

# THE MILITANT

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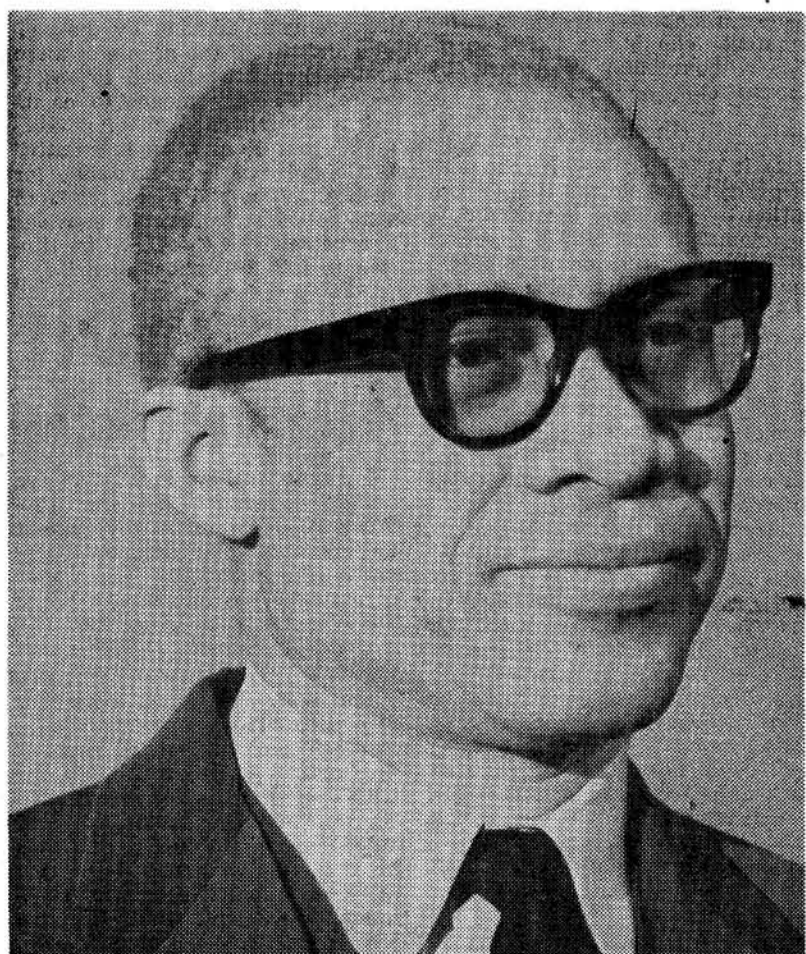
Monday, October 26, 1964

Price 10c

## Khrushchev's Ouster

— See page 3 —

# VOTE SOCIALIST!



Clifton DeBerry  
For President

As the Nov. 3 election draws near it is clearer than ever that those concerned with social progress in this country should vote for the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Clifton DeBerry for President and Edward Shaw for Vice President.

On every key issue in this campaign the Republican Goldwater and the Democrat Johnson have proven, despite their verbal exchanges, to have a bi-partisan approach. Johnson out-Goldwatered Goldwater on the Vietnam war when he ordered the bombing of North Vietnam following the Gulf of Tonkin "incidents." Goldwater supported, and egged Johnson on, in this dangerous adventure.

Goldwater accuses the administration of responsibility for U.S. involvement in Vietnam, but both Johnson and Goldwater have refused to entertain the only possible peaceful and honorable solution to the Vietnam crisis — withdrawal of U.S. troops from the South Vietnam civil war.

Johnson accuses Goldwater of being more reckless than the Democrats on the question of nuclear-weapons control, but neither big-business candidate will even consider the idea of scrapping the program of producing more and more nuclear overkill.

When it comes down to cases on civil rights — as it did during this campaign when white-supremacist violence against civil-

rights workers in the South flared to new heights and when the social dynamite in the black ghettos of the North exploded — Johnson and Goldwater display their basic similarity. Both agree the problem of the Northern ghettos should be met by repression. And both pledge full support to "local police officials" in the South.

Goldwater opposes Medicare and says he is for a raise in Social Security payments, Johnson says he is for Medicare. But neither Medicare nor the raise in payments got through Congress. The cynical manner in which Johnson allowed the heavily Democratic Congress to adjourn without passing Medicare is further proof that his principal interest in it is stretching it out as a campaign issue as long as he can. The same is true of the popgun "war on poverty," which has been overwhelmingly a war of words.

### Anti-Communism

Both Johnson and Goldwater are dedicated to the anti-communist crusade which causes the paranoiac hysteria on which the ultra-right grows. Both candidates are dedicated to the cold war. Johnson has ordered, and Goldwater has supported, the U.S. intervention in the Congo — white mercenaries and all.

You can't register opposition to these things by voting for Johnson or Goldwater.

A vote for DeBerry and Shaw is

a vote to end the cold war. It is a vote for an end to the arms race. It is a vote for full equality. It is a vote against the witch hunt and for civil liberties. It is a vote for U.S. friendship with the Soviet Union, China, Cuba. It is a vote of support to the colonial revolution. It is a vote for social progress. In addition, it is a vote for the great liberating ideal of socialism, for an end to the exploitation of man by man. If you believe in these things, or even in only some of them, don't waste your vote on the Democrats & Republicans. Make your vote count. Vote DeBerry-Shaw.



Edward Shaw  
For Vice President

## WIND-UP SOCIALIST RALLY SLATED IN NEW YORK

# Rights Fighters to Speak for DeBerry

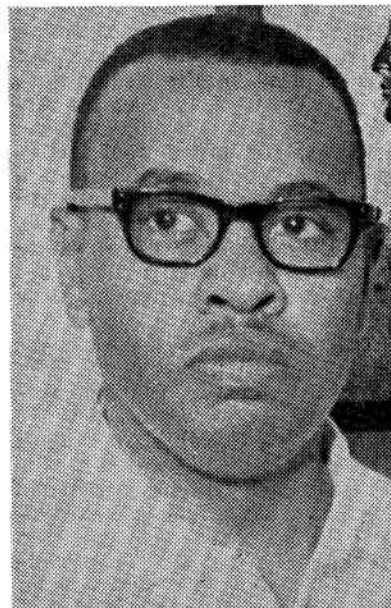
NEW YORK — Some noted, militant Negro leaders from both North and South will be heard at an election rally here for Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw, Socialist Workers Party candidates for President and Vice President. Slater King, leader of the freedom movement in Albany, Ga., will share the rally platform with Milton Henry and James Shabazz.

The rally will be held Sat., Oct. 31, 8:30 p.m. in the Grand Ballroom of the Woodstock Hotel, 127 W. 43rd St. (between Sixth and Seventh Aves. — off Times Square).

Slater King is acting president of the Albany Movement, which became world famous in 1962 for its struggle to win equal rights for Negroes in that Georgia city through non-violent direct action. King is also one of nine defendants in the notorious Albany case, in which the federal government aided local racists by framing-up the leaders of the Albany Movement. King was sentenced to a year and a day. His case is being appealed.

James Shabazz is a national aide

of Malcolm X, and a representative of the Muslim Mosque, Inc., of Harlem. Milton Henry is chairman of the Group On Advanced



Slater King

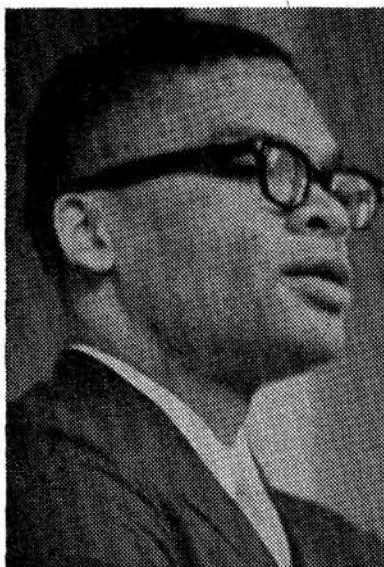
Leadership (GOAL) in Michigan, and is a Congressional candidate of the Freedom Now Party in that state.

Candidates DeBerry and Shaw, winding up their national campaign tours, will address the rally, which will be chaired by Richard Garza, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from New York. Other speakers are Dr. Otto Nathan, economist and executor of Albert Einstein's estate; Sharon Krebs, one of the young people who went to Cuba this summer in defiance of the travel ban; and Peter Camejo, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The rally is part of a week-end conference on independent political action organized by Youth for DeBerry and Shaw. The conference begins at 8:30 p.m. Friday, Oct. 30, at the Woodstock Hotel, with a panel on "The Negro Ghetto and Political Action." During the day on Saturday, Youth for Johnson, Youth for Goldwater, and Youth for DeBerry and Shaw will debate the issue of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. Farrell Dobbs will speak on "Goldwaterism —

What It Is and How to Fight It," and James Shabazz will talk on "Twentieth Century Slaves."

For more information on the conference call YU 9-7570 in New York City.



James Shabazz

## SWP Candidates On Radio and TV

The Socialist Workers nominees presently have scheduled the following programs:

On Sunday, Oct. 25, Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for President, will appear on the TV program, "Issues and Answers," over the ABC national television network. Check your local station listing for the time.

On Thursday, Oct. 29, from 7 to 9 a.m., DeBerry will appear on NBC's "Today" show.

Also on Thursday, Oct. 29, at 10 p.m., DeBerry appears on WNDT-TV, New York, Channel 13, show, "The World at 10."

On Sunday, Nov. 1, at 12 noon, Richard Garza, SWP nominee for U.S. Senator from New York, will appear on WNBC-TV's program "Direct Line," along with Robert Kennedy, Kenneth Keating and the other Senatorial candidates.



## 200 Hear DeBerry Speak At West Coast Youth Parley

BERKELEY — About 200 people attended the West Coast Student Conference on Independent Political Action held here Oct. 17. Some came from as far as Los Angeles and Seattle to attend the lectures and intensive discussions which began at 10:30 in the morning and ended 12 hours later. Recreation followed.

The highlight of the conference was the evening symposium on the political roads open to the Negro struggle at which Clifton DeBerry, SWP presidential nominee, spoke. DeBerry was on the West Coast leg of his national campaign tour. Other participants in the symposium were Willie Brown, Democratic Party candidate in California's 18th Assembly District; Brown's opponent, Freedom Now Party candidate Aaron Chapman; and Howard Jeter, former Democratic Party candidate.

The conference opened with William F. Warde, Marxist writer and philosopher, speaking on the history of third-party movements in the United States. After lunch, Steve Roberts, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator from California, spoke on "Problems of the U.S. Economy." The conference then broke up into three workshops — one on the need for independent political action by Negroes, another on Washington's bi-partisan foreign policy, and the third on independent political action and labor.

While SWP vice-presidential candidate Edward Shaw was speaking before a student group at Antioch College, a professor sent the following note to the meeting: "I have to be in Dayton tonight and cannot hear your SWP candidate. But please give this to him, to help him keep socialism before the American electorate." Enclosed was a \$10 bill.

Shaw also spoke in a Negro

### Boost for DeBerry In Algerian Paper

In its Oct. 17 issue, *Révolution Africaine*, published in Algeria, discussed the U.S. presidential elections and criticized both Goldwater and Johnson. It described Clifton DeBerry as the first black candidate for President and cited his position that "Johnson is no answer to Goldwater." It also described Malcolm X's position on the two capitalist candidates' attitudes toward the Negroes: that Goldwater wants to keep the Negroes in their place; and Johnson wants to keep them in their place — while telling them that they will be treated a little better.

church in St. Louis. This was a step forward for St. Louis, which has not held a meeting for a socialist in many years. Shaw also spoke on radio station KATZ while in the city.

DeBerry broke a ban on the appearance of "controversial" speakers at Los Angeles City College Oct. 12 when he spoke before 175 students. College authorities gave permission to the Student Civil Liberties Union to sponsor the DeBerry meeting on campus. Television, radio, and the LACC newspaper, the *Collegian*, interviewed the SWP presidential candidate just before the campus meeting.

If the fight the Student Civil Liberties Committee put up had failed, the Los Angeles Students for DeBerry and Shaw committee was prepared to hold a street meeting for DeBerry. Last March, when Bloomington defendant Tom Morgan was denied the right to speak at LACC, he drew an audience of hundreds of students at a street meeting.

DeBerry had a good meeting with 150 students at Grossmont College in San Diego, and at San Diego State. Besides his appearances on two local TV stations, a street meeting in the Negro area addressed by DeBerry was covered by CBS. A San Diego Negro newspaper, the *Independent*, gave DeBerry its banner headline and story Oct. 15, in its coverage of his talk at the Militant Labor Forum.

## In U.S. 44 Years, Ordered Deported

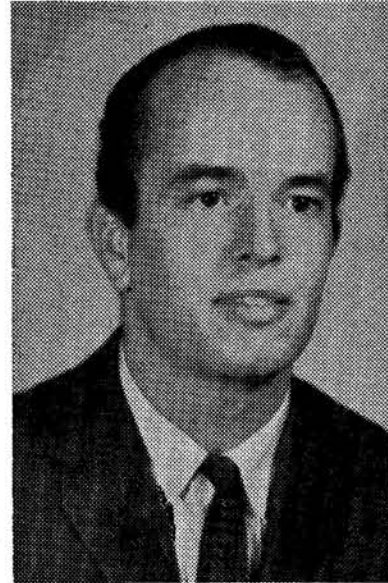
NEW YORK — Joseph Sherman of this city, after 44 years of residence in the U.S., was ordered deported by the Immigration Service Sept. 10.

The Immigration Service claimed that Sherman returned to this country without inspection in 1938 after he had fought in Spain on the Loyalist side against Franco. After 21 years, in 1959, the Immigration Service instituted this action, and finally after another four year lapse produced only one witness, Edward Morrow of the *New York Times*, to establish its case. On cross-examination "witness" Morrow conceded he was not "positive" that he saw Sherman in Spain and "the possibility exists" that he (Morrow) was "mistaken."

Despite the weakness of the Justice Department's case, the hearing officer ruled that the Immigration Service had presented sufficient proof. The decision is being appealed to the Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington, D.C.

The Sherman Defense Committee is asking for contributions for the defense. Its address is 49 East 21st St., Rm. 405, New York 10, N.Y.

## Jack Barnes, YSA Leader, Begins Tour



Jack Barnes

Jack Barnes, a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, is making a nation-wide speaking and organizing tour for the YSA. His subject is "The Myth of American Liberalism" and he will be speaking on major American campuses from Boston to San Francisco.

Barnes, 24, is a member of the YSA's leading body, the National Executive Committee. He graduated from Carleton College in Minnesota in 1961, with a bachelor's degree in economics. In 1960 he visited Cuba. The revolution there made a profound impression upon him, and when he returned home he was interested in socialism and the YSA, and joined the YSA while at Carleton College.

In addition to Barnes' tour, which will extend over the next six weeks, the YSA has sent two teams of "Trailblazers" into the Midwest and East to sell literature and meet students on campuses away from the larger cities. Armed with hundreds of copies of the *Young Socialist*, *The Militant*, and books and pamphlets on socialism, the Trailblazers are driving from one college town to the next, staying over with interested students they meet, selling literature, speaking at impromptu street meetings, etc.

### Good Response

The East Coast Trailblazers report a good response at the first campuses they hit. They sold 80 copies of the *Young Socialist* at Brown University, 80 more at the University of Rhode Island, and 60 at Clark U. in Worcester, Mass. So far, they have sold over 400 YS's and hope to double that figure by election day.

Besides the schools mentioned above, the East Coast Trailblazers plan to hit Yale, Wesleyan, Amherst, U. of Mass., Mt. Holyoke, Smith, Bennington, Haverford, Princeton, and others.

The student newspaper at Ohio State in Columbus carried a front-page banner headline and pictures on the Midwest Trailblazers, who sold over 110 YS's at that school. Almost the same amount was sold at Oberlin College in Ohio.

In Bowling Green, Ohio, they ran into some trouble with local authorities who either knew nothing about the Bill of Rights or chose to ignore it. They were arrested for selling political literature. The American Civil Liberties Union has taken the case as a clear violation of the right of freedom of speech.

In addition to schools in Ohio, the Trailblazers plan to go to Indiana and Illinois and Michigan. Both the Midwest and East Coast teams will wind up their tours in time for the Midwest and East Coast conferences on Independent Political Action.

## Seattle Socialist Candidate Challenges "Loyalty" Oath

By R. Kirk

SEATTLE — Jack Wright, Freedom Socialist Party candidate for state representative, whose filing for a place on the ballot was rejected by the Washington Secretary of State because of his refusal to sign a candidate's loyalty oath, will go to the federal district court in an attempt to get the oath declared unconstitutional.

Attorney Landon Estep, recently associated with the American Civil Liberties Union's successful challenge of the State Employee's Oath, has been retained to initiate the legal action. The ACLU case, arising from the refusal of 60 University of Washington professors to sign the oath, was finally won in the Supreme Court.

Wright claims that the law requiring a loyalty oath of candidates is unconstitutional because: 1) It violates the people's right to a republican form of government, which requires that the people have an opportunity to vote for whatever candidates aspire to office without being "screened" by the Secretary of State.

### In Conflict

2) It is in conflict with the oath of office to uphold the U.S. Constitution by requiring the candidate to solemnly swear not to advocate to "alter, amend or overthrow" any political subdivision of the U.S. government by revolution, force or violence.

Wright claims that this amounts to a loyalty oath to the State of Mississippi. "If I were elected to public office," he stated, "I should advocate that Congress carry out its constitutional responsibility to guarantee a republican form of government to the citizens of Mississippi, for instance."

"This could only be done by making some drastic alterations in the government of Mississippi, and undoubtedly through the use of force of some kind, such as the U.S. army, a people's militia, or even revolution by the citizens of Mississippi."

"I could not, therefore, take an oath of office to uphold the U.S. Constitution after having signed this state candidate's oath — which in this instance is an oath

## Boston Militant Forum Hears James Shabazz

BOSTON — At the first in a series of regular Friday night meetings sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum here, James Shabazz of the Organization for Afro-American Unity, on Oct. 16, addressed an audience of 100 on "The Black Revolt in America." His blistering indictment of white American society and its bi-partisan Jim Crow government drew frequent applause and cheers from the many young people, black and white, who were present.

Tracing the history of black people in the Western Hemisphere from the days of slavery, Shabazz pointed out that the American Negro had been brutalized and dehumanized to the degree that he was even unaware of his African background and cultural heritage. He urged that Afro-Americans look to Africa as a source of strength and dignity. In this connection he described Malcolm X's current visit to Africa to establish fraternal ties there between American Negroes and the independent African nations.

The next speaker in the current series of forums will be Tom Leonard, national campaign director for DeBerry and Shaw. He will give "A Socialist Analysis of Goldwater" at the Oct. 23 forum.

Due to unusual circumstances, the forum the following week will be held Thursday, Oct. 29, with Edward Shaw, SWP Vice-Presidential candidate, as the speaker. The forum meets at 295 Huntington Ave., Room 307 at 8 p.m.

of allegiance to the State of Mississippi, which although it is an illegal and non-republican government is nevertheless a political subdivision of the U.S. government.

"If I did take such an oath of office, I would be subject to indictment for perjury. No one can be loyal to the U.S. Constitution and to the State of Mississippi at the same time."

Waymon Ware, FSP candidate for Congress in the Seventh District, signed the oath with the following protest:

"I sign only with the understanding that nothing . . . shall prevent me from pointing out to the electorate, while running for federal office, that the people of many Southern states are totally deprived of a republican form of government by the existence of police states controlled only by Klans and Councils and other lawless elements and not by the people; and that if the people of these states should be forced to resort to revolutionary means to establish a republican form of government, that I, as a representative in Congress or as a candidate for such an office and a refugee from said police states, would consider it a betrayal of the U.S. Constitution to fail to support them."

## Nigerian Gov't Jails Unionists

Militant workers in Nigeria are being persecuted by the pro-Western, capitalist government there which was rocked by a general strike in the first two weeks of June. It has launched a witch hunt as its answer to the vast working-class upsurge which swept the country.

Following the strike, a number of people were arrested, including leading trade unionists. Four of the victims were singled out for trial on charges of "sedition." They were: Dr. Victor Leonard Allen, of the University of Leeds in England, who was in Africa collecting materials on the trade-union movement; Sidi Khayam and Jonas Kiomasekenagh Abam, both trade unionists; and Olushegun Adebayo, a teacher.

### "Subversive Means"

They were accused of "conspiring" between March 1 and June 10 of this year to overthrow the Nigerian federal government by "subversive means," with having drawn up "plans" for this purpose, and with having certain "seditious publications" in their possession. These included an alleged "program of the Communist Party of Nigeria" and "constitution of the Revolutionary Socialist Party."

The trial has been dragging on, marked by instances of police high-handedness and brutality toward the defendants, their acquaintances and defense witnesses. Much of the prosecution's case has involved arguments and evidence relating to the admissibility of a statement made to police by Sidi Khayam, which the defense argues "was not voluntary."

In a letter to a friend in England, Dr. Allen said: "From my own observations and experiences I knew the police were lying, yet the magistrate went out of his way to say that he believed as true the very things I knew were lies." Allen said there was strong evidence the judge had accepted a bribe and received instructions from the government.

Allen and his fellow defendants are in need of help. Protests should be sent to the Nigerian High Commissioner, 9 Northumberland Ave., London, W.C.2.

## Weekly Calendar

### BOSTON

EDWARD SHAW, SWP candidate for Vice-President, speaks on *Why a Vote for Johnson or Goldwater Is a Vote for War*. Thursday, Oct. 29, 8 p.m. Rm. 307, 295 Huntington Ave. (one block from Mass. Ave.). Contrib. 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

### CHICAGO

REPORT ON CUBA, by students who visited Cuba this summer, Pieter Clark and Robert Aps. Fri., Oct. 30, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

### LOS ANGELES

THE TWO AMERICAS — AFFLUENCE & POVERTY IN THE USA. Speakers, Steve Roberts, candidate of the California SWP for U.S. Senator. Fri., Oct. 30, 8:30 p.m., 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Tues., Oct. 27, 6:45 p.m. (repeated Oct. 28, 9 a.m.). KPFC-FM (90.7 on your dial).

### MINNEAPOLIS

SWP ELECTION RALLY. Speakers: Everett Luma, SWP candidate for U.S. Senator; Mike Garza. Fri., Oct. 30, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK STUDENT CONFERENCE ON INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTION. Speakers include: Clifton DeBerry, Farrell Dobbs, Joanne Grant, Milton Henry, Slater King, Prof. Staughton Lynd, Dr. Otto Nathan, James Shabazz. From Fri., Oct. 30, at 8:30 p.m. through Sunday, Nov. 1, Woodstock Hotel, 127 W. 43rd St. Ausp. Students for DeBerry and Shaw.

NO MILITANT LABOR FORUM FRIDAY, OCT. 30.

SEE CLIFTON DeBERRY ON TELEVISION. On *The World at 10*, Thursday, Oct. 29, at 10 p.m., on Channel 13, WNDT-TV.



# Khrushchev's Ouster, China's A-Test, Britain's Election

By the Editors

## Khrushchev's Ouster

On Oct. 12 the Soviet Union sent a three-man spaceship circling the earth. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev spoke to the three spacemen at the beginning of their orbits in a television conversation broadcast to the Soviet people and the entire world. When the returned astronauts were brought to Moscow to be honored, Khrushchev, the country's top leader, was nowhere to be seen. His name had vanished from the Soviet newspapers; his huge portraits were missing from the sides of buildings. Why? For all the Soviet people and the rest of the world knew about it, they, too, might have been in outer space during the momentous event.

The coincidence of the Soviet spaceflight and the abrupt, secretive shift of power in the Kremlin dramatically expresses the profound contradiction in Soviet society. On the one side are the spectacular achievements of the system of planned economy, and on the other is the system of political rule by palace-revolution and hidden intrigue in the top layers of the privileged bureaucracy.

Just what issues were involved in the ouster of Khrushchev and the elevation of Brezhnev and Kosygin, and how the power shift took place, is not known to the Soviet people or members of the Soviet Communist Party or other Communist parties. Like them, we must await subsequent revelations to know precisely what it was about and consequently what effects the change will have on the Soviet Union, the Communist movement and the world. We shall continue to analyze events as they unfold and as information becomes available, but certain underlying factors are clear.

The bureaucratic caste ruling the Soviet Union has been unable to re-establish the monolithic stability it enjoyed under Stalin, who maintained his position by murdering actual and potential opponents and mass terrorization of the people. Today it stands in ever-sharpening conflict with the development of the Soviet economy, the consciousness of the masses, and the needs of the other workers' states.

The sudden, conspiratorial power play in Moscow signals the need for a return to workers' democracy in the Soviet Union. The Soviet people have the right to know why Khrushchev was dumped, what the issues were, to debate this matter and all other important questions — and to have the decisive vote on them.

The bureaucratic methods of Brezhnev and Kosygin — and of Khrushchev, Malenkov and Stalin, before them — stand in sharp contrast to the norms of workers' democracy of the early Soviet state under Lenin and Trotsky. Then, in the most difficult and dangerous circumstances of civil war, imperialist intervention and the devastation of years of war, the Soviet people and the Communist Party members knew the issues confronting their government, the positions taken by the various sides in the debates, and were told the truth about what happened. Lenin could be outvoted — and sometimes was — the system of majority rule was enforced.

Thus an outstanding effect of the deposing of Khrushchev is to underscore the Soviet people's need to rid themselves of the ruling bureaucratic caste — a parasite on the economy and the usurper of political power from the masses — and to return to the norms of workers' democracy set forth by the young Soviet Republic.

The tremendous advances made by the planned economy provide the basis for an even higher form of workers' democracy than in the Soviet Union's difficult early days. Such a rebirth of workers' democracy would be an incalculable stimulus to the economy and culture and would give a mighty impetus to the world-wide struggle for socialism.

## China's A-Bomb

With China's Oct. 16 announcement of its successful test and its breaking of the monopoly of nuclear weapons previously held by the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France, it made the following declaration: "The Chinese Government hereby formally proposes to the governments of the world that a summit conference of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons." This proposal is similar to those which had been repeatedly made by the Soviet Union for a conference aimed at dismantling nuclear stockpiles.

No government which is serious about stopping further pollution of the atmosphere from nuclear testing, about taking measures to eliminate the proliferation of nuclear weapons, about ending the threat of nuclear destruction, could fail to reply favorably to such a proposal.

The U.S. government, however, flatly rejected the Chinese

proposal — as it had rejected the Russian ones. In his statements on the Chinese test, President Johnson coupled this rejection with some of the most bare-faced hypocrisy in the history of statesmanship. With a straight face, Johnson said he was shocked at the Chinese for polluting the atmosphere with fallout.

The U.S. government started atmospheric testing in the first place. It pressed — and continues to press — the nuclear-arms race which made testing by other countries inevitable. It is the only government ever to have used nuclear bombs on human beings. And it did that as a grizzly "test" too, since the bombs were dropped on two cities crowded with men, women and children when Japan was already defeated and suing for peace.

The U.S. government signed the atmospheric test-ban treaty only after it had all the data it could use from its own atmospheric tests. It has conducted dozens of underground tests since the signing of the test-ban treaty and it continues them. It continues to spread nuclear weapons throughout the world on Polaris submarines, on the so-called multi-nation-crewed ships, at its bases around the world, and on its nuclear-armed fleets which cruise the China coast.

And Johnson — current representative of the government which has done all that, and which has carried out more than 250 atmospheric tests — pretends to be shocked at China which has carried out one.

On top of that, Johnson expresses tender concern for the economic welfare of the Chinese people, declaring it a "tragedy" that their government expends so much of the country's resources, needed elsewhere in the economy, on a nuclear program. This from the government which embargoes China, keeps her out of the United Nations, refuses to allow its citizens to sell China surplus wheat or anything else! This from Johnson, who is spending 50 times as much on war preparations as he proposes for the so-called "war on poverty" in the U.S.

This cloud of hypocrisy is intended to conceal the simple fact that the U.S. government continues to reject the most reasonable and obvious steps toward nuclear disarmament.

## The British Labor Victory

In the recent election campaign in Great Britain the Labor Party leadership temporized, watered down its program, and aimed at winning the "undecided" sectors of the middle class. While this policy resulted in noticeable apathy among the working masses it did not prevent the majority of them — who regard the Labor Party as a socialist party and their party — from voting Labor into office.

Despite the Labor Party leadership's short-sighted policy, whose result was to make the margin of victory a slim one, the Labor Party won the election. As a party of the working people, based on the unions, it has to safeguard the basic interests of the workers and unions. Moreover, it is subject to the direct pressure of the workers. This is immediately evidenced in the appointment of union leaders to cabinet posts. Throughout the Labor Party's tenure of office it will be subjected to the pressure exerted by the annual Labor Party conferences in which the constituency labor parties and the unions are represented.

Contrast this with what we are witnessing and about to witness in this country. U.S. labor is making the greatest political effort in its history in terms of expenditure of funds and the unanimous efforts of the unions to elect Johnson. Labor leaders are boasting of the landslide vote for Johnson which will take place Nov. 3. Assuming this will happen, the question is: What will U.S. labor get out of it? The answer is obvious: little or nothing.

The lesson for unionists in this country is equally obvious. It is time for U.S. labor to break with the big-business dominated Democratic Party and to take a leaf from the book of British unionists by organizing an American labor party.

Workers who realize this and those who have enough class instinct to be unable to stomach Johnson or Goldwater still have a socialist alternative to the Democratic and Republican candidates. They can vote on Nov. 3 for Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw, the presidential ticket of the Socialist Workers Party.

# Socialist Fund Needs Your Contributions

Marvel Scholl  
Fund Drive Director

On Sept. 15 the Socialist Workers Party launched its Socialist Campaign Fund Drive to raise a minimum of \$17,000 by Dec. 15. The first scoreboard appears on page 3.

This is an urgent appeal for help.

The money to be raised is urgently needed both to help finance the presidential election campaign, and to carry on our every-day-of-the-year fight for a basic change in the social system. Our election campaigns are an important part of our educational offensive against capitalism, but they are just that — a part, not the whole. We are not an electoral machine active once every few years. We work every day, 52 weeks every year, for as many years as it will take, to bring a socialist America into being.

A presidential election campaign affords us an opportunity to reach thousands of people who would not know of our existence otherwise. In previous campaigns (1948-52-56-60) we got a great deal of free radio and TV time under the "equal-time" provisions of the Federal Communications Act. Every time a major candidate got any free time, so did we. This meant that our message was spread far and wide and the response, in mail and money contributions, was very good.

### Conspiracy of Silence

This year, a conspiracy of silence has been imposed on us by an amalgam of the major parties and the national news media. Ostensibly all candidates, or their parties, pay for all TV and radio time. Thus there is no free time for us to be "equal" with!

To date, except for local broadcasts when the candidates are making tour appearances, our national candidates have not appeared on a single nationwide TV or radio hookup. The first time Clifton DeBerry will appear on a national TV hookup will be Oct. 25 when he will share the cameras with two other minority candidates over ABC's "Issues and Answers" program. Then on Oct. 29 he will be interviewed on NBC's "Today" program.

It is therefore more important than ever that we have your help to break this conspiracy of silence. You can do this in two ways: become an active campaigner yourself, acquaint your friends and shopmates with a socialist alternative to Johnson and Goldwater, and — of equal importance — make as generous a contribution to the Socialist Campaign Fund as you can.

Please use the coupon below to send in your contribution. It will be an important vote against capitalism and a powerful vote for socialism.

## Score Board

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
St. Louis	\$ 100	\$ 65	65
Chicago	1,500	460	31
New York	4,300	1,247	29
Cleveland	550	150	27
Detroit	900	208	27
Denver	200	52	26
Boston	850	209	25
Minneapolis-St. Paul	1,200	300	25
Connecticut	200	35	18
Allentown	150	20	13
Milwaukee	300	40	13
Los Angeles	3,700	288	8
Oakland-Berkeley	700	20	3
Newark	150	00	00
Philadelphia	200	00	00
San Diego	400	00	00
San Francisco	700	00	00
Seattle	550	00	00
General	350	15	4
Totals through Oct. 19	\$17,000	\$ 3,109	18%

## I Want to Help The Socialist Fund

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# THE MILITANT

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# Socialist and Freedom Now C

On this page we present a guide for readers who want to vote against the pro-war, anti-Negro and anti-labor policies of the Republicans and Democrats and who want to register their votes for peace, Freedom Now and socialism.

Listed are the Socialist Workers Party candidates for state and national offices who are running along with DeBerry and Shaw.

DeBerry and Shaw will appear on the ballot in Colorado, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Pennsylvania (where the ballot designation is Militant Workers Party), Wisconsin, and Washington (where they have been nominated by the Freedom Socialist Party).

Organized write-in campaigns are being carried on in California, Illinois, Ohio and Massachusetts, where prohibitive nominating requirements make it virtually impossible for a minor party to get on the ballot. Where possible in other states, voters are urged to write in the names of DeBerry and Shaw.

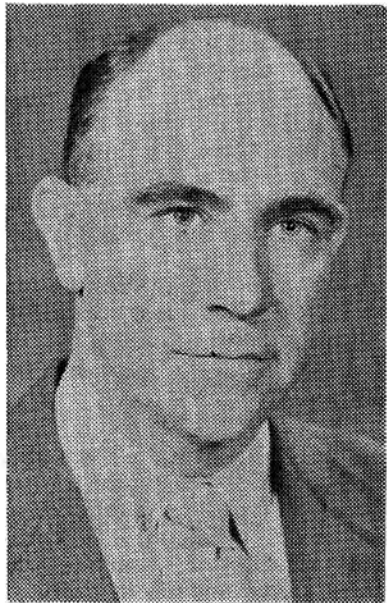
We also list on this page Negro candidates running against the two major parties in various areas. We believe such candidacies offer voters the opportunity to register their support for the principle of Negro representation in government and for a program of political struggle for Freedom Now.

## New York

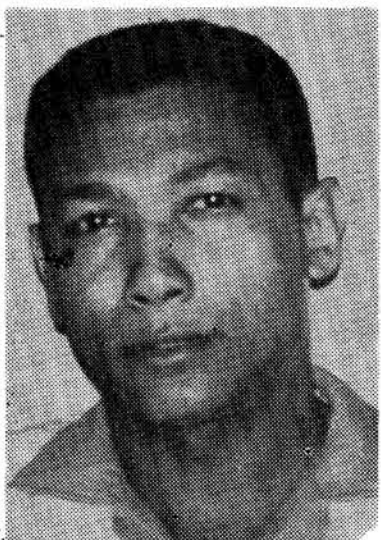
The New York Socialist Workers Party has nominated Richard Garza for United States Senator. Along with DeBerry and Shaw he appears on Row F on the voting machine — "F for Freedom!"



Richard Garza



Frank Lovell



Richard David



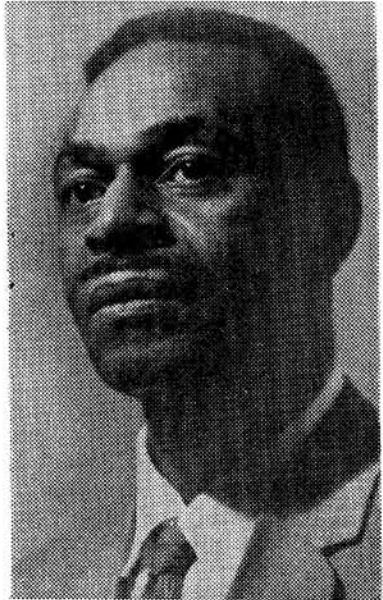
Evelyn Sell



Morris Chertov



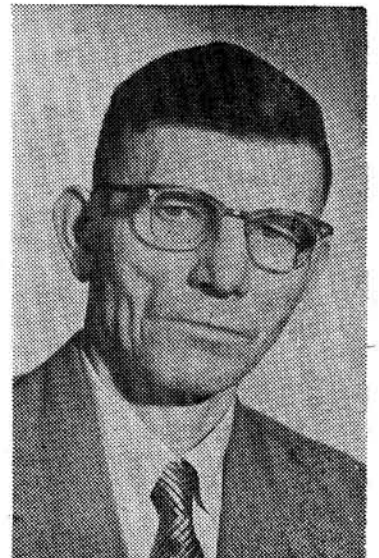
William Hathaway



Lawrence Stewart

## Washington

In the State of Washington where DeBerry and Shaw have been nominated by the Freedom Socialist Party, a coalition of affiliated and independent socialists, Jack Wright has been nominated for State Representative in the 37th District in Seattle. He has not been certified for a ballot place because he has refused to sign the state-required "loyalty" oath for candidates. He is testing the reactionary requirement in the courts.



Jack Wright

## Michigan

In Michigan the Socialist Workers Party has made a series of nominations.

Its candidate for Governor is Frank Lovell.

Evelyn Sell is candidate for United States Senator.

Harriet Talan is candidate for Lieutenant Governor.

Robert Fink is the candidate for Attorney General.

Jan Garrett is candidate for Secretary of State.

In the Second Congressional District, Peter Signorelli is the candidate for U.S. House of Representatives.

Richard T. Davis is the candidate for Congress in the 13th Dis-

trict. Davis was originally nominated for State Representative in the 23rd District but withdrew in order to support Hugh Cleage, the Freedom Now Party nominee.

Henry Austin is the candidate for U.S. House of Representatives in the 16th District.

In the 17th Congressional District, Leo Bernard is the candidate for U.S. House of Representatives.

In addition to withdrawing in favor of Hugh Cleage, the Michigan SWP has endorsed the candidacy of Milton Henry, Freedom Now Party candidate for Congress in the First District.

The SWP has also endorsed Henry Cleage, FNP candidate for Wayne County Prosecutor.

The SWP also voted at its nominating convention to endorse the FNP candidates for county office, state representative and state senate.

This was in line with an SWP decision not to run any candidate in any area where the FNP has candidates on the ballot who stand any chance of being elected.

While the SWP, like the FNP is running candidates for Governor and U.S. Senator, it is not running these candidates in competition with the FNP. The SWP feels that neither it nor the FNP has any chance of being elected to these offices this year and that both campaigns are primarily educational. With both running, each gains access to the free radio and television time afforded candidates, thus giving both the opportunity to spread their ideas.

## Pennsylvania

The Socialist Workers Party has two candidates in the state of Pennsylvania in addition to its presidential ticket.

For United States Senator, the SWP has nominated Morris Chertov of Philadelphia. A factory worker and former merchant seaman, Chertov has long been active in the union movement.

For State Treasurer, the SWP has nominated William Hathaway, a young man who has been active in the Young Socialist Alliance.

Because of legal regulations in the state, the Socialist Workers Party candidates appear on the Pennsylvania ballot under the designation, "Militant Workers Party."

## New Jersey

In New Jersey, in addition to the presidential ticket, the SWP has nominated Lawrence Stewart for United States Senator.



Eugene V. Debs

*"It is better to vote for what  
what you don't want and ge*



# Candidates Across the Country

## Minnesota

The Minnesota SWP has nominated Everett E. Luoma for United States Senator. In 1963 Luoma was the SWP candidate for mayor of the iron-range mining town of Hibbing. In the current election he campaigned extensively to rally support for the recently concluded holding action of farmers in the area.



Everett Luoma

## Colorado

In addition to DeBerry and Shaw, the Colorado SWP has nominated Allen Taplin of Denver for U.S. Congressman from the First District. Taplin has placed special emphasis on the problems confronting Denver's large Spanish-speaking community and has hit out especially hard against the police brutality in the Spanish and Negro communities.



Allen Taplin

## Independent Negro Candidates

### Michigan

Michigan is the first state where the Freedom Now Party has fielded a state-wide ticket.

For Governor, the FNP has nominated Albert B. Cleage, Jr. Nominated with him for Lieutenant Governor is Dr. James Jackson of Muskegon.

Allen Bibb is the candidate for Attorney General.

Loy Cohen is running for Secretary of State.



Rev. Albert Cleage

Ernest C. Smith is the FNP candidate for U.S. Senator.

Former Pontiac City Councilman Milton Henry is candidate for U.S. House of Representatives in the First Congressional District.

Richard B. Kelly is running for Congress in the 18th District.

A focal point of the FNP campaign is the race for Wayne County Prosecutor. The party's candidate for the office is Henry Cleage, editor of the widely-read, hard-hitting weekly, *Illustrated News*.

Other FNP candidates for county office are Oscar Hand for Sheriff; William Armour for Register of Deeds; Louise Hill for County Clerk; Leroy Mitchell for County Treasurer; Samuel Kelly for Drain Commissioner.

The FNP also nominated candidates for State Representative in the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 20th and 23rd Districts.

The platform adopted by the state convention of the Michigan Freedom Now Party declares:

"The Freedom Now Party is the expression of independent black political action and the political arm of the Negro's struggle for Freedom Now."

It also declares that "after 188 years of political subservience," the Negro struggle for freedom and equality "can issue, meaningfully, only from our own leadership and candidates."

### Seattle

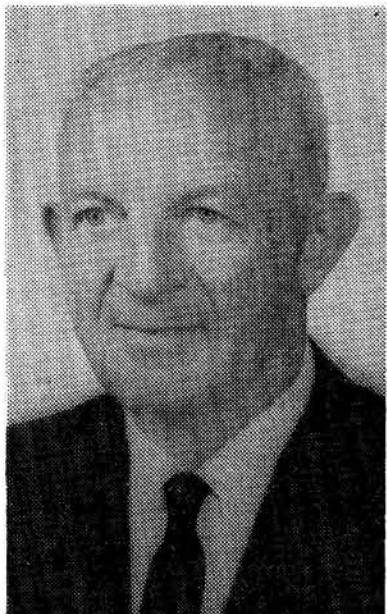
In Washington, the Freedom Socialist Party has nominated Waymon Ware for Congress from the Seventh District in Seattle. Ware is an independent socialist.



Waymon Ware

## California

In California, the law requires that a minority party secure nearly a million signatures to win a ballot place. Unable to meet this prohibitive requirement, the SWP is waging a write-in campaign for its national ticket and for Steve Roberts for U.S. Senator.



Steve Roberts

## Wisconsin

The Wisconsin Socialist Workers Party, which won a State Supreme Court victory over efforts of state election officials to bar DeBerry and Shaw for the ballot, has nominated Wayne Leverenz for U.S. Senator.



Wayne Leverenz



Henry Cleage



Milton Henry

### Boston

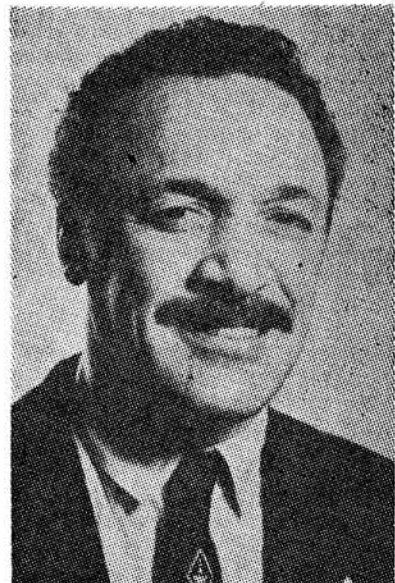
In Boston's Ninth Congressional District, Noel Day is running as an independent Negro candidate for House of Representatives.



Noel Day

### San Francisco

In California's 18th Assembly District in San Francisco, Aaron Chapman is the write-in candidate of the Freedom Now Party.



Aaron Chapman

you want and not get it than to vote for it."

Eugene V. Debs



## DISCUSSION OF A CRITICISM

## Is It Realistic to Urge Formation of Labor Party?

By William F. Warde

[The following is a discussion of the letter which appears on page 7.]

This thoughtful and thought-provoking letter raises questions of great importance which cannot be fully explored in a short reply. The four main points made are these.

1) The Socialist Workers party platform does not adequately evaluate the drastic changes in American unionism, especially the conservatizing of the more privileged white workers. 2) The starting point for building support for the Negro struggle must be among the impoverished and unemployed whites. 3) The SWP's call for a labor party is unrealistic and should be discarded because the AFL-CIO hierarchy will not break with capitalist politics and even the ranks are apathetic to the idea. 4) New organizational forms will have to be created to defend the interests of the most deprived elements of the people.

The writer's description of the state of the unions today hits the mark. The corrupt labor bureaucracy does find its main base of support among the better-paid workers with skills and job protection. These two forces often gang up against the bottom layers even of their own industries (garment, building-trades, coal, long-shore, etc.)

As the unions have hardened into a bureaucratic mold, many privileged workers have taken on middle-class attitudes and values. However, they have not acquired middle-class status. On the job they are subjected to the pressures of capitalist exploitation and are at times obliged to react against them. As "A Reader" points out, the "bourgeoisification"

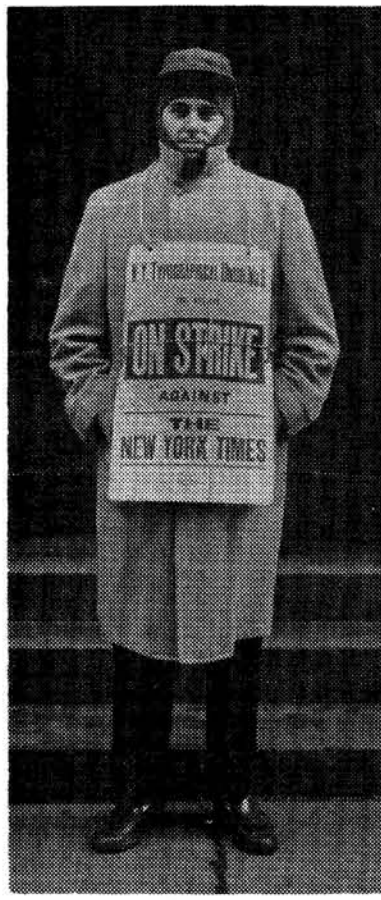
of favored workers has its limits. The New York printers' strike last year showed that they can engage in vigorous strike action to protect their positions against employer aggressions.

The SWP centers its fire upon the union officials not in order to deny the existence or slur over the importance of this substantial section of privileged and prejudiced white workers. It does so because the bureaucrats have the chief responsibility for maintaining the present state of affairs and refusing to use their power and authority to change it.

That's why labor needs a new set of leaders and a new kind of leadership. Unfortunately, under present conditions this necessary task can be put forward only in a propaganda way. As most militants know, it is extremely difficult, well-nigh impossible, to undertake the simplest steps in this direction.

Where are the initiatives for a change most likely to come from? The first moves have already been made by those Negro workers who have challenged by direct action their exclusion from the building trades. "A Reader" correctly concludes that the poor and unemployed whites will be more inclined to alignment with these and other Freedom Now forces while the upper-crust workers remain apathetic or antagonistic. The leaders of the Negro revolt can help this process along if they work out a program of economic and social demands which could serve as a common platform of struggle against the capitalist power structure by both black and white members of the working class.

Should the SWP abandon its call for a labor party just because



**DIFFERENT:** Typographical Union picket during militant 114-day strike against New York papers. A conservative craft union, the typos showed how their mood can change when their conditions are threatened.

it cannot count on endorsement by the union officialdom or enthusiasm in the ranks? Nowadays almost any radically new propo-

sals from nuclear disarmament to the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay must face resistance, hostility and indifference. That does not make them any less necessary or desirable.

First, organized labor needs its own political arm to protect its elementary economic interests. The wage-levels in major industries are more and more regulated, if not actually negotiated, in Washington and, as the rail settlement and longshore situation demonstrate, the government intervenes in the most vital disputes between the corporations and unions. Labor's positions will keep worsening if it remains dependent on capitalist representatives. Independent political organization is the sole effective means of deterring further anti-labor legislation and furthering the welfare of union members.

Second, how can a militant, who is fed up with things as they are, answer the arguments of the pork-choppers that the unions have no alternative but to hang on to the tail of the Democratic donkey? Apart from griping and doing nothing, the only sensible counterproposal would be the formation of a labor party.

But, it is objected, this seems too "far-out." So did the demand for industrial unionism before the middle of the 1930s. This did not hold back the most persevering, far-sighted radicals from plugging for it in good times or bad until they saw its birth following sweeping changes in objective conditions, the attitude of the workers and their relations with the masters of industry.

It will take equally big developments to make the demand for a new political road urgent, realistic and acceptable. However, the idea

is not new or impossible to envisage or achieve. Canada's labor movement recently founded its New Democratic Party against the Liberals and Conservatives. Many of its units are affiliated with American internationals.

The workers on this side of the border who are directly dominated by U.S. big business are not so fundamentally and everlastingly different that they could not respond to a comparable call when the time is ripe. Meanwhile, it would be short-sighted and shirking the job of a socialist or progressive unionist to cease propagandizing for a break with capitalist politics merely because it is not presently popular.

\* \* \*

It can be expected that those who are excluded from jobs by automation and other causes will create new forms of organization and struggle just as the Negro revolt has done. In fact, both movements are reflexes against the same economic evils of the capitalist system. The members and friends of the SWP will work with any such groups and support their activities and aims.

Justified and effective as they may be, the direct actions of the unemployed will not reduce or eliminate the need for political organization and political power to combat the authors of their misery. Those Negro leaders who have best recognized this have launched the Freedom Now Party. They have pointed a way, provided a good example for the white workers to follow. The labor party rooted in the unions and appealing to the unemployed and youth would also be a "new form of organization" that could open the door to a great chapter of political progress in our land.

## The Lesser-Evil Yardstick

## Johnson vs. Goldwater — How Deep Are the Differences?

By George Breitman

There's nothing wrong with the theory of the lesser evil. Most of us act in accord with it every day. It would be hard to survive if, in preference to greater evils, we did not choose or accept lesser evils, or what we take to be lesser evils.

That's the rub. The evil that we may think is lesser sometimes turns out to be as bad as or worse than the evil that appears to be greater at the moment of choice. The theory is all right, but it isn't always applied properly. And when it isn't, the result can be as unpleasant or as disastrous as if we had chosen the apparently greater evil. It is not easy to be sure that there really is a lesser evil in any given situation.

To avoid undesired results is not possible all the time, but sometimes it is. I think more mistakes would be prevented if greater attention were paid to determining *how much* of a difference there is between evils confronting us. If the difference is quite small, if it isn't at all significant, why make the choice, why assume the responsibility of accepting either, why not reject both evils? Sometimes a too-ready acceptance of one of the evils can prevent us from searching for and possibly finding an alternative that might not be evil at all.

In should not be forgotten that choice is not limited to Johnson or Goldwater in the 1964 election. We can vote for Clifton DeBerry, the Socialist Workers Party candidate, as an expression of our desire for a socialist society and/or as a protest against prevailing conditions. Or we can refuse to vote at all (an inferior way of protesting, because the intention is not so clear).

Up jumps the Radical Who Is

Voting Unhappily But Emphatically For Johnson, and he says: "But there is a difference, a basic difference, a qualitative difference. I know Johnson has many faults and is not an ideal candidate. But he's not a fascist and Goldwater is. Fascism must be defeated at all costs, and the only candidate who can beat Goldwater is Johnson."

Peering closer at this Johnsonite Radical I detect something familiar about him. Isn't he the same fellow who was going around peddling Kennedy as the lesser evil in 1960, and Stevenson as the lesser evil in 1956? Only he didn't base it then on the claim that Nixon or Eisenhower were fascists. It's enough to arouse suspicion about his motives. But of course his argument still needs to be answered, aside from his motives.

It rests on the proposition that Goldwater is a fascist. I don't think that's true. I think this is a case of fascist being used as an epithet, which may be harmless at one level, but which can do damage in the long run because the continued use of this term as an epithet results finally in an underestimation of the true menace of fascism when it becomes a clear and present danger — something like what happened when the boy kept crying wolf.

Used scientifically, to designate a particular kind of political movement, the term fascist does not apply to Goldwater. He is a reactionary, but not all reactionaries are fascists. He is supported by fascists, and he accepts their support, but that doesn't make him a fascist — yet.

If it is said that Goldwater is preparing the ground for fascism, then I could agree completely. But so is the conservative Johnson, in his own way. Both of them, in

the different ways they try to preserve a corrupt and dying social system, can be said to be preparing the conditions for the growth of a mass fascist movement and for its coming to power when the big capitalists will think that necessary.

While I state that Goldwater is not a fascist, I am not trying here to prove it; I don't have to for the purposes of the present discussion. I can, for the sake of argument, grant the Johnsonite Radical his premise that Goldwater is a fascist, and still show that the fascism of Goldwater does not logically justify support of Johnson.

## German Lesson

An indisputable fascist ran for the presidency of Germany in 1932. His name was Hitler. The man he sought to replace was the conservative incumbent, Hindenburg.

All the arguments we hear today from the Johnsonite Radicals were heard then from their German cousins, the Hindenburgite Radicals: Hindenburg had faults, but at least he was no fascist, and his election would mean the defeat of fascism; casting a vote for a radical candidate would be wasting it, harmful, etc.

Hindenburg, supported by the Social Democrats and the union movement they led, and by the main body of German capitalism, won the election. It was, as they said, a famous victory for democracy and the anti-fascist cause.

But less than a year later, lesser-evil Hindenburg appointed greater-evil Hitler chancellor of Germany, and the bloodbath began. In a few months the fascists, utilizing the state apparatus put in their hands by the lesser evil, had crushed all the working-class organizations and whatever re-

mained of democracy in Germany.

The lesson of Germany is that fascism cannot be defeated by supporting capitalist candidates, conservative or liberal. It can be defeated only by organizing the masses independently of the capitalists, with hostility to the capitalists, in opposition to the capitalists.

If Goldwater is a fascist, electing Johnson is not the way to defeat fascism. Edward Shaw, vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, was absolutely justified in pointing out, at a symposium in New York last month, that in a period of crisis such as Germany faced in 1933, Johnson might appoint Goldwater as Secretary of Defense. If German big business turned to Hitler after previously rejecting him, American big business will not hesitate to turn to Goldwater, or to an avowed fascist, when they think they need him and his methods. And Johnson would not stand in the way any more than Hindenburg did.

Differences between Goldwater and Johnson? Of course, but over tactics and tempo, not over principle or objective. Both are basically anti-labor and anti-Negro because both are dedicated defenders of capitalism. Goldwater favors a tough stance, while Johnson thinks softsoap can do the job better. But both want to keep the workers and the Negroes in their place and big business in the saddle. And both will use force against workers and Negroes whenever and wherever they threaten big-business supremacy, just as both will go to war if necessary to preserve big-business interests and profits abroad.

Is Johnson a lesser evil? In some respects yes; in other respects he is a greater evil. But on the whole

there is not enough of a difference between Johnson and Goldwater to justify support of Johnson by the opponents of war, racism, economic insecurity and the other products of capitalism. Because a vote for Johnson, no matter how you dress it up with radical verbiage, is a vote in favor of the system and the administration that are responsible for perpetuating war, racism and economic insecurity. It is a vote to postpone radical action to do away with war, racism and economic insecurity. It is a vote to keep the oppressed tagging submissively behind their oppressor.

Why is it, finally, that in 1964 the Johnsonite Radicals are reduced to the grotesque spectacle of supporting a candidate who represents everything that they are opposed to (or that they used to oppose when they became radicals)? Why is it that each Democrat they designate as a lesser evil is more conservative than the previous one (that is, more of an evil)?

It is because their brand of lesser-evil politics prevents their followers from embarking on independent political action. It keeps the workers and farmers and Negroes who listen to them from breaking with capitalist politics and creating a party or parties of their own. It paralyzes the potentially revolutionary forces from taking the initial and indispensable step — independent politics — that can lead to the elimination of all the evils of capitalism. By shutting off the possibility of a movement to the left, it facilitates the steady movement to the right of American politics as a whole.

It could lead, in 1968, to support of Senator Eastland on the ground — naturally — that he is a lesser evil than Robert Welch.



# 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.]

## Criticism of SWP Platform

Cleveland, Ohio  
The Socialist Workers Party Election Platform is defective, it seems to me, in respect to its references to the American trade union movement. The SWP's formulations do not reflect the changes that have taken place over the past decades: the stratification of the working class; the economic and social consequences of 25 years of relatively steady employment for millions; the institutionalization of the unions and their conversion from the fighting, militant instruments of the working class particularly in the 1930s to the class-collaborationist organs of today; the domination of the unions by a labor aristocracy composed not only of the officialdom but of a vast number of workers who enjoy a privileged position and a relative affluence, however insecure it may be.

The SWP persistently emphasizes the role of the labor officialdom but obscures the objective conditions which gave birth to and nurtures that officialdom. There is no question today but that the leadership of the unions is the most corrupt bunch in history. High paid office-holders, bureaucratic, dictatorial, autocratic, sell-out artists, phonies, class-collaborators — the adjectives are all too familiar and all too true. But this leadership did not suddenly descend from Mars to seize control of the labor movement and its existence and mode of operation invite more than invective.

### Salient Fact

The salient fact is that the labor aristocracy of yesteryear which was primarily composed of certain of the craft unions affiliated with the old AFL has now been multiplied manifold. Overwhelmingly white, either skilled, semi-skilled or even unskilled, workers in auto and steel, longshoremen and truck drivers and others have joined the old-line crafts and enjoy an economic position in our society far removed from the 50 million Americans who live in poverty.

This is not to suggest that the more privileged workers have attained prosperity and security or that the class struggle has ended for them. Life daily asserts itself — the fight against speed-up, prosecution of grievances, the endless employer attacks upon the unions and the more dramatic collisions when new contracts are being negotiated. But the fact remains that a good sector of the American working class has been bourgeoisified and considers itself an integral part of "the American system." The ability of the leadership of the unions to maintain its positions is rooted precisely in this fact. A revolutionary proletariat would quickly dispose of them.

How does the SWP view the question? Consider a few formulations from the Election Program:

1) "Negroes and Puerto Ricans inspired by the Negro example, are demanding their democratic rights in the unions and pressing for union support of their right to full equality in employment. Confronted with a lack of response from conservative union officials they are taking action on their own." (Emphasis mine). So the problem is only with the "officials"? But what about the masses of white workers who express virulent racist sentiments, who fear the competition of Negro workers in an automated society and who seek to protect their

own privileged positions at the expense of subjugated peoples here and abroad?

2) The Election Program quotes the manifesto of the Freedom Now Party: "One hundred years of waiting for Democratic and Republican politicians to correct our grievances is too long. We have to take our freedom; no one will hand it to us. That is why . . . we call upon all who believe in true emancipation to join us in forming the Freedom Now Party." The Election Program then continues, "Although addressed directly to Negroes, this summons to independent political action describes an even larger need. It points the way for the whole working class, for all the victims of capitalist misrule." (Emphasis mine.)

As a general theoretical proposition, no radical can object to the above clause. But theory to be meaningful must be rooted in life. To lump the privileged and depressed sectors of the working class together as one neat whole for whom the way has been shown by the Freedom Now pronouncement is to pose the crucial question of the Negro-labor alliance in almost vacuous terms. By way of contrast, consider Robert Vernon's thoughtful and penetrating statement in the Aug. 10, 1964 *Militant*:

### Still Power

"Independent political power is still power, no matter which enemy of the black people, Johnson or Goldwater, gets elected. Independent black political power is the only power that can be counted on to stand up to the backlash, or frontlash, sidelash, uplash, or downlash, or any other kind of whiplash that Uncle Sam can inflict on black people.

"A powerful, independent, ghetto-based movement will be of enormous value to black people in fighting back against the oppressive American Way of Life. Large numbers of potential white allies among the white poor (Emphasis mine.) (in Appalachia, in migrant-worker camps, in unemployed lines, etc.) and among white youth will be won . . . Such a movement, because it has power and therefore commands respect, can unbrainwash other layers of the white workers who are now relatively more privileged, backward and conservative, and draw them into the struggle to bring about the revolutionary changes that have to be made in America if there is to be justice, equality and a decent life for any working-class people of any color."

Thus, for Vernon, the starting point in building support for the Negro struggle among white workers is not the whole working class or the unions but the impoverished and unemployed whites. Here at least there is a common economic foundation upon which an alliance may be built.

Consider also the implications of this statement by Robert Williams taken from the *Crusader*: "The fact of the matter is that the Afro-american wants and has been seeking brotherhood with the white masses since his enslavement in the New World. A people as brutally oppressed as American Negroes cannot wait forever for the support of mythological and theoretical allies. Most white workers in the U.S.A. today have a vested interest in the status quo. The present system grants them special privileges in a jungle society. The cow of production may be lean and diseased but the Negro is the only herdsman limited to the cutlets of feet and tail. The

## About This Letter

We are waiving our usual rule that letters be relatively brief and are printing the one that appears on this page in its entirety because we feel the questions it raises are very important.

We have asked William F. Warde, a leading spokesman for the Socialist Workers Party, to comment on the criticism of the SWP election platform made in this letter.

Warde's comment appears on page 6.

vast majority of the whites have also been mentally poisoned with racism. It is asinine to expect them to recover from their race psychoses without a severe shock treatment."

Two things should be noted about Williams' comment: First, he relates the attitude of most white workers to their position in society and does not give an exaggerated emphasis to the labor officialdom and their misleadership; secondly, he distinguishes between "most white workers" who have a vested interest and those who do not. It is among the latter group that the best potential lies now for developing allies for the Negro struggle.

3) The SWP Election Program further declares, "For these reasons the Socialist Workers Party supports independent Negro political action of the type manifested in the call for a Freedom Now Party. We urge the formation of an independent labor party based on the unions."

For the labor movement to break finally with capitalist politics would indeed be a much welcomed development. But leaving aside the fact that there is no sentiment for such a move among the rank and file — which cannot be ascribed simply to the wrong policies of the leadership — there

remains the question of what role the labor movement can be expected to play in the political life of the nation.

Can anyone seriously expect the AFL-CIO, for example, as presently constituted, with its corrupt leadership and with a membership numerically dominated by the better paid workers, to come forward energetically, unite the oppressed peoples, support the revolutionary aspirations of the Negro people, stand against colonialism and create a proletarian party? I, for one, doubt it. But perhaps the "objective conditions" will shake up and transform the labor movement into a fighting class organizations. Perhaps. But which objective conditions?

The most urgent bread-and-butter problem facing the trade-union movement today is automation and the threat of widespread layoffs. The unions are meeting this problem with the usual studies, resolutions, meetings with government officials and business leaders — all unrelated to any serious or meaningful action. There are some important contractual demands but these will have a limited impact. Meanwhile, the usual experience where layoffs have taken place is for the union to turn its back on the unemployed member, preferring to orient its policies in favor of the dues-payers.

By way of illustration, the recent history of the United Mine Workers Union is instructive. When full-scale depression conditions enveloped the mining areas leaving countless thousands of miners jobless and hungry, the time was theoretically ripe for a resounding reaction by the UMW. The "objective conditions" had matured and the stage was properly set for a powerful wave of militancy to be unleashed within the union with new fighting leaders displacing the UMW's ruling junta.

But what has been the actuality? The conservative bureaucracy remains and it is more conserva-

tive and provincial than ever. The employed miners — still drawing union scale — evidence little in the way of solidarity with their laid-off brothers. And the heroic struggle of the impoverished miners led by Berman Gibson has proceeded outside the purview of the UMW and without any serious assistance from it.

In essence, new organizational forms had to be created in this bitter fight for survival. Let those who base their hopes for the future of the American working class on the unions and who are so categorically convinced that their resurgence is inevitable give pause and ponder this experience of the UMW.

Of course, a savage head-on reactionary onslaught challenging the very existence of the unions could provoke a serious reaction in the ranks. In such a situation the labor movement would be compelled to seek allies in order to secure its preservation. Whether such a development is inevitable, however, is hypothetical. The ruling class may prefer to maintain its alliance with the labor movement, availing itself of labor's support for an imperialist foreign policy. With the Negro revolt maturing into a revolution, it is questionable whether the ruling class will simultaneously wage a war of extinction with the unions.

At any rate, it remains to be seen whether the unions will lead a significant democratic mass movement or whether the masses will be compelled to create new organizations to fight for their needs. If the latter, then the SWP's call for an independent labor party "based on the unions" will lose all significance. As matters now stand, the call has a hollow ring especially when juxtaposed to the more meaningful support expressed for independent Negro political action. The whole subject needs a careful review and the Vernon article indicates that the necessary insights are available.

A Reader

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Washington, USA** — Commenting on the difficulties of the Algerian and other foreign embassies in getting office space in Washington, Robert O. Clouser, the city's Director of Planning, told newsmen: "The Algerians are smelly, messy people, unclean in their personal habits." The State Department apologized to the Algerian Embassy. It said Clouser's statement did not reflect the views of the government.

**Suggestion** — The rather hard-pressed U.S. Military Assistance Command in South Vietnam has set up a question box for suggestions on how to win the war. An officer said some good suggestions have been received. "But, of course," he added somewhat wistfully, "we don't expect a suggestion that is going to win the war." We trust some GI had the sense to drop a simple suggestion in the box: "Let's get the hell out of here!"

**Think You've Got Troubles?** — Eugenia Sheppard reported in the Oct. 16 New York *Herald Tribune*: "Elizabeth Taylor has had a lot of trouble in Paris. First, her 128 pieces of luggage were held up in customs. Then her hairdresser didn't turn up as scheduled. She had to send out for a hat to cover it, and the hat was almost pushed

off at a giant cocktail party to celebrate the Burtons' new movie . . ."

**Progress Report** — For the first time, public-school teachers in South Carolina may teach Darwin's theory of evolution. Until now his theory that man and other animals evolved from more primitive forms was taught in the state only at the college level. Three public-school textbooks have now been approved which contain reference to Darwin's theory but no school district is compelled to use them.

**Housing Problem** — A spokesman for the Mosler Safe Company says that even the very rich

can't have a wall safe at home today unless they are living in an old mansion with thick walls. He said the walls in new buildings are so thin that the safe would stick into the next room. Floor safes are out too. "Put one on somebody's floor," he said, "and it comes out in somebody else's ceiling."

**Most Likely Survey of the Week** — Most Americans don't mind having their mail box cluttered with junk mail, and 33 per cent actually enjoy receiving direct-mail advertising, asserts a recently concluded survey. Guess who sponsored the survey? Surprisingly, the Direct Mail Advertising Association.

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## Thought for the Week

"Freedom is when you get an education and can have a job, and also when black people and white people like each other." — An eleven-year-old Harlem school boy's definition of freedom.



## Johnson Applies Pressure To Put an End to GM Strike

By William Bundy

As the strike of the United Auto Workers against the General Motors Corporation went into its 25th day Oct. 19, President Johnson put on pressure for a settlement. In a statement issued at the White House, Johnson said a continuation of the strike "would jeopardize the continuous upward thrust of our economy."

Actually, the strike has not yet resulted in significant cutbacks in steel and other supplying industries, but it is beginning to take a bite out of GM sales of new 1965-model cars — and hence out of GM profits. Johnson's statements lays the basis for federal intervention if the strike continues.

When the strike was called Sept. 25, dealers in GM cars had an estimated two-week supply of new cars on hand. The fact that the strike has run long enough to begin hitting GM really where it lives — in the pocketbook — is a surprise to almost all observers, for this is a strike the top union leadership tried to avoid or make as short as possible.

Before the strike was called Sept. 25, the company had already agreed to substantially the same economic package for which the union had settled at Chrysler and Ford — mainly an improvement in pensions. But some 17,000 "local" demands remained to be dealt with in the union's 130 bargaining units at GM across the country. Involved in these so-called "local" issues is the overriding problem of working conditions — chiefly speed-up which is worse at GM assembly plants than at those of any other auto corporation.

UAW President Walter Reuther

## Vietnam Regime Kills Teen-Age 'Conspirator'

When Washington had reason to believe an American colonel's life depended on that of a 19-year-old Vietnamese under death sentence in Saigon, it had its Vietnamese puppet government quickly announce to the world that no date "had or has been set" for the execution.

This was despite the fact that Saigon newspapers had reported that the public execution of the youth would take place in a week and police said the date would be Oct. 15.

The FALN underground in Venezuela released the kidnaped U.S. officer, shortly before midnight Oct. 12.

Early on Oct. 15, although South Vietnamese and U.S. officials had stated no execution date "had or has been set," young Nguyen Van Troi was executed as scheduled — and before TV cameras and a host of reporters.

The youth died courageously, shouting: "Americans Get out of Viet Nam" and "Long Live Ho Chi Minh."

The real nature of the "freedom fight" being waged by the U.S.-backed South Vietnamese regime was indicated by an Oct. 16 AP dispatch from Saigon which reported:

"Sources close to the High National Council said today that it had decided against popular elections because they might result in a Communist victory."

Instead, the Council, which is supposed to be organizing the democratization of the country will hand-pick members of a "representative" Congress.

reached a national agreement with GM on working conditions two weeks after the strikes started and then left it up to the locals to settle their demands according to this pattern. The pattern provides some gains in working conditions — chiefly an increase in time allowed union committeemen to take up workers' grievances inside the plants. (There is one committeeman for 250 workers at GM, but committeemen do not have full time for union business at GM as they do at Ford and Chrysler.) The gains obtained in the national GM settlement are small relative to the problem, and reportedly many locals — especially those at the 23 plants where cars are assembled and where speed-up is worst — have been resisting the pattern for local settlements.

### Strike Prolonged

This has dragged out the strike so that by Oct. 19, only 79 of 130 local units had settled. This is not enough to assure national production even if the national strike were called off.

When the strike was called, only some 80 per cent (250,000) of UAW members at GM were called out. The others were left on the job on the theory that they produced parts not only for GM but for other auto corporations as well. But by Oct. 19, 300,000 workers had been idled by the strike as parts piled up and production had to be cut.

The union signed a national contract with Ford before the GM strike started. But UAW members at Ford were forbidden to strike on local issues until after the GM strike was settled. Workers at the Ford plants in Cleveland — where 8,000 UAW members are employed — have defied these orders for the second time since the GM strike began.

Members of UAW Ford Local 1250, who had previously returned to work after a short "wildcat" over working conditions last month, failed again to report to work Oct. 13. This time they said they wouldn't cross picket lines set up by two small groups of electricians and pattern makers.

## Interview With Freedom Now Candidate

# Foreign Policy Views of Michigan Nominee

DETROIT — Attorney Milton R. Henry is state chairman of the Freedom Now Party and that party's candidate for Congress in Michigan's predominantly Negro First District. Formerly he was a city councilman in Pontiac. Because of his record as a civil-rights attorney, he is known as the "Black Defender." In an interview with him, a representative of *The Militant* asked the following questions.

**Question: The Freedom Now Party platform says "it perceives the common interests of all black people everywhere" and "aligns itself with all liberation movements throughout the world." Since the platform doesn't spell out specific planks on foreign policy, we would like your answers to certain questions. First, do you think U.S. troops should be withdrawn from Vietnam? From other areas outside the U.S.?**

**Answer:** Yes. Absolutely. The troops should get out. The U.S. has no business sending its troops roaming round the world oppressing folks.

**Q.: In light of the UN role in the Congo and its failure to do anything effective against South African oppression, do you think the UN is worthy of support? Can it be relied on to help the cause**

## Supreme Court To Review Ban On Cuba Travel

The Supreme Court decided on Oct. 12 to review a case challenging the U.S. ban on travel to Cuba.

Louis Zemel of Middlefield, Conn., sued to have his passport validated when the State Department refused his application to visit Cuba as a tourist in 1962. A three-judge federal district court in Connecticut upheld the State Department's power to restrict travel in a two-to-one decision.

The dissenting judge, J. Joseph Smith of the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit, said that congressional statutes do not authorize the Secretary of State to restrict travel to any area, nor does the government have any inherent right to do so.

Leonard B. Boudin, the eminent constitutional lawyer, is Zemel's counsel.

The Supreme Court decision on this case will set an important precedent for a series of cases now in the courts. Professor and Mrs. Alan MacEwan have a similar suit for validation of their passports for travel to Cuba pending at the Circuit Court of Appeals level. In California, Helen Travis' \$1,000 fine and six-month suspended sentence for traveling to Cuba without State Department authorization, is being appealed at the same level.



Leonard Boudin

## More Rights Workers Jailed in Mississippi

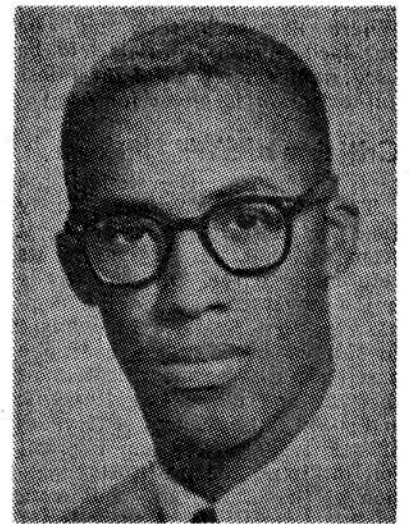
BELZONI, Miss. — A second group of civil-rights workers in Mississippi has been charged with "criminal syndicalism." Four men — including two field secretaries of the Atlanta-based Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) — were jailed here Oct. 15 as they walked down a street in Belzoni's Negro neighborhood.

Held on \$1,000 bail each are William Ware, from Minneapolis, Minn.; Robert Bass, Ellis Jackson and Joe Louis Stigler. Fifteen Negroes are still behind bars in McComb, Miss., on similar charges since their arrest Sept. 21. The "criminal-syndicalism" statute was passed by the state legislature last spring shortly before the state-wide Mississippi Summer Project began.

ALBANY, Ga. — A three-judge federal court will decide whether this city can arrest and prosecute two civil-rights workers under an 1871 insurrection law twice ruled unconstitutional. Testimony was heard Oct. 15 in a suit filed by Donald Harris, Southwest Georgia Project director for SNCC, and Rev. Samuel Wells of the Albany Movement.

The suit seeks to enjoin Albany and Dougherty County officials from arresting the plaintiffs or anyone else on insurrection charges or from interfering with demonstrations. The suit stems from Rev. Wells' arrest on charges of "attempting to incite insurrection" and "circulating insurrectionary material" in connection with a racial disturbance here Aug. 15. A warrant was issued against Harris at that time also, but police have been unable to arrest him. He is presently on a tour in Africa.

The charge of "attempting to incite insurrection" against Rev. Wells was dropped, and he was released after 13 days in jail on a \$2,500 bond on the other charge. SNCC worker Harris has faced an insurrection charge — which carries the death penalty in Georgia — before. He was held for 87 days in the famous Americus, Georgia case last fall on an insurrection



Donald Harris

charge and was not freed until a similar three-judge federal panel declared the ancient law unconstitutional.

ACCRA, Ghana, W. Africa, Oct. 18 — John Lewis, chairman of SNCC and Donald Harris, head of SNCC's Southwest Georgia Project are in Accra this week on a six-week tour of African countries. They were part of an eleven-person group from SNCC that spent two weeks in Guinea as guests of President Sekou Touré.

PINE BLUFF, Ark. — Three Negro candidates are seeking office in the general election in this state Nov. 3. A fourth won a school-board seat in a three-man race against two white opponents. James Bagsby and Rev. Benjamin Grimage, both of Pine Bluff, and William Green of Star City are trying for seats in the state House of Representatives. Arthur A. Miller of Pine Bluff beat two white candidates Sept. 29 in the school-board race in the Dolloway School District.

## Equal-Time Curb Protested by SWP

NEW YORK — Deborah Roberts, public relations director of the Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee, has demanded the same amount of time on television and radio for SWP Presidential candidate, Clifton DeBerry, as that given President Johnson, Sunday night, Oct. 18. Requests for the equal time for the SWP candidate were made in telegrams to the presidents of the three major networks: CBS, ABC and NBC. The requests have been refused.

Section 315 of the Communications Act provides that if radio or television stations give any candidate for office free time for political purposes, all other candidates for the same office must be given equal time if they request it.

President Johnson sought to evade the requirements of the Act by having the National Security Council (which has a Democratic majority) "request" the President to address the nation. This "request" was then used by the Federal Communication Commission as a pretext to rule that the broadcast did not come within the meaning of Section 315.

"For once the Republicans were right," said Deborah Roberts, "when they too protested against this transparent evasion of the law." She pointed out that the rights of minority parties have been consistently violated through a series of gimmicks used to deny equal time.

of black liberation in this country or abroad?

**A.:** I certainly am opposed to what the UN has done in the Congo. However, I do think the UN could have a worth-while function. In terms of the African nations bloc, and especially if Communist China is admitted, it could be a vital forum. For one thing it could get the UN to present the American Negro's position in a world forum.

So far, unfortunately, the U.S. has got the UN completely dominated. Perhaps France's efforts will help China be admitted. Even if China is not admitted, the Afro-Asian bloc could, by itself, embarrass the U.S. and perhaps bring about some more tangible sanctions against the U.S. such as withholding raw materials until the practice of racial oppression is ended in this country.

**Q.: How would you act in Congress on a resolution to recognize Cuba and China and to end all curbs on trade with all countries?**

**A.:** I would certainly want to see both countries recognized. It is cruel and stupid to deliberately harm the Cuban liberation movement by restrictions on trade. You say, end all curbs on trade with all countries — well, I don't think this country should trade with

South Africa, for example, where the black people are forced to suffer the most cruel and humiliating oppression.

**Q.: Do you think the U.S. government is capable of playing any kind of a progressive role in the Congo?**

**A.:** I have a very dim view of the ability of the U.S. government to play a progressive role anywhere. Basically it is an imperialist government of the worst order. It won't play a progressive role as it is today. There must be some changes first.

**Q.: If elected, will you vote in favor of the military budget which is used to crush and harass liberation movements throughout the world?**

**A.:** No. I think it should be voted against. I don't agree with the things being done with this budget. It seems to make possible suppression and harming of freedom movements in the world. It prevents truly democratic governments from getting anywhere. Frankly I resent so much money, especially Negroes' tax money, being used for these things. No one yet has had the courage to vote against it. "Military preparedness" means nothing but getting involved in and opposing other people's affairs and hopes.