

Opponents of U.S. Aggression in Vietnam Call for Nationwide Demonstrations Oct. 15

SEPT 7 — The student anti-war movement has called for nationwide demonstrations on October 15 and 16 against the U.S. war in Vietnam. Local and regional conferences are also planned for the weekend. The specific activities carried out in each area will be planned by the local anti-war groups.

The Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee first proposed the "International Days of Protest," and the idea has been endorsed by the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Jack Barnes, National Chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, said today that "the National Committee of the YSA, which met in plenary session in New York recently, has endorsed the International Days of Protest, and urges every group and individual opposed to the war to do likewise, and to help build the International Days of Protest into powerful demonstrations of opposition to the criminal war the U.S. is waging against the people of Vietnam."

The National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam with headquarters in Madison, Wis., was established by representatives from 17 antiwar committees, including the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee, at the Assembly of Unrepresented People held in Washington last month.

The draft call for the International Days of Protest issued by SDS declares: "The United States is fighting an unjust war in Vietnam, intervening in the civil war of another country, creating dictators who keep the people of South Vietnam in a state of intolerable poverty and who severely suppress their basic freedoms . . .

"The war in Vietnam is the result of a policy which ignores the basic human needs and desires of people from all over the world, including the United States. The people of the Los Angeles ghettos riot because they must live under unbearable social conditions without any hope of escape. The people of South Vietnam rebel because they live under the same conditions . . . In Los Angeles, the city authorities try to crush the rioting by sending in more policemen; in Vietnam, the United States tries to crush the South Vietnamese revolution by sending in more Marines. Poor people in America and the South Vietnamese people are fighting the same



DEVELOPING MOVEMENT. Scene at New York demonstration against Vietnam war. Such actions are growing in scope and frequency.

war . . .

"We call for a weekend of Vietnam action across the country, emphasizing: 1) regional conferences, meetings which will bring together students, community organizers, ministers, poor people, and other local constituencies to plan coordinated regional action and to discuss the many connections between local issues and the war in Vietnam; 2) local conferences, meetings of neighborhood groups in specific local communities to initiate discussion and action on the issue of Vietnam; 3) campus conferences, meetings of student groups to begin rebuilding and expanding the student peace movement . . .

"Contact has been made with groups in Latin America, France, Japan, England — groups from all over the world. These groups will be sponsoring demonstrations and other activities in their own countries on these days . . . We call for the people of the United States to join this international protest . . ."

The October 15-16 weekend of conferences and demonstrations

will be the first major action of the antiwar movement in the new school year. Over the summer, the committees against the war which were formed in the wake of the April March on Washington, continued to function at summer schools, and carried on work against the war in the community.

After the International Days of Protest, the antiwar groups are scheduling a national convention in Madison over the Thanksgiving weekend, to launch a coordinated national movement.

Students Assail Vietnam Bombings

The extent of the opposition to Washington's aggression in Vietnam was indicated when the National Student Association convention voted overwhelmingly to condemn U.S. bombings in Vietnam. NSA represents student governments at 300 U.S. colleges and universities.

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

Vol. 29 - No. 32 Monday, September 13, 1965 Price 10c

Cops Beat "Guilty" Plea Out of L.A. Ghetto Victim

ACLU Will Defend Man Whose Arrest Started Watts Riot

By Della Rossa

LOS ANGELES — Marquette Frye, whose arrest last August 11 touched off the Watts uprising here, has revealed that he pleaded guilty to the charge of drunken driving only because he was so badly beaten by the police that "it was a day or two before I knew what was going on."

He and his brother, Ronald, arrested at the same time on charges of resisting an officer, changed their pleas Sept. 2 to "not guilty" through their attorney, A. L. Wirin of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Ronald Frye said he had pleaded guilty earlier because his brother was "throwing up blood — I thought that by pleading guilty my brother and I could get out of jail and my brother could obtain medical attention."

The mother of the two young men had also been arrested in the same incident but had pled not guilty to a charge of interfering with an officer. It was the beating of Frye and the manhandling of his mother when she came out of her house to see what was happening to her sons, that sparked the six-day disturbance. Los Angeles Police Chief William Parker — as well as the press, radio and TV — placed great emphasis on the guilty plea when it was made, claiming this proved the black community's charge of police brutality was unfounded and the uprising was the work of "criminals and hoodlums."

An Interview

The factors in the uprising were discussed with this reporter by Woodrow Coleman, co-chairman of the Non-Violent Action Committee (N-VAC) in an interview Aug. 19, just a few days after the disturbance had spent itself. Of all the civil rights organizations here, N-VAC is closest to the black people of the ghetto and its members were on the scene in the thick of the uprising. The interview was held in the organization's headquarters on Central Avenue, north of Watts, in the heart of the sprawling Los Angeles ghetto.

"Everyone was involved in the so-called riots," Coleman said. "The people live in little houses just behind the business street. Somebody would break a window and then everyone would go in. From everywhere you could see the women and kids and families coming up and getting this merchandise, getting food, getting clothes. I could see them as they'd go into these stores and come out



Police Chief Wm. Parker

with smiles on their faces. They were happy. They were getting things they never had a chance to get before. None of them thought they were robbing or stealing. The way they saw it, they were taking what rightfully belonged to them."

The real leaders of the rebellion, Coleman said, "were the guys hitting the stores, not the guys you see on TV. These white-owned stores were run by crooks. I know they were crooks, and they know they were crooks. I was at 103 St. and Imperial for three hours one time where there were no police around and everyone was taking stuff from stores. But they left one Mexican-American-owned store alone, because the owner related to the community. Nobody touched it."

Coleman said that, to the ghetto Negro, the establishment of "law and order" means that "the police are free to start beating heads again." This is what happened after the National Guard came in, he said, while "before the police were too busy running here and there trying to put out fires."

Coleman said one night during the disturbance he entered an alley off Central Ave. "because there was a guy there bleeding and I wanted to help him." He continued, "A plain car came up with five uniformed officers inside. They say the crowd gathered and got out and just started swinging with their clubs. They didn't say anything, just started swinging."

"One guy came up to me bleed-
(Continued on Page 4)

Summer's Over

During July and August The Militant is published every other week. With this issue we resume regular weekly publication.

Take It Up in Your Union

Miss. Farm Strikers Need Help

The Mississippi Freedom Labor Union (MFLU) was formed in Shaw, Miss., in early April, among Negro farm workers. Within two weeks of its founding, 1,000 Negro workers had signed up, and more than 200 agricultural day laborers went on strike to win a union contract. The union spread to at least six other counties in the state, and is still waging a bitter strike struggle against the corporation farms.

The strike has been affected by the seasonal character of farm work. There is a busy season of cotton chopping (weeding) during the spring and early summer, but then a lull in work until the harvest, which begins at the end of August and extends into the fall.

Anne Braden reported in *The Southern Patriot* that, "Best estimates are that at least 2,000 Negroes stayed away from the fields at the height of cotton chopping season in June." The union plans a big push during the harvest.

The union is demanding \$1.25

an hour, an eight-hour day with time-and-half for overtime, sick pay, health and accident insurance, and equal employment practices in wages, hiring, and working conditions. Cotton choppers are currently paid \$3 for a dawn-to-dusk workday, and tractor drivers get \$6 a day.

In McComb, Miss., the local MFLU originated in a strike of maids working for the Holiday Inn. They were paid about 39 cents an hour, and struck for \$1.25. As the strike developed, many people in the Negro community joined the union.

Though civil rights workers, especially the staff and volunteers of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have helped to establish local unions in the Mississippi Delta, the locals are controlled and supported financially solely by their members. The MFLU office in Shaw has served as a coordinating center for the locals.

The AFL-CIO, with its vast resources, could provide decisive aid to the strikers and to the MFLU organizing drive. Such aid would strike a blow for the Negro struggle and help organized labor itself by extending unionism into the anti-union South. Union members should demand that their locals, central labor bodies and international unions send urgently needed support to the MFLU. Other organizations and individuals can help right away by sending money directly to the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union.

Contributions can be sent to the following:

MFLU, Box 547, Shaw, Miss.; MFLU, 719 Lee St., Cleveland, Miss.; MFLU, Box 30, Indianola, Miss.; MFLU (Washington County), 830 Nelson St., Greenville, Miss.; Frank Davis, MFLU, General Delivery, Rosedale, Miss.; MFLU, 610 Summit Street, McComb, Miss.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Rubber Union Heads Yield on Hours

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND — Labor's historic struggle for a shorter workday received a major setback this summer. The B.F. Goodrich Rubber Co. and the negotiating committee of United Rubber Workers Local 5 succeeded in selling the union membership an agreement returning to the eight-hour day, 40-hour week — replacing the six-hour day, 36-hour week which has been standard in the rubber industry in Akron since 1931.

First reactions in local labor circles show limited appreciation of the significance of this retreat, of the need for sounding the alarm throughout the union movement and mobilizing a nationwide campaign for a shorter workweek.

The *Summit County Labor News*, official publication of organized labor in Akron and vicinity, headlined the story: "Local 5 Members Vote Switch to 8-Hour Day — Act Paves Way for BFG Modernization Plans With No Job Loss." The vote was characterized as "what could be regarded as an isolated local election or possibly a precedent for the rest of the rubber industry."

The labor paper, which bears on its masthead the traditional slogan, "One For All; All For One," reports without comment the company statements that the action of Local 5 makes the Akron plants of the firm more competitive with its plants outside of Akron which are on eight-hour shifts, and to which much of the work has already been transferred.

Local 5 officials, headed by President Jack Moye, were joined by the daily *Akron Beacon Journal* in hailing the company's assurance that the "surplus" workers would not be laid off and that substantial company investment in modernization of machinery and equipment would keep production in Akron, instead of transferring it to other plants (where employees work longer hours at less pay).

A Precedent

The *Beacon Journal* did note, however, that the "historic vote" July 8 was "the first time rubber workers here have voluntarily broken with the six-and-six schedule, and could have eventual effect on the workdays at other Akron rubber factories."

The vote was 2,267 to 1,695, from an eligible membership of 5,100. Thus by a margin of 572 votes the door was opened for destruction of labor's beachhead in the struggle for a shorter workday.

In a special feature article July 9, Bruce McIntyre, *Beacon Journal* city editor, reviewed the history of the six-hour day that has made Akron unique in the labor field for some 30 years.

"No other manufacturing center has such a work schedule," he pointed out, "despite the trend toward shorter working time in in-

dustry." The only other rubber plants on this schedule are Firestone in Los Angeles and U.S. Rubber in Detroit.

The six-hour day was originally started by management — the Goodyear Co. in Akron — in 1931, supposedly to "spread the work" during the Depression. Actually, all it did then was spread the poverty, since the six-hour day didn't mean a six-day week — a tire builder might be lucky to get three or four days.

When Goodyear announced its intention of dropping the six-hour day in 1936 in favor of a more "flexible" schedule, the United Rubber Workers had been organized, a long strike followed and the six-hour day stayed.

It was a bargaining goal of the rubber workers for years nationally, and the six-hour day, 30-hour week is still an objective in the United Rubber Workers constitution.

Six Hour Standard

With the exception of the World War II period, it has been the standard in Akron rubber plants for nearly 35 years, and, according to McIntyre, today about 18,000 Akron workers employed at six rubber plants are on the six-hour day, six-day week.

In 1956 the proposal to drop the six-hour day at Firestone was defeated by a 4,772 to 1,313 vote.

A year and a half ago, McIntyre reports, Clifford C. Shaffer, vice president of Goodrich Local 5, said:

"The workers would storm this union hall if you tried to increase this workday. Not an officer here will attempt to have a vote on an eight-hour day."

But when the issue was raised in current negotiations, the union committee discussed it with management, then held a series of meetings to sell it to the membership before the fateful July 8 vote.

While the Local 5 opposition to the Goodrich deal lost the vote, the possible effect in mobilizing union militants in other locals to fight a similar attack on union conditions remains to be seen. Also, when the "modernization" program at Goodrich destroys the illusion that giving up union conditions can hold on to jobs, the rubber workers will demand a leadership with a program that leads to victories, not defeats.

The Rights Movement in Rosedale, Miss.

By Billy Kochiyama

[The author is a 17-year-old New Yorker who spent part of the summer in Mississippi as a volunteer civil rights worker. He is chairman of Students Against Social Injustice, an organization of New York teen-agers dedicated to the fight for freedom, justice and equality.]

I have gained quite an education in Mississippi. The black people of Rosedale really taught me a lot. I was surprised to see how militant and radical the black people really are. They will not only defend themselves from attacks by any racists but will also put down by "any means necessary" any Toms who get in their way.

In my last week in Rosedale, I saw the black people practice what they preach. Since the 17th of July, the situation has been quite tense in Rosedale. The FBI has placed Rosedale on their list as a place to watch. A lot of good the racist FBI will do.

Up until July 17, there had been

Trustees Back 'Gag' Rule

Free Speech Fight at Ohio State

By Rod Holt

CLEVELAND — The Board of Trustees of Ohio State University is determined to continue its 14-year tradition of supporting McCarthyite thought control. This was made clear last month when the board voted five to three to uphold the "gag" rule banning from the campus speakers who are not acceptable to the university president.

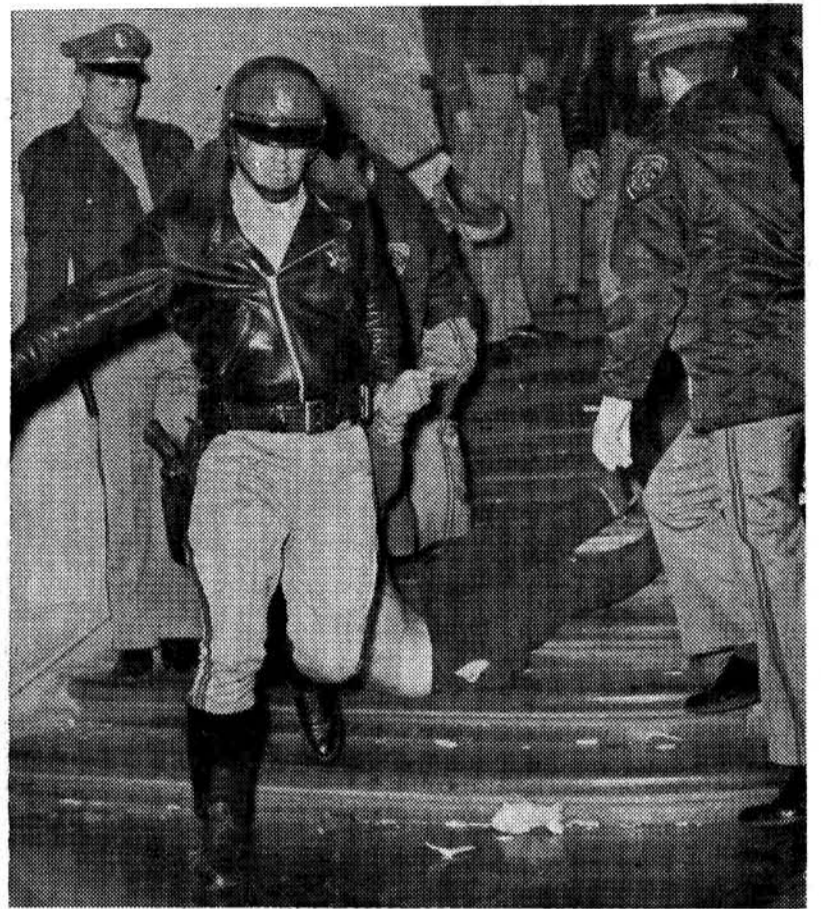
In 1951, when the campaign against dissident thought reached hysterical extremes, Gov. Lausche (now Senator) asked the Board of Trustees to give the university President powers to screen and ban guest speakers from the campus. The gag rule was promptly passed and directed at all "who are subversives or those who are allied to them in purpose or action . . ." A storm of protest gathered, particularly since faculty liberals thought that such screening was strictly their prerogative. But the storm vaporized in 1953 when Sen. McCarthy himself arrived on the OSU campus to exorcise, before TV cameras, Professor Darling, "pinks," and other such evil conspirators against the glorious American way of life.

The following nine years were marked by cautious maneuvering by faculty, administration, and the Board of Trustees. University facilities were extended to such as Dr. Fred C. Schwarz and his Anti-Communist Crusade, while the left was obliged to speak off campus. Protest from liberal, labor and professional groups had little effect, except to force rewording, modifying and obscuring of the gag rule. Finally in 1962, when the faculty was given the right to screen speakers, it appeared that free speech might find its way through the bureaucratic labyrinth.

Given Test

The new liberal rule was tested in April 1962, when an anti-HUAC rally was scheduled. The university president, Fawcett, violated the rule itself to lock out three properly "approved" speakers just one hour before the meeting was to start. The lockout was apparently in response to a protest campaign from the well-organized right wing in Columbus, O., where the university is located.

The faculty rose up in anger, since its own authority had again been violated, while at the same time the students, not nearly so concerned with legalistic technicalities, organized a Free Speech press. The student movement was quickly inhibited by its mistaken view that faculty support was es-



FREE SPEECH, BERKELEY STYLE. Scene at University of California as cops dragged off demonstrators during last fall's historic free speech fight. Student resistance to curbs on their rights has flared up on a number of campuses.

sential. So actions were postponed while the faculty negotiated. At the year's end, the faculty was defeated and the Board of Trustees unanimously upheld the gag rule. That summer saw the disappearance of what little student movement was left.

Although legal efforts to kill the gag rule continued, the situation remained unchanged until Herbert Aptheker, well known as a Communist Party spokesman, was invited to speak in the spring of this year. He was banned, of course, but this time a group was founded with the intent of abolishing the Speaker's Rule. Headed by Jeffery Schwartz, brother of one of the leaders in the 1962 fight, the Free Speech Front declared itself ready to use the methods of the civil rights movement and invited full student participation.

The FSF was able to secure wide support, holding rallies, sit-ins, pickets, and a "teach-in" involving altogether several thousand students. However, the FSF leadership had not learned the lessons of 1962 and, ignoring the pleas from its ranks, yielded to pressure

from liberal faculty elements, so that scheduled civil disobedience was called off. Meanwhile, rumors were circulated that the Board of Trustees would yield. President Fawcett himself claimed he opposed the gag rule. The Board ignored faculty and student pressures to act in May, and then voted in July to uphold maintenance of the rule.

Not Dead

But unlike previous years, the Free Speech Front is not dead. Many of the older students have dropped off, leaving behind the more militant youth who talk of the Berkeley example and SNCC. During the summer a new leadership reorganized itself along 100 percent democratic lines, directed itself toward the rank-and-file student and determined to proceed independently of the faculty. Although just a fraction of its original 300, the FSF is wiser and stronger than before and well capable of leading a decisive fight for free speech on the OSU campus during the coming school year.

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 percent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

NEW YORK

POLITICS AND THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT. Debate: DAVID McREYNOLDS, a Socialist Party spokesman; PETER CAMEJO, candidate of Socialist Workers Party for President of City Council. Fri., Sept. 17, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Pacifists Clash on Politics of New Left

By Harry Ring

The escalation of the Vietnam war and the coincident emergence of a new, radical, antiwar movement, have created acute ideological and political difficulties for the old, established peace movement. The controversy was given a public airing in the June-July and August issues of the pacifist magazine, *Liberation*.

Right-wing pacifists associated with the magazine are up in arms against its editor, Dave Dellinger, and against Staughton Lynd, who recently became an associate editor. Both are part of the militant wing of the movement.

Dellinger and Lynd have drawn the fire of their pacifist colleagues on a number of grounds. They have expressed sympathy for the struggle of the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front. They are supporters of the Cuban Revolution. They favor immediate, unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. They have not whooped it up for Lyndon Johnson and the Democratic Party. They support the principle of non-exclusion in the antiwar and civil rights movement — that is, they don't go along with efforts to bar individuals or groups from demonstrations or other actions on grounds of political beliefs.

Some of the polemics are quite harsh. Robert Pickus, Western area director of Turn Toward Peace, and until recently an associate editor of *Liberation*, brands Dellinger a "former pacifist" who has embraced "quasi-Marxist principles."

Pickus declares Dellinger a "former pacifist" because, he says, a person falls into that category when he "enthusiastically supports a regime or political force that uses mass violence to advance a concept of justice with which he agrees."

He further flays Dellinger and Lynd because they "make distance from [read "opposition to"] the American Establishment the test of virtue."

A true pacifist, says Pickus, "must aim, not at polarizing, but at permeating society. He must not convince every Bircher, but he must convince him enough so that the pacifist's election is not the signal for civil war."

Pickus is also greatly distressed about some of the views prevalent among students of the New Left. While accepting Dellinger's observation that the student movement is generally scornful of the Communist Party, he is quick to point out that they accept "communist" arguments. "There is nothing new," he huffily declares, "in the focus on American militarism or 'imperialism' as the single villain, or in locating the root cause in the American 'system' as the prerequisite in the movement toward a world without war."

Pickus' views on "permeating the Establishment" are concrete. For example, he considers it thoroughly unpacifist to favor immediate, unconditional withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam. Such a withdrawal of Marines, bombs and napalm, you see, would not

ensure "peace" and "stability" in Vietnam.

By the same token, Pickus was deeply agitated by the April 17 March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam which its sponsor, Students for a Democratic Society, carried through on the basis of the principle of nonexclusion. A student friend of Pickus' reported to him that the marchers included "a noticeable and vociferous minority of radical anti-Americans who apparently completely equated the United States with evil and the Vietcong and Communists with freedom, peace and all that is good in man."

Even worse, according to Pickus, the March "was the first significant re-appearance on the national peace movement scene of United Front politics."

In a way it was. It was not a



Dave Dellinger

united front in the real sense of the term — a joint action by a group of differing organizations — since the great majority of the participants were not affiliated with any organization. But SDS did solicit and receive the endorsement and support of most of the left-wing youth organizations for the March and it was the first significant action of this type since the advent of McCarthyism.

This may be upsetting to Pickus but it had the enthusiastic support of the great bulk of the participants. He can like it or lump it, but the new antiwar movement just isn't going for "loyalty" tests. While Pickus is declaring war on "anti-American radicals," Staughton Lynd demonstrates that "pro-Americanism" is a barrier to an effective struggle for peace and social progress. By pro-Americanism he means loyalty to the Establishment and its imperialist foreign policy.

Lynd directs a hard-hitting polemic against the right-wing positions of Bayard Rustin, aiming his principal fire at Rustin's politics, that is, his insistence that the road to salvation is through participation in and support of the Democratic Party. Lynd marshals facts to demonstrate that Rustin's "coalition" line necessarily leads to active support for and whitewash of the reactionary Democratic administration of Lyndon Johnson.

He recalls that it was Rustin, as an advocate of "coalition," who tried to get the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to accept the scandalous "compromise" worked out by the Party bosses for the seating of a token delegation at their Atlantic City convention.

He further points out that Rustin was acting on the basis of his political line of avoiding a collision with the Johnson administration when he tried to torpedo the April 17 March on Washington.

Lynd offers a basic explanation of Rustin's politics. He writes: "The coalition he advocates turns out to mean implicit acceptance of the Administration's foreign policy, to be coalition with the Marines..."

"In opposing the March on Washington against the war in Vietnam," Lynd declares, "Rustin has permitted himself to drift into that posture which once evoked epithets such as 'labor lieutenants of capitalism.' Exaggerated as such labels may have been, they designated something real. There were in Europe and there are now in America pacifists and socialists who always support their own government in international confrontations when push comes to shove."

David McReynolds, another associate editor of the magazine, writes a lengthy document intended to delineate his differences with Dellinger-Lynd. His specialty appears to be that of providing left-wing arguments for right-wing positions.

Unlike Pickus, he presents himself as anti-Establishment. He declares: "Neither the Soviet Union nor the Peoples Republic of China now poses the major threat to the independence of smaller states and the freedom of peoples. The major threat today is from Lyndon Johnson, the CIA and the U.S. Marine Corps."

He goes so far as to declare: "I made the mistake — working with evidence then available — of backing Johnson against Goldwater. Today I would urge Johnson's impeachment."

"But," he hastily adds, "I still think the theory of coalition politics makes sense."

Nor does McReynolds simply turn his back on the New Left. He even admits they're half right in their distrust of the adults and the old movements. But, he sternly adds, they're also half wrong. As they grow older, he is confident, they'll get more like him. "But at the moment the New Left is marked by a lack of civility, an absence of common good manners, in dealing with the older radicals."

McReynolds wants a "politically relevant" pacifist movement. He is "prepared for the coalitions and compromises" that may entail. "But," he firmly declares, arguing against nonexclusion, "I do not propose to compromise on either the issue of democracy or non-violence."

For Johnson

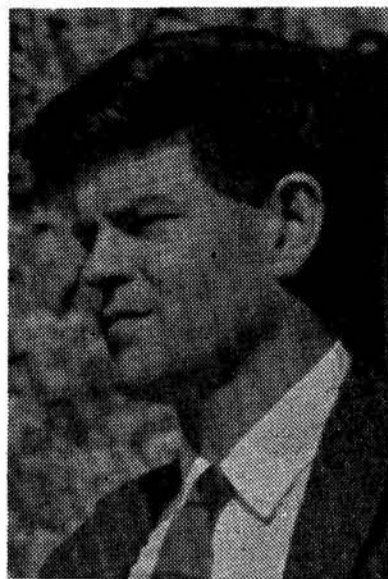
I don't believe him. I listened to McReynolds at a Militant Labor Forum symposium in New York last September urging socialists not only to vote for Johnson but to get out and campaign for him. That was less than two weeks after Johnson had ordered the bombing at the gulf of Tonkin.

A. J. Muste, dean of the pacifist movement and a founder of *Liberation*, joins in the discussion but, in a basic sense, straddles the issues. He is critical of the right wing but avoids solidarizing himself with Dellinger and Lynd. Pretty much the same approach is taken in an article by author Nat Hentoff.

The issues in dispute are also subjects of controversy in the new student movement. The *Liberation* controversy is extended into the student movement in the summer issue of *Viewpoint*, a magazine published by individuals in New York SDS. Steve Max, a former national officer of SDS and a particularly enthusiastic advocate of "coalition" politics, joins with Douglas Ireland, a student, in writing "A Reply to Staughton Lynd." (The pro-coalitionists were a small minority at the last national convention of the SDS.)

The article tries to demonstrate that Lynd distorted Rustin's position, but all the contrasting quotations show is that Lynd effectively cut through Rustin's double-talking verbiage and accurately presented the essence of his views.

Max and Ireland offer rather feeble apology for Rustin. They make the point, for example, that it was Johnson and Humphrey, not Rustin, who engineered the "compromise" at Atlantic City. (Lynd never said otherwise. He simply reported that it was Rustin who



Staughton Lynd

took on the job of selling the Johnson-Humphrey deal to the Freedom Democrats.)

Max and Ireland then add an astonishing argument. They don't defend the Johnson-Humphrey "compromise" and even characterize its authors as "enemies" of the MFDP. But remembering their "coalition" they add a parenthetical remark: "It should not be forgotten that they [Johnson and Humphrey] also urged compromise on those who would have voted against the MFDP."

Dave Dellinger rebuts his critics with a strong indictment of the reactionary role of U.S. imperialism in the world and the need to oppose it without compromise. He hits at "Democratic Party coalitionists like Michael Harrington, Norman Thomas, . . . and Bayard Rustin [who] cling to the notion that the United States has the right to negotiate the terms and extent of its military withdrawal."

Answering those who see a contradiction between his pacifism and his sympathy for the Cuban Revolution and for the struggle of the South Vietnamese guerrillas, Dellinger simply declares: ". . . the best way to resist injustice is nonviolently, but it is nonetheless better to resist oppression violently than not to resist it at all."

Donald McKelvey, former assistant national secretary of SDS, develops Dellinger's point further. He declares that it is the duty of a leader in the struggle for a better world not to become isolated from those he would lead and that if the ranks decide on the basis of their experience that they cannot achieve their goals nonviolently then it is the obligation of the leader to go along with them.

On the nonexclusion issue, McKelvey offers a warning well worth noting. He writes: ". . . the political danger in united fronting with the Establishment is very great indeed. I might add that the political danger of not united fronting with the left is very great also. We should remember that when Hitler was first elected Chancellor . . . he was elected because the Communist and Social Democratic Parties didn't form a united front."

There are a few additional observations on this question that are worth making. First, it is interesting to note that in arguing against the position of nonexclusion, Pickus and McReynolds, limit themselves to a choice of targets which include the Progressive Labor Party, the May 2nd Movement, the DuBois Clubs and Youth Against War and Fascism. Neither states their view on the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance in relation to this question. This is not because they are unaware of these groups since both refer to them in other contexts. (In practice, people like Rustin and Pickus try to exclude them too.)

Their problem is this: They try to justify their opposition to left-wing unity with the argument that

PL, DuBois Clubs, etc., are "totalitarian" and/or apologists for Moscow or Peking. But they know that while the Trotskyist movement (SWP and YSA) supports the USSR and China as against imperialism, it is ideologically independent of and opposed to the ruling bureaucracies in both countries. Since Pickus and McReynolds can't apply the same argument, they choose instead to duck the question. This makes clear, I think, that their stated reasons for opposing nonexclusion are nothing more than a pretext. Their argument about "totalitarianism" is demagoguery.

Further they deliberately twist the meaning of a united front, posing the idea of discussion of differing ideas with other left-wing groups as an alternative to it. The concept of the united front, which was first advanced in a rounded way by Lenin, is a simple one. All it means is that groups with differing programs who find themselves in agreement on a specific issue or goal act in a united way to achieve that goal.

This is based on a firm understanding that the participating groups maintain their organizational independence and the full right to continue to express their views on those questions on which they disagree. Actually, common action based on this principle provides the very best opportunity for supporters of differing groups to exchange and consider each other's viewpoint. People with confidence in their ideas, therefore, have nothing to fear from such common action.

A final point. I think the disgraceful positions taken by Pickus, Rustin, McReynolds, et al, are most clearly understood when analyzed from a Marxist, that is, a class viewpoint. (For reasons of space I am leaving aside the general question of pacifist ideology which Marxists regard as basically unsound.)

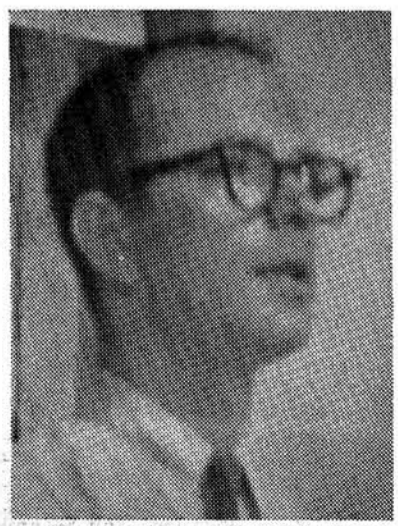
There are two basic features to the outlook of Pickus, Rustin, and McReynolds. The first is a blind hatred of the Soviet-bloc countries, a hatred so intense that it leads them to view U.S. capitalism as the "lesser evil." The second is a complete lack of confidence in the capacity of the working class, the Negro people and other minority groups to change society. This leads to a futile search for a "lesser evil" among the U.S. ruling circles as expressed in the "coalition" theory.

In his polemic, Dave McReynolds angrily declared: "Rustin may be wrong. Gilmore may be wrong. Pickus may be wrong. But, damn it Staughton, they are not the class enemy." (emphasis in original.)

That's true. But Lyndon Johnson is. Or, more precisely, he and his party represent the class enemy, the American capitalist class which is responsible for the war in Vietnam and a host of other crimes. And people who try to divert the struggle for social progress into "coalition" with the representatives of the very class against whom the struggle is directed are guilty of a terrible betrayal.

McReynolds, Camejo To Debate in New York

NEW YORK — Pacifist David McReynolds will debate Peter Camejo on the issue of "Politics and the Antiwar Movement" at the Militant Labor Forum, Friday evening, Sept. 17, at 116 University Place. Camejo is a member of the national committee of the Young Socialist Alliance and is the Socialist Workers' nominee for President of the City Council.



David McReynolds

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: BARRY SHEPPARD Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except during July and August when published bi-weekly, by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 116 University Pl., New York 3, N.Y. Phone CH 3-2140. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscription: \$3 a year; Canadian, \$3.50; foreign, \$4.50. Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Vol. 29 - No. 32 345 Monday, September 13, 1965

CORE Leaders Do a Disservice

New York CORE and James Farmer did a serious disservice to the cause of civil rights with their endorsement of William F. Ryan's mayoralty bid in the Democratic primary election. It was the first such endorsement of a candidate by CORE.

Virtually all of CORE's efforts to combat New York Jim Crow have been necessarily directed against the Democratic city administration that has ruled the city for years. Almost any issue that you can name is the product of a failure of the administration to enforce the rights of the Negro people or to act in their behalf. The segregated school scandal; the free hand given Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant slumlords; mounting police brutality; failure to enforce fair hiring practices regulations — these and a host of other evils constitute a thoroughgoing indictment of the Democratic Party as an opponent of freedom, justice and equality for the Negro people.

Those in the CORE officialdom responsible for the decision to campaign for Ryan will undoubtedly argue that what we have said about the Democratic Party is true enough but that's why it's necessary to get behind a liberal like Ryan.

This is a false argument. Regardless of intention, no individual can alter the character of the Democratic (or Republican) Party as a representative of the business, banking and real estate interests responsible for the plight of the Negro people.

All that a liberal like Ryan can do is refurbish the badly tarnished reputation of the Democrats and foster the illusion that with the "right men" the party can be changed into an instrument of the people. By their endorsement of Ryan, the leaders of CORE only serve to further that illusion.

It is to be hoped that CORE activists will repudiate the self-defeating action of their officials. An effective way of doing so is by registering their vote for the Socialist Workers mayoralty ticket, the only ticket in the field honestly and unambiguously committed to the struggle for equal rights.

Another CIA Slip-Up

The latest case of the State Department getting caught in a brazen lie about the activities of the CIA should underscore why this country is regarded with fear and contempt by a large part of humanity. This time it was Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew who exposed the utter deceit of the men who run this country.

Apparently incapable of learning from previous experience (like the U-2 incident), the State Department rushed into print with an indignant denial when Lee charged that the CIA had offered him a \$3.3 million bribe to cover up revelations about CIA agents caught committing espionage in Singapore, with which the U.S. was supposed to be on the best of terms.

When Lee exhibited a 1961 letter from Dean Rusk admitting the whole episode, the red-faced State Department had to reverse course and admit it was in "error."

Reacting to the initial State Department denial, Lee reportedly shoved the letter in a newsman's face and declared: "The Americans stupidly deny the undeniable. If the Americans go on denying, I will have to disclose further details which may sound like James Bond and 'Goldfinger,' only not so good, but putrid and grotesque enough."

Some idea of what Lee was talking about was suggested in a *New York Times* dispatch from Hong Kong. Seymour Topping wrote: "There is a remarkable similarity in the complaints lodged by all these leaders [in Southeast Asia] as they drifted away from the United States. For example, all have charged that the CIA conducted hostile operations against their governments during periods of ostensibly correct relations with the United States . . . In Indonesia, President Sukarno recalls that the agency supported the abortive 1958 rebellion . . . Prince Sihanouk charges that the CIA backed an underground group . . . Burmese are still resentful . . ." etc., etc.

And then the Voice of America explains how the U.S. is defending them against those immoral Bolsheviks.

Real Academic Quality

We're pleased but not surprised to learn that the new campus protest movement is led by students who meet top academic standards. This was established by a team of psychologists from the University of California at Berkeley who tested and interviewed thousands of students in different colleges over a five-year period.

Dr. Ralph Heist, a spokesman for the researchers, said some people may have thought the Berkeley Free Speech Movement was sparked by "outside agitators" because they "couldn't credit students with the ability to organize such a well-directed and successful protest." He commented: "Our study shows they were very capable indeed."

"Far from being rabble-rousers, beatniks or outside agitators," he added, "student movement leaders tend to be in unusually serious pursuit of higher education."

That's why they're in rebellion. They're smart enough to see they can't achieve worthwhile goals under the present setup.

China Seeks World Power?

A U.S. Propaganda Hoax

By Robert Vernon

The growing opposition to Johnson's wars of aggression against the peoples of Vietnam and Santo Domingo reveals a deep-seated rejection of the major premises and "philosophy" of the cold war waged over the past two decades. One mainstay of cold-war demagoguery is the old bromide that Soviet Russia is pursuing a goal of world domination. This "argument" has a brother, the one that sees all social upheavals, revolutions, and struggles for national liberation as nothing more than an extension of the national power of the Soviet Union.

But the USSR has not added to itself a square inch of new real estate since the Forties, and no one outside the U.S. takes this "argument" seriously, while the younger generation of Americans is less than convinced. Lately, American propaganda has shifted its tune to the equally fanciful notion that China is out to take over the world. (The absurdity of two great powers, in disagreement with each other, both taking over the same world at the same time does not seem to trouble most dupes of U.S. capitalist propaganda.)

The new "party line" is that, while Russia is "bad," China is "worse," and is responsible for all the world's troubles. This is a basic premise, something so obvious that it does not even have to be discussed. Johnson's supporters fall back on it as their trump card, the squelcher to end all arguments. Anyone who disagrees is "naive . . . lacking understanding of the real nature of the Communist Menace to our Way of Life." What could be more contemptible than someone who does not understand the "true nature of Communism"? Such a person is to be dismissed smugly as not worth talking to, and must be a Communist dupe or a Red in disguise.

Not New

Seems like we heard this "argument" before. In the old days, "experts on Communism" held up the Chinese revolution as an example of Russian imperialist expansion — just as today they present the Vietnam revolution as "aggression by Red China." Until the outbreak of public disputes between Peking and Moscow, a large section of the American public actually believed that China was a satellite of the Kremlin and a colony of the USSR.

In 1952, "How did we lose China?" was an election issue in the United States. "We" of course were the U.S. capitalist rulers who sincerely felt that China and its resources were destined to be under American control and exploitation.

"We" had just defeated Japan in a long and costly war to determine which imperialists, the Japanese imperialists or the American imperialists, were going to dominate China and the Far East. And to whom did "we" so mysteriously "lose" China? To the Chinese? To the Chinese Communists? No, to the . . . Russians — such was the mentality of American politics at that time.

How has China been doing in living up to the world-conquering image conferred on it by the U.S. propaganda machine?

Not too well, frankly. Although China is an industrious and diligent, vigorous and virile nation, although the Chinese Revolution, one of the greatest events in human history, is lifting one-fourth of the world's population out of the past into the future, somehow the Chinese seem pitifully inept, sluggish, slow-poke, and downright uninterested in taking over the world.

The Chinese Red Army has never even been outside the borders of China in its entire existence, except for a belated defen-



Chou En-lai
China's Premier

sive response in the Korean War when the vital Yalu River industrial complex was threatened by the U.S. aggressors sweeping through North Korea.

The "case" the U.S. propagandists have cooked up to make China out to be a power-mad aggressor hell-bent on world domination rests on the following exhibits: Tibet, Korea, Quemoy and Matsu, India (1962), and Vietnam today.

Korea and Vietnam are flagrant acts of U.S. aggression. Tibet was always considered a part of China, rightly or wrongly, and the imperialists themselves don't claim to have much of a case there.

The border dispute and hostilities with India in 1962 took place on Chinese territory, if we are to believe maps printed in the West prior to 1949, or on Indian territory if we consult maps printed since "we lost China." (Talk about 1984!) We have a good case for considering India the aggressor in this instance.

Only a twisted mind could call the Chinese aggressors in reference to Quemoy and Matsu. Quemoy, Matsu, and Formosa (Taiwan) are all Chinese territories which the Chinese have the sovereign right to reclaim, by whatever means necessary. The

U.S. is here openly engaged in aggression by occupying Chinese territory, maintaining a puppet "government" on Taiwan, establishing hostile military bases without the consent or agreement of the Chinese government. Opponents of Johnson's wars should take up the challenge of illegal U.S. occupation of Taiwan, as well as the illegal occupation of the Guantanamo base in Cuba — both flagrant acts of U.S. aggression and violation of international law.

Now consider this. Here we have China, a nation which we are told is hell-bent for world domination, which has not even gotten round to reclaiming its own national territories still held by Britain (Hongkong), Portugal (Macao), and the United States (Taiwan).

In the light of the unceasing hostility of the U.S. imperialists to the Chinese people ever since the latter won their freedom from Western domination in 1949, and considering the U.S. armed might and missiles encircling China from Korea to Thailand, the accusation against the Chinese is nothing short of one of the most brazen and vicious Hitler-like lies that have ever been drummed repeatedly and monotonously into a brainwashed public anywhere.

President Johnson, that paragon and shining knight of Truth enthroned, rants and raves about the poor Vietnamese who, want it or not, must be "protected" from the "growing might and the grasping ambitions of Asian Communism."

And who are the Vietnamese people who are to be "protected" under the tender mercies, grasping ambitions, and napalm bombs of Caucasian Capitalism? Since 1941, the Vietnamese people have been waging battle against assorted gangs of imperialists, against the French and Japanese, against renewed French aggression from 1946 to 1954, and from 1954 to date against U.S. imperialism and its Jack-in-the-box Saigon "governments." For twenty years, the Vietnamese people have been fighting a revolutionary battle unequalled anywhere in heroism and sacrifice, against bloodthirsty and murderous counterrevolutionary war machines.

With L. B. Johnson's help, it is entirely likely that social revolutions and communism will sweep through much of the world, but it is an absurdity and a monstrous lie to present such social change as the extension of the national power of any particular noncapitalist country.

...L. A. Ghetto Victim

(Continued from Page 1)

ing and he said: "What did they hit me for, I was just looking for my kid, what did they hit me for?" He kept running around asking for a gun. They made him want to kill."

Coleman said the demonstration by the Committee to Support the Grievances of Watts Negroes in front of the Police Administration building Aug. 13 was appreciated, "but the real demonstration that night was right here in the ghetto. It was the biggest demonstration Los Angeles has ever seen."

"Not only the radicals, but me and the civil rights groups, we were all caught flat-footed. We weren't a part of this thing. Groups like the United Civil Rights Committee and the NAACP should have been presenting demands while groups like N-VAC should have been in there with the people, giving them ideas and direction. And by that I mean lets go for some real power, control over city hall, banks, the radio stations, take the rebellion out of the Negro community and put it in the white community."

"The uprising was against the power structure, but the people who were doing it had no political conception of the power structure. They saw it as the crooked credit store. This is part of it, but not the controlling interest."

In spite of 4,000 arrests and over 30 Negroes killed, the black people in the ghetto do not feel defeated. The uprising Coleman said, "was the best thing that ever happened in Los Angeles. It united the Negro community more than ever before. It even made middle class Negroes proud they were black. It started over police brutality but if there are no really basic changes it will happen again. This means number one, we've got to have some jobs. The type of guys who were doing it, they were guys I knew of, unemployed and honestly looking for jobs. Some I recognized from my own union, Laborers Local 300. These were guys I know didn't have a job, didn't have any money. What happened was a rebellion. And against you look at it, it was against racial discrimination."

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THE TIME FOR INDEPENDENCE, Political Thesis of the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico. 117 pp., \$1.25.

To understand the roots of the Puerto Rican movement for independence — the economic, cultural, political and social structure which has nurtured a struggle for national liberation in the colonial showcase of United States imperialism — this thesis of the Pro-Independence Movement is a must.

Although the thesis puts forward a disclaimer about Marxism-Leninism and incorporates some of the pronouncements of the papacy on national liberation, its materialist approach to the questions of independence, the extent of U.S. economic penetration, the changes which U.S. imperialism has introduced into the semifeudal agrarian economy, the changes of the class composition of the society, the discriminatory practices against the people's culture, the trade injustices inflicted by the U.S. Congress and the role of the U.S.-controlled trade unions merit the strict attention of revolutionaries everywhere, especially in the United States.

The thesis analyzes with fine scalpel how Puerto Rico, the second largest market in this hemisphere for U.S. goods, is economically exploited, showing the enormous profits of corporations (which it names) in comparison to the meager "benefits" to the Puerto Rican people.

It examines why the struggle for national sovereignty has assumed such acute proportions in recent years and it answers those critics of the struggle who deny its progressive role and proclaim its futility.

Of particular interest to trade unionists here will be the section dealing with the relations of international unions to the island workers, while students will be interested in the relationship between the university organization that supports independence and

the other sections of the independence movement.

The thesis draws attention to the significance of the Cuban Revolution, stating, "The Cuban Revolution is the Western Hemisphere's most important event of this century. It represents an additional link in the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution initiated in Mexico by Madero and Zapata . . ."

"The significance of this fact is so extraordinarily transcendent that there cannot be the least doubt that the Latin American people, including Puerto Rico and other Caribbean countries, can no longer be the same after the Cuban Revolution."

About 25 percent of the Puerto Rican people live on the U.S. mainland. Concentrated in large urban centers, forced to live in ghettos, forced into the most menial jobs, they represent a potential of the highest order for the American revolution.

They represent, therefore, one of the main allies of the struggling ghetto masses. To understand the conditions that have brought the Puerto Rican migrants to these cities, it is necessary to be conversant with a political tendency which is in the vanguard of the island's left wing, the Pro-Independence Movement.

(Copies of *The Time for Independence* may be obtained from Movimiento Pro-Independencia de Puerto Rico, United Nations Mission, P.O. Box 274, New York, N. Y. 10024.)

—Richard Garza

THE KU KLUX KLAN: A CENTURY OF INFAMY by William Pierce Randel. Chilton Books, 1965, 300 pp., \$5.95.

This is a description of various episodes during the Reconstruction period, and a few in the 1920's, in which the Ku Klux Klan was an active participant. It has, therefore, some value in documenting Klan atrocities, and a few chapters, such as one dealing with the literature used to justify the Klan, are interesting.

The main theme of the book, however, is unacceptable. Randel attempts once again to pass off the work of the Klan as the product of nothing more than human "irrationality," "blind hatred," and so forth. But Randel's own documentation reveals the invalidity of these familiar explanations.

What he shows is that, far from irrationality, there was a glaring logic in the procedures of the Ku Klux Klan. They attacked "carpetbaggers" selectively. They went after the poor radicals who sympathized with black labor. They let off rich "carpetbaggers."

What Randel sees as blind irrational forces was the deliberate tactic of plantation owners and other Southern capitalists to destroy the democratic rights of the laborers which had been won in the early period of Reconstruction. The Klan fought to prevent the Negro from becoming a property owner and attempted to destroy his political rights. In fact, Randel shows that the Klan was nothing more than the armed wing of the Democratic Party.

The *Ku Klux Klan*, like its predecessors, misses the point. What we need is not a book showing what the Klan did — but one showing why the *Democratic Party* got away with it, one that would expose the tremendous effort capitalist America has made to cover up one of the bloodiest (and still unfinished) chapters of its history.

—Peter Camejo

Pro-Independence Puerto Ricans Rip Draft for Vietnam

The war in Vietnam was attacked in a resolution adopted by the Puerto Rican independence movement early in August. Part of the resolution said: "The Movimiento Pro Independencia of Puerto Rico energetically condemns Johnson's policy in Vietnam and joins the growing outcry of humanity for an end to what is known as 'the dirty war' of the United States, a war which is comparable to the one unleashed by Hitler 25 years ago in Europe."

In Puerto Rico statements like the following one are being signed before notaries by Puerto Rican youth called for induction and added as a rider to the oath of allegiance inductees must swear. It is reported that those who have presented such statements have not been inducted. The statement reads as follows:

I, (name), after having duly sworn in as required by law do declare the following:

That I have been requested to serve in the armed forces of the United States by virtue of the law of obligatory military conscription of the country, which exists in Puerto Rico through the unilateral action of the Congress of the United States.

That said law, imposed on Puerto Ricans by brute force, leaves us no alternative to service in the army of the United States except long prison terms.

I do not recognize any moral obligation to serve in the army of the United States and that my only national loyalty is to Puerto Rico, my only country.

I repudiate the imperialist aggression of the United States in my sister republic of Santo Domingo and in Vietnam and I would never voluntarily act to aid in any way the criminal and aggressive acts that the United States is realizing in those countries and in other parts of the world.

FOR WHICH, obliged to enter the armed forces of the United States by force, I presently do make known that I do so under protest and that it be known that all that has been previously explained is a reservation to the pledge of allegiance I take upon entering.

Fear Peruvian Gov't May Kill Imprisoned Peasant Leader



PERUVIAN FREEDOM FIGHTER. Hugo Blanco (second from left standing), and fellow peasant leaders in fight for land and liberty.

(World Outlook) — The troops sent out by the Belaunde government to try to put down the guerrilla fighters in the Andes were given orders "not to give any quarter and not to take any prisoners." According to the press, a government spokesman said that the aim was to end "once and for all the extremist subversion" and that no live "martyrs" were wanted.

This savage attitude has given rise to fresh fears for the life of Hugo Blanco, Peru's best-known peasant leader who has been held without trial for more than two years in the jail at Arequipa in the southern part of the country.

He is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of War which announced that it would take no prisoners in the current battles. It is possible that the officials of this ministry will now decide to give Hugo Blanco a drumhead courtmartial to provide a "legal precedent" for summary executions of prisoners captured in the current struggle in the Andes.

The charge leveled against Hugo Blanco is responsibility for the killing of a gunman employed by a landlord, one Hernan Briceño. Hugo Blanco has assumed political responsibility for the peasant actions in which Briceño was killed.

The real accusation against Hugo Blanco, of course, is organizing and mobilizing the peasants and showing them by precept and example the road to freedom.

In addition to Hugo Blanco, fears are felt for the safety of other leaders similarly held in Belaunde's prisons without trial, including Daniel Pereyra, Vladimir Valer, Félix Ceballos, Juan Quesada, Fortunato Vargas, Antonio Cartolin and hundreds of lesser-known figures.

A committee is being formed in Argentina to set in motion a wide movement to demand the immediate release of Hugo Blanco. Pending announcements by the committee, expressions of solidarity and funds to help in the defense of Hugo Blanco can be sent to the weekly newspaper *La Verdad*, Casilla de Correo No. 7, Suc. 3, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

World Events

Form New Party in India

Indian Trotskyists, at a three-day conference in Bombay in early August, decided to form a new political party to be known as the Socialist Workers Party. The aim of the party will be to bring about a regroupment of Marxist-Leninist forces to achieve a speedy socialist transformation of Indian society.

The conference, chaired by Shri Somendra Kumar, a trade-union leader of Bihar, elected a nine-member organizing committee to set up units in different states and convene a regular conference of the new party. Shri Murlidhar Parija of Bombay is secretary. The new party has fraternal relations with the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky.

Sohyo Blasts Vietnam War

The 4,200,000-member General Council of Japan Trade Unions (Sohyo) ended its 28th convention Aug. 4 in Tokyo with a resolution pledging an "all-out fight against U.S. aggression in Vietnam."

The resolution denounced the U.S. for violating the 1954 Geneva agreement and for being responsible for the present situation in Vietnam. The only way to bring an end to the war, Sohyo declared, is through immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from Vietnam and respect for its right of self-determination.

Secretary General Akira Iwai

announced in a speech to the convention that Sohyo is planning to dispatch "international organizers" soon to Latin-American and Afro-Asian countries. Their aim is to help solidify sentiment opposed to the war in Vietnam.

Free Debate Not Wanted

Karol Modzelewski, young Warsaw university instructor arrested on political charges including "Trotskyism" [see *The Militant*, June 14, 1965], has been sentenced to three and a half years, and a colleague to three. Reporting the sentencing, David Halberstam of the *New York Times* wrote that Modzelewski had been influenced by the debate in the Italian Communist Party during a visit to Italy in 1963. "This kind of debate, he decided, was what was needed among the youth in the Communist party in Poland." But when he and several co-thinkers tried to practice this in the Warsaw university Communist group, they were first pressured, then expelled, and finally arrested.

Specter in Latin America

A specter is haunting Latin America, the specter of Che Guevara. Colombian security officials are circulating a photograph of Che, reports an Aug. 28 Reuters dispatch, and security agents have been sent to the Colombia-Panama border to investigate rumors that he might have entered the country

from Panama. Earlier, the blood-stained Dominican junta of Gen. Imbert claimed it had proof that Guevara was killed in the constitutional uprising in Santo Domingo. Unconfirmed reports, says Reuters, have had Che "slipping into various Latin-American countries to train guerrillas since his disappearance from the Cuban scene."

'Hunting Guns' for S. Africa

Achkar Marof of Guinea, chairman of the UN General Assembly's Special Committee on Apartheid, has accused the Japanese government of selling arms and shotguns to South Africa under the label of "hunting guns." He revealed that Japanese officials are considering selling under the same label a "highly sophisticated" 7.62 mm. rifle, used by Japan's ground forces. Japan had reported to the UN that it was applying a strict arms embargo against South Africa.

—George Saunders



Demonstration in Puerto Rico

In Detroit
Vote on Sept. 14 for:
ROBERT HIMMEL
Socialist candidate for mayor
No. 70 on the ballot
REV. ALBERT CLEAGE
Militant Negro candidate
for council
No. 104 on the ballot

FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Frank Little: Anti-War Union Man

[The following article is by James P. Cannon, national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. It was published in *Notebook of an Agitator*, an anthology of socialist journalism by Cannon which can be obtained from Pioneer Publishers, 5 East 3rd St., New York, N. Y. 10003, 362 pp., \$4. The article first appeared in 1926 in the *Labor Defender*, the voice of the International Labor Defense. Cannon was national secretary of the I.L.D. at the time.]

It is nine years, this month, since they hanged Frank Little to the trestle's beam in Butte. They put Frank out of the way and thought they were through with him, but they made a mistake. The things Frank Little stood for — and that was the real Frank Little — are still alive. The things Frank Little did in his lifetime are not forgotten, and the memory of them is not without influence even today.

Indeed, Frank Little is beginning, after the interval of nine years, to loom bigger and bigger against the background of the events of his living days. The revolutionary youth of America, especially, with a wisdom of appraisal that belongs exclusively to the young, are beginning to manifest a great interest in the story of this daring rebel who threw his life away so carelessly for the revolution. And with an unerring instinct, they are picking him out from the American personalities of his day as one of their own.

Here was a real American — so much American that he was part Indian — who, no less than Liebknecht in time of storm and stress, was capable of scorning all personal hazards and remaining true to revolutionary duty. The rebel youth see him as a hero. His soul is marching on.

It is known by all that Frank Little died a heroic death. It must also become generally known that he lived the same kind of a life, and that the final sacrifice he made at the rope's end in Butte, fighting to the last for the cause of the workers and against the capitalist war, was of one piece with his life-long record of activity and struggle as a revolutionary worker.

Frank belonged to the "Old Guard" of the IWW. He was one of its founders. Before that, he was one of the militants of the Western Federation of Miners. With a singleness of purpose possessed by few, he molded his whole life's activities around one

central idea — the idea of the revolutionary struggle of the workers for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the workers' society. Year after year, through storm and conflict, through jails and prisons, he held resolutely to his chosen course to the end.

In his prime he had been a man of sturdy physical make-up, fitted for his hard and hazardous trade as a metal miner. But the hardships he endured, especially the body-breaking jails, took a heavy toll. In his later years the tortures of rheumatism and other physical ailments were with him constantly. But he bore these burdens uncomplainingly and never shirked any duties or obligations



Frank Little

on that account. Even the accident which crippled him shortly before his death did not turn him aside from active work.

Frank was a warm human, hating and fighting the exploiting class and all its personal representatives savagely and bitterly. But for the workers, especially for the rebel workers, he always had a soft and friendly mood. He was inclined to look upon their shortcomings and weaknesses with an indulgent eye. For his personal friends he had a strange and wonderful kindness and consideration, and he was greatly beloved by them.

Frank Little had many personal characteristics of a truly admirable kind. His honesty, courage and selfless devotion to the cause of the workers stood out so strongly and impressed itself so deeply on all who crossed his path, that no one could forget them. But the central feature of the whole personality of Frank Little, the one that it is most important for the coming generation of labor fighters to know about and to strive to emulate, was his dauntless rebel spirit.

His hatred of exploitation and oppression, and of all those who profited by it, was irreconcilable. He was always for the revolt, for the struggle, for the fight. Wherever he went he "stirred up trouble" and organized the workers to rebel. Bosses, policemen, stool pigeons, jailers, priests and preachers — they were the constant targets of his bitter tongue. He was a blood brother to all insurgents, "to every rebel and revolutionist the world over."

Frank Little had faith in the working class. He verily believed in the coming workers' society and he lived and died for it. His scorn for cynics, pessimists, dilettantes and phrasemongering "philosophers" knew no bounds. He believed and acted out the creed of action and inspired all around him with the same attitude.

He was not a "swivel chair" leader, but a man of the field and the firing line. He was always on the trail, in the thick of the open fight. He was well known in

all the active centers from Chicago, west. He had a habit of always turning up in the place where the fight was on, or of "starting something" — a strike, a free speech fight or an agitation, wherever he might be.

Frank Little's influence was very great amongst the type of workers with whom he mixed all his life — miners, migratory workers, railroad builders, and the like. Amongst this type of workers, the first virtue is physical courage, and Frank Little possessed it to a superlative degree. One of the first remarks I ever heard about Frank Little was to the effect that he did not understand the meaning of the word "fear." Later acquaintance and association with him confirmed my own opinion to the same effect, and I never heard anyone who knew him dispute that judgment.

I remember a characteristic instance. During the ore-docks strike in Duluth and Superior in 1913, after he had been kidnaped and held under armed guard in a deserted farm house for several days; after several meetings of the strikers had been broken up by uniformed armed thugs of the steel company — he invited me one morning to take a walk with him down to the docks. With a pistol in his pocket and his hand on it, we walked for an hour or two around the docks, directly past all the places swarming with gunmen, till we had completed the entire rounds, crossing and re-crossing company property many times. It was a rather dangerous trip to undertake, but he insisted on it, so there was no alternative. He considered it necessary, he said, "to show the gunmen that we are not afraid of them, and also to show the strikers that we're not afraid, so they won't be afraid."

Jail was double hell for Frank. The wild Indian strain in him, combined with his rebel worker spirit, rendered confinement particularly odious to him, and he used to chafe in jail like a tiger caught in a trap. Yet he never flinched from it, and — so great were his inner resources — he knew how to contain himself, to hold his rage in hand and to bear himself with a quiet dignity in jail, which jailers as well as jailmates could not but be affected by.

I remember vividly to this day the quieting effect of his entrance into the jail in Peoria, Illinois, during the strike and free speech fight there in 1913; and the rebuke he gave, in the tone of a father talking to a child (he was about 35 then and was already recognized as a veteran), as he sat on the bunk, calmly chewing his tobacco, to an impulsive lad who wanted to start a "battleship" prematurely.

He also possessed moral courage, never fearing to take an unpopular stand in the organization, never hesitating for a moment to identify himself, positively and aggressively, with any proposal or tendency he thought was right, regardless of how many stood with him or against. "Decentralization" was a quite popular movement in the IWW at that time. The migratory workers, with their individualistic spirit, responded quite readily to the idea of doing away with leaders and centralized authority and letting each local run affairs as it saw fit. Frank Little stood like a rock against this. He was one of the strongest pillars in the camp of the so-called "centralizers."

His sound organizational instincts, fortified by wide experience, enabled him to recognize quickly the disintegrating tendencies of the "decentralization" movement. He poured out the most withering invective on the heads

of those who wanted to change officers every year, etc. In the faction fight over this issue his energetic and determined struggle against decentralization was one of the most decisive factors in the defeat of the movement in 1913.

Frank Little's last speech, for which he paid with his life, was directed against the capitalist war. In that speech he set up his own doctrine against that of the warmongers. His philosophy, compressed into a single sentence, was picked up and carried all over the country on the telegraph wires with the news of his assassination: "I stand for the solidarity of labor." This was the final message from that tongue of fire.

Labor leaders on every side, in this and other countries, were fooled, bullied, or bribed into supporting the capitalist slaughterfest. Frank Little was not one of them. And with a wisdom never learned in books, he seemed to sense the great historical significance of the stand he was taking. His speech at Butte, his letter to Haywood, his resolution introduced in the General Executive Board of the IWW on the subject of the war, will influence the rising young generation of the labor movement much more than that of his own day.

Frank Little sensed this. His letter to Haywood indicates clearly that he expected he would have to pay with his life for the stand he was taking against the war, but he considered it worth the sacrifice. He knew the great power of example, and always considered

that in the last resort all philosophies are tested by deeds.

The memory of Frank Little seemed to be obscured for a time. Months and even years passed by, and we did not see it mentioned anywhere. But that is passing now. The rising revolutionary movement of today is learning to see past events in truer perspective and bigger. The life and deeds of Frank Little are beginning to stand out as those of a hero of the American revolution, who has left a priceless heritage to the coming generation.

Frank Little will become a tradition, one of the greatest traditions of the American movement. A study of his life will become part of the revolutionary education of the American revolutionary youth. His personal characteristics of courage, honesty, straightforwardness, self-sacrifice and rebel spirit will exert a strong influence, which is much needed, on the new fighters.

The fragmentary notes which a few of us are putting into this special number of the *Labor Defender* to keep his memory green, will not be the last words said about Frank Little by any means. It will not be long till more systematic work is done, and the accounts of his manifold activities and struggles will be gathered together and woven into a story of his life and work which will become a textbook for the movement.

The Frank Little tradition is one of the best traditions of America. It is a tradition of the American revolution.

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.]

Would you explain what it is that gives our currency its value? I have heard it said that it is the gold behind it. But from another source I heard that the currency is really backed by the total assets of the nation. — D.R., Palo Alto, Calif.

The answer to this kind of technical question can only be outlined here. Probably the best way money can be understood is by reviewing its historical development.

Money originated as a commodity that people within a society were generally willing to accept in exchange for other commodities. For example, in some societies, animals like cattle were used as money.

"Precious metals" — especially gold and silver — became the money commodity in most societies because of the advantages they have for this purpose: they don't deteriorate with time; they can be divided into units of any size; and they are easily transported because a small quantity embodies a large value.

Later, as commerce and banking developed, paper certificates were issued by banks for gold deposited with them and these certificates were often used in exchange instead of the actual gold.

Then governments began issuing paper currency backed by gold the government held. At first the governments guaranteed that the paper money could be exchanged for a given quantity of gold at any time. The government could print more paper money than it had gold backing in its vaults as long as people had confidence in the gov-

ernment's ability to redeem the paper money with gold.

With the great depression of the 1930s, governments on the gold standard went off it, and would no longer redeem their paper currency with gold. Nations still used gold to settle debts between themselves. The U.S. government was required by law to keep enough gold in Fort Knox to cover part of its currency, but this was not the case for other nations. The U.S. also guaranteed to redeem with gold, dollars held by foreigners, though other major countries did not. Dollars became the main currency used in foreign trade.

The value of the dollar in international trade is fixed in relation to gold by the law which requires the government to redeem dollars with gold at the rate of \$35 an ounce. The government's ability to maintain this rate of exchange depends on many things, including the competitiveness of American products on the world market, the stock of gold it has accumulated in the past, government foreign expenditures, foreign investment, the willingness of foreigners to hold dollars instead of exchanging them for gold, etc.

Though the dollar is tied to gold through international trade, within the United States the value of the dollar varies with the amount of money in circulation relative to the goods and services available, as well as other factors. Therefore, it can be said that the currency is "backed by the total assets of the nation," in the sense that the conditions of the total economy affect the value of the dollar.

—Herman Porter

The First 10 Years Of American Communism

Report of a Participant

By James P. Cannon

The author is a founder of American Trotskyism and the only living top leader of the early years of the U.S. Communist Party who has not repudiated communism.

The book contains:

Sketches of Foster, Ruthenberg, Browder, Lovestone and others, as well as of leading figures in the Communist International.

Essays on the Industrial Workers of the World, Eugene V. Debs and the socialist movement of his time, and the effect of the Russian Revolution on the U.S. Negro struggle.

344 pp. — \$6.00

Order through:

Pioneer Publishers

5 E. Third St., New York, N. Y. 10003

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.]

News from India

Bombay, India
We here in India have established a new, revolutionary socialist party — incidentally, called the Socialist Workers Party. The new

party has received a fairly good press coverage and its birth has been heralded in a big way.

There are momentous developments taking place in India. On the one hand big mass movements are sporadically erupting against the bourgeois state on the food problem and other issues. These movements are being ruthlessly suppressed. We shall be sending *The Militant* regular reports on these questions.

A shooting war has begun between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue and the ruling bourgeoisie in both countries are utilizing the war to channel popular discontent into Hindu-Muslim communal riots. Communal riots have already started in several parts of East Pakistan and India. The traditional left in India is playing the role of faithful stooge of the bourgeoisie in the name of defending "national honor and integrity," etc.

We had a good public meeting in Bombay on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the assassination of Trotsky.

We are impressed by your wonderful work in connection with the civil rights and anti-Vietnam-war movements.

S.K.

'National Honor' in Vietnam

New York, N. Y.
President Johnson, like every other embattled ruler in history, must placate his opposition at home and arouse the fighting spirit of his people against the foe abroad. In this difficult and politically hazardous undertaking, he has now resorted to that ancient and hitherto infallible demagogic nostrum — he says "our national honor is at stake."

There are, I am sure, millions of thoughtful Americans whose conception of our national honor and its stake in Southeast Asia has matured since the time when their grandfathers could be swept into war by William Randolph Hearst and his primitive chauvinist tom-toms. They are not moved by these high-voltage platitudes of Lyndon Baines Johnson. They demand a clear definition of just how the national honor is involved in Vietnam, as they hear this ominous premonitory call for their blood, their tears and their taxes.

It seems to me that our pious president, who so often proclaims he lives by the biblical precepts he learned at his Sunday school teacher's knee, might do better to open the good book at Proverbs 20:3, and there read, "It is an honor for a man to cease from strife, but every fool will be meddling."

Taylor Adams

For Negro Self-Defense

Brooklyn, N.Y.
I was glad to read, in a recent issue of *The Militant*, of the formation of a self-defense organization by Southern Negroes, the Deacons. I feel that something of this sort has long been needed.

On the one hand, the Deacons have abandoned nonviolence which, in the more reactionary parts of the South, has proved to be only a sophisticated way of throwing away lives. On the other, they are integrationists, and do not seem to have committed themselves to futile blind-alleys of black racism.

I feel that they deserve the financial and moral support of in-

tegrationists of all colors and regions, and would like to make a financial contribution. Could you please tell me how I might send money to support their work?

J.B.

[The address of the Deacons of Defense and Justice is: Drawer B, Jonesboro, Louisiana. Editor]

Seeks Views

Woodland, Calif.
I have been waiting for 50 years to see something actually accomplished by the dozen or so socialist groups in this country. All are for socialism in this country but their time is taken up discussing matters in other countries, or matters that have little to do with building socialism here. I believe that if a small part of that energy and money had been put into a specific project, we would long ago have had something to show to an unbelieving public as socialism operating as nearly perfect as possible in a capitalist economy. I would like to see the columnists and letter writers answer this question: Should the socialists find themselves in power, just what specifically would they do first with the economy?

I would like to know, according to their way of thinking, just what is wrong with the U.S. post-office? Would socialists change it? If so, how? Then there is public power. Living within 20 miles of Sacramento, Calif., I pay nearly

twice what Sacramento residents do for the same service. What is wrong with the Sacramento Municipal Utility District? How would Socialists (or Communists) change it if at all? In this respect is there any difference between these two left-wing movements? These questions need to be answered NOW and quite plainly. The general public will not be impressed by anything done in other countries. We need to have something to show right here.

Willard F. Smith
437 Community Lane

Urges Action

Detroit, Mich.
The action of President Johnson leading to an increase in the draft call and the sending of large numbers of troops to Vietnam is a direct negation of his campaign pledges and a capitulation to the War Hawks in Congress. We are now witnessing the triumph of the type of foreign policy advocated by Senator Goldwater during last year's Presidential election. The actions of the present administration brand this country as a warmonger in the eyes of the entire free world. Now more than ever all segments of the democratic and progressive Left must unite to stop this drift to war.

I personally believe that at least three courses of action are open to us: (1) Increased militancy in the "teach-ins" which should be

conducted in all major colleges in every state; (2) Peace demonstrations to be stepped up in all large major cities throughout the country with increased numbers of marchers and improved propaganda media to get to the masses; and finally (3) Resistance to the draft increases.

Some people may think the last step to be dangerous or risky; but conditions warrant drastic methods. Through the Quakers and the Peace Movement, we should sincerely urge draft-age young men to absolutely refuse to serve in the armed services if they are to be sent to either Vietnam or the Dominican Republic. This constitutes the minimum we can do to return this country to normalcy and away from the holocaust of brinkmanship.

I would certainly appreciate comments, suggestions, and any possible help on how to implement such steps. I am fully aware that the "professional patriots" and the entire neo-fascist right-wing will smear us and generally make life miserable. However, the issue is peace and we must put forth every effort to that goal. Permit me to plead with all liberals, progressives, pacifists, and the peace movement to start quickly in a massive nation-wide campaign to protect the peace while we still have time. This is literally a case when tomorrow may be too late!

Richard M. Woodruff

10 Years Ago In The Militant

14-YEAR-OLD NEGRO BOY LYNCHED IN MISSISSIPPI BY WHITE SUPREMACISTS — The degenerate brutality of America's Jim Crow system revealed itself in full horror on August 31 when the lynched body of 14-year-old Emmett Louis Till was found near Greenwood, Mississippi.

The body revealed that terrible torture — almost all the teeth knocked out, right side of the head beaten in — had preceded the gunshot through the temple that killed the young Negro boy whose mother had sent him from Chicago for a summer vacation with relatives in the Deep South.

Young Till was kidnaped and murdered by white supremacists because of a fancied "insult" to a white woman. The "insult" consisted in his whistling outside a grocery store which he had just left with five friends. — Sept. 12, 1955.

20 Years Ago

FILIPINOS FIGHT RETURN OF DESPOTIC U.S. RULE — Civil war threatens to break out in the Philippines. Native landlords and capitalists, returning to their properties under the protection of U.S. troops, are moving against the Philippines people who fought the Japanese armies of occupation . . .

The *Manila Daily Gazette* of August 25 declares in a headline: "TROUBLE BREWING." "Pampanga Seethes Again With Social Unrest," continues the report. This "widespread discontent and restlessness may soon explode with violence," says the *Gazette*. "Tenants fear that once again the landlords will be able to return to their haciendas and reinstitute the feudalistic system of burying them, their children and their children's children into debts which they cannot hope to repay."

"During the chaotic three-year Japanese occupation," explains the *Gazette*, "landlords, fearing for the safety of their lives, moved to Manila where they resided, completely abandoning their land-holdings to their tenants."

As pointed out by Li Fu-jen in the August 4 *Militant*, these landlords, like the native capitalists, collaborated with the Japanese imperialists. The people, on the other hand, armed themselves, fought the Japanese armies, in many instances freed themselves and instituted widespread social reforms.

When MacArthur landed, he promptly arrested leaders of the native resistance movement, threw them in prison without charge, and dissolved the civil administrations set up by the people. The U.S. armies under MacArthur played a role similar to that of the British armies under General Scobie in Greece. — Sept. 15, 1945.

It Was Reported in the Press

Decline of French Empire — It's now clear why the U.S. has been able to relegate such countries as France to second place in the leadership of the Free World. They don't pay their spies the way we do. The Paris new magazine *L'Express*, reports that French cloak-and-dagger workers, "badly paid, lacking in resources and short circuited by amateurs," have been pressing for a wage hike. The projected French budget would allot a trifling \$6.7 million for spying. Compare that to our CIA which was able to offer one man, the prime minister of Singapore, a bribe of \$3.3 million.

Communist Party Politics — The Communist Party has given a bone-crushing rejoinder to the argument that its support of capitalist party politicians gets in the way of fighting on basic issues. In an enthusiastic article about William F. Ryan, candidate for mayor in the New York Democratic primary election, the Sept. 5 *Worker* notes with satisfaction that Ryan's stock has risen as a result of his "dramatic gadfly role in exposing the city's leaky water system."

Legion to Expand — The American Legion voted to permit veterans of the cold war to join its ranks. Membership previously had been confined to veterans of World Wars I and II and the Korean "police action." Meanwhile Admiral David McDonald called on the people to show more appreciation for the military, and what it's doing around the globe. He said there was less appreciation because "it is more difficult for many to see clearly why the military man is where he is."

Federal Crackdown — Washington really means business about cracking down on unnecessary expenditures for the Vietnam war.

Last week it canceled an order by the South Vietnamese regime for a shipment of luxurious office furniture. (After the order was canceled the South Vietnamese were advised to buy the furniture locally or to obtain it through another U.S. agency.)

Penny-Wise President — Lyndon Johnson, whose war in Vietnam is expected to cost as much as \$30 million a day, has advised government agencies involved in the war that he wants them to be thrift-conscious.

Appeal to New Yorkers — If you haven't paid Con Edison your electric bill, please do so immediately since they may be in urgent need of funds. The company was found guilty on two counts of fouling the air with its power plant smoke stacks and this time the judge fined them \$100 per count instead of the usual \$50 it had paid for previous violations. City officials hailed the ruling as a "victory."

Slum Clearance — St. Claire Alley in the town of Dunedin, Fla., is a row of hovels occupied by Negroes. For some time local authorities have been talking about slum clearance but not doing anything. Then one of the shacks burned down and authorities real-

ized that a good wind blowing in the right direction would have spread the fire into the white area. Now a move is underfoot to raze the slum. No plan has been offered for alternate housing for the people who live there.

Silent Summer — Thousands of fish died off the Connecticut coast recently as a result of industrial pollution of the water. Forty tons of dead fish were removed from the area and about three and a half miles of beach had to be sprayed with a DDT solution and with another containing a gardenia scent to combat the stench of the dead fish. Beaches had to be closed to swimmers to avoid contamination.

Symbol — We thought it fitting that in reporting that the U.S. population has reached 195 million, the Associated Press noted that the counting machine in the census bureau office "looks like an oversized cash register."

Most Likely Story of the Week — John Chancellor, new head of the Voice of America, asserts the U.S. propaganda voice will stick to facts. "I am satisfied," he declared with a straight face, "that the president wants the Voice to tell the truth."

—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.)

Name

Street Zone

City State

Send to *The Militant*, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. 10003.



Thought for the Week

"Nationalism is the strongest political impulse in this immense area [of Asia] . . . and fortunately there is no basic conflict between this nationalistic impulse . . . and Washington's own national interests. This point, however, is not clear to the peoples in this part of the world." — From a dispatch by *New York Times* pundit James Reston.

Steel Union President Knuckles to Johnson

By Fred Halstead

SEPT. 8 — In the pattern of his predecessor, David J. McDonald, Steelworkers President I. W. Able proved his subservience by accepting a settlement dictated by President Johnson. The settlement fails to deal with the crucial question of working conditions, completely avoids the question of creating jobs for younger workers, and contains smaller wage increases than those being negotiated in other industries.

Johnson used the Vietnam war as a central point in his direct intervention into the negotiations. At one point, he compared the threat of a steel strike to "dissidents" picketing the White House on Vietnam, declaring: "You're saying to our enemy in Vietnam 'We're behind you Johnson most of the way, but of course, you've got to take into account that we have special problems.'"

Able won the presidency earlier this year from McDonald in a campaign promising to solve the backlog of local and company-level grievances and issues, mostly involving working conditions. Able also played to the rank-and-file desire for democracy and against McDonald's reliance on



Lyndon Johnson

staff technicians and lawyers rather than on elected representatives and committees. After the election, Able promised a package in steel equal to that in Aluminum. The steel agreement signed Sept. 6, however, fell far short of that, and what is more important, leaves unresolved the crucial local problems which have now been dropped by the union.

The settlement was worked out, not in response to democratic processes within the union, but through lawyers, staff technicians and government "experts." An example of this is that in the critical stages of the process, the actual negotiating was done by the two "impartial" mediators, Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz and Commerce Secretary John Connor.

The negotiations had become so far removed from the concrete problems of steelworkers, and so bogged down in "expert" jargon, that even these gentlemen couldn't unsnarl the statistics they were supposed to be operating on. A compromise set of figures was supplied by Gardner Ackley, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, using a computer.

An "Invitation"

The direct intervention of the White House openly began when the bargainers were "invited" to Washington. Then Johnson appeared personally before the negotiators to lecture on "national security" and present figures showing that steelworkers were really doing very well. Finally Johnson actually dictated a set of concrete terms which were accepted as the settlement of the points remaining in dispute. The union's 163-man Wage Policy Committee was confronted with the choice of accepting the settlement they played no role in creating, or directly challenging the President of the U.S. They accepted it after some bitter discussion.

The settlement provides an hourly increase averaging 16 cents the first year and eight cents the third. Fringe benefits are said to add an additional 25 cents over three years. But such estimates are unreliable and usually greatly exaggerated. Besides, many workers never see these benefits because they get laid off before reaching high seniority or die before retirement.

The steel pact this year is one more proof that an effective rank-and-file opposition to the bureaucratic leadership of the unions must be based on a program including independence from capitalist politics and politicians.

Socialist Enters Race for Council In Cambridge

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — Gus Horowitz has announced his candidacy for the city council here, and although the elections are "non-partisan," he is running as a socialist. Horowitz is 24 years old, a graduate student at Boston University, and is supported by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

"The main issue of my campaign will be the war in Vietnam," Horowitz said. "This war is of prime concern to the people of Cambridge. The Johnson administration has expanded the war of oppression against the people of Vietnam without consulting the American people in any way. The purpose of my campaign is to expose and condemn the government's action in Vietnam, and to offer the citizens of Cambridge the opportunity to cast a protest vote against the war."

On Aug. 28, Horowitz spoke at an outdoor meeting sponsored by a new committee recently formed in Cambridge to unite all groups and individuals opposed to the war in Vietnam.

The meeting, held at a playground, was also addressed by John Mayer, national research director of the Students for a Democratic Society. Horowitz pointed out that the war in Vietnam is not in the interests of either the American or the Vietnamese people. He described the suffering that the war is inflicting upon the Vietnamese, and explained that the vast majority of South Vietnamese support the guerrillas and want the U.S. troops to leave.

Mayer presented some of the facts about the war that the U.S. press had distorted or ignored, and went into the history of the conflict. Both speakers spoke only briefly in order to leave time for the many questions which the audience had. The majority of those at the rally were against the war.

Outside of a few hecklers, even those who supported the war, especially those of draft age, had many serious questions. After an hour of questions and discussion, the rally broke up. But the interest of the audience was demonstrated when most remained for another hour to discuss.

Detroiters Back La. Deacons

DETROIT — Over 300 people attended a fund-raising dinner Aug. 22 to help the Bogalusa, La., Deacons of Defense and Justice. Main speakers at the dinner were Robert Hicks, vice president of the Bogalusa Voters League and Charles Sims, Bogalusa Deacons leader.

Speakers at the dinner included several candidates for Detroit's Common Council, the two Negro Democratic Congressmen from Detroit and spokesmen for local civil rights organizations.

All of them stated their support for the Deacons. Rep. John Conyers said that if the police in Detroit won't protect Negroes, they ought to think about protecting themselves by organizing freedom patrols like those in Seattle.

Rev. Albert Cleage, independent Negro candidate for Council, commented, "Something significant is happening in Detroit when two Negro congressmen stand up and say it is all right for Negroes to defend themselves. A few years ago about the only thing you'd think would be endorsed was Coca Cola." The endorsement of the self-defense principle by two Democratic Party politicians was an attempt to adapt to an underlying mood existing in the Negro community, especially in the wake of the recent Los Angeles events.

Deportation Case Hearing Slated

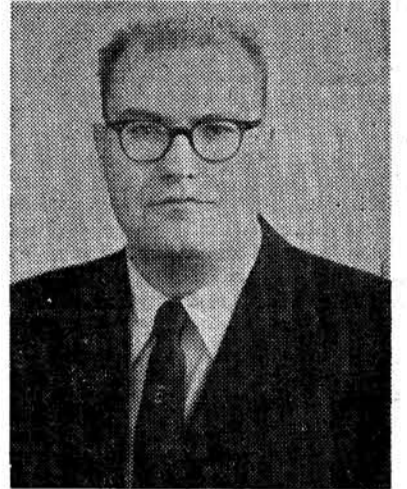
At a hearing expected sometime this fall, the U.S. Immigration Service will try to declare Joseph Johnson of Minneapolis a "stateless" person and order his deportation. He will then be, if the decision holds, the first native-born U.S. citizen in history to become like the legendary "Man Without a Country."

Joe Johnson went to Canada as a young man because he was repulsed by the racism and militarism of American society. He became a socialist there, but returned to the U.S. in 1959 when he found that his draft number had come up and he was wanted on a charge of draft evasion. After serving a two-year prison sentence on that charge, he joined the Socialist Workers Party, became its Twin Cities Organizer, and twice its candidate for public office.

In May 1964, about five years after he returned to this country, he received notice from the Immigration Service that he was a "stateless person" and was to report to a hearing a few weeks later to show why he shouldn't be expatriated to some unnamed country.

Now, four hearings later, the Immigration Service has yet to prove by normal rules of evidence even such an obvious fact as that Johnson crossed the border when he returned to the United States. The first hearing merely resulted in a postponement; the second, in November 1963, accomplished little more.

The government intended to prove that Johnson had lost his citizenship by running for public office in Canada. Then they intended to show that he had overstayed his original 48-hour entrance permit into the U.S. in 1959. For two years Johnson was "over-



Joseph Johnson

staying his 48-hour entrance permit" in a federal prison, serving a sentence only a citizen could serve. Therefore, according to their contentions, he could be ordered deported.

But they got bogged down when local defense attorney Douglas Hall examined the two border patrol officers who detained Johnson when he re-entered the U.S. They contradicted themselves about the times and circumstances of the detention and interrogation. Further, a document that was supposed to definitively attest to these circumstances turned out to be only a copy, and an incomplete copy at that. It left the times and dates out completely. At this point the hearing had to be postponed until the original could be produced.

The third hearing, in April 1965, got even worse. Rather than producing the document itself, the Immigration Service showed up with a very official-looking, ribbon-bedecked paper which attested that they looked high and low for the document and couldn't find it. There is reason to believe that the government may not wish to produce the original. It appears to be standard procedure for the Immigration Service to write on such documents their plans for further action and intended results. They couldn't produce the document without revealing their plans for prosecuting the case in the first place.

The defense insisted upon interviewing the official who was in charge of the Immigration Service office in Buffalo at the time Johnson crossed the border. So a fourth hearing was called in May, on very short notice, in Buffalo, New York. At that hearing the Immigration Service refused to cooperate at all, and finally upheld the contested document as their "evidence." They can do this because under hearing procedures the Immigration Service is both prosecutor and judge.

The defense, with its two excellent attorneys, Leonard B. Boudin, the eminent constitutional authority provided by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, and Douglas Hall, well-known Twin Cities civil liberties attorney, expects to win the case.

Throughout this course, the constitutional issues involved in the right of citizenship will be raised. The constitutionality of the notorious McCarran Immigration and Nationalities Act will be challenged. The defense will also challenge the blundering legal efforts of the Immigration Service in the preliminary hearings.

The case of Joe Johnson is obviously a case of political persecution. Contributions should be sent to: Lew Jones, Secretary, Committee to Oppose the Deportation of Joseph Johnson, P.O. Box 8731, Northstar Building, Minneapolis, Minn. 55402.

Voters Group Hit For Curbing Views Of Minor Nominees

NEWARK — Ruth Shiminsky, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, sent a strong protest to the League of Women Voters of New Jersey for refusing to provide equal space in its bulletin for minority-party candidates.

The League has departed from its traditional practice of providing equal space for the views of all candidates. Now, it writes that "we have accepted the format of a debate between the two major party candidates as it has been set up by their representatives." They will "try" to include the views of independent candidates "whenever practical."

Candidate Shiminsky wrote the League that it was shamefully acquiescing in face of the Republicans' and Democrats' attempts to still "the voice of opposition to the corrupt system they defend — Capitalism."

"Each [major] party," she said, "in its own way is nothing more than an advertising agency for the same adulterated product, seeking to provide it with a palatable veneer but hiding the real ingredients — racism, war, poverty, and suppression of freedom struggles abroad."



Ruth Shiminsky