy victory of the coup d'état are quite clear. There was no genuine mass

party of the vanguard capable of mobilizing the most politically conscious sector of toiling population of the towns and countryside on a nationwide scale. The second agrarian reform was interminably postponed, thus disappointing the most disinherited layers of the countryside, to whom the revolution has not yet brought any fundamental change in their miserable standard of living nor any perspective of relieving it in the immediate future. No solution was worked out to the bitter problem of unemployment, thus contributing to a grave rise in apathy and the progressive demobilization of the masses, who demonstrated their support for a revolutionary socialist orientation by the hundreds of thousands in March and May 1963. The decision of the FLN congress to construct a genuine popular militia, thus arming the workers and poor peasants, was never carried out. In short a mili-

(Continued on Page 2)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

A week-old strike by Local 107, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, against more than 500 Philadelphia, Pa., trucking and freight handling companies, ended on June 26 — but not before the 12,000-member Local had succeeded in halting virtually all major truck deliveries in the city.

The incident that triggered the general truckers strike occurred on June 11, when four union platform workers refused to load bulky cartons on a truck at the Roadway terminal. The men charged that a foot-high pile of aluminum bars blocked their path, and that stepping over them would be a safety hazard.

Despite support from Local 107 officials, the men were fired and the union responded by setting up a picket line which halted all loading operations at Roadway. Active rank-and-file support spread quickly throughout the entire industry, although the strike had not been sanctioned by the international union.

On June 18, a court injunction banned picketing at Roadway. But two days after the injunction was issued, over 2,000 rank and file Local 107 drivers responded to the

court's action by voting overwhelmingly to go on a trucking "holiday" at a membership meeting that lasted only 20 minutes. The shortness of the meeting and the defiance of the drivers revealed a smoldering rank-and-file discontent with working conditions that needed only a simple incident to be brought to a head. This incident was provided by Roadway bosses when they fired the four platform workers over a normally minor grievance.

During the course of the strike there were numerous examples of rank-and-file solidarity. One news account reported how a tractor-trailer driver was flagged down by a group of men. "After talking with the men," said the report, "the driver uncoupled the trailer and drove off in the tractor, leaving the trailer partially blocking the street in front of the Carolina Freight Carriers Corp." In general, the strike was so effective that after a few days several supermarket chains reported they had been hurt "tremendously" or actually "crippled."

In addition to court orders enjoining the strike, however, other pro-company strikebreaking forces were at work — especially the cops. On June 20, Roadway terminal succeeded in moving some 50 strike-bound trucks, operated by scab drivers. According to reports, 50 sheriff's deputies were on hand to guard the scabs before they left the terminal, and they were escorted out of the area by an additional 50 uniformed highway patrolmen. Other cops stood guard at overpasses and intersections passed by the scab convoy.

Arrests

Cops were also engaging in large-scale arrests. On June 22 alone, some 40 or 50 men were reported arrested for allegedly interfering with traffic or for "vandalism" to trucks.

On June 25, Judge Leo Weincott ruled that Local 107's secretary-treasurer, Michael Hession, and 15 other union leaders were in contempt of court for having disobeyed a June 21 injunction obtained by three company groups. It charged that the strike violated the 1963 national trucking contract negotiated by Teamster president James Hoffa.

Other legal actions against Local 107 included a damage suit for \$1.5 million filed in U.S. District Court by Food Employers Labor Relations, Inc.

Local union leaders responded to these legal attacks by urging rank-and-file strikers to return to work. At a membership meeting June 26, attended by some 7,000 strikers, Hession said: "As head of your union I declare this holiday over. Everyone go back to work." There was no vote taken on this request, but the strikers complied and the strike was formally over.

One feature of the strike was that it tested for the first time, and on a large scale, the inadequacies of the grievance procedure in the 1963 national trucking agreement. One provision in the agreement can be interpreted so that a worker who has been fired cannot get a job in the industry until his grievance has been processed — which could take months.

More important, however, was the revelation of the widespread discontent of Philadelphia's truck drivers with deteriorating working conditions and their willingness to resort to mass rank-and-file action to combat the companies. This spirit of militancy is the Local's best safeguard against company efforts to victimize leaders of the recent strike and against their continuing assault on union working conditions.

—Tom Leonard

AT A UNION FORUM

Workers Express Antiwar Feelings

By Farrell Dobbs

Criticism of the Johnson administration's foreign policies has begun to crop up in the ranks of the AFL-CIO. The trend found expression at a June 22 forum in New York City where the Joint Board of the Fur, Leather and Machine Workers Unions sponsored a debate on "Vietnam and Peace in Southeast Asia."

Robert Cleveland of the State Department defended the policies of the administration, and Professor Robert S. Browne of Fairleigh Dickinson University criticized the Johnson line. Accounts of the affair given by members of the audience, and their observations about changes from earlier views expressed among union members, indicate a significant turn in rank-and-file sentiment on foreign policy questions.

Only a few weeks ago, it was noted, Johnson's Vietnam policy received major support in the ranks of the union. There were even instances of workers speaking out in favor of dropping A-bombs to "get the war over with." Johnson's demagogic speech calling for "unconditional negotiations" on what amounted to ultimatumistic U.S. terms was taken as good coin. The idea of the U.S. getting out of Vietnam and letting

the Vietnamese settle their own affairs in their own way found little sympathy in the union.

Also to be noted was a report that had been going the rounds in the union about a speech by Vice President Humphrey at an AFL-CIO conference on political action in Washington. Humphrey was said to have spoken sympathetically about trade union demands such as repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. But there was a hook in his political bait. In return for "favors" to labor, the Vice President made clear that the administration would expect to get union support of its foreign policies. As is well known, the whole trade union bureaucracy has been working overtime to deliver what Humphrey demanded.

When seen in contrast with the views that predominated in the union a short time ago and when considered in terms of the heavy pressures on the rank and file to support Johnson on Vietnam, the full significance of the audience reaction to the Cleveland-Browne debate becomes more clear. In the debate the opposing speakers faced an interested audience that packed the hall, leaving standing room only.

Professor Browne criticized the Johnson policy of continued intervention in the Vietnamese civil

war and called for U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. Judging from the response to his speech, many in the audience favored the professor's views as against those presented by the State Department spokesman. Sympathy was similarly manifested when Professor Browne took the occasion to publicly protest his exclusion from a recent radio debate on the ground that his position was "too extreme."

After the opening presentations written questions from the audience were allowed, and the strong wording of various queries passed up to the speakers reflected considerable disagreement with Johnson's policy on Vietnam. At one point in the question period the State Department spokesman remarked that some of those present seemed to feel that he was lying to them. A reply came from the audience, "You are." The State Department man asked that the person who had made the remark stand up, and he appeared taken aback when a young worker readily complied.

It seemed from the tenor of the questions that the military occupation of Santo Domingo has opened many eyes to the aggressive character of U.S. foreign policy and that the Dominican events have caused people to do some rethinking about the situation in Vietnam.

Since the debate, advocates of U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam have found it easier than ever before to discuss the subject with other trade unionists.

... Algerian Revolution

(Continued from Page 1)

tary coup d'état, put into motion in the dead of night, was able to take over in a few hours because the Algerian revolution had not been carried through to the end, to the institution of a workers state based on committees of workers and poor peasants exercising the real power.

The displacement of Ben Bella by right-wing forces is the bitter price which the Algerian left wing must pay for a policy of continual compromise at the top, which for more than a year was substituted for mobilizing the masses and deepening the revolution. The failure to mobilize the masses, to organize a mass vanguard party, to extend the revolution, left the country without a powerful counterweight to the army which was becoming a professional force holding a privileged position in relation to the rest of the population. This opened the way for Boumedienne's coup d'état.

The increasing personal Bonapartism, which Ben Bella substituted for a revolutionary socialist policy, was a big factor in his downfall. While he struck at right-wing forces, he balanced these with blows at the left. The inordinate concentration of personal power reflected the narrowing basis of his rule and therefore his increasing vulnerability. This was masked by his speech-making and his capacity to maneuver with the heads of the rival cliques and factions.

The revolutionists of Algeria and all other countries must draw the indicated lessons. Once again the theory of the permanent revolution has been strikingly confirmed; this time, unfortunately, not in a positive sense as in the case of Cuba, but in a negative way. No conquests in a colonial revolution can be considered to have been consolidated until a workers state has been created, until a revolutionary socialist party has been built, until the workers and poor peasants hold power through their own institutions of proletarian democracy.

The Algerian revolution has just lost a battle. But it is far from having been liquidated. Its roots in a population of some 12 million are too deep, the militants it aroused to political consciousness during 11 years of tumultuous struggle are too numerous, the hopes which it aroused among the masses are too great for the Al-

gerian people to passively accept the installation of a military dictatorship that would begin by eliminating at least part of the conquests of the revolution.

Even in the best of cases, the Boumedienne regime stands on a program of "austerity" and the military direction of self-management, the abolition of any tendency toward the development of popular institutions of rule, the liquidation of what remains of workers' democracy (Ben Bella himself contributed to this), the smothering of spontaneous mass action, the reinforcement in the long run of all the rightist elements in the state apparatus and the economy. Already the political spokesmen of the circles linked to the business world and to imperialism, who were driven out by Ben Bella, are again moving onto the scene. The military Bonapartism of Boumedienne raises the specter of Algeria becoming another Syria or another Congo.

The resistance to the engineers of the coup d'état is beginning to form. It must be organized and extended to all fields — in workers' action in defense of self-management, in political struggle, in armed struggle. A campaign must be opened to save the lives of the leaders of the left and to free them from prison. An underground network must be organized to unleash a mass struggle at the first favorable opening. The military dictatorship must not be permitted to become consolidated.

The Fourth International, which was the first organization to come to the aid of the FLN in the most difficult days of the struggle for freedom, appeals to the workers and poor peasants of Algeria, the Maghreb, of Africa and all countries in the world to defend the Algerian revolution against the new danger. A lasting setback to the Algerian revolution would signify a terrible blow to the Arab and African revolutions.

In this defense of the endangered Algerian revolution, the workers and poor peasants will draw all the lessons of the latest experience. The main lesson is absolutely clear. It is necessary to build a mass revolutionary party that will actually carry out the Algiers Charter, that will lead the socialist revolution forward to victory in the creation of a stable government of the workers and poor peasants in Algeria.

Socialist Scholars Conference To Be Held at Rutgers U.

A Socialist Scholars Conference, initiated by a group of historians at the university, will be held at Rutgers, New Brunswick, N.J., Sept. 11-12. It is intended to provide a scholarly discussion of diverse aspects of socialist thought without partisan purposes.

Among the participants will be Connor Cruise O'Brien, who recently left his post as chancellor of the University of Ghana and will teach at New York University next fall. He will speak at one of four non-simultaneous sessions scheduled for the conference, on "The New Forms of Modern Imperialism." Other notables to speak at a dinner meeting Sept. 11 will be announced.

Prof. Staughton Lynd (Yale) will head the speakers on "The Future of American Socialism." At a panel led by H. H. Wilson (Princeton), papers will be presented by Eleanor Leacock (Brooklyn Polytechnic) on "Working-Class Reality and Its Distortion in Social Science" and by Richard Hamilton (Princeton) on "Middle-Class Authoritarianism." At the fourth session Warren Susman (Rutgers) and Allen Guttman (Amherst) will speak on "Conservatism in American Culture."

Registration fee will be \$5 (students may pay as little as \$1) with additional charges of \$5 for the Sept. 11 dinner and \$2.50 each for daily luncheons (\$15 total for registration and meals). Efforts will be made to provide lodging overnight. Checks (payable to "Socialist Scholars Conference") may be sent to Marvin Gettleman, History Department, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, 333 Jay St., Brooklyn, N.Y. 11201. Information may be obtained from Eugene Genovese, Department of History, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J.

"My rackets are run on strictly American lines and they are going to stay that way." — Al Capone

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

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

CHICAGO

MARXIST THEORY AND THE AMERICAN NEGRO. Three lectures by Evelyn Sell, contributor to *The Militant* and *World Outlook*. Saturday, July 17, 4 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. Sunday, July 18, 11 a.m. 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Young Socialist Summer School.

CLEVELAND

THE HISTORY OF THE NEGRO FREEDOM MOVEMENT: A SERIES OF FOUR LECTURES. 1) Negro Slave Revolts and the Abolitionist Movement. Speaker: Dr. Bernard Mandel. Sunday, July 11, 7:30 p.m. 2) Reconstruction and the Early Civil Rights Movement. Speaker: Dr. Bernard Mandel. Sun., July 18, 7:30 p.m. 3) Nationalist Movements from Marcus Garvey to Malcolm X. Panelists: to be announced. Sun., July 25, 7:30 p.m. 4) The Crisis of Black Leadership. Speaker: Robert Vernon, writer for *The Militant*. Sun., Aug. 1, 7:30 p.m. All to be held at Debs Hall, 5927 Euclid Ave. Ausp. Cleveland Militant Forum.

DETROIT

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN HISTORY: A FIVE-PART SERIES. Lecture II: The Civil War, Reconstruction and Reaction. Speaker: Linda Berking. Fri., July 16, 8 p.m. Lecture III: From WW I to "Freedom Now." Speaker: Lea Bonucchi. Fri., July 23, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

NEGROES WITH GUNS? ARMED SELF DEFENSE VERSUS PASSIVE RESISTANCE. Panelists: Frank Greenwood, author of a play based on the Monroe case; Robert Hall, of the Non-Violent Action Committee; Steve Roberts, of the SWP; a representative of CORE. Fri., July 16, 8:30 p.m. 1702 East Fourth St. (at the 4th St. exit of the Santa Ana Fwy.) Door donation. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

THEODORE EDWARDS presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues., July 20, 6:30 p.m. (repeated Wed., July 21, 9 a.m.) KPFK-FM (90.7 on your dial).

NEW YORK

WITCH HUNT ON THE CAMPUS. Speaker: Jim Bingham, one of the Bloomington defendants. Fri., July 16, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Forum JULY 23. Topic to be announced.

Convention of Students for a Democratic Society

Student Group Projects Further Antiwar Action

By Joel Britton

CHICAGO — The decision to plan another national action against the Vietnam war was made by the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) at their annual convention, attended by 300 young people, in Kewadin, Mich., June 9-13. SDS called the March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam last April.

The SDS convention, and the national council meeting which followed, discussed the connection between the war in Vietnam and movements for social change in this country. They concluded that the war economy and mentality prevent domestic progress in the areas of poverty, civil rights and university reform.

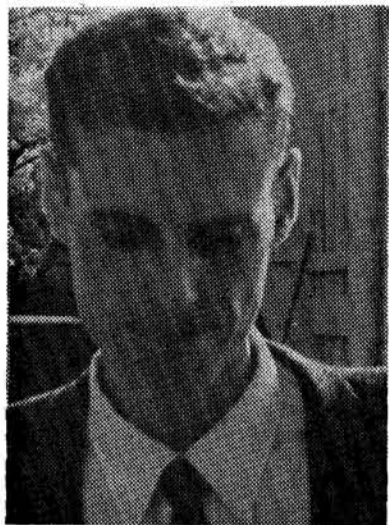
The main discussion of a national "antiwar focus" was on a proposal to advocate that soldiers refuse to fight in Vietnam. It was suggested that if the government chose to prosecute such advocacy under the Espionage Act, the students would use the U.S. government's thesis in its prosecution of the Nazis at the Nuremberg trials in Germany after World War II, as their defense. The Nuremberg precedent referred to holds that the citizen has a higher duty than that to the government, when the government is committing crimes on a mass scale.

Plan Opposed

Despite press reports to the contrary, this plan was not adopted. It had been stated from the beginning of the discussion that a referendum of all SDS members would be necessary before such a drastic plan could be carried out.

The opposition to this plan came from those who didn't want a national antiwar focus for SDS, as well as from those who thought the plan too impractical or dangerous.

Because of the opposition to the plan, other possibilities for SDS-sponsored or supported antiwar activities were discussed briefly in the national council meeting held after the convention. Among the suggestions were another and



PAUL POTTER, outgoing president of SDS.

larger March on Washington, a National Protest Day, a Third Continental Congress, and Hiroshima Day activity. Two international projects were proposed: an international teach-in to be held in Canada; and the establishment of an international tribunal, consisting of prominent intellectuals and scientists, who would evaluate the morality of the war in Vietnam.

All of these suggestions were referred to a subcommittee for further consideration. While the convention and national council meeting decided to focus on the Vietnam war, exactly what projects SDS will undertake next were left open for further discussion.

The convention passed the "anti-red-baiting" amendments to its constitution which were proposed by Clark Kissinger. The main amendment changed the last sentence of the preamble of the constitution, which had read, "It [SDS] feels the urgency to put forth a radical, democratic program counterposed to authoritarian movements both of Communism and the domestic right." The sentence now reads, "It feels the urgency to put forth a radical,

democratic program whose methods embody the democratic vision."

Another amendment struck down a section relating to membership eligibility in SDS, which was red-baiting and exclusionist of Marxists in intent.

There was very little opposition to these amendments. Most of the delegates wanted to state the aims of the group positively and not in terms of what individuals or groups should be excluded. This attitude was an extension of the nonexclusion policy followed in the March on Washington. The opposition to this policy and to the anti-red-baiting amendments was led by Tom Kahn of the League for Industrial Democracy (LID), SDS's parent group.

In a discussion with this reporter after the amendments were passed, Kahn bemoaned the fact that so many SDSers were in favor of the amendments and the policy of nonexclusion. Kahn said SDS is recruiting students who are too far left.

Held Firm

The national council discussed relations with LID and decided not to capitulate to the conservative pressures exerted by this group. These pressures were especially strong during the preparations for the March on Washington, not only because of SDS's nonexclusion policy, but also because of the anti-administration focus of the March.

The Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO, which had been giving money to SDS, cut off its funds to the student group, largely because of the March on Washington. The convention decided to attempt to establish an independent financial base, depending upon a large number of small contributions rather than a few large ones.

Many views were presented during the convention on political strategy. They ranged from reform Democratic Party politics to in-

dependent political action. Two Young Socialist Alliance members were asked to report to the political strategy workshop on their experiences supporting the election campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party and the Freedom Now Party.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenge to the seating of the racist congressmen from Mississippi, the Noel Day campaign, and other forms of electoral activity were reported on. No one line on political strategy was adopted, but only a small

minority favored trying to reform the Democratic Party or working for a "realignment" of the two major parties.

A national council was elected. Carl Ogelsby and Jeff Shero were elected president and vice president, pending a referendum to decide the organizational structure of SDS. Many delegates opposed the concept of national officers and even national structure, preferring regional or local autonomy. Clark Kissinger was appointed national fund raiser by the national council.

Canadian Labor Party Head Hits U.S. Policy in Vietnam

U.S. policy in Vietnam was vigorously attacked in the Canadian House of Commons by T. C. Douglas, leader of the New Democratic Party. The NDP, which was formed several years ago, is a labor party with the official support of Canadian unions.

In the first debate in the Canadian parliament over U.S. aggression in Vietnam, held on May 28, Douglas attacked the Liberal government for its "supine subservience" to the Johnson administration.

The NDP leader warned that "what is now a local war could escalate into a world holocaust which would devastate the greater part of the earth."

Douglas pointed out that the Vietnamese people won their independence in 1945 when the Viet Minh forces drove out the Japanese. "But they were not allowed to enjoy the fruits of their independence very long," he said. He went on to describe how French and British troops with American support had reconquered part of Indochina.

In tracing the history of the struggle of the Vietnamese for independence, Douglas attacked

the role of the U.S. in supporting oppression from 1945 on:

"And when in 1953 the United States could see that the French were no longer going to be able to hold on in Vietnam, they brought in Diem, who was set up in South Vietnam as the head of a government, a government that was dictatorial and repressive, a government which began by abolishing land reform, land reform in a country where 80 percent of the land is owned by absentee landlords, abolished local elections, and jailed without trial not only Communists but thousands of non-Communists who had belonged to democratic political parties up until that time. It is hardly to be wondered then that the National Liberation Front was able to gather to itself a great bulk of the support of the people of South Vietnam in revolt against the dictatorial government of Diem," Douglas explained.

Douglas attacked the U.S. government's contention that it is now intervening at the request of a sovereign power under attack from the outside: "In the first place one questions South Vietnam as being a sovereign power. From the very beginning it has been a puppet government supported militarily and financially by the United States, and to say that the United States was invited in by South Vietnam is like saying that Edgar Bergen was invited to dinner by Charlie McCarthy. The fact of course is that the reason the United States had to intervene is because the puppet government it had set up did not have the support of its own people, and that today two-thirds of Vietnam is occupied by the National Liberation Front who collect the taxes, who run the villages, and who operate the greater part of the country."

Douglas declared that the Canadian government should call for an immediate end to the bombing of North Vietnam.

In answer to a challenge to explain how the Liberal government's position differed from that taken by Harold Wilson, head of the British Labor Party, Douglas admitted that there "is very little difference" and dissociated the NDP from Wilson's policies.

... Questions About the Police and Malcolm X's Murder

(Continued from Page 1)

Bellevue Prison Ward and was sealed off by a dozen policemen. The other suspect was taken to the Wadsworth Avenue precinct, where the city's top policemen immediately converged and began one of the heaviest homicide investigations this city has ever seen."

Next we turn to a later (late city) edition of the same paper for the same day. The top headline is unchanged. But the subhead is different. This time it reads, "Police Rescue One Suspect."

The "second" suspect has dropped not only out of the headline, but out of Breslin's story too. Nothing about his being caught and beaten by the crowd, nothing about his being rescued by the police, nothing about his being taken to the Wadsworth station, nothing about the city's top police converging on that station.

Suspect Vanishes

Not only does he disappear from Breslin's story in the late city edition, but he disappears from the *Herald Tribune* altogether from that date to this.

Perhaps the whole thing never happened? Perhaps Breslin, in the heat of the moment, had in his first story reported a mere rumor as a fact, and, being unable to verify it, decided not to repeat it in later editions?

But there are three morning papers in New York, and in their first editions they all said it happened.

For example, let us examine

the first (city) edition of the *New York Times* for Feb. 22. The subhead is very clear: "Police Hold Two for Questioning."

From the *Times*' city edition, we even learn the name of the cop who captured the "second" man. It is Patrolman Thomas Hoy, who is quoted as saying he had "grabbed a suspect" being chased by some people.

But when we turn to the late city edition of the same *Times*, printed only a few hours later, we find that its subhead too has changed. It now reads: "One Is Held in Killing."

But the story hasn't yet been changed altogether. Patrolman Hoy still remains in the late city story, and so does the "second" man who has dropped out of the subhead. In fact, the story has more about Hoy than it had in the city edition.

This time the *Times* reports: "As I brought him to the front of the ballroom, the crowd began beating me and the suspect," Patrolman Hoy said. He said he put this man — not otherwise identified later for newsmen — into a police car to be taken to the Wadsworth Avenue station."

Then Hoy's captive disappears from the *Times* as completely and as permanently as he did from the *Herald Tribune*, and from all the other daily papers.

But there cannot be any doubt in the mind of anyone reading the accounts I have cited that a second man was captured and taken away by the police.

Who was he?

Why did the press lose interest

in him so suddenly, at a time that it was filling its pages with all kinds of material about the murder, including the silliest trivialities and wildest rumors? Was it because the police "advised" them to?

Why did Patrolman Hoy deem the "second" man to be a suspect? What was he doing at the time Hoy grabbed him?

Why did the crowd deem him to be a suspect? What had they seen him doing before Hoy grabbed him?

Why did the city's "top policemen" surround him with a wall of silence that has not been pierced for 4½ months?

If they decided he was innocent, why didn't they say so publicly? That is the usual practice.

Why didn't they at least announce his name? That is also usually done.

Who Was He?

What did the "second" man know about the murder plot and the identity of the killers?

It is extremely difficult to figure out why the police (and the press) behaved in this way. It leads to another question:

Could the "second" man have been a police agent?

Fantastic? Only if you don't know anything about the police, FBI, CIA, etc.

It is standard procedure for them to infiltrate radical, black nationalist and just militant organizations. Sometimes, as the recent "Statue of Liberty" case showed, these police agents worm their way into positions where they can carry out provocations

or cause other damage, in addition to merely "reporting" what happens inside the organizations infiltrated.

We do not have to speculate about whether or not the police infiltrated the Organization of Afro-American Unity and whether or not such police agents were present at the Audubon Ballroom at the time of the assassination. The answer is yes, without any speculation.

A "high police official" said, as reported in the *Herald Tribune* Feb. 23, that "several" members of the highly secretive Bureau of Special Services (BOSS) were present in the audience at the time of the killing. (BOSS is the police agency involved in the Statue of Liberty provocation.) After talking to this high police official, *Herald Tribune* staff member Milton Lewis wrote:

"It is no secret that BOSS police — who never wear uniforms — have credentials to cover almost any situation, so that if they were required to have a card or emblem of the Black Nationalist sect it is a safe bet that they had them."

So perhaps the "second" man was a police agent, and perhaps the strange behavior of the top police results from their desire to protect one of their own "several" men present at the Audubon.

But in that case, the question must be asked again, and such questions will keep on being asked until the whole story is told: Why was the crowd convinced that the "second" man was one of the killers?

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345

Monday, July 12, 1965

Jesse Gray Joins Democratic Party Swamp

Jesse Gray, Harlem rent-strike leader, has announced that he is entering the Democratic Party primaries, seeking that party's nomination for mayor of New York City.

Gray sometimes speaks of himself as a revolutionary and declares that the "problem won't be solved until we change the system." Yet he justifies his entering the Democratic Party, instead of running as an independent against both the Democrats and Republicans, as a superclever tactic. He says: "The Democratic Party provides the best platform on which black people can win political power. At this moment there is so much confusion in the Democratic Party; we would be in error not to take advantage of it."

But telling people to register Democrat and to vote Democrat as Gray is doing is not taking advantage of any situation — it is playing right into the hands of the Democratic Party bosses who want to keep the people tied to the Democratic Party. You don't "take advantage" of the political confusion in the Democratic Party or any capitalist party by telling black people and other workers to continue supporting the capitalist parties. That way you only help the capitalist politicians get through a period of confusion without workers rejecting them and organizing against them.

If there is one thing the ruling class fears much more than it fears revolutionary phrases, it is that the working people, black and white, will break with the big-business political parties, and form a party or parties of their own. They dread the prospect that the workers will break out of the straitjacket of the two-party system.

Gray says he is against the racism and war of this system. He says of his Democratic opponents, "They're all political hacks out to save this corrupt system. They have no interest in the needs of the black and Puerto Rican people in the ghetto." But this is true not only of individuals, but of the Democratic Party, which is a party of, by and for the system.

The way to fight war and racism, and to solve the other problems of the black people and the workers, is by breaking with the Democratic Party, by fighting to smash the Democratic Party and all other capitalist parties, by winning the masses of the people away from capitalist parties, and by creating a new mass party capable of defeating the capitalist parties and taking power in order to change the system.

Gray belongs to an organization called the Federation for Independent Political Action, but there is nothing independent about running in the inner-Democratic Party contests for nomination.

Radicals of various sorts have been doing that for 30 years — to no avail. The only result has been to keep the people they influence drugged with the delusion that the Democratic Party can be "used." The truth is that the radicals who set out to "use" the Democrats invariably have ended up being used themselves — to preserve the two-party system. That's what happened to the CIO leaders, to the Socialist Party and Communist Party leaders, all of whom were going to "take advantage" of the Democratic Party.

To support a policy that has failed over and over again, Gray says, "At this point I think it would be a mistake to run as an independent on a third party ticket . . . We must rid ourselves of the notion that we operate as 'puritans.' . . . I don't think you can worry about morals in a revolution."

But his arguments are beside the point. The reasons for not entering the Democratic Party, the reasons for breaking with both capitalist parties, are neither puritanical, purist or moralistic. They are *political*. It is politically wrong, politically confusing, politically harmful, politically suicidal, for any radical or would-be radical to teach the masses that they should stay in the same parties as their oppressors and exploiters, and that they should not break with such parties and run candidates of their own on an *independent* basis wherever possible.

Gray picks up Malcolm X's slogan, "freedom by any means necessary," when he says he thinks it is "correct to utilize whatever machinery is available to further the struggle for black freedom by any means necessary." This is Gray's excuse for entering the Democratic Party. But Malcolm spent the whole last year of his life denouncing the Democratic Party and telling black people they were wasting their votes by voting Democratic, and falling into a trap by aligning themselves with such a party.

Freedom by any means necessary — a correct slogan — means the use of any methods or tactics that will bring freedom. It does not mean *any* methods or tactics. Going into the Democratic Party or staying in the Democratic Party will not lead to freedom; on the contrary, it is the main obstacle to freedom.

New York happens to be one of the places where it is possible to run independent candidates. Jesse Gray could run as an independent anticapitalist candidate for mayor if he wanted to, with the same effort it will take him to run as a candidate for the Democratic nomination. Then the votes he got would be significant — they would be anticapitalist, antiwar, antiracist votes instead of being Democratic votes.

Evolution of 'M'

By William F. Warde

The revival of critical thought and protest against the Establishment has affected all shades of political opinion among American intellectuals. The command of the hour is: "To the Left, March!"

In socialist circles this radicalization has been most pronounced in the *Monthly Review*. This periodical is one of the most serious and influential exponents of Marxism, both in the United States and throughout Latin America where its Spanish edition is widely read.

For 20 years — from the time of Stalin's Moscow Trials to the frameup of the "doctors' plot" in 1953 — its editors, Huberman and Sweezy, rarely departed from the general line marked out by the Kremlin. During the past decade, however, they have steadily evolved to the left, shedding the ideology of Stalinism bit by bit. This shift began in 1956 with the spur to de-Stalinization given by Khrushchev's partial exposures of Stalin's crimes. The *Monthly Review* editors condemned the Soviet suppression of the Hungarian workers' uprising.

Endorse Guerrillas' Stand

Their revolutionism was accelerated by the victories of Castroism which they have ardently supported and acutely analyzed. Then, after first siding with Moscow in the Sino-Soviet split, they turned about and agreed with Peking on the major issues in dispute. (For a critical appraisal of this development, see "New Judgment on the Sino-Soviet Split" by William F. Warde, *International Socialist Review*, Summer 1963.)

Now the *Monthly Review* editors have moved still closer to consistent Marxist positions in two closely connected areas: the Latin American revolution and the prospects for socialism in North America. This comes out in their comments on a two-part article by the Uruguayan journalist Adolfo Gilly in the May and June 1965 issues where the author of "Inside the Cuban Revolution" presents a no less perceptive account of the powerful guerrilla movement now operating in the mountains of Guatemala.

In their forewords, Huberman and Sweezy endorse the stand of the Guatemalan guerrillas who have deliberately repudiated the official Communist Party line of alliance with the "progressive" national bourgeoisie in "a bloc of four classes." This policy, which Stalin took over from Menshevism and imposed with disastrous results upon the defeated Chinese revolution of 1925-27 and the Spanish Civil War of 1936-38, has held back the progress of revolutionary forces in many sectors of the world.

The heads of the Revolutionary Movement of November 13 (MR-13) have even gone beyond the tactic of the Latin American Fidelistas of keeping socialist objectives in the background during the early stages of organizing the masses for

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Stalin

armed combat against a dictatorial regime. They have from the outset adopted a clear and outspoken socialist platform and goal to rally the people in struggle for a workers and peasants government.

Although neither Gilly nor the *Monthly Review* says so, the rejection of political subordination to national bourgeois elements in the anti-imperialist struggle, coupled with the projection of the socialist alternative to capitalist property and power, are two of the principal tenets in the theory of the Permanent Revolution. This genuinely Marxist program, which divided the Bolsheviks from the Mensheviks and the Trotskyists from the Stalinists, is today separating the reformists from the revolutionists in many colonial countries.

Gilly asserts that the MR-13 commanders arrived at these conclusions empirically through their participation in the anti-imperialist movement of Guatemala over the past 10 years. They contrasted the failure of the reformist Arbenz government, which was overthrown in 1954 because it refused to arm the workers and peasants against the military coup engineered by the CIA, with the successes of Castro's movement, which followed a revolutionary course.

Salutes Internationalism

That is not all. The Guatemalan guerrilla leaders are not provincial-minded; they recognize the global connections of their national freedom struggle. They view themselves as one detachment of the international anti-imperialist and pro-socialist camp. They say that the imperialism spearheaded by the United Fruit Company in their native land can be ultimately crushed only by international revolution.

The *Monthly Review* salutes this internationalist outlook based on the organic links between the national liberation struggle and the world revolutionary movement. This, too, it should be explicitly stated, is a keystone of the doctrine of Permanent Revolution, which views every progressive national social upheaval as a contributory component of a unified and indivisible revolutionary process which is global in scope and character.

The June issue of *Monthly Review* carries an editorial in which the editors affirm that the ideas and strategy of the Guatemalan revolutionists open new and exciting prospects not only for Latin America and world socialism but also for the beleaguered socialists of the U.S. Although socialists are today a small minority in this country, we should be as conscious as the Guatemalan guerrillas of belonging to an immense revolutionary movement which embraces the overwhelming majority of mankind.

Situated as they are in the lair of the imperialist monster, American socialists not only have extra burdens and difficulties but special obligations and opportunities. In view of the changing interna-

tional and domestic situation, they must undertake to create a socialist understanding among the black freedom fighters, insurgent students and intellectuals, and the most advanced workers. Washington's involvement in one counter-revolutionary adventure after another, as in the Congo, Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, together with mounting war costs and casualties, will generate more antiwar and anti-imperialist sentiment and increase the acceptance of socialist criticism and proposals. The most farsighted participants in the emerging mass anticapitalist movement will learn that the socialist revolution in the United States is the only road to salvation, write Huberman and Sweezy.

Over the past quarter of a century, views of this kind have largely been limited to the Socialist Workers Party and the *Militant*. The welcome proclamation of such ideas by the *Monthly Review* is a significant development in socialist politics. It is no small matter for qualified intellectual representatives of the older generation to chart a revolutionary perspective for their own country in their own lifetime. It is one thing to espouse a line of revolution in the "Third World" where the masses in some places are fighting with arms in hand, and quite another to extend an orientation of intransigent struggle into the heartland of world imperialism where current conditions are quite different.

Hopeful Outlook

This hopeful outlook has been engendered by the advances and achievements of the colonial revolution from China to Cuba, the economic successes of the workers' states, revulsion against the utterly reactionary and murderous role of U.S. imperialism, the rise of the Freedom Now and student movements and the antiwar feelings expressed by the "teach-ins." We have come a long way from the repression and demoralization of the Cold War deep-freeze. American radicalism is regaining its morale and expanding its vision. The *Monthly Review's* sensitive response to this new stage is a token of this.

What practical political recommendations do Huberman and Sweezy derive from their present viewpoint? Up to now they have remained content with analyzing world events. They have refrained from any other type of action but intellectual interpretation within the formal framework of Marxism. This is clearly within the sphere of their special competence and their contributions have often been instructive and valuable.

But Marxism-Leninism is above all a *guide to action and organization*, designed to change the world around us. Now that they themselves have brought forward this side of Marxism, what do they propose to do about it?

This question is bound to be raised by the most energetic young



Fidel Castro

Monthly Review'

rebels whom the *Monthly Review* has convinced of the correctness of socialism and the need to prepare for revolutionary developments in the U.S.A. The Guatemalan guerrilla fighters do not simply point to the need for anti-imperialist action. They are dedicated to organizing the masses and their vanguard in a life-and-death struggle for power. The *Monthly Review* editors insist that their example is relevant to our country and should be emulated by our socialists. Yet they hesitate to pass from advice to action and organization. And the advice offered to date in their articles is inadequate.

Dismiss "Old Left"

Although they are not political newcomers, Huberman and Sweezy nonchalantly dismiss the entire "Old Left" — apart from themselves — as of little account. They refer to "the inevitable parochialism, isolationism and sectarianism of an internally oriented Left," as though no fundamental or important differentiations are to be made between the diverse tendencies within this category.

Yet the "Old Left," in which they themselves must be included, is not at all uniform. Both the Communist Party, vassalized to the officeholders in the Kremlin, and the Socialist Party, which acts as a trailer to the U.S. State Department, are miles away from the positions maintained by the MR editors.

On the other hand, their current views on a series of basic questions have brought them closer to those long upheld by the Socialist Workers Party. Indeed, among radicals from Mexico to Chile, the *Monthly Review* is coming to be regarded as a "crypto-Trotskyist" publication. Its most recent issues can only reinforce that impression.

The *Monthly Review* editors apparently find it easier to adopt Marxist ideas than to discard anti-Trotskyist prejudices. How else to explain the lack of theoretical clarity in their appraisal of the positions of the Guatemalan guerrillas? The program of the MR-13 Movement not only breaks with the policies of Moscow-inspired communism but approximates the essential line of the theory of Permanent Revolution which is above all identified with Trotskyism.

Transitional Program

If more proof is required, there is internal evidence to this effect in Gilly's interview with Francisco Amado Granados, a guerrilla leader of the Revolutionary Movement of November 13, who is quoted as saying: "We don't have a minimal reformist program for today and a maximal revolutionary program for a distant future; we have a revolutionary program of transition, in which all immediate demands are inseparably linked to the struggle for the socialist revolution. On the basis of this program, we are establishing and we shall continue to establish united fronts with all organizations and parties that coincide with some points of our struggle, so long as we are not thereby limited to the joint program alone, but are permitted to move ahead simultaneously in the organizing of the socialist revolution."

This is directly paraphrased from the document written by Trotsky in 1938 on the *Death Agony of Capitalism* which remains the fundamental program of the Fourth International. (See *The Age of Permanent Revolution: A Trotsky Anthology*, edited by Isaac Deutscher, pp. 257-259.)

Moreover, the conception advanced by the MR-13 heads and approved by the MR editors that imperialism can be decisively overthrown only through extending revolutionary victories to the most advanced countries was one of the cornerstones of the program of the Leninist opposition in the Soviet Union during the 1920's in its struggle against Stalin's inno-



ANTONIO MARCOS YON SOSA (right), one of leaders of Guatemalan guerrillas.

vation of the strategy of "socialism in one country."

Along with others, the *Monthly Review* editors have embraced elements of the Permanent Revolution as a result of their observation of the course of the colonial revolutions since the end of the Second World War. However, they are not pragmatists but Marxist theoreticians. Are they not therefore obliged to make clear the historical antecedents and political affiliations in the world socialist movement of their new-found views?

The injunction at the head of their editorial reads: "Tell the Truth" The truth is that both the positive and negative developments in world politics during the postwar period have powerfully confirmed the correctness of the standpoint of the Permanent Revolution and invalidated the Stalinist dogmas of constructing socialism in a single country and making blocs with the "progressive" and "peace-loving" bourgeoisie. In his "Reflections on the Cuban Revolution" published by the *Monthly Review*, their late colleague, professor Paul Baran, wrote that the dynamics of the Cuban developments follow the pattern of a "permanent revolution." Shouldn't all this be made more explicit for the educational benefit and socialist consciousness of the New Left?

Trotskyism, i.e., living Marxism-Leninism, is more than a set of ideas, a world outlook and a program. It is a movement, a set of people, with parties and groups active in both North and South America. Not a few of the insurgent youth who have been introduced to socialist ideas through the *Monthly Review* in recent years have logically joined the Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party. Others have yet to cross the Rubicon which separates academic interest from active participation and affiliation.

The burgeoning New Radicalism is not satisfied with words but demands deeds. Huberman and Sweezy say that the New Left must acquire "new perspectives and a new conception of strategy and tactics." But these advisers have yet to divulge what these should be. Should they not now

take the next step and tell us all, in Lenin's words, "what is to be done?"

The prime immediate task for American socialists, they say, is to create a socialist consciousness among the dissident elements of the people. Is it possible to fulfill this task without constituting and building a vanguard party which assembles and organizes socialist-minded militants from coast to coast around a principled program based on revolutionary Marxism? Can the American workers, Negroes and youth challenge and overthrow the richest, most brutal and strongly entrenched monopolists and militarists in the world without such a disciplined, experienced and tested leadership?

Big Strides Forward

These are some of the questions implicit in the pronouncements made and the revolutionary prospects projected by the *Monthly Review* editors themselves. They have taken big strides toward fully developed Marxist positions. Will they proceed farther and faster in the same direction and keep in step with the most thoughtful members of the younger generation?

"It's not enough to be for the socialist revolution, you have to say so," declared the Guatemalan guerrilla leader, Yon Sosa, to Gilly. The *Monthly Review* has unambiguously applied this injunction to the United States. We might add, in Lenin's spirit: "It's not enough to say you are for the socialist revolution; you must organize or work with a party to prepare for it." We hope that the *Monthly Review* will soon come to see and tell this part of the truth — and act in accordance with it.

— June 28, 1965

"The socialist or anarchist who seeks to overturn present conditions is to be regarded as attacking the foundation upon which civilization itself rests . . . One who studies this subject will soon be brought face to face with the conclusion that upon the sacredness of property civilization itself depends — the right of the laborer to his hundred dollars in the saving bank, and equally the legal right of the millionaire to his millions." — industrialist **Andrew Carnegie**

An Open Letter To Progressive Labor Party

To the editors of Challenge and the Progressive Labor Party: Dear Comrades,

In the editorials in your June 1 and June 29 issues, you state your opposition to the candidates of the Democratic and Republican Parties in the coming mayoralty election in New York City. You also point out the fallacy of the policy of militants supporting the "lesser evil" among the candidates of these parties, and correctly emphasize that "there is absolutely no chance whatsoever that we can win any victories by forming coalitions within the Democratic Party."

I share these opinions and that is why I am running for mayor in this campaign along with a slate of four other Socialist Workers Party candidates: Peter Camejo for President of the City Council, Paul Boutelle for President of the Boro of Manhattan, Hedda Garza for Comptroller, and Lynn Henderson for Councilman at Large.

One of the main points I raise in my campaign is the need for the formation of a broad, independent, working class party or parties — including such forces as the unions, the freedom now movement, the student antiwar movement, the socialist groups, etc. — to oppose the parties of big business. Of course, such a broad movement for independent political action has unfortunately not come about as yet. In the meantime, and as part of the educational process of bringing it about, we believe the principle of independent political action should be upheld by those who believe in it. This can be done by running independent of the capitalist parties or by supporting such candidacies by others.

That is one reason why — in the face of the most widespread "lesser evil" illusions — I ran for president in opposition to Goldwater and Johnson in the last national election, and that is why I am running for mayor in this campaign.

We in the SWP believe that all those who understand the need for independent political action in opposition to the big-business, imperialist-war parties, should strive for the greatest possible unity in action around this idea.

For this reason, the New York local of the Socialist Workers Party, in spite of differences between the Socialist Workers Party and Progressive Labor, has announced support for your vice president, Bill Epton, in his campaign for state senator in the 21st district. We have found key points of agreement in his program, and we know that it is better to support an anti-imperialist, independent black candidate, in spite of differences, than to abstain and leave the field to the big-business parties.

SWP Candidates Blast War Policies At Street Meetings in New York City

By Bernie Goodman

NEW YORK, July 8 — The Socialist Workers Party city election campaign has begun with a series of SWP street meetings to explain the SWP program and introduce the candidates to the public. The meetings have been held in various locations, from the Lower East Side to Harlem.

Despite the national brainwashing activities of the Johnson administration, we found that about one third of the crowds on the streets were sympathetic from the outset to our hard-hitting demands that the GI's get out of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. Another one half appeared undecided, staying to listen and frequently to agree with many of our points. About 20 percent, on the average, were outspokenly hostile. Fre-

SWP Supports Epton Campaign

NEW YORK, July 6 — The New York Local of the SWP announced today that it is giving critical support to the campaign of William Epton, running for state senator from the 21st District on the Progressive Labor Party ticket.

Clifton DeBerry said, "Though there are important differences between the SWP and PL, we urge voting for Epton as a black, working-class candidate running independent of the Democrats and Republicans."

We hope you share this desire for hammering away at the need for independent political action and breaking with the capitalist parties. We also hope you are joining in the spirit — so refreshingly evident in the newly radicalized youth — of "nonexclusion," of overcoming the sectarianism which has so plagued the American left in the past, and of accepting the principle of united action around common goals in spite of differences on other points. This principle in no way excludes, indeed it enhances, the opportunities for constructive criticism and clarification of disputed points on which we may have something to learn from one another.

However, I find it hard to reconcile these hopes with your statement in the June 1 editorial that no mayoralty candidate exists which you could support and that "if none is forthcoming by August, the people will have to 'vote' for mayor the only way they can — by NOT pulling down the lever for that post." But to abstain is to leave the field to the parties of police brutality and imperialist war.

May I remind you that I have been campaigning since March and that I and my running mates will be on the ballot for mayor and other city posts in the coming election.

In addition to advancing a program on city issues such as police brutality, we are centering our campaign around giving people an opportunity to cast a protest vote against the criminal policies of the Democratic and Republican Parties in Vietnam and Santo Domingo.

While recognizing that we have differences on other points and remaining at your disposal for a constructive discussion or debate on such matters, I suggest that you support the Socialist Workers Party candidates in this campaign.

Fraternally,
Clifton DeBerry

quently this opposition took the form of special groups who did not want to debate the issues, but wanted to break up the meetings.

For example, at one meeting on the upper West Side, a group of Cuban exiles became enraged at our announced support of the Dominican revolutionaries. Before they could get too far, however, a group of Dominican exiles who sympathized with the Constitutional cause successfully stopped the Cuban counterrevolutionaries from disrupting the meeting.

At another meeting in Greenwich Village, a group of right wingers began to shout and scream. The large crowd, demonstrating both their sympathy with what our speakers were saying about the war and their belief in free and open discussion, in turn shouted down the hecklers.

FREEDOM FIGHTERS

William H. Sylvis: Unionist

By Howard Sachs

"Labor is the foundation of the entire political, social and commercial structure, the author of all wealth. Railroad networks, canals, mineral resources, factories, magnificent cities, public buildings and internal improvements have no meaning if the wealth is controlled by and for the benefit of a few individuals while the great mass, the 'producing classes,' are reduced to poverty."

William H. Sylvis, the author of this statement, was the first great American labor leader and the man who led the first attempt at a united nationwide union movement, the National Labor Union.

Sylvis was born into a poor wagon-maker's family in Pennsylvania in 1828. He learned the iron moulder's trade and settled in Philadelphia where he became secretary of a local moulder's union in 1857.

Divided Movement

At that time the labor movement was very weak. There was no permanent federation or united grouping of the isolated local unions which existed, and the idea of a national union, even in one single craft or industry, had yet to be realized.

On Sylvis' suggestion the Philadelphia moulder's union formed a committee to correspond with moulders in other cities advocating a national federation, and by 1860 the National Union of Iron Moulders was formed.

In this same year, when there was danger of a war between the U.S. and Britain, the International Workingmen's Association (founded by Karl Marx and later known as the First International), wrote for Sylvis' cooperation in opposing such a development. He replied: "Our cause is a common one. It is war between poverty and wealth. This moneyed power is in fact eating up the substance of the people. We have made war upon it, and we mean to win it. If we can, we will win through the ballot box, if not then we shall resort to sterner means. A little bloodletting is sometimes necessary in desperate cases."

National Union

The national moulder's union at first was a loose federation of locals whose constitutions often contradicted each other. At Sylvis' urging the 1863 convention brought the local constitutions into conformity with the national body. Sylvis initiated the compulsory dues system to provide a treasury which was used for a strike fund. Union cards were instituted and a "scab album" was published in the labor press. Sylvis also started the practice of distributing regular reports on prices, rents, wages and piecework rates to union members.

Through the Civil War, the iron moulder's union was successful, securing significant wage increases, but in 1868 the powerful National Stove Manufacturers and Iron Founders' Association decided to try to break the union. Wages were cut and many union members fired. The union called a strike in defense but after nine months it was smashed. The moulder's union then emphasized the building of cooperatives as a method for its members to escape the system of wage slavery.

Equal Pay For Women

Sylvis devoted his attention almost completely after that strike to the National Labor Union which had been founded in 1866, and which was not limited to a single craft or industry. He had drawn the conclusion from the defeated strike that, with industrial expansion, it was necessary for workers to join together in the largest organization possible, in order to confront the increasingly centralized power of capital.

The program of the NLU called for the establishment of a de-



LONG HARD STRUGGLES went into building the union movement. Here UAW workers sit down in famous 1937 strikes.

partment of labor in the government, the disposal of public lands only to actual settlers and the abolition of convict labor. Under Sylvis' leadership the 1868 convention called for equal pay for equal work for women, the first time such a demand was put forth by an American labor union. The noted women's-rights fighters, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, were invited as guests to the convention, over the opposition of a section of bone-headed delegates.

Supported Equality

Sylvis knew that Negroes had not been fully freed by the Civil War and favored complete emancipation and equality for black workers. He once said the labor reform movement was the new antislavery movement. He supported admission of Negroes to the unions but was successfully opposed by those who insisted they be kept out of the main organizations. Without the black workers in the unions, Sylvis said, the capitalists could "kill off" the labor movement by using Negroes as strikebreakers.

Sylvis also stood for international labor solidarity, based on the understanding that an international division of labor and international capitalist investment was increasing greatly. At the 1867 convention of the NLU, Sylvis voted for affiliation with the First International, though the motion did not carry.

Sylvis died before the 1869 convention of the NLU. He was only 41. The NLU collapsed within three years, but this pioneering effort bore fruit in the next generation, when the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor were organized.

In Sylvis' time, U.S. capitalism was in a period of rapid expansion in a virgin continent, and many workers did not view their position as wage workers as permanent, hoping to become self-employed, or to get a piece of land in the West. In the early period the American labor movement learned the hard way — by trial and error — and tended to veer from one form of struggle to another and back again: from pure and simple economic action rejecting politics to pure political action rejecting strikes, from desperate strikes to utopian cooperative schemes.

Of Whole Cloth

Sylvis' life reflected this tendency. But unlike today's crop of for-tea-at-the-White-House-I'll-sell-my-soul union officials, he was a man of principle and always on the side of the oppressed. Whatever he tried, he went about in a businesslike manner and developed some methods which have stood the test of time. And whatever he did was aimed at increasing the power of the oppressed against the oppressor and at abolishing the very system of wage slavery itself.

Which Road to Socialism: Reform or Revolution?

By Rosa Luxemburg

The theory of the gradual introduction of socialism proposes a progressive reform of capitalist property and the capitalist state in the direction of socialism. But in consequence of the objective laws of existing society, one and the other develop in a precisely opposite direction. The process of production is increasingly socialized, and state intervention, the control of the state over the process of production, is extended. But at the same time, private property becomes more and more the form of open capitalist exploitation of the labor of others, and state control is penetrated with the exclusive interests of the ruling class. The state, that is to say the political organization of capitalism, and the property relations, that is to say the juridical organization of capitalism, become more capitalist and not more socialist, opposing to the theory of the progressive introduction of socialism two insurmountable difficulties.

Fourier's scheme of changing, by means of a system of phalansteries, the water of all the seas

into tasty lemonade was surely a fantastic idea. But Bernstein [the foremost theorist of reformist socialism at the beginning of this century], proposing to change the sea of capitalist bitterness into a sea of socialist sweetness, by progressively pouring into it bottles of social-reformist lemonade, presents an idea that is merely more insipid but no less fantastic.

Need Revolution

The production relations of capitalist society approach mere and more the production relations of socialist society. But on the other hand, its political and juridical relations establish between capitalist society and socialist society a steadily rising wall. This wall is not overthrown, but is on the contrary strengthened and consolidated by the development of social reforms and the course of democracy. Only the hammer blow of revolution, that is to say, the conquest of political power by the proletariat can break down this wall.

[From Reform or Revolution, by Rosa Luxemburg. Temporarily out of print.]

Questions and Answers About Socialism

[In this column we will try to answer questions about socialism and Marxism. If you have a question you would like to see taken up in this column, please send it in. Comments and criticism are welcome.]

Marx stated that under capitalism the world's working class would become progressively poorer. Is this concept valid today for workers in the advanced Western countries as well as those in the colonial countries? — Z.S. Lynn, Mass.

Karl Marx believed that the workers' conditions of life as a whole would worsen to such an unbearable degree that the workers would finally take the path of socialist revolution.

The slaughter and maiming of tens of millions in two world wars, the unspeakable horrors of fascism throughout Europe, the absolute impoverishment of hundreds of millions in recurrent economic depressions, the repeated waves of workers' revolutions defeated and maturing again — all this in the advanced Western countries in the 20th century — testify to the correctness of the Marxist view.

Though Marx viewed capitalism as a world system and the growing misery of the working class as an uneven historic process with leaps and irregularities, the apologists for capitalism insist that his views be put to the test only in the most advanced sections of the capitalist world, and only during the peaks of prosperity. The fact that the impoverished workers of the underdeveloped continents on which the imperialists gorge themselves, are just as much the employees of American, British and French capitalists as the workers who are resident in these advanced Western nations, is as easily forgotten by these critics of Marx as is the recent Western past of mass death, hunger and terror.

In addition, ever smaller quantities of labor are set to work ever larger quantities of machinery and raw materials, while the workers who produce thousands of times more wealth than before receive an ever smaller portion of it. This relative increased poverty is an indisputable fact.

Certainly the worker in the advanced Western countries has grown progressively poorer in some of the best things that are supposed to be free. The very air he breathes is fouled by noxious gases and waste particles; he is robbed of the greenery of nature in his grey world of steel and concrete; the sound of a bird, the quiet rustle of leaves, is replaced by a hideous din and clangor that never ceases; even space in which to move and live is circumscribed in the factories in which he is massed, the egg-box tenements and "new housing" in which he is piled, the cattle-car buses and subways in which he is jammed like cotton in a bale. And how much greater is his poverty if he is accustomed to all this and doesn't even notice it any longer!

The plus of a free educational system is balanced by the minus of its quality and purpose of turning out conformist and competent wage slaves and soldiers. The freeing of women from endless childcare and housework through birth control, kitchen gadgets and home appliances places the claim of factory and office upon her labor, depressing the man's wage while she is forced to complement it. The technical wonder of television is reduced to an idiot box that cries the wares of the capitalists into the worker's very home, titillates with sadistic violence, distorted sex and maudlin sentimentality and tells you how to think about the news of the world through capitalist paid experts with earnest faces and sonorous voices.

And how measure the constant

gnawing fear and anxiety about tomorrow? Will the labor camps, gas chambers, crematory ovens that Western civilization experienced in the Thirties and Forties be repeated tomorrow on a bigger scale?

Will these horrors be dwarfed by a nuclear catastrophe?

Is the labor of the worker, while producing fantastically large masses of wealth, at the same time producing the means by which he himself will be made superfluous, to be replaced by a computer?

Will he be made to join the "surplus population" of unemployed who, even now in richest America at the height of the longest period of "good times," number in the millions?

Here we come to the key aspect of the workers' "increasing mis-



ery." However the movement of wages may rise or fall, the class position of the workers with respect to the sale of their labor power to the capitalists grows steadily worse. Dependence upon the owners of the means of production and subsistence, who alone can buy his labor power, grows.

Marx spoke of the increasing misery of the workers from an historic viewpoint, tracing the transformation of independent producers into wage slaves, into a proletariat owning nothing but their power to labor. In his chapter on the "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" in the first volume of his great work, Capital, Marx wrote:

"Along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all the advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation; but with this too grows the revolt of the working-class... The monopoly of capital becomes a fetter upon the mode of production... Centralization of the means of production and socialization of labor at last reach a point where they become incompatible with their capitalist integument. This integument is burst asunder. The knell of private capitalist property sounds. The expropriators are expropriated."

The above is what Marx actually did state about the worsening conditions of the workers. When the expropriators are expropriated in the other two-thirds of the world in addition to the one-third where this has already occurred, Marx will have been proved right to the satisfaction of all.

—David Stevens

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.]

Report from 'Down Under'

Manning, W. Australia
We over here are faced with the fact that the reactionary Menzies government has committed us to supporting (with troops) the

American imperialists in their bloody war in South Vietnam. As this government recently introduced conscription for 20-year-olds, this affects me directly.

The Labor Party is against conscription; but the incompetent, reformist and bureaucratic leadership has not been able to mobilize opinion against this measure. Recently, they lost the support of the largest union in Australia, the bureaucratic (and strike-breaking) Australian Workers Union, which, along with other right-wing unions, has declared support for the government position in Vietnam.

The so-called Australian Communist Party merely issues pacifist slogans and denies (!) the Communist leadership of the guerrillas. However, the Waterside Workers Federation has declared that ships carrying aid to the beleaguered puppet government (whichever one it happens to be) will be declared scab.

The "democratic" Menzies government has already announced a series of repressive measures to prevent this from happening, following some incidents of this kind. The American magazine *Fact* appears to have been banned (several issues have been confiscated in the mails). Travel to North Vietnam is now forbidden. A red-baiting campaign ("Commie fronts") has been started by some of Her Majesty's ministers. All this on top of the extremely repressive legislation introduced by the state government in Queensland during the recent strike makes the situation look rather menacing.

Still there is a considerable amount of opinion against the actions of the American imperialists in Vietnam, even among the university students (a most backward section of the community), so all is not lost.

Wall Street Gets Secret Report

New York, N.Y.
I would like to call to the attention of your readers an item which I found buried in the June 12 *New York Times*, about a special meeting Maxwell Taylor, U.S. ambassador to Saigon, held with the big boys on Wall Street when he was in the U.S. recently:

"Ambassador Maxwell D. Taylor briefed a Wall Street audience yesterday on the situation in Vietnam. He spoke privately before 131 business, banking and brokerage leaders at a meeting of the Bullock Forum, an organization that meets periodically at 1 Wall Street."

The article didn't report what Taylor had to say. Whatever it was, Johnson's agent clearly didn't want the American people to know what he was telling the imperialist overlords. While the people are spoon-fed State Department releases, the Wall Street rulers of this country get the real dope.

What went on at this "private briefing" to some of the top members of the ruling class? What plans for the dirty war the U.S. is waging in Vietnam were discussed there, in secret, behind the backs of the people? What new atrocities were outlined there — and what plans were laid for drawing the American people closer to a major war?

The power to make war should be taken out of the hands of Taylor, Johnson and the tiny minority of the very rich who now run this country. The teach-in movement

should be extended, so that all the people would have the right to debate and discuss the Vietnam war, and the final power to make decisions about the war should rest with the people. Let the people vote on the Vietnam war!

B.S.

Yahoo-ing President

Flushing, N.Y.
The roping, branding, yahoo-ing President, shedding crocodile tears over the dull thud of bullets into our bodies, has no tears or compassion whatever for the hundreds and thousands of men, women and children in Vietnam who are being maimed and roasted to death by the gasoline jelly bombs.

The imperialists have invaded Vietnam with 50,000 elite troops. He'll not only give them bullet thuds but jellied fire bombs as well.

The President has \$700 million to subjugate a free people who wanted a free election, an election that was promised them by the Geneva Accord of 1954.

Johnson does not have one red cent to alleviate the floodwater condition in the Midwest or to defend civil rights.

Only Socialist energy can adjust these conditions. For a workers and farmers government!

O.T.

Helping Hand

Olathe, Colo.
Enclosed is \$10 for a subscription and donation to the cause, which is needed so very bad.

There's a bunch that needs impeachment but it seems nobody starts the ball rolling. More power to you and all others who are trying to do something.

J.B.

SWP and SLP

Romulus, Mich.
I am a subscriber to both *The Militant* of the Socialist Workers Party and the *Weekly People* of the Socialist Labor Party. I accept the principles that both advocate.

N.R.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

MARTIAL LAW IN CHILE AIMS TO SMASH MOUNTING STRIKES — Martial law was declared in six provinces of Chile on July 1, one day after 60,000 transport and communication workers went out on strike. President Carlos Ibanez at first said he would not declare a "state of emergency." But when he saw the power and determination of the strikers who ignored all government pleas and threats, he changed his mind and put the army in control.

"Emergency zones" were created and army officers were given dictatorial powers throughout Chile's industrial regions including Santiago, the coal-mining area around Concepcion, the steel works at Huachipato and Chile's largest port, Valparaiso. All troops were placed on alert orders in their barracks.

The workers in government-operated railroads, bus, streetcar, postal and telegraph services went on strike. Army troops were mobilized to move a few trains but no streetcars were operating in Santiago and only a few buses were in use.

By July 4, four out of five service stations were closed for lack of supplies. Only one train, using gasoline and kerosene, managed to get into Santiago over the weekend. — July 11, 1955.

20 Years Ago

GREAT UPSURGE OF LABOR MILITANCY SHOWN IN NATION-WIDE STRIKE WAVE —

The no-strike policy, which since Pearl Harbor has placed American labor at the mercies of the war profiteers and union-busters, is being trampled into the dust on picket lines throughout the nation.

A wave of strikes, greatest since the heroic days of the "sit-down" struggles of 1937, has been sweeping the country for the past two months. Hundreds of thousands of workers, defying strikebreaking ultimatums of the government and in most instances of their own top union leaders, have courageously snatched up their most effective weapon, strike action.

During the past week, this mounting tide of militant labor resistance to corporation provocations, wage slashes and swelling layoffs reached a new peak of power. Over a hundred thousand workers in key industrial centers broke asunder the shackles of the no-strike pledge and gave the arrogant employers the only answer they understand — cutting off their profits by strike shutdowns.

A virtual general strike of rubber workers is right now paralyzing the rubber center of Akron. Some 32,000 rubber workers are on strike at Goodyear and Firestone, while other companies hastily laid off another 24,000 under the pretext of "overhauling" their plants, also threatened with walkouts. — July 7, 1945.

Thought for the Week

"The U.S. action in Santo Domingo clearly didn't even begin as the administration says it did — with an even-handed emergency mission of mercy by U.S. Marines with no more motive than that of saving lives. What the record reveals, in fact, is that from the outset of the upheaval there was a concerted U.S. government effort to checkmate the rebel movement by whatever means and at whatever cost." — *The Wall Street Journal*.

The only difference I can find between them, after reading both their publications for more than two years, is the means to their goals.

The Socialist Workers Party is militant enough to utilize the only methods available — human methods, carried out by humans. The Socialist Labor Party is so idealistic that it seems to reject any method not made in heaven and carried out by a messiah.

Up to 1964 I had always voted for one of the major party candidates for president, except once (Wallace, 1948). In 1964 I could have voted, with good conscience, for either Mr. Hass or Mr. DeBerry. I voted for Mr. DeBerry because I felt the Socialist Workers Party would be militant enough to hold whatever they might win at the polls.

The greatest barrier to any socialist party ever coming to power in the U.S. is the indoctrinated, brainwashed worker himself. I think all American elections prove this. At least 80 or 90 percent of the workers in the plant where I work are so completely under the influence of the union bureaucrats, church dogma, or some other superstition, that I see little hope for them. No more than 10 percent of these workers will read one paragraph of either *The Militant* or *Weekly People*. Even those who do, sneak off someplace to hide when they read these publications.

This may be of interest to the pristine editors of the *Weekly People*. A majority of those in my plant who do read both publications, hold more resentment toward the *Weekly People* than against *The Militant*. This is probably due to the *Weekly People*'s blunt and unequivocal stand on organized religion.

I do wish your two parties would unite. I belong to no party. But I promise both of you I would be glad to join a coalition of the two. I also think your two parties combined could form the nucleus

that would attract so many of the faculty and student body now beginning to stir on the campuses across the land. These look more hopeful to me than the pitiful wretches on the production line.

I am sending each of you a copy of this letter. It may make no impact on either of you. But at least both of you will have an opportunity to take the pulse of the wage-earner at the production level.

Troy E. Hopson

Letter from Mississippi

Rosedale, Miss.
I am now residing in Rosedale, a rural area about 100 miles from Jackson.

Rosedale is one of the places where the union strikes are being held. The workers who chop cotton make only \$3 a day for working 10 hours. Just working one hour in this Mississippi weather can kill you.

The workers have no medical insurance; they receive a two-week vacation during Christmas but without any pay; there is no social security. Sanitary conditions are terrible, elderly people and young children are working, and so on. To put it very simply, they are slaves to their cracker bosses.

All those who have gone on strike are harassed, threatened physically and run the risk of never getting their jobs back again. At the peak of the strike, over 500 workers struck in Rosedale alone. Because of the Jackson demonstrations, which many of the workers took part in and were arrested, and because the people have not been supported with any money, food or clothing while on strike, the number of strikers has decreased to about 100.

I would like to make a plea for money or food or clothing. You can send money to Ida MacLawrence, P.O. Box 1135, Rosedale, Miss. It would be deeply appreciated.

B.K.

It Was Reported in the Press

Oops, Wrong Stitch! — A UPI dispatch from Boston reported: "Massachusetts officials recalled today a shipment of state flags made by inmates of the Framingham Women's Reformatory. Whitney Smith, Jr., director of the flag research center, told a legislative committee yesterday that the prisoners made an error. In place of the features of an Indian, the women had substituted the features of their former warden at the reformatory. The flags were to have been flown in front of state buildings."

An American Lady — Perle Mesta, former ambassador to Luxembourg, and a leader of Washington's social set, apparently takes a dim view of the fact that a Negro, Mrs. Patricia Harris, has now been appointed ambassador to that country. Commented the "charming" Mrs. Mesta: "I'm sure people will like her. When I went to Luxembourg I took my butler and maid, who are colored, and people adored it."

Think You've Got Headaches? — *New York Herald Tribune* columnist Eugenia Sheppard reports on the difficulties besetting mothers trying to get their kids into swank private schools: "Choice of

the right wardrobe in which to be interviewed by a great American preparatory school is taking plenty of women plenty of time and forethought these days. It calls for a projection of a mother look, something fashion definitely doesn't encourage. After years of panting after the younger hairdo and the little girl dress, it takes a whole new way of thinking, let me tell you, to turn up looking like the dream girl of the headmaster at Middlesex."

Real Considerate — *The Wall Street Journal* reports the debate in medical circles on the conflict between research and "ethics" — occasioned by the use of patients as guinea pigs in experiments, without first explaining to them just what is being done or the

risk involved. The instance was recalled of the Sloan-Kettering Institute injecting live cancer cells into New York City hospital patients without telling them what they were. However, a doctor who performed most of the injections explained that "we did not wish to stir up any unnecessary anxieties, disturbances or phobias in our patients."

Due Process of Law — The American Civil Liberties Union has intervened on behalf of a 14-year-old boy presently imprisoned with adult inmates in Arizona State Prison. The ACLU reports the boy was allowed to waive counsel and represent himself. He was then allowed to plead guilty without benefit of counsel and sent to the state prison for a substantial term. — Harry Ring

INTRODUCTORY SUBSCRIPTION

To reach the widest audience with our coverage of the antiwar and Freedom Now movements, we are offering a 4-month introductory subscription to *The Militant* for \$1. (\$1.50 outside of the U.S.)


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Socialists in N.Y. City Elections Campaign Against Vietnam War



Paul Boutelle
For Manhattan
Borough President

Paul Boutelle is a 30-year-old taxi driver who was born and raised in Harlem. Asked about what he proposed to do to improve housing in New York, he said:

"According to the 1960 census there were 550,000 dwelling units in New York City which were 'deteriorating, dilapidated or lacking essential facilities.' More than 100,000 families were living in overcrowded conditions. Housing that poor people can afford is getting more and more scarce. In 1961, for example, the Housing Authority built 6,000 low-rent apartments, but almost three times that number of low-rent apartments were torn down or converted to high-rent. Landlords allow housing to deteriorate, but they keep raising rents.

"The first thing that's needed is a law cutting rents to a level people can afford — 10 percent of their income. Even that rent should not go to slumlords, but should be used by tenant committees to maintain and improve buildings.

"But that's only a first step. A large part of this city has to be torn down and rebuilt. A massive government low-rent housing construction program is necessary. All the unemployed in New York could be given useful jobs in rebuilding the city."

Concerning racism in New York City, Boutelle declared that the "SWP called for freedom now, for full economic, political and social equality for the Negro and Puerto Rican people in every sphere, from housing to jobs to education."

Support SWP Campaign

The New York SWP campaign committee needs your help. If you can distribute literature, help collect signatures to get the party on the ballot, contribute funds, arrange meetings for the candidates, etc., call AL 5-7852 or write SWP Campaign Committee, 116 University Place.

Copies of the election platform, stickers demanding U.S. troops get out of Vietnam and the Dominican Republic and against police brutality, posters, buttons, etc., are available on request.

Lynn Henderson For Manhattan Councilman at Large

Lynn Henderson is a 29-year-old printer. He specialized in economics in college. Asked about the SWP's program on poverty and unemployment, he said: "The main economic problem of New York is poverty.

"The federal minimum wage is only \$1.25 an hour, and there is no city minimum wage law. A great many workers in New York, especially service workers, are not even covered by the minimum wage law and make less than \$1 an hour. To eliminate poverty we need a minimum wage law that covers every worker and ensures that every family will have an adequate income. A minimum of \$3 an hour is a realistic minimum, and is absolutely necessary to maintain a family at a decent level. We advocate the state institute the \$3 minimum immediately. That would be a first step toward



establishing a national \$3 minimum.

"Unemployment could easily be eliminated by two kinds of measures: a program of public works that are badly needed in New York to improve housing, schools, recreation and transportation; and a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay. Unemployment compensation should be at full union-scale wages, and should cover the full period of unemployment."

Hedda Garza For Comptroller

Born 35 years ago in New York City, Mrs. Garza is a full-time editorial worker and the mother of four children.

"Since I'm the main buyer for a family of six," Mrs. Garza commented, "I know that the tax set-up is rigged against the poor. They've cut the excise taxes on luxuries, and raised the sales tax to four percent. This means that it's easier for the rich to get jewelry and furs, but the working people pay even higher taxes on their daily necessities.

"The comptroller could see to it that taxes on the poor, like the sales tax, be eliminated. The rich real estate operators should be made to pay their full property taxes instead of the taxes on the phony low estimated value of their property that they pay now.

"The comptroller also has the right to investigate the way that city funds are used. To help make sure that Negro and Puerto Rican children get a decent education



Peter Camejo
For President
Of the City Council

Peter Camejo, 25, lives in Manhattan and is a computer operator. He is national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Speaking of the recent demonstration by thousands of off-duty police at the city council hearing on the review board issue, Mr. Camejo said: "In the face of just the recent well-publicized cases of flagrant police prejudice, trigger-happiness and brutality — such as the Cruz and Whitmore affairs — no reasonable person could doubt the need for more civilian control of police. After all, third-degree false confessions and the shooting of innocent people are not unavoidable and certainly don't help reduce crime.

"The carefully-organized opposition to even the very mild and inadequate proposal by Councilman Weiss has a hysteria about it and bears the mark of a recruitment drive among police by racist and ultraright groups. This points up the need for effective community control of police, particularly in the ghettos. I favor community civilian police review boards representative of community groups, such as civil rights, black nationalist, Puerto Rican and civil liberties organizations, with the power to act, to serve as a watchdog over the police."



funds should be put into the schools where they are most needed — and to get more funds, let's tax the fat cats and take the squeeze off the very people whose children are getting the short end of the stick."

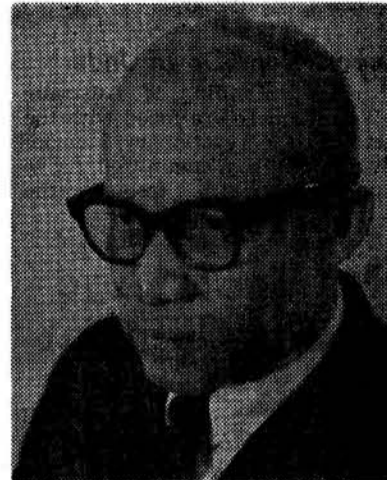
Clifton DeBerry For Mayor

"The majority of Americans voted for Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964 because of promises he made against war," said Clifton DeBerry. "Yet after only a few months in office, he expanded the war in South Vietnam and bombed North Vietnam. He financed and armed Tshombe's mercenary army in the Congo, and participated in a brutal attack upon that country. He ordered the invasion of the Dominican Republic in order to prevent the people of the island country from determining their own future.

"The Democratic and Republican Parties, on a local, state and national level, share the responsibility for this criminal foreign policy," the candidate declared. "Here in New York, both the Democrats and Republicans wholeheartedly support the war program of the Johnson administration.

"The question of war is one which directly affects every single person in New York City. There is no question that this city will be destroyed in the event of a nuclear war.

"This election campaign offers New Yorkers an opportunity to effectively demonstrate their opposition to the bipartisan foreign policy by voting against its local supporters. I urge all who are against the war in Vietnam to vote



for the Socialist Workers Party and support our campaign," DeBerry said.

"Through the SWP campaign, we hope to reach many of those who have not been reached by the teach-ins or protest marches with the truth about what is happening in Vietnam," the candidate concluded.

DeBerry, who is 40, ran for President of the U.S. in the 1964 elections. Now a house painter by trade, he has had wide experience as a union organizer in the Midwest and South.

The SWP announced DeBerry's candidacy in March. The party's nominations for the four other offices were announced June 6, after a city convention.

Strike of N.Y. Taxi Drivers Shows Workers' Solidarity

By Paul Boutelle

NEW YORK, June 7 — The great majority of the fleet taxi drivers in New York City voted with their feet for a union last week as they successfully struck the city's 83 fleets. When black and white workers can establish effective picket lines 24 hours a day for seven days and maintain high spirits, it proves that a taxi union will be formed.

This is an industry in New York City where organizing drives and strikes have been repeatedly broken by intimidation, but this time the workers were unafraid of being seen on the picket lines by the bosses. The shop stewards gained experience in holding a picket line and stopping the fleets and the pickets acquired the experience and class consciousness which only comes through united action.

Many companies distributed antiunion literature through the mail or at garages in an attempt to prevent the strike and the formation of a union. Several thousand city police were assigned to special strike duty and sometimes outnumbered pickets at garages. But the strike was effective and the strikers solid until they voted to return to work July 5th on city AFL-CIO leader Harry Van Arsdale's recommendation. The temporary settlement — where the companies agreed to submit firings to an arbitrator — is a bare minimum and actually settles almost nothing. But the strike itself gave the drivers confidence. This is something new.

I remember walking with my three-year-old son on a picket line in 1958 against the Jet Transportation Co. in an attempt to get some fired drivers back. That was when the Teamsters tried to organize some garages but failed — as all

other attempts since the 1930's had — and left some drivers victimized and others demoralized. The present drive, however, is marked by increasing union morale.

I was present when last week's strike was called at a meeting June 27 of the Taxi Driver's Organizing Committee. The TOC is headed by Van Arsdale. There were some 7,000 fleet drivers and sympathetic owner-drivers overflowing the hall. The mood of my fellow drivers was militant. The TOC and Van Arsdale would have lost their support if they hadn't suggested strike action.

The main demands of the fleet drivers include: 1) Job security against arbitrary firing. 2) Ending of kickbacks to dispatchers. 3) Elimination of blacklisting at garages. 4) Pension, medical and vacation benefits for all drivers on the basis of time worked. 5) Representation at the city Hack Bureau against what one driver at the meeting described as "fascist tactics" by police. 6) Union recognition.

Acting Mayor Paul R. Screvane issued a very "optimistic" statement about the settlement implying no more strikes. But this is only the beginning of the just fight of New York City cab drivers. The National Labor Relations Board — which refuses to hold an industry-wide election and gives equal weight to votes of part-time drivers — has set elections in 38 of the 83 garages for July 21. This is the hardest kind of election for the union, but the TOC is expected to win nevertheless. I also believe the owners will once again have to be confronted with a show of united strength by striking drivers before they will negotiate and grant meaningful concessions.