

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

Vol. 26 - No. 37 Monday, October 15, 1962 Price 10c

Meredith Protests Bias in U.S. Army

By Edward Slater

OCT. 10 — James H. Meredith, the 29-year-old Negro student who forced the federal government to take its first significant action in support of Mississippi Negroes since the Reconstruction Era, has again put President Kennedy on the spot. Meredith called a press conference last night and revealed that Negro soldiers who had served along with whites in the first few days after his admission to the University of Mississippi were later "purged from their positions in the ranks."

Meredith stated that after he had protested this removal on Oct. 4, Negro soldiers again began to appear. "The ones I saw, however," he went on, "were on a garbage-detail truck and were unarmed. The white members of the detail were armed. This condition is a dishonor and a disgrace to the thousands of Negroes who wear the uniforms of our military services."

Meredith also contradicted re-

ports that he had been chosen to make a test case and told reporters that his expenses at the university were paid by the GI bill.

The army, after consultation with administration officials, at first denied that Negro soldiers had been used during the first few days and stated that after Oct. 6 orders were issued that Negro personnel would be used in all normal functions of the units.

However, all reports from the scene are in flat contradiction to the army statement. Warren Rogers writes in the Oct. 10 N. Y. *Herald Tribune*, "Negro soldiers were in evidence everywhere during the first couple of days — Monday and Tuesday, Oct. 1 and 2. Later, however, this reporter noticed they were conspicuous by their absence."

The presence of armed Negroes enforcing desegregation orders was, in fact, a great blow to Mississippi racists and one of the aspects of federal intervention which most infuriated them. What Meredith has called attention to — the fact that these Negro troops were first removed and then disarmed — must certainly be taken by the racists as a major concession from the Kennedy administration.

The administration began other moves this week which can only serve to liquidate further the positive effects of Federal intervention. Eight thousand Mississippi National Guardsmen have been released from duty and on Oct. 8 the withdrawal of regular troops began. Officials revised plans to cut down Meredith's personal guard on the campus after an outburst of violence against him on Monday.

If the federal troops continue to be removed, whatever effect

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James H. Meredith

Cuba's President Exposes Incitement to War by U.S.

By Fred Halstead

UNITED NATIONS, New York, Oct. 9 — In a speech to the United Nations General Assembly yesterday Cuban President Osvaldo Dorticos made a reasoned analysis of the U.S.-Cuban crisis. He exposed the role of the Kennedy administration in inciting war hysteria and reiterated his government's desire to negotiate differences with the U.S.

Even the anti-Castro *New York Post* admitted today that Dorticos' speech was effective and that the reply of Adlai Stevenson, U.S. representative in the U.N., failed to counteract the sympathetic response the Cuban president evoked among delegates from "newly independent states."

Referring to the anti-Cuba campaign that "fills the political stage of the U.S.," Dorticos said: "We know that this atmosphere of hysteria, this campaign . . . are part and parcel of pressures being exerted by the United States government — and on it too — to the end that once and for all there will be a decision to take armed aggression, direct armed aggression against my country. We know



Dr. Osvaldo Dorticos

Drug Control Bill Adopted By Congress

By Marvel Scholl

OCT. 10 — The drug monopolists suffered a major defeat last week when both Houses of Congress passed companion bills to regulate that industry's manufacturing and research procedure and thus give the American people some protection from these conscienceless profiteers.

The original bills to regulate the drug industry were introduced by Sen. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee and Rep. Oren Harris (D-Ark.) early in 1961. The bills were scheduled for either emasculation and evisceration or a quiet death in a committee pigeonhole, when the conjunction of two events brought about their passage.

First came this summer's tragedy of thousands of babies deformed at birth because their mothers had taken Thalidomide. The stories of two courageous women — Dr. Frances Kelsey of the Food and Drug Administration and Mrs. Sherri Finkbine, (Continued on Page 2)



Dean Rusk

Feingold Hits War-on-Cuba Propaganda

NEW YORK, Oct. 9 — "Despite the barrage of propaganda by all the major news media in the country, designed to whip up a war hysteria against Cuba, only a minority of the American people favor U.S. military intervention against that country," said Carl Feingold, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senator from New York, at a street corner rally in lower Manhattan tonight. Part of the meeting was televised by a local station.

Feingold said he based his statement on public opinion interviews published by newspapers as well as on his own direct observations in the course of meeting the public at street corner meetings and other campaign activities.

"One point I always make in my speeches and discussions," he said, "is the defense of the Cuban revolution. At first I thought I would meet very hostile, perhaps violent, reactions to this, but I find the bulk of the audience is quite anxious to hear a reasoned, honest presentation of the Cuban case. At the beginning of my talks, most of the audience is invariably confused about Cuba and often is anti-Castro, but even then, most of the listeners are not at all eager for a war with Cuba.

"Many find themselves agreeing with me as to the right of the Cubans to make a socialist revolution by the time I have finished the discussion."

Feingold quoted an article by the noted public opinion analyst Samuel Lubell in the Oct. 5 N.Y. (Continued on Page 2)



Carl Feingold

'63 Recession Looms, Experts Concede

By Art Preis

OCT. 8 — President Kennedy, in his Aug. 13 radio-TV speech on the state of the U.S. economy, asserted that the July "economic indicators . . . do not warrant the conclusion that we are entering a new recession." Kennedy's speech along with his July "economic indicators" was shortly tossed into the wastebasket of history.

On Sept. 21, a Department of Commerce compilation of 17 key indicators for August was published in *Business Cycle Developments*. As Joseph A. Loftus of the *New York Times* so tactfully phrased it, the indicators were "somewhat less encouraging than they were a month earlier." Nine pointed down; seven, up; one remained unchanged. Among the nine pointing down were such key indicators as durable-goods manufacturers' orders, machinery and equipment orders and the average work week of manufacturing production workers.

On Sept. 30, the *New York Times* published an economic survey of the third quarter of 1962. The headlines read in part: "Economy Mixed" and "Outlook Cloudy" and "Output Levels Off."

In fact, the only bright note in the survey was the observation that "business so far has escaped a much-predicted recession . . ." That's like a doctor cheerfully telling a person expected to die within six months, "Well, you're still alive I see." Hardly anyone of repute in the field of economics has predicted a recession before 1963. But hardly anyone of standing in this field — except direct mouthpieces of the Kennedy Ad-

ministration — will declare that there won't be a recession next year, starting quite likely with a post-Christmas decline in January and February.

If some economists are reluctant to make their views public, the reasons are three-fold. First, some are really puzzled. Second, some are afraid that pessimistic predictions may trigger an even speedier economic decline or a sharp stock-market break of the proportions of last May and June. And third, there is fear of reprisal.

The last point is certainly one important reason why "few economists or businessmen are rushing out with firm predictions," as pointed out by M. J. Rossant in his "View From the Fence," a special feature in the financial section of today's *New York Times*. They recall only too well what happened to Ewin Clague, long-time head of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, when he told a national gathering of experts in Atlantic City last June 19 that the historic trend and indicators signal a recession in 1963. The mild-mannered and conservative Clague was immediately subjected to an insulting public rebuke by the then Secretary of Labor, Arthur Goldberg. Clague was compelled

to make a humiliating public disavowal of his Atlantic City statement.

In today's *Times* article, Rossant gives a very revealing example of the frame of mind of the professional economists dependent for their livelihood on the largesse of business organizations, business-controlled universities or the big-business government.

" . . . Even in private economists appear overcautious. An informal poll of ten economists revealed that four are expecting a decline in 1963 but don't think it prudent to say so. Another four admit to being confused by economic indicators and haven't made up their minds. One thinks the economy will show a rise over the next three quarters. And one took the view that a substantial cut in taxes would prevent a decline but doubted that Congress would act unless confronted with a serious deterioration."

In short, out of the ten economists questioned, five expect a decline, although one sees the possibility of avoiding a recession through legislative action he does not expect Congress to take. Four hesitate to give any opinion, which suggests they are not prepared to (Continued on Page 3)

U.S., Canada Lead World in Jobless

The United States can claim the distinction of having a higher jobless rate than any other industrial nation in the "free world" except Canada. A panel of experts reported to the president at the end of September that the U.S. rate was 5.6%. The Canadian figure was 7%. Third place was held by Italy with 4.3%.

On Oct. 4 the Department of Labor reported that the national jobless rate was 5.8% in September and noted that this was the same as their figure for August. Normally, there should have been a drop in September.

California Voters Show Apathy To Nixon and Brown Campaigns

A California Democratic Party spokesman has described the gubernatorial race between Governor Edmund Brown and Richard Nixon as a "nose-holding contest." A Nixon advisor agreed that "people will be voting against, not for" either major party candidate.

The unpopularity of both candidates with California voters was borne out in a survey reported in the Oct. 5 *Wall Street Journal*. Voter after voter, the article states, expressed "negative sentiments" about both Brown and Nixon. Many voters are expected to spend election day fishing or at the beach, "Probably the most common reply," the *Journal* reports, "is 'I wish I had a third choice.'"

The California labor movement accepts Brown as a lesser evil. Election statements published by the AFL-CIO generally consist of

attacks on Nixon, with very few words of praise for Brown. The point is that areas of disagreement between the two big-business candidates are considered either unimportant or unconvincing by California voters. The areas of agreement so overshadow these minor differences that most people don't think it worthwhile to try to make a choice.

Both Brown and Nixon, for example, are opposed to the \$1.25 minimum wage in agriculture. Brown, the "pro-labor" Democratic candidate, claims that it would "place California farmers at even a greater disadvantage in competing with Southern States, where labor costs are less." Neither Brown nor Nixon has put forward any solution to the problem of unemployment. Two months before the election, Brown announced the appointment of a Governor's

Committee on Automation and Technological Development to "do something about automation." Exactly what the committee is to do has not been revealed.

Brown, like Nixon, has refused to take a stand against the brutality practiced against Negroes and other minorities by the Los Angeles police. Such police terror reached a high point last April in a shooting spree against unarmed Negroes who belong to the Black Muslims.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Oscar Coover, who is running for governor, and Frances James, candidate for U.S. senator, are conducting a write-in campaign to present genuine alternatives to California voters. An election statement issued by them last week called on the labor movement to break all ties with the parties of militarism and big business and to "organize its own party, basing it on the unions and including the Negro people, working farmers, students and professional people." The SWP candidates urged an earnest fight for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay as a program to counter the threat of increasing mass unemployment, and the setting up of civilian police review boards to end police brutality against minorities.

A copy of the full text of the California SWP election statement may be obtained from campaign headquarters at 1702 E. 4th St., Los Angeles, or 563 16th St., Oakland.



Oscar G. Coover

... Drug Bill

(Continued from Page 1)

who discovered she had taken the baby-deforming sedative, further aroused public opinion.

The other factor simply was the calendar. Congress is up for reelection this fall and congressmen about to face their constituents are more susceptible than usual to public feeling.

The new legislation provides that (a) before a new drug can be sold it must first be licensed after proof of both its safety and effectiveness have been shown; (b) the Food and Drug Administration can remove a drug from the market if it thinks it unsafe; (c) the generic as well as trade names have to be printed on all labels and in advertising to doctors; (d) side-effects have to be noted in such promotional material; (e) all drug manufacturers must register with FDA and submit to factory inspections; (f) all research, clinical and pre-clinical information must be filed with the FDA before any tests are made on humans; (g) clinical investigators must be qualified and accepted as such by the FDA; and (h) all antibiotics must be tested batch-by-batch before certification.



Eastern Air Lines is claiming victory in its attempts to break the strike of the Flight Engineers Union which began June 23. Eastern claims to be operating under a full schedule, having reduced jet crews from four to three men and replaced flight engineers with members of the Airline Pilots Association.

A report filed with the Civil Aeronautics Board by the company reveals that seven other airlines have advanced almost \$16 million to Eastern since the strike began, under a "mutual aid" pact. Picket lines by the flight engineers were not respected by the other unions with workers on the airline. Some 500 flight engineers have lost their jobs at Eastern as a result of the elimination of the fourth jet-crew member. Their average earnings were \$12,000 a year.

A new contract extension has finally been signed between the New York Hotel Trades Council and the Hotel Association. As a result of increased rank-and-file militancy — stemming from a successful "wildcat strike" at the Waldorf-Astoria hotel last May — the union leaders were forced to authorize certain "job actions" to force the association to sign. The contract provides some significant improvements including a 35-hour-week beginning in 1964, social security insurance payments on a base of \$70 per week for tip workers, and a slight change in the notorious clause 14-A.

Clause 14-A gave the employer the right to fire any employe at any time, without restriction. It has been in effect since the first contract in the 1930's and was used from time to time to nullify job security, seniority, and protection for union delegates. It put every union delegate at the mercy of the employer and made him or her think twice before angering the boss by sticking up for those he or she was supposed to represent.

It was often used by union officials as an excuse for not fighting for the job of a militant delegate. The change provides for a review of discharges by an impartial chairman if the union believes they were not fired for just cause.

Approximately 20 per cent of the workers in the basic steel industry are currently laid off according to officials of the United Steelworkers of America.

John deJ. Pemberton Jr., Executive Director of the American

Civil Liberties Union has sent a letter to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy commenting on the Department of Justice announcement that it would press another trial against seven officials of the Mine Mill and Smelter Workers union on an old Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" charge.

The letter reviews the history of a decade of concerted persecution of the union by the government and says: "No matter how this case is examined, it essentially concerns the wisdom of compelling trade unionists to hew to orthodox politics or suffer the consequences of criminal prosecution. Our government ought not stand guilty of diminishing our political freedoms by these indirect methods."

The trucking employers who were holding out against a new contract pattern set by the International Brotherhood of Teamsters in the New York-New Jersey area last month have signed with the union. The pattern was set by a strike Sept. 24 by three Teamster locals and a strike threat by 13 more. It provides for a 37¢-per-hour package increase — 25¢ of it in wages immediately. It also provides, in effect, uniform trucking contract terms for over-the-road and general merchandise haulers in the area. Wages now stand at \$3.13 an hour for tractor-trailer drivers, \$3.03 for regular drivers, and \$2.80 for helpers. Some 12,500 New York City and 57,000 over-the-road Teamster members are covered.

The Oct. 4 *New York Times* fumed editorially: "The new contracts call for wage increases far above those provided under the Kennedy Administration's guidelines for gearing higher pay to higher productivity."

The National Farmers Organization, currently conducting a strike for higher prices from processors in the Middle West, is developing cooperation with the trade union movement. Speakers at recent NFO meetings have included Pat Greathouse, head of the Agricultural Implement Department of the United Auto Workers, and President Ralph Helstein of the United Packinghouse Workers. NFO members are withholding livestock from processors demanding "collective bargaining contracts." Oren Lee Staley, a 38-year-old livestock farmer from Rea, Mo., is president of the seven-year-old NFO.

Wayne Leverenz Urges Debate on Foreign Policy

By James E. Boulton

MILWAUKEE — Wayne Leverenz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator from Wisconsin, who was certified for the ballot Oct. 2 after filing petitions containing 5,260 signatures, has been notified of his eligibility to appear on the Wisconsin State Network forum for candidates to major political office.

Leverenz's name will appear on the Nov. 6 ballot in the indepen-

dent column along with those of Georgia Cozzini of the Socialist Labor Party and William O. Hart, Independent Peace candidate.

In a letter to the Madison Socialist Club at the University of Wisconsin, Leverenz pointed to the presence on the ballot of three minority party candidates and urged the holding of a forum to which all senatorial candidates, including Democrat Gaylord Nelson and Alexander Wiley, senior Republican on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, would be invited. The SWP candidate proposed as the subject the State Department's build-up for military intervention abroad.

In a letter to the editors of all newspapers in the state, James E. Boulton, chairman of the SWP Committee for Wayne Leverenz, urged a public call for the counting of all the votes polled by minority parties. This, the letter stated, would be an important step in restoring Wisconsin's once proud tradition of electoral freedom for all political views and parties.

Referring to the recent bloody events in Mississippi, the latter declared that it could be plainly seen just which forces in America "conspire to advocate the use of force and violence" — the charge which has been falsely used against parties of the left, beginning with the Socialist Workers Party at the first Smith Act trial in 1941.

"The precise sense in which the Socialist Workers Party and its candidate for U.S. Senator from Wisconsin, Wayne Leverenz, advocates the use of force," the letter noted, "is bluntly stated in his platform: Let the federal troops register and protect Negro voters in the South."

... Feingold

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World Telegram which pointed out that of voters interviewed in six states in the last month, only one third favor U.S. military measures against Cuba, though a majority think that preparations for such measures are being made. Another one fourth favor the U.S. keeping hands off Cuba. The remaining 40 per cent are indecisive and are worried about the threat of a Cuban invasion leading to nuclear war or about what the rest of the world would think of the U.S. if it made such a move.

"Considering the unrelieved brainwashing the U.S. people have been subjected to on the Cuban issue," said Feingold, "the mere fact that most of them do not favor what the newspapers have been screaming for is an indication of the basic decency of the mass of the American people. They don't know the truth about Cuba, but they sense there is something fishy about what they are being told."

Feingold announced that the Socialist Workers Party slate would appear on Row D on the ballot. "A vote on Row D is a vote for peace," he said.

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Chrysler — Where It Doesn't Trickle Down

By George Breitman

DETROIT — The "trickle-down" theory, if you can call it a theory, is the dominant one in America today, endorsed and embraced by every section of the capitalist class.

According to this doctrine, workers can make economic gains only when — and only after — employers have made them. If the employers make bigger profits, it is claimed, the workers benefit because something trickles down to them too.

A Great Theory

When workers accept this doctrine, it has certain inevitable results: If the boss, through incompetence or through defeat in competition with other bosses, shows a drop in profits, then the workers should work harder and faster, give up demands for wage raises and even agree to wage cuts — so that the boss's profits will increase and there will be something to trickle down.

It's a great theory — for the bosses. No wonder they love it — all of them, Republicans and Democrats, corporation executives who believe that what's good for GM is good for the country, and presidents of the United States who "promote economic growth" by sponsoring tax cuts for capitalists so that they will have the in-

centive to automate faster and compete better.

Until recently, the labor movement has generally opposed the trickle-down doctrine, at least in words. I could dig up dozens of statements by UAW president Walter Reuther condemning it (especially when Republicans advocate it).

But now opposition to this doctrine is dying in the labor movement — along with militancy, solidarity and democracy. A really crude and crass example was supplied by the UAW leadership at a UAW Chrysler Council meeting Sept. 7.

A Poor Third

Chrysler for some years has been a poor third among auto's Big Three. Profits, sales and production declined, thanks mainly to mismanagement. Chrysler workers were laid off in large numbers, and the others were subjected to intense speedup.

Some shifts in Chrysler management were made during the last year, and the UAW leaders now have decided that Chrysler workers have a bright future. So says Douglas Fraser, UAW Chrysler director and international executive board member, reporting a resolution passed at the UAW Chrysler Council, which declares: "All the requisite conditions now



Walter Reuther

exist for an era of prosperity for Chrysler workers and the Chrysler Corporation."

Four "requisite conditions" are listed: First is the new styling of the 1963 models. Second is "great improvement" in quality standards.

Third — listen to this! — is "inheritance by new management of the most experienced and qualified work force in the industry, backed by a ready reserve of trained employees — some with as much as 15 years seniority — who are on the layoff list."

Can you imagine such a thing

in a union statement — saying that an army of unemployed is a condition for the prosperity of workers? Fraser and his fellow bureaucrats have begun to think like company executives so much that they have gotten things mixed up. A "ready reserve" of unemployed helps the corporation put the heat on the employed workers to work harder, but how does it help *any* workers, employed or unemployed?

You might as well say that the five or six million unemployed in the country today are a condition for the prosperity of the whole American working class. Some capitalists may say that, but it isn't often that you find union leaders sufficiently company-minded and sufficiently indiscreet to say it out loud.

Discovers Speed-Up

Fourth on the list is "a rate of productivity by this (Chrysler) work force which is, beyond question, entirely competitive with that of Ford and General Motors workers." Fraser says he learned this recently from a cross-country tour of Chrysler plants, during which he "came across some jobs where it appeared Chrysler workers are putting forth greater physical effort than can reasonably be expected."

But Fraser didn't try to explain how competition between Chrysler and other auto workers helps any of them. It is well known that "making workers competitive" enables the corporations to make greater profits. But how do the workers benefit from this competition for greater productivity? It only makes them get old quicker and die earlier.

A Substitute for Militancy

When Fraser announced the UAW resolution, it was correctly reported in the Detroit dailies: "UAW Praises Chrysler, Sees Big Year for Firm." That's what trickle-downism comes to in the final analysis — not just praise of the corporations, not just acceptance of their economic doctrines, but utter and slavish dependence upon them as a substitute for militant defense of the workers' needs.

The main requisite of Chrysler and other workers today is to get rid of leaders who seem to be more concerned about the welfare of the corporations than of the workers, and to replace them with leaders who understand the class-struggle truth that economic gains can be won only by fighting the employers, not by kneeling before them, mouths expectantly open for whatever may trickle down.

Dorticos Hits War Clamor

(Continued from Page 1)

of the ministers spoke out against plans to attack Cuba. He challenged them to reveal the discussions publicly so "one and all may know" who is upsetting peace in this hemisphere.

Dr. Dorticos repeatedly declared Cuba's policy of not trying to export revolution except by example. He said: "Underdevelopment is a hemisphere problem; we are not a hemisphere problem. Hunger, famine, need, are hemisphere problems, but Cuba is not. Lack of education and illiteracy are hemisphere problems, not Cuba. The training and preparation of armed forces, specifically on the part of the government of the U.S., in various countries of this continent to be used in the suppression of popular movements . . . this is a hemisphere problem, not Cuba."

He reiterated his government's offers to negotiate, saying Cuba would gladly stop the expensive process of arming — defensive as it is — if the U.S. would offer guarantees that it would not attack Cuba. He insisted, however, on guarantees in deeds, not words. Referring to the U.N. sessions in April, 1961 when Adlai Stevenson lied before the whole world, Dorticos said: "When the invasion of April, 1961 took place, many of you here heard the representative of the government of the United States, Adlai Stevenson, declare that such an invasion had not taken place . . . and that his government had not sponsored that invasion." Dorticos pointed out that Kennedy admitted U.S. sponsorship of the invasion a few days later.

Dr. Dorticos repeated the Soviet warning that a U.S. attack on Cuba could mean world war and said the Cuban leaders believed in the Soviet assurance of "solidarity" in face of a U.S. attack. "We believe in principles," he repeated several times, "and that is why we believe in the solidarity I have referred to. If the government of the U.S. does not believe it," he said, "it is because it does not understand what a policy founded upon principles is."

The Cuban president challenged Stevenson to declare whether the U.S. is willing to negotiate U.S.-Cuban differences. Stevenson's reply — given at a press conference following Dorticos' speech — was: "Communism in the Americas is not negotiable." This reply shocked many UN delegates as an open declaration that the U.S. does not recognize the sovereign right of another nation to choose its own internal economic system.

... '63 Recession Expected

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rule out a recession. Thus, nine out of ten either foresee a recession or do not exclude it on the basis of the available economic statistics and trends.

Rossant is troubled by what he calls the "overcautious" attitude of the economists. He doesn't mean that they won't state their opinions openly but that they won't take a position in variance with the statistical evidence — that they won't say "up" when the data points "down." He complains that they are relying "on statistical indicators which are themselves fallible" and this "can lead to error." But Rossant has to concede that if the indicators are right, "then the so-called standard forecast, the one that most economists will accept, is likely to call for a gradual topping out of the rise followed by a decline."

Positive Optimism

Well, if Rossant is seeking positive optimism in spite of the statistical evidence, I suggest he buttonhole almost anyone in the Kennedy administration's hire. But Rossant discounts the reliability even of Dr. Walter W. Heller, "the Administration's chief economic prophet." Rossant observes acidly: "For who ever heard of a Government official forecasting a recession before it actually occurs?"

What does Rossant want? Economic forecasting, he opines, "is still an art demanding intuitive talent" and "there is a lot to be said for playing hunches, especially when there are no clear

signals to follow." I know just the man Rossant is looking for. He wears a turban and false beard and owns a crystal ball. If the *New York Times* slips him ten bucks, I am sure he will gaze into his crystal ball and come through with an "intuitive" forecast that no recession is in the offing and that it's safe to raise the advertising rates.

In the meantime, I'll have to go along with those bourgeois economists who are not afraid to speak out and who now quite openly predict a recession within the next year.

A Prediction

In fact, such a prediction was published just three days ago in a dispatch to the *New York Times* from San Francisco. The article by Wallace Turner reported: "A survey among purchasing agents shows unmistakable signs of an approaching recession, the man who made the survey said here today."

The forecast was made by no less an authority than E. F. Andrews, chairman of the Business Survey Committee of the National Association of Purchasing Agents. The Association has 17,000 members who represent firms which spend \$200 billion a year. The forecast is based on the answers these 17,000 purchasing agents gave in the latest monthly survey by Andrews' committee. The agents report on orders, production, employment, prices and inventories.

"All categories of the survey point downward," Turner reported. He quoted Andrews directly: "If history is to repeat itself we should go into a recession in early 1963." The surveys have been made since 1934 and unfailingly have given indications of recession or boom three to eight months in advance, Andrews claimed.

Behind the "key indicators" which point the probable short-term trend of the economy, behind the further slide in the stock market instead of the predicted "post-Labor Day rally," behind the "overcaution" of the professional economists, there are certain long-term trends which are symptomatic of malignant disease in the U.S. profit system. I will briefly cite a few.

The wholesale commodity price index, as distinct from the cost of living, has been in general de-

cline since the 1947-49 period, when the index stood at 100. On Oct. 3, it was 79.6. The four biggest steel corporations last week had to announce price cuts on the West Coast following a reduction set by Kaiser Steel.

There is a long-term increase in business failures. The number of manufacturing firms is lower than it was a decade ago. In 1961, there were 17,075 business failures, the highest since 1933.

There has been a decline in private business investment since 1957. Manufacturers complain of "overcapacity." During the 1955-57 period, industry expanded its productive capacity 20 per cent. In the following four years, another 20 per cent was added. All industry in July was operating at an estimated 85 per cent of capacity. Last week, steel was still operating at only 62 per cent of capacity.

The most ominous figure of all is the national unemployment rate, which last month was 5.8 per cent of the labor force compared to 5.5 per cent in July. It has not been below 4 per cent since May 1957.

World Events

Guilt by Association Hit

An attempt by the national executive committee of the British Labor Party to make "guilt by association" a reason for expulsion was decisively rejected at an Oct. 2 session of the annual conference. The executive had proposed an amendment to the party constitution which would have given them the power to expel a member who associated with a proscribed organization, even though he was not a member of it. After a vigorous debate a motion to proceed to the next business was carried by a vote of 3,497,000 to 2,793,000. The subject arose from the inability of the right-wing leadership of the party to act against Bertrand Russell, Canon Collins, and others for their association with the Moscow Peace Conference this summer.

U.S. Deaths in Vietnam

Seven American servicemen were killed in a U.S. Marine helicopter crash in central Vietnam,

military authorities announced on Oct. 7. The crash brought to at least 21 the number of American servicemen killed in action in Vietnam since December.

Troops Wear Peace Pin

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has stirred up a controversy in Denmark. Conscripts at the Vordingborg Garrison have been wearing CND badges on their uniforms. They were ordered to remove the badges but have appealed the order on the grounds that regulations permit the wearing of insignia of non-political associations. The commander-in-chief of the army is reported to be making a thorough study of CND.

New Bridge Irks Panama

When the new bridge across the Panama Canal is dedicated on Oct. 12, both U.S. and Panama flags will fly over the roadway, according to a Canal Zone spokesman. Panama flags will also be flown from now on at several

other locations, including administration buildings. Panama, which still holds titular, although not actual, sovereignty over the Canal Zone has been protesting the fact that only U.S. flags have been flown there. The name which the U.S. Congress designated for the new bridge, "Thatcher Ferrybridge," has also been a source of irritation. On Oct. 5 the Panama National Assembly passed a strongly worded resolution recommending that the bridge be called "Bridge of the Americas" and suggesting that Panama officials refuse to accept correspondence referring to the structure as the Thatcher Ferrybridge.

Police Fire on Strikers

Two persons were killed and at least six injured on Oct. 3 when police opened fire on a group of strikers at a steel factory near Calcutta, India. Authorities stated that a policeman had been killed earlier in a clash with strikers. At least 70 have been injured and 60 arrested since the strike began.

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Pioneer Publishers
116 University Place
New York 3, N.Y.

THE MILITANT

Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN

Managing Editor: GEORGE LAVAN Business Manager: KAROLYN KERRY

Published weekly, except from July 11 to Sept. 5 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. 26 - No. 37



Monday, October 15, 1962

The Real Issue

President John F. Kennedy and most of the newspaper editors dealing with the current crisis in Mississippi claim that the main issue involved is abstract "law and order." The federal law has been challenged, so the argument goes, and this challenge must be met — regardless of the merits of the law itself — or "anarchy" will be upon us. This argument is used to avoid taking a position on the merits of the law — in this case the Supreme Court decision for school integration.

It is used to evade the real issue. The real issue is civil rights — particularly the right of the Negro half of Mississippi's population to full citizenship.

The attempt to shift from the essence of the matter — Negro rights — to the abstract legalities allows Kennedy to avoid a direct confrontation with the white supremacists who rule the South and are such a power in the Democratic Party. It provides him with an excuse for pulling federal forces out of Mississippi as soon as the direct challenge to the ruling in one court case appears to be overcome, leaving the real job — securing first-class citizenship for Mississippi Negroes — still unfinished, or rather, hardly begun.

The situation is similar to that which prevailed during the first part of the Civil War, when Lincoln and the other federal leaders insisted that the issue was not slavery but "maintaining the union." It was only when Lincoln squarely faced the central issue and signed the Emancipation Proclamation, that the war was brought to its turning point.

The present fight in the South will remain indecisive while the president is able to evade facing the central issue. He must be made to put the full weight of federal power directly behind the enforcement in their entirety of the civil rights of the Negro people of the South. A first step towards this would be to keep federal troops in Mississippi, not only to guard James Meredith but to establish the right of Negroes to vote.

Restore Their Rights

The decision in the case of George A. Scythes, which we reprint on page six, reveals the legal flimsiness of the first Smith Act convictions in 1941. At that time 18 Socialist Workers Party leaders and Minneapolis Truckdrivers union officials were railroaded to prison in a union-busting campaign undertaken jointly by the Roosevelt administration and the leaders of the Teamsters Union. The failure of some working-class political tendencies to support the struggle against those convictions helped the reactionaries to set a precedent for the subsequent Smith Act trials.

In the Scythes case the court specifically cited the first Smith Act trial and based part of its decision on a review of evidence presented at that trial. But the heart of the Scythes decision, namely that there is no substantial evidence that the SWP advocates or teaches force and violence, is a belated admission that the 1941 convictions were not legally justified. Much of the government's "evidence" in the 1941 trial consisted of passages quoted from publications, passages which the court in the recent case dismissed as ambiguous and abstract.

The victims of the first Smith Act prosecution have served their sentences and that time can never be returned to them. As a result of their conviction, however, the right to vote and other important civil rights were taken from them. The decision in the Scythes case means that the time is now ripe for a campaign to restore those rights to them.

The Kennedy Tax "Reform"

The Kennedy tax revision bill, recently enacted by both Houses of Congress, makes it more imperative than ever for the labor movement to mobilize all its forces and resources in an all-out struggle to win the 30-hour week.

The main plank in the Kennedy tax program provides for a \$1 billion tax concession to big business to spur plant-modernization. This billion dollar give-away is designed to increase productive capacity by accelerating the process of plant automation and mechanization. In its present form the Kennedy program can only succeed in adding to the growing army of unemployed permanently automated out of their jobs.

To add insult to injury, the Democratic Party-controlled congress, struck out of the bill every provision designed to plug the loopholes in the tax laws which permit the rich to defraud the government of billions in taxes each year.

Instead of the surplus promised by Kennedy from the added revenue to be derived by tightened restrictions against the rich it is now estimated that the tax bill would produce a net loss of \$545 million a year.

It is now being proposed by spokesmen for Wall Street that the deficit be made up by the imposition of a Federal sales tax. So long as the capitalist ruling class retains a monopoly of political power through its two-party system, the guiding line of the politicians, whether New Frontier or Old, will continue to be: Pander to the rich and soak the poor!

"Giants Si, Yankees No!"

By Ed Beecher

YANKEE STADIUM, N. Y., Oct. 8 — Baseball is still the national pastime. No doubt about it. Each year during the World Series people, businesses, and — yes — even the stock market, slow up for a few hours per day.

Perhaps I should know better, but to this day I cherish my memories of Babe Ruth, Jackie Robinson and other baseball greats of yesteryear. After all, Karl Marx came much later in my life!

As a child, I was a Yankee fan because of my admiration for the "Babe," the greatest player of all time. But when I saw how he was kicked around after the Yankees had sucked his personality and talents dry, I transferred my allegiance and patronage to the Giants.

My son and I used to go to all the Giant-Dodgers games. Since I was a Giant fan and he was a loyal Dodger rooter, we really had a ball.

But five years ago when the Giants and Dodgers moved to the Gold Coast to pick up millions of extra bucks (even though the Supreme Court ruled that baseball is a sport and not a business) a void was left. We hadn't much choice but to go and root against the hated Yankees. So, long before the musical "Damn Yankees" hit

Broadway, it was the "God damned Yankees" with us. And we half anticipated the Cuban Revolution with the slogan "Tigers Si, Yankees No!, Indians Si, Yankees No!, White Sox Si, Yankees No!"

Always Won

Our slogans didn't help but only led to frustration because the Yanks invariably won. We concluded we were jinxing the other teams and so we went less and less each year. That was bad enough. But when the Yankees refused to use Negro ballplayers until they were absolutely forced to — and then only token integration at that — we decided to boycott them altogether.

Our interest in baseball revived when the Sad Mets came to town and we could again see the Giants and Dodgers in action. After all, our mutual hero is Willie Mays (the "Say, Hey" kid), the greatest player in baseball today in our (un)biased opinion.

Although I had supported the game for over 35 years and had listened to millions of beer and razor-blade commercials on radio and TV, I had never even come close to seeing a World Series game. After all, who does, except the expense-account boys and their cronies who have season box

seats over the dugout and don't even bother to use them half the time?

At any rate, my boss, who is a real shrewdie if there ever was one, put up a pair of box seats to the World Series as a bonus. I don't know how he got them but I heard through the grapevine that he paid \$50 for two \$12 tickets — and still thought it was a bargain! Come to think of it, he got off pretty cheap at that. Last year the incentive was two shares of company stock at \$50 a share. But nobody broke his hump to become a stockholder because then how could you go on strike against yourself?

But this year it was different. The boys really sweated and slaved for a month — and I was one of the winners of a pair of box seats. Was I in seventh heaven? I had finally made it. My boyhood ambition of seeing a World Series game was finally to be fulfilled. Now I would be able to die with a smile on my face.

Out in Left Field

You can imagine my surprise and disgust when I got to the stadium and was ushered to Section 36 — way out in left field (and I really mean left field), smack up against the bleachers to boot! Even the bleachers would have been better, except you have to get there at 5 a.m. to get in. As a matter of fact the \$12 box seats weren't as good as our usual \$1.30 grandstand or 75-cent bleacher seats, and I'd certainly feel more at home with my friends in the bleachers than with the big shots in the \$12 box seats.

The parking fee was \$3 for the usual \$1 space. Vendors selling field glasses at \$2.50 apiece did a land-office business because we could hardly see the pitcher or first baseman. The batter looked like a midget way off in outer space, and the baseball looked about the size of a pea. When a right-handed batter was up, we couldn't see the ump calling balls and strikes and had to look at the scoreboard. We were wagging our heads like people watching a tennis match!

To top it off the hot dogs were gone by the third inning and beer was being blackmarketed at 50 cents a can by the fourth inning — at which time we decided to give up our \$12 box seats and stand in the back of Section 20 for the rest of the game.

But I guess I shouldn't complain because for once I didn't jinx my team and the Giants won hands down, 7-3. Willie got a hit and made a great play, and I was satisfied.

Maybe I'm nuts but I still think baseball could be a truly wonderful game. And, after all my griping don't get me wrong — I still love it.

Dr. Shapiro Reports on Cuba At Meeting of Detroit Forum

DETROIT, Oct. 6 — A speech on Cuba in the C. Wright Mills tradition was enthusiastically received last night at a meeting of the Friday Night Socialist Forum in Debs Hall. The speaker was Samuel Shapiro, assistant professor of history at Michigan State University-Oakland, who recently revisited Cuba as a reporter for *The Nation*.

Shapiro, who has taught in Latin America and is well-acquainted with its problems, said the Cuban economy is in trouble. The main reason he attributed to the U.S. cutting off of trade; also responsible are inexperience, the loss of technicians, and mistakes freely admitted by the Cuban leadership.

But no one is starving in Cuba, unlike other parts of Latin America, and measures are being taken to overcome the difficulties. He feels that the worst months are still ahead (until the new sugar harvest begins around January), but that the Cubans are coping with their economic problems and will probably solve them.

Political consciousness and activity are widespread, Shapiro found, although they take different forms than in the U.S. He estimated them to be at the level of a presidential campaign in our country, and continuing that way all the time. As in his Sept. 22 *Nation* article, he reported the lively discussions and elections that he had observed at a youth meeting.

Majority Support Castro

The revolution continues to have the support of the majority of the people: "A greater proportions of Cubans support Castro than Americans support Kennedy." Speaking as one who is, "by and large, in favor of the Cuban revolution," he nevertheless feels "queasy" about Castro's predominant role in the revolution because one-man control is not a permanent form, provides no institutional protections against tyranny, and is dangerous for the future.

At the same time, Shapiro gave several examples to show that Castro has curbed and tempered bureaucratic abuses and that the leadership of the revolution has received no material privileges and is free of corruption.

Shapiro related that he had expected Kennedy's election would

result in a new policy toward Cuba, but nothing in this policy has changed. He thinks the only intelligent policy for the U.S. is to learn how to get along with Castro, and he expressed bitterness about the difficulty of even getting such an attitude discussed in this country. He sees "democratic politics breaking down" when no political alternatives to the present policy are available, thanks to the two-party hostility to Cuba for economic and political reasons.

Backs Wm. Worthy

In the course of the meeting, Shapiro solidarized himself with William Worthy, Negro reporter recently convicted for visiting Cuba and writing the truth about it. In the discussion period, which lasted longer than his original talk, Shapiro also gave his impressions of Robert F. Williams, a refugee in Cuba from a frame-up in North Carolina.

With 145 in attendance, this was the biggest meeting ever held by the Friday Night Socialist Forum. It presents forums at 8 p.m. every Friday at 3737 Woodward.

"Labor cannot on any terms surrender the right to strike." — Louis D. Brandeis (1856-1941)

Poet's Corner

Fight? What For?

I am "wanted to go in the army."
Well, what would they give me to do?
"You'll have to be killing your brothers
If one of them doesn't kill you."

I am "wanted to go in the army."
Say, what is there in it for me?
"You'd help to be saving your country
From brother-men over the sea."

My country? Who says I've a country?
I live in another man's flat
That hasn't as much as a door yard—
And why should I battle for that?

I haven't a lot nor a building,
No flower, no garden, nor tree.
The landlords have gobbled the country—
Let them do the fighting, not me.

Celia Baldwin Whitehead

"The Truth Shall Not Be Jailed"

NEW YORK — The Committee for the Freedom of William Worthy has announced the publication of "The Truth Shall Not Be Jailed."

The four-page illustrated brochure recapitulates developments in the unprecedented "illegal re-entry" prosecution of the Boston-born newsman.

The brochure's cover features a sketch by Joan Bacchus, Brooklyn artist, showing Mr. Worthy sitting handcuffed at a microphone.

Before losing his passport as punishment for his 1957 trip to China, the foreign correspondent for the Baltimore *Afro-American* was frequently heard by millions of Americans broadcasting for *CBS News* from China, Russia, South Africa, Eastern Europe and West Germany.

Underneath the artist's sketch is the caption:

"Jailed by Attorney General Kennedy for coming home."

Six and a half months after returning home from Cuba, Mr. Worthy was indicted for re-enter-



William Worthy

ing his native land without a passport. He was sentenced on September 17, U.S. Constitution Day, to three months in federal prison and nine months on probation.

The case is now on appeal. The legal defense is being supported by the Workers Defense League.

The Committee's brochure includes an article by Mr. Worthy, "You Can't Come Home Any More." Also included are reprints of editorial comment on the case by the press of the world.

Page four of the brochure has a photocopy of the official court sentence, including Mr. Worthy's liability while on probation to arrest without a warrant at any time.

Superimposed on this judicial document is Article 13 of the Uni-

versal Declaration of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country."

The brochure quotes strong appeals by British philosopher Bertrand Russell and civil rights leader A. Philip Randolph, calling on the Department of Justice to drop the prosecution.

Single copies of the brochure may be obtained for ten cents, in coin or stamps, from the Committee for the Freedom of William Worthy, Suite 301, 217 West 125 Street, New York 27, N.Y. Twenty copies cost one dollar.

The Committee, headed by Mr. Randolph and AME Bishop D. Ward Nichols, also solicits contributions to make possible an increased tempo of world-wide publicity on the Worthy case.

The Committee arranged for the brochure to be distributed in Uganda at the Oct. 9 independence celebration of that new East African nation. Colored Americans attending the ceremonies will hand copies to official delegates and newsmen from scores of countries around the world.

Man-hours lost in strikes reached the lowest point since World War II in July, 1962. The U.S. Dept. of Labor reports that only 90,000 workers were involved in strikes that month with time loss amounting to only .27 of one per cent of the nation's total work force.

"A government needs one hundred soldiers for every guerrilla it faces." — Fulgencio Batista (1901-)



Congratulations to our Detroit friends. They are over the top with 104 per cent. Not content with being the first to fulfill their quota of 100 new subscriptions, they write, "Send us a couple of hundred more sub blanks. We are still going full steam."

"Hope to go way over the 25 mark and am keeping my fingers crossed" — this quote from Boston along with 10 new subs, expresses the spirit of that group of *Militant* supporters. Indiana has just increased its bundle from 50 to 75 and has sent in almost half of its quota in new subs. "Through a new system we find that we can sell 75 per week." As soon as we discover Indiana's new system we will let you know all about it.

Oakland-Berkeley is keeping a close watch on Detroit and has sent us 11 new subscriptions this week. We warn all soldiers of the *Militant Army* that word has been received from Philadelphia that they intend to give everyone a run for their money.

Special notice and thanks go to our friends in Canada who have been sending in new subs right along. This week we received seven new subs from north of the border.

Since our campaign for 1,000 new subscribers was begun we have been receiving help from

friends of *The Militant*. It was this paper which covered the story of Robert F. Williams and his fight against the white supremacists of Monroe, N. C. It was this paper also which reprinted in full the speeches of Fidel Castro and reported his struggle against the CIA-directed counter-revolutionaries. We ask every reader to pass his copy of *The Militant* on to a friend and thus help get it into as many hands as possible.

Scoreboard

City	Quota	Subs	%
Detroit	100	104	104
Baltimore	10	7	70
Indiana	10	6	60
Connecticut	30	17	56
Newark	15	8	53
Boston	25	13	52
Oakland-Berkeley	75	24	32
San Diego	30	7	23
Philadelphia	75	15	20
Twin Cities	100	16	16
Seattle	75	9	12
San Francisco	75	9	12
St. Louis	10	1	10
Los Angeles	150	16	10
New York	150	15	10
Milwaukee	25	2	8
Akron-Cleveland	75	5	6
Chicago	90	6	6
Denver	50	0	0
General	30	27	90
Total	1,200	307	25%

(through Oct. 9)

10 YEARS AGO IN THE MILITANT

"Governor Stevenson, darling of the liberals, made his bid in an Oct. 7 speech at Detroit for the title of America's witch-hunter-in-chief. He ridiculed Republican opponents as 'noisy amateurs' and set himself up as a 'cautious, silent professional' in the business of destroying the Bill of Rights . . .

"He made it clear by endorsing Truman's witch-hunt point by point. He backed the so-called 'loyalty' purge program of government employees which looks into such matters as whether a government worker is friendly with Negroes and then throws him out of a job without disclosing evidence or specific charges against him.

"He backed the Smith Act and the jailing of people under it. He even went so far as to praise J. Edgar Hoover and his FBI for 'providing the evidence that sent the 31 [Communist Party] leaders to prison' . . .

"What will the liberals of the Americans for Democratic Action, the liberal organization which is both opposed to the witch hunt and in favor of Stevenson, have to say about this plainly-phrased speech?

"Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., who is a member of the executive committee of the ADA, is also the chief 'researcher' for Stevenson's campaign committee. Will he now resign in protest? Or perhaps he has so cast-iron a digestion that he himself did the 'research' for Stevenson's witch hunt speech." — Oct. 13, 1952.

20 YEARS AGO

"The overwhelming majority of the Negro people in this country are supporters of India's struggle for freedom, the *Pittsburgh Courier's* Bureau of Public Sentiment concludes after making a nationwide survey and receiving replies from more than 10,000 Negroes.

"The results of this survey, printed in the Oct. 10 issue of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, largest Negro weekly, show that 87.8% of the Negroes included in the poll answered Yes to the question, 'Do you believe that India should contend for her rights and her liberty now?' Only 10.7% said No, and 1.5% had no opinion . . .

"This reaction by the Negro people is all the more significant because, as the *Courier* article points out, it was registered 'despite the fact that nothing more than ominous silence penetrated through the censorship from far off India' — Oct. 17, 1942.

Letters From Our Readers

On Algeria

Los Angeles, Calif.

First, let me begin by complimenting *The Militant* on its excellent coverage and editorial on the Peruvian revolutionary youth.

Secondly, in a previous edition, I welcomed the recognition given the stirring Algerian events. However, as I read towards the end of Joe Hansen's article I experienced a letdown over the conclusion presented.

Granted that a civil war is now burgeoning between those most responsive to imperialist pressures and those pushing for a transition to a socialist state. The problem would also seem to be one of opposing factions within the revolutionary sector. Hence there is a factional fight between elements of the underground fighters who were imprisoned by the French during the Algerian liberation struggle as opposed to some who were active in the guerrilla forces of the FLN. Those of the former group, represented by Ben Bella and Boumedienne, are now consolidated around the ALN regular army which is the best equipped and organized fighting force on the scene.

That section of the Willaya (zonal) army group opposed to Ben Bella and his bureau is located around Algiers. It is called Willaya #4. However Krim, an old guerrilla fighter against the French, has most of his support among the Kabylie tribesmen grouped in Willaya #3. Traditionally backward with some remaining vestiges of feudalism in their tribal relations, they appear to be the most reluctant to accept the reform proposals advanced by Ben Bella's lieutenants. However, in this struggle a recent report in the bourgeois press states that Willaya #3 has a hands-off policy in the fight between Ben Bella's Bureau and Willaya #4.

Hansen's conclusion seems to draw that Krim and Boudiaf, characterized as "Old Marxists," are of the same caliber as Ben Bella and Boumedienne. I doubt

this because from the facts so far gathered I haven't seen Krim or any others advocate a left program for the Algerian revolutionary struggle such as that advanced by Ben Bella, Boumedienne, or Captain Si Bakhti of the ALN.

Ed S.

Even Gyped on Water

Detroit, Mich.

Water is a precious resource and drinkable water a necessary commodity. Yet even here there is great discrimination practiced by some cities in favor of big business.

Please print the following table of water rates, based on the average use of 7,500 gallons a month for "residential" users (working class and small home owners), 75,000 gallons a month for "commercial" users (small business), and 750,000 gallons a month for "industrial" users (big business).

This table shows that two-thirds of the cities listed charge the big business interests much less per gallon, although the water resources are supposed to be provided at public expense and are supposed to be a public service.

City	Residential	Commercial	Industrial
Detroit	\$1.31	\$11.21	\$ 89.79
Cleveland	1.39	13.86	138.60
New York	1.50	15.00	150.00
Chicago	1.65	16.50	165.00
Los Angeles	2.39	17.47	141.16
Baltimore	2.50	16.67	110.00
Kansas City	3.70	23.10	130.35
San Francisco	2.59	20.76	196.71
Dallas	4.42	28.57	259.82

Well-Wisher

Two Sets

Dallas, Texas

From the news media we learn who we are supposed to like and who we are supposed to hate. But it's confusing. Our former enemies are our friends and our former friends are our enemies.

So far we're the only nation that has used the atom bomb and we're supposed to swoon with delight when some new weapon is announced. Meanwhile there are

five million unemployed and a terrible need for schools, hospitals and slum clearance.

The rich people and the poor people live in different worlds and their interests clash. On TV you see pictures of the big wheels and their gatherings — finery and glamour at their swanky affairs. The champagne and caviar set is watched by the hamburger and beer set. The rich try to stay rich and the poor try to stay alive. How you see things depends on which side of the railroad tracks you live on. I live in the slums.

Thelma Lucio

New York and Sao Paulo

Long Island City, N.Y.

In the book review section of the Sept. 23 *New York Times* two books are reviewed in which a child asked to be adopted (or bought) by a stranger. The first of these heart-breaking scenes is in "A Child of the Dark," the diary of an heroic woman who lived in a garbage dump in Sao Paulo, Brazil, in which her child says: "Mama, sell me to Dona Julita, because she has such delicious food."

In the second book, "Poppo," by Joseph Berger, a child begs the author, "Joe, I want you to be my father . . . Joe, my father says he wants to give me to you . . . My father can't get enough money from Welfare for all of us. He wants to go back to Puerto Rico, Joe, and leave me with you."

The least common denominator in both these stories is the fact that in one of the poorest countries in the world, as well as in the richest in the world, homes are broken up because of dire poverty and the degradation that ensues

from capitalism and its concomitant evils.

In New York, there are thousands of Puerto Ricans, Negroes, and others, living in overcrowded, rat-infested tenements who are discriminated against socially, economically and politically every day. In Brazil, there are 50,000 slum dwellers in the city of Sao Paulo alone who live "amidst garbage, eating garbage and often themselves becoming garbage . . ." The reviewer also states that in Rio de Janeiro "there are a half million of them."

What it amounts to is that if the situation in New York is bad (to put it mildly) Sao Paulo is horrible, and Rio de Janeiro is an indescribable hell. Eventually the people must turn to socialism for a solution to their poverty, ignorance and degradation under imperialism and capitalism, and follow the example of the Cuban people.

E. B.

Default on Rights Analysis?

Detroit, Mich.

As with all radical and liberal publications, *The Militant* makes no attempt at a critical analysis of the Negro freedom movement. Negro leaders and organizations are in agonizing conflict over goals and techniques. Yet liberals and radicals uncritically support Monroe, N.C., Martin Luther King, armed self-defense, non-violence, etc., etc.

It is understandable that whites, with their burden of guilt, are hesitant about entering "family quarrels" but their lack of analysis is an abdication of responsibility not only to the socialist movement but to the Negroes as well.

R. W.

Thought for the Week

"The worldwide scope of military expenditures is truly horrifying. Early in 1961, the *Associated Press* reported that the world was spending \$14 billion an hour on arms and armies . . . There are 15 million men under arms, and considering that four men work just to keep one soldier supplied, the energies of 75 million men are devoted to the waste of war." — David T. Bazelon in the October issue of *Commentary*.

Text of Historic Ruling in Scythes Case

[The following is the complete text of the decision of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit, delivered Sept. 13, 1962, in the case of George Albert Scythes v. Richard L. Webb, Officer in Charge, Immigration and Naturalization Service, U.S. Department of Justice, Milwaukee, Wis.]

Before KNOCH, CASTLE and SWYGERT, Circuit Judges.

SWYGERT, Circuit Judge. Petitioner, George Albert Scythes, seeks review under the provisions of Section 106 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 U.S.C. Sec. 1105a, of a deportation order of the Board of Immigration Appeals. The Board's order followed an appeal from a determination by a Special Inquiry Officer of the Immigration and Naturalization Service that petitioner is an alien who had been a member of an organization, the Socialist Workers Party, which advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force and violence or other unconstitutional means.¹ This review is governed by Section 242(b)(4) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 U.S.C. Sec. 1252(b)(4), which provides in part, "[N]o decision of deportability shall be valid unless it is based upon reasonable, substantial, and probative evidence."

Petitioner, a native and citizen of Canada, entered this country on a temporary basis in 1933. He returned to Canada in 1940 to obtain an immigration visa. On June 1, 1940 he was admitted into the United States for permanent residence.

Petitioner became a member of the Socialist Workers Party in 1939, joining the Newark, New Jersey branch of the party. In 1947 he became a member of the Milwaukee, Wisconsin branch where he remained until he quit the party in 1955.

Petitioner admitted during the hearing that he was familiar with and had read many of the publications distributed by the Socialist Workers Party; that he had served as treasurer of the Newark and Milwaukee branches; that he had served on educational committees of these branches; and that he had addressed meetings of the party in Newark. Under Section 1251(a)(6)(F) the government must establish that the alien sought to be deported not only has been a member of the organization in question, but that his membership was "meaningful" as that word is used in *Rowoldt v. Perfetto*, 355 U.S. 115. See also, *Galvan v. Press*, 347 U.S. 522. We are convinced that petitioner's activities while a member of the Socialist Workers Party clearly establish that his membership was sufficiently "meaningful" to satisfy the test laid down by these cases.

The crucial question is the correctness of the Board of Immigration Appeals' decision that the Socialist Workers Party is an organization that advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force, violence, or other unconstitutional means. Section 1251(a)(6)(F) covers membership in an organization that "advocates or teaches . . . the overthrow by force, violence, or other unconstitutional means of the Government of the United States . . ." We believe it is significant to note that this

¹ Section 241 of the Immigration and Nationality Act, 8 U.S.C. Sec. 1251, provides in part:

"(a) Any alien in the United States . . . shall, upon the order of the Attorney General, be deported who***

(6) is or at any time has been, after entry, a member of any of the following classes of aliens:***

(F) Aliens . . . who are members of . . . any organization that advocates or teaches (i) the overthrow by force, violence, or other unconstitutional means of the Government of the United States or of all forms of law; . . ."

language and that of a part of the Smith Act, 18 U.S.C. Sec. 2385 (the federal criminal statute defining crimes for subversive activities) are practically identical. The Smith Act covers known membership in a "society, group, or assembly of persons" who "teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction" of the United States Government "by force or violence."

While we recognize the distinction between a prosecution under the Smith Act and a deportation proceeding under Section 1251(a)(6)(F), the distinction relates not to the subversive character of the organization in question, but rather to the quantum of proof required to convict or to deport. In a Smith Act prosecution the proof must be beyond a reasonable doubt, whereas in a deportation proceeding it is sufficient if the Attorney General's finding is based on "reasonable, substantial, and probative evidence." Nonetheless, we believe the determination whether an organization is one which advocates or teaches the violent overthrow of the United States Government ought not be made by a test which is different from that used in a Smith Act prosecution.

With this in mind, we believe that the test for deciding the question presented in the instant case must be substantially the same as that laid down in the two cases that have been decided by the Supreme Court under the membership clause of the Smith Act, *Scales v. United States*, 367 U.S. 203, and *Noto v. United States*, 367 U.S. 290. In *Noto* the Supreme Court said at 297:

"We held in *Yates [Yates v. United States, 354 U.S. 298]*,³ and we reiterate now, that the mere abstract teaching of Communist theory, including the teaching of the moral propriety or even moral necessity for a resort to force and violence is not the same as preparing a group for violent action and steeling it to such action. There must be some substantial direct or circumstantial evidence of a call to violence now or in the future which is both sufficiently strong and sufficiently pervasive to lend color to the otherwise ambiguous theoretical material regarding Communist Party teaching, and to justify the inference that such a call to violence may fairly be imputed to the Party as a whole, and not merely to some narrow segment of it.

"But it should also be said that this element of the membership crime, like its others, must be judged *strictissimi juris*, for other-

³ This case, while a prosecution under the Smith Act, was not brought under the "membership clause," but charged defendants with conspiracy to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of overthrowing the Government of the United States by force and violence, and to organize, as the Communist Party of the United States, a society of persons who so advocate and teach.

The Supreme Court said at 318, 324:

"We are thus faced with the question whether the Smith Act prohibits advocacy and teaching of forcible overthrow as an abstract principle, divorced from any effort to instigate action to that end, so long as such advocacy or teaching is engaged in with evil intent. We hold that it does not.

"The distinction between advocacy of abstract doctrine and advocacy directed at promoting unlawful action is one that has been consistently recognized in the opinions of this Court . . ."

" . . . the Smith Act reaches only advocacy of action for the overthrow of government by force and violence. The essential distinction is that those to whom the advocacy is addressed must be urged to do something, now or in the future, rather than merely to believe in something."

Case of Legless Veteran— First Big Breakthrough

James Kutcher is an active member of the Socialist Workers Party. He belonged to the SWP in 1941 when he was drafted. He belonged to it when, as an infantryman in Italy, he lost both legs in combat. He belonged to it when he finally left the hospital on artificial legs. He belonged when he got a job as a clerk with the Veterans Administration in his home town, Newark, N. J.

In 1948 the government began its "loyalty"-purge witch hunt. An avowed and active SWP member, Kutcher was one of the first fired. In the eight years, during which he fought through myriad courts this violation of his own and the SWP's political rights, other persecutions of Kutcher were undertaken by government officials. They tried to evict his aged parents, with whom he lived, from a housing project for harboring a "subversive" son. They stopped his disability pension.

Kutcher's fight finally ended in complete victory. His disability pension was restored. The Supreme Court of New Jersey ruled the eviction attempt unconstitutional and Congress finally dropped that vicious law known as the Gwinn Amendment. Then the U.S. Circuit Court in Washington, D.C., ordered him rehired on his job with back pay. Kutcher was called back to work at the Newark VA where he works to this day. He was an active member of the SWP. He still is.

In defending his own rights, Kutcher made the first important legal breakthrough for the Socialist Workers Party in its fight against the witch hunt and, indeed, helped protect every American's political freedom.



James Kutcher

wise there is a danger that one in sympathy with the legitimate aims of such an organization, but not specifically intending to accomplish them by resort to violence, might be punished for his adherence to lawful and constitutionally protected purposes, because of other and unprotected purposes which he does not necessarily share."

The government's evidence before the Special Inquiry Officer consisted of the testimony of three witnesses and a number of documentary exhibits such as pamphlets, tracts, and books circulated by the Socialist Workers Party. The documentary exhibit principally relied upon by the government is the "Declaration of Principles and Constitution of the Socialist Workers Party." Government counsel, during oral argument, admitted, however, that he could point to no passage in the "Declaration" which advocated the violent overthrow of the Government. Passages in the document, such as those recited in *Dunne v. United States*, 8 Cir., 138 F. 2d 137,

⁴ An example of the language contained in the "Declaration" and cited in *Dunne* at 148 follows:

"The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free, democratic society in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods is an illusion . . . The fundamental instruments of the workers' struggle for power cannot be the existing institutions of the governmental apparatus, since these represent basically the interests only of the capitalistic minority . . . Whenever the revolutionists find themselves in a Labor Party, they will stand at each stage for those concrete policies and actions which sum up a progressive and class perspective; for complete breaks with the capitalist parties and no support of candidates on capitalist

are ambiguous and abstract.⁴ We think that the characterization of the Socialist Workers Party as an organization advocating violent overthrow of the Government on the basis of such passages would be a characterization based on what was not said rather than what was said.⁵

Petitioner contends that the other evidence, aside from the "Declaration," including the documentary exhibits and testimony of the witnesses, does not justify his deportation because it does not establish that there is such discipline within the party organization that the views of certain party leaders and pamphlet writers can be properly attributed to the organization itself. In other words, petitioner contends the government has failed to provide the essential proof that there is a party line within the Socialist Workers Party.

All three government witnesses had been members of the Socialist Workers Party (the period of their membership was from approximately 1938 to approximately

tickets; for direct mass actions and avoidance of limitation to parliamentary activities; . . . while relying primarily on mass actions, propaganda and agitation as the means for furthering its revolutionary aim, the Party will also participate in electoral campaigns, though at all times contending against the fatal illusion that the masses can accomplish their emancipation through the ballot box. . . . Italics added."

In *Dunne*, James P. Cannon, together with seventeen other leaders or members of the Socialist Workers Party were convicted of conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force. This conviction was based on a violation of the Smith Act. The government concedes that this case is not res judicata to this deportation proceeding.

1941) and all identified James P. Cannon as the head of the Socialist Workers Party during the period of their membership. Witnesses Bartlett and Zygmunt testified that in their opinion the Socialist Workers Party, during the period of their membership, advocated the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or violence. Witnesses Black and Bartlett identified the government's documentary exhibits as representing the views of the Socialist Workers Party.

Witnesses for petitioner, Boulton and Dobbs, also members of the Socialist Workers Party, testified that the "Declaration" represented the views of the party, and Dobbs further testified that when James P. Cannon was the head of the party his expression of views represented the views of the party.

The Supreme Court has stated that it is difficult to attribute a party line to a political organization. In *Schneiderman v. United States*, 320 U.S. 118 the Court said at 154:

"Political writings are often over-exaggerated polemics bearing the imprint of the period and place in which written . . . Every utterance of party leaders is not taken as party gospel. And we would deny our experience as men if we did not recognize that official party programs are unfortunately often opportunistic devices as much honored in the breach as in the observance."

Evidence that there is no party line within the Socialist Workers Party is contained in the testimony of the government's own witnesses. Witness Black testified that the party possessed local autonomy and freedom of action; that the party was a democratic institution whose goal was world socialism, but that there was no uniformity of opinion on how the goal should be accomplished and no punitive action taken against those who failed to follow the directions of those in authority. Witness Bartlett testified that the Communist Party criticized the Socialist Workers Party on the ground that it was not a revolutionary party. Witness Zygmunt, who had also been a member of the Communist Party, testified to the effect that compared to the Communist Party the Socialist Workers Party in the United States was a small and undisciplined group.

The fact that James P. Cannon was recognized to be the leader of the party and that his views were recognized as the views of the party by some members is insufficient evidence that his views or such recognition by some members constituted a party line. The testimony of the government witnesses heretofore set out indicates that the views of the party leaders, while possibly persuasive, had no binding influence on the members.

Accordingly, we find no substantial evidence in the record that the Socialist Workers Party advocates or teaches by its "Declaration of Principles and Constitution" the violent or forcible overthrow of the Government of the United States within the meaning of the test laid down by *Scales* and *Noto*. Furthermore, there is no substantial evidence showing that there is a party line within the organization which advocates or teaches such overthrow.

The order of deportation is reversed.

KNOCH, Circuit Judge, concurs in the results.

⁵ It may be noted, parenthetically, that the State of Wisconsin specifically prohibits political parties which advocate the violent overthrow of the government from appearing on election ballots. 6.85 (1) Wis. Stat. (1959). Yet, petitioner presented proof that candidates representing the Socialist Workers Party ran for high public office in Wisconsin on several occasions.

The Promise of the Algerian Program

By Joseph Hansen

PARIS, Sept. 21 — The full text of the "Program of Tripoli," so called because it was adopted in that city at the June conference of the National Revolutionary Council, the highest body of the National Liberation Front (FLN), is not yet available in Paris. But extensive extracts and condensations have appeared in the press. These are sufficient to show that if the program were put into effect Algeria would have a workers' state.

The program makes an excellent analysis of the Algerian social and political reality from the class point of view, indicating how the problems tie in with those of the rest of the colonial world. It considers the role of the FLN in the light of this reality. An outstanding feature here is its critical appraisal. The following extracts give an indication:

"The ideological poverty of the FLN, the feudalistic mentality and petty-bourgeois spirit, which are its indirect products, can mean that the future Algerian state will end in a mediocre and anti-popular bureaucracy, in practice if not in principle.

"One of the essential causes which has hampered the development of the FLN on the ideological terrain, contributing to the aggravation of all its weaknesses, and which weighed heavily on the general situation of Algeria during the war, lies in the lag between the leadership and the popular masses."

The program notes that "paradoxical as it may seem, the revolutionary sweep of the national struggle was perceived and felt



Mohammed Ben Bella

in its novelty and originality more by the popular masses than by the cadres and directing bodies."

This section of the program ends by observing that the Provisional Government became mixed up with the leadership of the FLN and that this contributed to weakening both the "notions of the state and of the party." The amalgamation of state and party institutions reduced the FLN to an administrative apparatus. "Within the country, this amalgamation had the effect of depriving the FLN of its responsibilities to the advantage of the ALN [National Liberation Army] and, with the war aiding, of practically annihilating it."

From this the conclusion is drawn: "The experience of these seven and a half years of war proves that without an ideology elaborated in contact with the national reality and the popular masses, it is not possible to have a revolutionary party. The only reason for a party's existence is its ideology. It ceases to exist as soon as it lacks that."

French Policy

On the cease-fire agreement of last March, the program has this to say: "The Evian Agreement constitutes a neo-colonialist platform which France is preparing to utilize for establishing and arranging its new form of domination."

The policy of imperialist France is clearly noted in the following paragraphs:

"The French government counts not only on the armed forces and the European minority to contain the evolution of Algeria. It will exploit above all the political and social contradictions of the FLN and attempt to find in the heart of this movement objective [if not subjective] allies susceptible of becoming detached from the Revolution and of turning against it... "It is the evident desire of the French government that the 'moderate' tendency should get the upper hand over the genuine revolutionary forces within the FLN, thus opening the possibility of a French-FLN experience with-

in the framework of neo-colonialism

"The neo-colonialist platform which France offers as an invitation is in reality a means of nourishing counter-revolutionary forces.

"France, with its billions, will attempt to attract a whole layer of people moved by cupidity and personal ambition who developed a taste for ill-gotten profits in the colonial war.

"Taking advantage of our defaults and errors, France will attempt to reverse the course of the Revolution in order to organize the counter-revolution."

The program puts thoroughgoing agrarian reform as a central task. Advancing the slogan "Land to those who till it," it lists a series of measures:

"(1) Immediate prohibition of dealings in land and the means of agricultural production.

"(2) Limitation of property according to cultivation and crop returns.

"(3) Expropriation of areas over a certain set optimum.

"(4) Free grants of land to landless peasants or those with insufficient land.

"(5) Democratic organization of peasants in production co-operatives.

"(6) Creation of state farms on part of the expropriated lands, with participation of the workers in management and in the profits.

"(7) Prohibition of the sale or renting of distributed lands in order to avoid the reappearance of big property holdings.

"(8) Cancellation of the debts of peasants on the *khamas* [share-crop farms] and of payment in kind owed to landlords, usurers and government services.

"(9) Material and financial aid from the government."

Similar radical measures are proposed for the key sectors of industry. These include the nationalization of the means of transport, of credit and of foreign trade. This in turn implies the nationalization of insurance companies and of banks.

"The latter," the program states, "is a job to be done with the least possible delay. The multiplicity of banks has permitted them to escape national control. Their recent or projected conversion into development companies must not be permitted to hide their essential character — an instrument of financial blackmail."

The program holds that the de-

velopment of the country necessitates "eliminating the grip of the monopolies and recasting economic relations with other countries, above all France, eliminating the domestic obstacles to a radical transformation of the structures of rural life, industrializing in order to meet the needs of the people. To meet these ends, planning and the state's taking charge of the economy with the participation of the workers, are a vital necessity . . ."

Another section stipulates that the "democratic popular revolution means constructing the country consciously in a framework of socialist principles and power in the hands of the people . . ."

"The democratic spirit must not remain purely theoretical speculation, it must be concretized in well defined state institutions and in all sectors of the social life of the country."

"Neutralism"

In foreign policy, the program calls for "neutralism"; for continued struggle against colonialism and imperialism; for "support of the movements toward unification in the Maghreb, in the Arab world and in Africa." It states that "the reinforcement of ties with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the development of trade in all fields with the socialist countries, the establishment of relations with all countries on the basis of equality and of mutual respect for national sovereignty and common action with the democratic forces, especially in France, will place our country in position to meet its responsibilities on the international plane. It is in this way that it will be able to bring a positive contribution to the struggle against the armaments race and the nuclear tests which are being carried out on even our soil, menacing our independence and our security.

"It is in this way that our country will also be able to help liquidate the military pacts and the foreign bases."

The program is long and detailed, since it attempts to assess the revolution as a whole and to project its major aims in a series of fields. In this article, it is not possible to do more than indicate the importance of the document and to suggest that it deserves the support of the revolutionary-socialist movement as part of a transitional program that can help carry Algeria forward toward socialism.

Protests Bias In U.S. Army

(Continued from Page 1)

their presence has had in encouraging opposition to the racist dictatorship that grips the state will be swiftly dissipated. The bitterness of the campaign which powerful White Citizens Councils are building against their opponents was indicated by a writer in the Jackson *Clarion-Ledger*. "The skalawags and moderates are going to crawl out of the walls now," he wrote. "Watch the peace-lovers come to the fore, grab a nigger-neck and start bellowing brotherly love. For us . . . we'll just go on being a bigot, a reactionary, a rebel, and lick our wounds till the next fight starts and plan to win somehow."

An illustration of the methods of these self-styled bigots was given on Oct. 5, near the central Mississippi town of Carthage. Night riders drove through the town firing shots into the homes of Negroes, wounding one man.

Kennedy's action in beginning to remove the troops is explained as a means of bringing the Mississippi situation back to "normal" and of putting the responsibility for maintaining order in the hands of local authorities. In other words, the Mississippi situation is to be allowed to relapse into its normal condition of racist barbarism and lawless terrorization of the Negro, 43 per cent of the population. Is this the "firm stand" expected by those who see Kennedy as a militant fighter for civil rights?

Governor Barnett and other "local authorities" have repeatedly declared their contempt for Negro rights and their intention to remove Meredith from the university. Will Kennedy place the responsibility for the safety of this heroic Negro student in the hands of these men? Are Mississippi's 915,000 Negroes and those whites who oppose the racists to be abandoned to the vindictive fury of the White Citizens Councils?

Federal troops — integrated troops — should remain in force in Mississippi. They should protect the Negroes who are attempting to register to vote in the face of beatings, arrests, and shootings. It is their duty to defend the voter-registration schools of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and other civil rights groups in Mississippi. They should not be removed until every Mississippi Negro is guaranteed his full constitutional rights.

Weekly Calendar

LOS ANGELES

Socialism and Humanism — a panel discussion by Kenneth S. Brown of the Humanist Society of America, and William F. Ward, Marxist philosopher and writer. Fri., Oct. 19, 8:15 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Fri., Oct. 26, 8:15 p.m., the Militant Labor Forum sponsors a panel discussion against Proposition 24 at 1702 E. 4th St.

NEW YORK

CUBA TODAY — A discussion of the U.S.-Cuban crisis and of current developments in Cuba by Richard Garza, Socialist Workers candidate for governor. Fri., Oct. 19, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. 75c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Gala election party. Sat., Oct. 20, 9 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Socialist Workers Campaign Committee.

Leroy McRae, Socialist Workers candidate for attorney general, appears on Direct Line, Sun., Oct. 14 2 to 3 p.m. WNBC-TV, Ch. 4. On Tuesday, Oct. 16 answers telephone questions on radio station WCBS, 880 on your dial, from 2:15 to 3 p.m.

Local Directory

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

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044. If no answer, call HU 6-7025.

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

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, 1227 California, Main 3-0993. For labor and socialist books, International Book Exchange, 1227 1/2 California. Open 5:30 p.m. to 8 p.m. Mon. through Fri.

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

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

MILWAUKEE, 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

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

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Labor Book Shop and Socialist Workers Party, 563 16th St., Oakland 12, Calif. TE 6-2077. If no answer call 261-5642.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, 1303 W. Girard Ave. Lectures and discussions every Saturday, 8 p.m., followed by open house. Call PO 3-5820.

SAN FRANCISCO. Militant Labor Forum. Temporarily c/o Oakland-Berkeley (see above).

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

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

SEATTLE, 1412 18th Ave., EA 5-0191. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays.

It Was Reported in the Press

Just Scouts' Honor — Boy scouts participating in the San Francisco area polio inoculation drive didn't have to take a loyalty oath after all. Participants in the program in Contra Costa County were told they would have to take the oath because the anti-polio drive was being conducted as a civil-defense exercise. Civil Defense provides workmen's compensation but also requires a loyalty oath. When several participating doctors protested, county officials decided to make the oath voluntary. However if anyone got hurt without taking the oath he wouldn't be entitled to compensation.

Fatalists — A dispatch from West Germany in the Oct. 3 *New York Times* reported: "Pleas by civic organizations and government agencies that the individual German do more for his safety in case of atomic attack have generally received a lukewarm response here. Large segments of the population who still remember that 600,000 Germans were killed in World War II air raids have adopted a fatalistic attitude."

Non-Labor Day — We received the press release second hand, so we're a bit late in reporting that the Ventura County, Calif., Con-

stitution Committee, held a picnic in the city of Ventura on Labor Day but renamed it "Capitalist Day" for the occasion. Those attending were asked to bring their own picnic basket "in truly individualistic fashion." None of that socialistic potluck.

Overwhelming — "Dr. James C. Crow of the University of Wisconsin said that if all the persons affected by radiation could be assembled in one place the public would be overwhelmed . . . Crow said hundreds of thousands of persons have been — or will be — injured by nuclear radiation. He said that over 1,000 years — 'if the human race lasts that long' — radiation will go on withering the human system, causing countless forms of unseen deterioration . . ." From an Oct. 4 AP dispatch.

Q and A — The following was culled from a syndicated weekly question-and-answer column: "Q. Is it true that Queen Elizabeth and other members of the British nobility own 50 per cent of their nation's wealth? A. No. What is true is that 2 1/2 per cent of the British population owns 50 per cent of Great Britain's wealth." Maybe someone should send in a similar question on the Kennedys.

Revelation — George Romney, Republican candidate for governor of Michigan, declared Sept. 11 that the American revolution of 1776 "was the only authentic revolution because it was inspired by Judeo-Christian beliefs. Such unauthentic revolutions as the French, Russian, Chinese, Hungarian, Cuban and many others did not have this motivation."

A Rooshian? — Everett G. Buurkhalter, Los Angeles city councilman and Democratic candidate for Congress, declares: "Any American who won't take a loyalty oath is no American."

Food for Thought — The number of farm workers in the U.S. declined by 41 per cent during the decade of 1950-60. It was the biggest ten-year drop in the nation's history said Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz who attributed the decline mainly to the tremendous rise in machine productivity on the farm.

Progress Report — "Southern Steel Co., a big jail-equipment maker, says 90 per cent of the barred doors and windows it sells are painted in soothing pastel colors compared with all grey ten years ago." — *The Wall Street Journal*.

Socialist Workers Campaign in Minnesota

A Platform For Peace, Jobs

MILLIONS DIED IN TWO WORLD WARS. U.S. "police action" brought flaming death to masses of men, women and children in the napalm bombing of Korea. The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency engineered an invasion of Cuba, U.S. military bases are maintained all over the world against the will and interests of the people. Bomb testing has been resumed by the Kennedy administration. Bomb-happy military brass and Washington politicians have been threatening humanity with a Third World War.

THE CRY OVER THE "MENCE OF COMMUNISM" confuses the issue and attempts to make it seem a military threat. But the misery of the world and the threat of nuclear destruction facing humanity is a result of the worldwide crisis of the capitalist system. The non-capitalist states with planned economies and no profit motive pose a threat only to profits. For example, tiny Cuba could hardly be considered a military threat to anyone. But Cuba stands as an example and a beacon light to other Latin Americans seeking a way out of their hunger, squalor and illiteracy.

MILLIONS ARE UNEMPLOYED in this richest country in the world and automation threatens jobs all up and down the line. Even conservative economists point to an oncoming depression. Older citizens, after a lifetime of toil, are without adequate housing or medical care.

TODAY 38 MILLION AMERICANS LIVE IN POVERTY and another 39 million live in deprivation. The bottom 40 per cent of the people are getting poorer. At the opposite extreme, a small fraction lives in wealth and power.

NEGROES IN THE SOUTH ARE SHOT, BEATEN AND JAILED for demanding their constitutional rights. The hard-won rights of labor to bargain, to strike, to picket have become virtually outlawed by anti-labor legislation. **MUST WE LIVE WITH THIS? THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY SAYS, "NO!" WE STAND FOR THE FOLLOWING:**

FOR PEACE
STOP THE H-BOMB TESTS.
No more pollution of the earth's

atmosphere with dread radioactive fallout that threatens the lives of those living and of generations unborn. Atomic energy for peace, not war. Take the profit out of military preparations! Nationalize the war industries, and place them under workers' control!

FOR A REFERENDUM ON WAR OR PEACE. No more commitments to so-called police actions and wars without consultation of the people. Take the war-making power out of the hands of Congress, the president and the generals with push-button and telephone authority to commit the U.S. to war. Let the people vote on H-Bomb tests! Let the people vote on war!

UNITE THE U.S. WITH FREEDOM STRUGGLES sweeping the globe. For the right of self-determination of the colonial peoples! Hands off Cuba! Withdraw U.S. troops from other lands! Stop the undeclared war in Vietnam — get our boys home! Break from the war policy of the capitalist parties. Support the planned economies of the Soviet sphere and the struggle of the workers there for political democracy against the ruling bureaucrats.

JOBS FOR ALL
The act-alike Republican-Democrat parties are the bill collectors of big business. They cannot solve the problems of recession and unemployment, for they represent the interests of the millionaires at the sacrifice of the needs of the people.

FOR THE 30-HOUR WEEK AT 40 HOURS PAY. This action will immediately bring employment to millions. Jobless benefits and social security at union rates for the entire period of unemployment. Unemployment is not the fault of the workers but of the capitalist system that cannot provide jobs. Government operation under workers' control of all production facilities made idle by mergers, decentralization, run-away shops and recessions. Increase jobs by ending restrictions on trade with China, Cuba and the Soviet Union.

HUMAN NEEDS BEFORE PROFIT
TAX THE RICH, NOT THE POOR. Repeal all payroll and sales

SWP Nominee Urges Break With Both Capitalist Parties

MINNEAPOLIS — Filing his nominating petitions for the office of Representative in Congress from the Fifth Congressional District, Joseph Johnson said: "Ordinary workers must begin to fight in politics for their own program. We must begin to fight independently for the shorter work week to end unemployment, the repeal of the union-busting Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin law, free medical care for all, the stopping of H-Bomb tests, and an end to all forms of inequality for the Negro people and all minorities."

Johnson represents the Socialist Workers Party and calls on labor to break away from the act-alike Democratic-Republican parties which represent the interests of big business.

Johnson said, "The independent

militant spirit that organized the unions in Minneapolis in the 1930's against the wishes of big business and formed the Farmer Labor Party should again take the road of independent labor political action." Political action is now needed by the workers to stop the threat of a major recession in the fall, the lowering of living standards by big business and the government's preparations for a third world war. This campaign for Representative in Congress from the Fifth Congressional District (now the city of Minneapolis) can be one of the important first steps in awakening workers to their need to struggle for their political program. To this end the campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party at 704 Hennepin will be open from 1 p.m. to 8 p.m., six days a week.



Joseph Johnson

taxes. Abolish all forms of hidden taxes. No tax on income under \$7,500 a year! A 100 per cent tax on all profits on war.

FREE MEDICAL CARE AND SOCIAL SERVICES. Federal medical care and hospitalization for all. A government-guaranteed college education for all youth. Divert the billions, now being wasted on instruments of death and destruction, to jobs that will supply the social needs of the people.

UNION CONTROL OF PRODUCTION. Abolish the speed-up through union control of production speeds by majority vote of the workers.

FOR FREEDOM
The working man can have little democracy when he has no control of the means whereby he lives; nor when he does not have a single spokesman of his own in Congress.

RESTORE AND EXPAND DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. End restrictions on the right to organize, strike and picket. End government interference in internal union affairs. Struggle within the unions for complete democracy and abolish the privileged status of the union bureaucrats. Repeal the oppressive Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin, and other federal, state and city anti-labor laws. Put an end to the Un-American Activities Committee. Repeal the laws restricting our liberties!

GUARANTEE MINORITY RIGHTS. Both parties allow segregation and racist terror against the Negroes in the South. The American Indian is forced to leave the segregated squalor of the reservation for vicious segregation in the slums of the cities.

Full economic, social and political equality to all minority groups! Unity with mass actions aimed at securing these rights.

FOR INDEPENDENT LABOR POLITICAL ACTION. Break all ties with the capitalist political machines. Organize an independent labor party, basing it on the unions, the Negro people and the working farmers. Put a workers' and farmers' government in office as a step toward the reorganization of America on a planned socialist basis. Break with capitalist politics and **VOTE FOR THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY IN NOVEMBER. VOTE FOR JOSEPH JOHNSON** for Representative in Congress for the fifth district.

MEET THE CANDIDATE
Joseph Johnson, age 31, attended the U. of Wis., 4 years, transferring to the U. of Minn. where he was active in Students For Integration and the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. As member of Local 1111, United Steelworkers of America, he served as Chairman of the Political Action Committee and delegate to the Central Labor Union. He is now a member of Building Service Employees Union Local 113.

Johnson Scores Democrats As Bulwark of Jim Crow

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 2 — At a meeting in campaign headquarters, 704 Hennepin, Joseph Johnson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the fifth district, spoke about the killings in Mississippi. The candidate declared "these were not the first killings by racists in Mississippi and the cause of the killings is deeper than the failure of Kennedy to act sooner, the inflammatory speeches of Gov. Ross Barnett, or the actions of Gen. Walker. It is the criminal system of Jim Crow, one-party rule, lack of voting rights, anti-unionism and big business control in the South that should be on trial for the killings in Mississippi."

"Kennedy was quick and forceful," said Johnson, "in acting against the dock strike today, but his slowness and lack of force brought death in Mississippi. This

is because the concern of the Democratic Party's leadership is with property and 'law,' not human rights. The Democratic Party has tolerated for decades the segregation laws maintained in the South by their closest political colleagues. Those who advocate support of the Democratic Party or any of its candidates are giving aid and comfort to the political machine that keeps the South in the bonds of the Jim-Crow system. The Democratic Party cannot be divorced from its Southern Wing."

"To combat the pro-segregation policy — despite their fine promises — of both major parties, it is essential that organized labor and the Negro people build their own party, a labor party capable of fighting for the political interests of the great majority of the people of this land," Johnson stated.

Shadow-Boxing Exhibition Put on by Fraser and Judd

MINNEAPOLIS — The 5th Congressional race in Minnesota is shaping up to be an interesting one. With re-districting, the 5th District has been expanded from a former silk-stocking section so that now it includes all Minneapolis.

The Republican candidate, Walter Judd, who has held the seat for many years, is an ultra-conservative with China Lobby connections. He has voted against such bills as school-construction aid and enlargement of the House Rules Committee.

The Democrats have put up Donald M. Fraser, a lawyer in the firm of Lindquist, Fraser and Magnuson. This law firm has produced such Democratic politicians as Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman and U.S. Deputy Attorney General Lee



Loevinger. Fraser is another politician in the mold of the fast-talking Sen. Humphrey.

In contrast to the present two capitalist candidates — one a former "Old China Hand" and now a professional ultra-conservative, and the other a lawyer — SWP candidate Joseph Johnson is a hospital worker, union man and socialist.

Judd and Fraser have been shadow boxing with each other. They will not debate although time was offered them by radio and TV stations. Both are apparently afraid of exposing their positions to public view. Judd has played a number of political tricks to fool the people of Minneapolis on his real stand. An example was his getting New York's "liberal" Republican Sen. Jacob K. Javits (R-N.Y.) to a major rally here Sept. 20 to endorse him — an ultra-conservative.

Democrat Fraser, in private conversation with members of peace groups, etc., has made many liberal statements, but his public pronouncements have rarely gone beyond name calling.

Campaign Notes

The decision of the Twin Cities branch of the Socialist Workers Party to participate in the Congressional elections meant a lot of hard work but also new opportunities for getting the socialist message before the working people of Minneapolis.

First came the petition drive to get Johnson on the ballot. On July 13, 1,597 signatures were filed. A war chest was begun with a collection of \$195 from SWP members and friends.

At his first public meeting July 21, the SWP candidate spoke on "Our Stake in the Canadian Labor Party's Fight for Medical Care." During August lectures by Johnson and other SWPers dealt with today's socialist program. These meetings got publicity in the *Minnesota Daily*, *St. Paul Dispatch*, *Minneapolis Tribune* and *Minneapolis Star*. The Sept. 9 *Tribune* also carried a statement of the SWP's support for the Cuban people's right of self determination and choice of a socialist system. Work in progress includes preparation of press releases, statements for League of Women Voters, etc., getting radio and TV time due the candidate and preparing scripts for such programs, meet-the-candidate affairs, distribution of over 9,000 *Militants*, an Oct. 20 social and a final rally Nov. 3.

Election Rallies
for
JOE JOHNSON
SWP Candidate for Congress
Sat., Oct. 20, 8:30 p.m.
Sat., Nov. 3, 8:30 p.m.
704 Hennepin Avenue
Contrib.: 1 new Militant Sub or \$1.00
Ausp. Camp. Comm. for Johnson