

# THE MILITANT

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## Peace Movement Attacked by HUAC

By Alex Harte

WASHINGTON, D.C., Aug. 17 — Nearly 400 antiwar activists were on hand yesterday to protest the opening of hearings by the House Un-American Activities Committee. HUAC is using the hearings in an attempt to smear the antiwar movement and to gain support for a bill by Texas Representative Pool.

The Pool bill, in the words of the New York Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, "attempts to penalize any opposition to the war with penalties up to \$20,000 fine, 20 years in prison, or both."

HUAC had packed yesterday's hearing with staff members and others favorable to it. During the testimony of "friendly" witness Phillip Abbot Luce, eight HUAC opponents were forcibly ejected from the room, pummeled and carried from the building. Nine others, waiting in the long line of people outside the hearings who couldn't get in, were arbitrarily seized. All 17 were arrested.

### March on White House

When it became clear that no more would be admitted to the hearings, 200 demonstrators marched to the White House, protesting both the war and the HUAC witchhunt.

The hearings were held after a hastily called three-judge panel reversed an earlier ruling restraining the HUAC hearings. On Aug. 15, U.S. District Court Judge Howard F. Corcoran issued the restraining order on the request of the American Civil Liberties Union, acting in behalf of Walter Teague and Allen Krebs, two of those subpoenaed by HUAC.

Last night, 300 people attended a rally at DuPont Circle to hear the HUAC witnesses, lawyers and representatives of antiwar organizations.

Judy White, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York, was among the speakers.

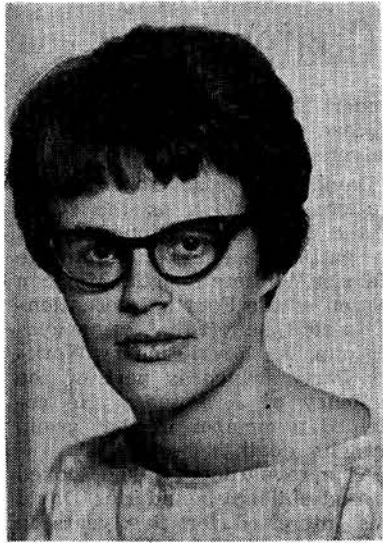
On Aug. 14, representatives from 17 different antiwar groups spoke out against the HUAC witchhunt at a press conference, held in a hearing room provided by Congressman Don Edwards of California. The press conference was sponsored by the National Committee to Defend the Civil Liberties of the Antiwar Move-

ment, a temporary formation based in Washington.

The New York Parade Committee's statement said that it was "firmly united in defense of the rights of all citizens to exercise freedom of speech and press on all subjects, including the war and foreign policy."

Judy White read a statement for the Socialist Workers Party. "The SWP," she said, "urges all who oppose the war in Vietnam to protest government attempts to stifle antiwar sentiment, and we demand that the administration grant the antiwar movement its full democratic rights to present the facts about the war to the American people on the campuses, on the job and in the armed forces without threat of intimidation."

Those subpoenaed to date are Jerry Rubin and Dr. Stephen Smale of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee; Allen Krebs of the Free University; Walter Teague of the Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front; Anatole Anton, George Ewart, Steve Hamilton, Richard Rhoads, Steve Cherkos and Jeff Gordon, all from the Progressive Labor Party; Harold Supriano of the DuBois Clubs; and Steve McCrae.



Judy White

## West Coast Airline Strikers Urge Building of Labor Party

LOS ANGELES — Angered by the attempted strike-breaking of Johnson and the Congress, striking West Coast airline mechanics have put out a call for a labor party.

The call was sent to Roy Siemiller, president of the striking IAMAW (Machinist); James Hoffa; Walter Reuther; Harry Bridges and George Meany. It was signed by Lou Schroeder, president, Lodge 1781 of San Francisco; Tom Foster, vice president, Lodge 1932, Los Angeles; James Fauber, president, Lodge 1351, Seattle; and Dan Maltese, president, Lodge 1885, Portland.

The labor party call said: "Because of the recent action by some members of Congress and the Senate in regard to the recent air-

# Airplane Mechanics Demonstrate Power Of Labor Militancy

By Harry Ring

AUG. 17 — Thirty-five thousand fighting airline mechanics have demonstrated that despite government strike-breaking efforts, determined, militant workers can win at least a share of what they are justly entitled to.

As we go to press, terms of the airlines offer are being partially reported and the strikers' vote on the offer has not taken place. However, it is already apparent that the refusal of the strikers to yield to the company-government efforts to drive them back to work has won additional concessions.

The new pact reportedly includes these gains:

### New Gains

- The second of three five-percent wage hikes will go into effect Jan. 1 of 1967 instead of July 1, 1967. (The first five percent increase is retroactive to Jan. 1 of this year.) The third increase will begin on May 1, 1968, instead of July 1, 1968. If accepted, the new agreement will raise the average wage from \$3.25 an hour to about \$3.75 during the life of the pact. The top rate will go from \$3.52 to \$4.08.

- Over the opposition of the Johnson administration, a partial wage escalator clause is now being offered. The absence of such a clause was a key reason why the men had overwhelmingly rejected the terms of the Johnson-dictated settlement. The escalator clause being offered is a limited one in that it would provide no pay increase until Jan. 1, 1968, and there is a six-cent an hour limit on the total amount the companies have to pay during the life of the contract.

- The new offer includes further holiday pay benefits. An eighth paid holiday, Good Friday, is provided. In addition, a proviso to pay two-and-a-half times straight pay for work on holidays will go into effect immediately, instead of next July as stipulated in the original terms.

- The proposed pact also reportedly settles a number of local issues on conditions of work that were swept under the rug in the initial offer.

While it cannot as yet be determined how far short of the men's demands the new offer falls, the striking members of the In-

## The Great Society



ternational Association of Machinists have clearly made a point that the rest of the labor movement should give careful thought to. As the Vietnam war presses the inflationary drive, the employers and government are increasingly determined to put the cost of the war on the backs of the working people. This determination is expressed in Johnson's loaded wage guideline policy intended to freeze and roll back real wages by limiting pay raises to increases in productivity.

This is to be done, according to administration plan, without regard to increases in the cost of living. This is shown to be so by the administration's opposition to the escalator clause which at least partially compensates for such increases. (IAM President Roy Siemiller points out that Johnson vetoed a bill to increase the salaries of rural mail carriers because it contained a cost-of-living clause.)

### Anti-Labor Laws

To force this kind of a wage freeze on the workers, the administration has been pushing for new legislation to curb the unions. That is why Johnson and Senator Wayne Morse were so eager to jam through a bill to break the airline strike. (See story on Morse's role on Page 3.)

But the fact that the men stood absolutely solid in face of the combined government-employer attack forced them to back off and make the new offer — and no matter how inadequate the offer may be in terms of what the companies can afford and the men are legitimately entitled to, there is no question that the new terms deal a significant blow to Johnson's phony guideline. The guideline sets a 3.2 per cent limit on wage increases. The offer of the Morse board ran about four per cent, and the present offer is estimated to run about six per cent.

By sticking tough, the air

mechanics therefore have not only won something further of what they're entitled to, but have also registered a gain for the entire labor movement at a crucial moment. This breakthrough against the drive to hold back wages comes on the eve of a whole series of major contract negotiations. General Electric workers are already in the process of negotiating new agreements and in the coming year there are contract expirations in such key fields as auto, rubber, trucking and others.

As these contracts come up for negotiation, the members of the unions involved will have the benefit of the precedent being set by the airlines strikers. Their leaders will not be able to tell them, "We can't get more because the government won't permit it." The mechanics made it clear that an uncompromising stand can compel the government to give ground.

The militancy and solidarity of the mechanics is all the more impressive in that they have carried on the fight despite a top officialdom that did not provide the kind of fighting program and leadership the situation demands. The strikers have given a good portent of what labor will be able to do when it develops a militant leadership based on a program of fighting for the rights of the workers — a leadership capable of standing up against all of the anti-labor forces, including the government.

## Court-Martial for Fort Hood Three

A court-martial is now pending for the Fort Hood Three, the three GIs who had announced they would seek a court order against participating in the undeclared and illegal U.S. war in Vietnam. After their legal action was under way, Pvt. David Samas, Pvt. Dennis Mora and Pfc. James Johnson were jailed by the Army and then ordered to board a plane for Vietnam. When they refused, court-martial proceedings were instituted. Postponement of the trial is being sought.

## Our Schedule For the Summer

During the months of July and August, THE MILITANT is published every other week. Regular weekly publication will resume with our next issue, dated Sept. 5.



# THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

## Interviews With Airline Strikers

LOS ANGELES — Morale is high among the striking airline machinists here. The strikers are angry about low wages, particularly compared to other industries, at a time when the airlines are boasting of soaring profits.

"They make these reports of high profits," one striker who is studying to be a pilot said, "and they want us to be proud of our efficiency, but they won't give us a share of those profits."

The workers covered by the International Association of Machinists, which includes cafeteria and ramp workers, are demanding a 15 percent wage increase. One top machinist with an aircraft and engine license gets \$3.85 an hour. "And that's after 22 years with TWA, and that's not right!" he said. "I have to do my work right, hundreds of lives depend upon it. But auto mechanics in Los Angeles get \$4.12 an hour and Greyhound bus mechanics get \$4.61 an hour." Aircraft mechanics start at \$3.20 an hour.

The IAM strikers I talked to were emphatic in their attitude on government interference in the strike. "If Johnson forces us back to work," a ground-service man said, "it will benefit only the companies."

A ramp-service man had an idea of individual freedom and the American way different from that of the companies and Birchites. "If this anti-strike legislation is passed," he said, "it would be a blow to the American way of life!"

—Della Rossa

SEATTLE — The high morale of the strikers here is reflected in the participation in picketing. Lodge 471 (Eastern Airlines) has 452 members in this area and all but 10 have registered for and participated in picketing, in two four-hour stints weekly.

Strike benefits are \$25 a week. In addition, many strikers have been able to find other work during the strike. The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union locals in Tacoma and Seattle are making work available to IAM members, and other unions like the roofers and construction workers are cooperating. Lodge 471 reports that 75 percent of its members here have found some kind of work.

The Brotherhood of Railroad Clerks went out in sympathy with machinists two days after the airline strike began. The BRC sympathy strike was triggered in Chicago when Northwest Airlines tried to make BRC members do IAM work.

In connection with the union's agreement to service military flights, one Northwest Airlines striker mentioned an incident illustrating how phony these "military flights" are. The striker met a GI in a bar near the strike

headquarters, who said that he was the only serviceman on the flight. The other passengers were civilians.

The strikers feel a real sense of power. One told me, "we've really got LBJ shook up." And Senator Morse's name is mud among the strikers.

—Tom Leonard

NEW YORK — I talked to striking mechanics at the Eastern Airlines terminal at Kennedy International Airport. "The carriers have met our wage demand of 53 cents over three years," a striker said. "But the 53 cents is for mechanics. The lower paid workers will be getting less."

"We're asking for the following benefits: a 37½ hour week, we work 40 now; instead of our present straight-time pay for holidays, we want 2½ times for holidays like other jobs; the company to pay for our pensions; one extra holiday; and, most important, we're asking for an escalator clause."

I asked the pickets their opinion of the government's role in the strike. "It's anti-labor," was the answer. "If the legislation goes through, what's to prevent it from being used against other unions? Collective bargaining would be out the window. Management would just wait for the government to come in."

Concerning Johnson's "wage guideline" of 3.2 percent, the workers said, "In New York, especially, it's impractical. I don't know about other cities but I guess it's the same. Milk, bread and butter have gone up. The subway has gone up a nickel and will go up again. There's a new payroll tax from Lindsay. We don't want to make less than before. We don't want an arm and a leg, but we need more than 3.2 percent to keep even; 3.2 is out."

Returning to the subject of government interference, I said, "Senator Morse is playing a strike-breaking role in this strike. He's been described as a liberal and a friend of labor. How do you feel about Morse?"

A picket replied, "If he's a liberal I'd hate to meet a conservative. Quote me on that. He's out of his mind. He's either an idiot or on the payroll of the carriers."

—Ralph Levitt

CLEVELAND — A member of the strike committee of the IAM here told me at strike headquarters that the most important demand of the strikers is for the escalator clause. Recent price rises have brought this issue home to the workers, and they feel that without the clause, they would be behind again before the contract was up.

Other demands were for cross utilization and full point seniority. Cross utilization would allow men in lower classifications to learn the higher jobs and gain experience. This would allow them to move up when positions were open. Full point seniority would mean that all seniority rights would apply when a man is transferred.

The feeling on government intervention was strong. To the workers, it would mean the end of free bargaining. They felt it would not only be strike-breaking, but was an attempt to discredit the union to the workers and to break the union.

— R. L.

## Air Mechanics Make It Key Issue

# The Wage Escalator Clause

By Tom Kerry

Thanks to the militant action of the striking airline machinists, the fraudulent wage-price "guidelines" of the Johnson administration is a shambles.

The demand of the ranks for a cost-of-living (escalator) clause in the union contract has served to highlight the determination of the workers to protect their standard of living against the worst ravages of inflation.

The wage earners of this country have lost all faith in the sham "stabilization program" of the LBJ Brigade under which prices and profits have soared while real wages remained virtually frozen under the counterfeit 3.2 percent annual productivity formula.

For the workers the rejection of the LBJ stabilization hoax is the beginning of economic wisdom. Inflation and recession are today worldwide phenomena. And in every case, without exception, those who reign in the name of the ruling capitalist class have the same answer: freeze wages. Which means, unload the burden of the capitalist crisis onto the backs of the workers.

Just a cursory perusal of the world press bears eloquent testimony to this trend. In Brazil, the military dictator Castelo Branco, writes the Aug. 3 *New York Times*, "imposed a one-year wage freeze in a major move against inflation."

In Israel, the Zionist government has prevailed on the unions to waive wage increases for a period of six months, to combat recession.

In Great Britain, the Labor government legislates to freeze wages on the promise of maintaining stable prices. And so it goes in one country after another.

## Mexican Students Salute Memory Of 2 Youths Slain in Guatemala

MEXICO CITY, Mexico — Memorial meetings have been held at the University of Mexico for David Aguilar Mora and his wife, Eunice Campirán de Aguilar.

David Aguilar was a 26-year-old Mexican revolutionary who joined the Guatemalan 13th of November Movement, the guerrilla force led by Marcos Yon Sosa. Aguilar was brutally murdered by the Guatemalan police after they arrested him last December. His wife, along with the sister of Yon Sosa, was captured and killed by the police while she was in Guatemala City trying to determine his fate.

The first memorial meeting was held at the School of Economics where David had studied and was widely respected as a student

leader. Eunice, also a revolutionary, had also been a student at the university.

David Aguilar developed a revolutionary outlook as the result of the Cuban revolution. In 1960, he participated in founding the Marxist Workers League, Mexican section of the Fourth International. In 1962, he left the League with a group, the Revolutionary Workers Party, which is part of the tendency of J. Posadas. He remained a member of that group until his death.

As a revolutionary who looked beyond national boundaries, David was interested for five years in Guatemalan revolutionary developments. He went to Guatemala to join the guerrilla forces in May of 1965, but was arrested by the Guatemalan police four days later. This makes it apparent that the Guatemalan government was informed of his presence in that country by Mexican officials.

He was sent back to Mexico where he was jailed and tortured. He was finally released and made his way back to Guatemala where he was captured again and then killed. The killing took place secretly with no pretense of a trial. This same barbaric practice was then used against 28 imprisoned members of the Guatemalan Communist Party.

While David was being held prisoner, the Guatemalan government officially denied any knowledge of his whereabouts, and the Mexican government refused to intercede on his behalf.

The memorial meeting for the two young revolutionary martyrs at the School of Economics was attended by more than 500. All political tendencies participated in the meeting, including the Communist Party.

years the unions had trimmed their demands in deference to the financial problems of the companies. Now that the corporations were rolling in riches, the demand of the workers for a few crumbs to compensate for their previous denial was stigmatized as a conspiracy to jettison LBJ's stabilization fraud.

And the airline tycoons, those paragons of abstinence and frugality, together with their running-dogs in Washington and Wall Street, demanded that the government take drastic action forthwith, to curb the intemperate gluttony of the workers. What gall!

By permitting the LBJ Brigade to tie wages to labor productivity, the union leaders have led the workers into a trap. The striking airline machinists have shown the way out by their demand for an escalator clause which provides the only real defense of the workers' standard of living in a period of inflation.

That is, instead of labor productivity, the cost of living becomes the basic criterion for a union wage policy. LBJ, his pundits and camp followers contend that the escalator clause itself is an inflationary device. Poppycock! The escalator clause provides only that with each increase in the cost of living there be an automatic increase in wages. Such escalator increases would take place only AFTER the cost-of-living index has risen — not before.

If the LBJ Brigade believes what it preaches, to wit: that the "stabilization" program of the Great I Am will assure price stability and therefore no cost-of-living rise, there would be no escalator increases. The proof of the pudding is in the eating.

But the experiences of the airline machinists, and others, have led to the ineluctable conclusion: no faith in the promises of capitalist politicians. Like practical men and women they only ask for a little insurance in the form of an escalator clause in the union contract.

## Robert Williams Moves to China

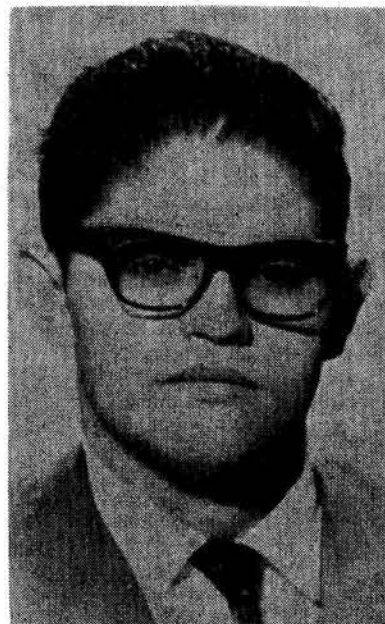
Robert Williams, the Monroe, N.C., rights leader, who sought asylum in Cuba after being falsely charged with kidnapping in Monroe, has moved to China, according to a recent report from the Soviet Union where he stopped en route to Peking.

Williams told newsmen in the Soviet Union that while he remained a U.S. citizen he would not return to the United States until the 1961 frame-up kidnap charge against him is dropped.

## Al Uhrie, Pacifist, Is Murdered

NEW YORK — Al Uhrie, an active, dedicated pacifist, died tragically Aug. 10 of knife wounds inflicted on him in front of his home here. Three youths were arrested and charged with murder. There is no reported political motivation for the crime.

Associated with the Catholic Worker movement, he had been a member of the staff of the Vietnam Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee during the organization of the March 26 parade. He strongly favored the unity of the antiwar forces. In 1965 he endorsed the Socialist Workers mayoralty ticket as a means of registering opposition to the Vietnam war.



David Aguilar Mora

## Weekly Calendar

NEW YORK

THE MYTH AROUND THE SCOTTSBORO CASE — The Real Role of the Communist Party. Speaker, Hugh Murray, Professor of History, Dillard University. Fri., Aug. 26, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

COUNTERREVOLUTION IN INDONESIA — A Socialist View. Speaker: Ralph Levitt, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Comptroller. Fri., Sept. 2, 8:30 p.m. 873 Broadway, at 18th St. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.



# Peasant Leader Facing Death Sentence in Peru



**FACES DEATH.** Peasant leader Hugo Blanco, center, faces death at hands of Peruvian rulers.

LIMA, Peru — Hugo Blanco, imprisoned revolutionary, faces the threat of a death sentence by a military court.

The famed Trotskyist leader of the Revolutionary Left Front has been imprisoned since his capture May 30, 1963. For five years he had worked to build a revolutionary union of peasants. He had organized a federation of 10,000 peasants in the Cuzco region which fought — arms in hand when necessary — to defend the right to a piece of land.

Captured after being stricken seriously ill, Blanco was charged with "the assassination of four policemen" and other alleged crimes.

During the pre-trial period, he was not permitted to use a single basic juridical right in his defense. Even more, he has been held incommunicado for three years, which he has protested with three hunger strikes.

The present hearing is expected to conclude in August and the

authorities are acting with the greatest secrecy possible. They are trying to avoid publicity about this explosive case of a very popular peasant leader.

The military prosecutor has declared that a death sentence is quite possible.

Despite repressions and financial difficulties, Blanco's comrades are making a maximum effort in his defense.

# Court Reverses Conviction of 3 In HUAC Case

HUAC suffered another setback Aug. 2 when the U.S. Court of Appeals reversed the contempt-of-Congress convictions of Dagmar Wilson of Women Strike for Peace, Donna Allen of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Russ Nixon, former general manager of the *National Guardian*.

The three were convicted of contempt after refusing to testify at a HUAC hearing Dec. 7, 1964. The committee was probing the issuance of a visa to a Japanese peace spokesman. The visa had originally been denied and then was issued after Nixon and Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Allen had gone to the State Department to protest.

The two-to-one Appeals Court reversal was based on the fact that the contempt citation had gone directly from HUAC to the Justice Department without review by the House.

Every contempt conviction obtained by HUAC and the Justice Department in the past five years has been reversed by a higher court, generally on technicalities.

The present ruling seems to have greater substance. Attorneys for the three interpret it as meaning that it is now mandatory for the entire House to act upon contempt citations before they are sent on to the Justice Department.

# Morse Led Gang-Up On Airline Strikers

By Judy White

Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Governor of New York

"We are in a state of national crisis. We are at war. Although it is an undeclared war, and although I do not think we ought to be in it, we are in it . . . American boys . . . are dying in Asia. We here at home sitting in our security and comfort — yes, in our luxury — had better recognize the fact that although we are not in the jungles of south Vietnam spilling our blood, we have a duty to those boys we have over there to adopt legislation for the emergency settlement of disputes that can threaten our economy."

These jingoistic words were spoken on the floor of the Senate July 29 by Senator Wayne Morse urging adoption of the bill to break the airline mechanics strike and force them back to work.

Morse's words should provide food for thought for those opposed to the Vietnam war who regard him as a major hope for progress because of his critical stand on the war. His bitterly anti-labor role in the airline strike makes clear that while he may disagree with the tactical wisdom of Johnson's policy in Vietnam he remains a capitalist politician and as such does not warrant one iota of confidence or support from those who seek a peaceful and just society.

Morse played a key role in

the government efforts to cheat the striking mechanics out of a just settlement. Chairman of the emergency board appointed by Johnson under the terms of the

## N. Y. SWP Petitioning Proceeds at Swift Pace

The New York Socialist Workers Party made a record-breaking start in its campaign to get the required number of signatures from registered voters to place the SWP ticket on the ballot. In the first six days of petitioning, the party gained the required number of signatures in 47 out of the 57 "up-state" counties, and a total of over 8,000 signatures for the whole state.

Railway Labor Act to mediate the dispute, Morse helped to draw up the miserable first "settlement" so decisively rejected by the strikers.

He then took the lead in forcing through the Senate the bill to amend the Railway Labor Act to force the men back to work. He vigorously opposed those in the Senate who wanted to pass the buck to the President. Morse insisted that Congress must take the responsibility for ending the strike.

One of the arguments he offered as to why Congress must assume that responsibility was to give the back-to-work order the full force of law in the event the strikers should decide to defy the order.

In addition to smearing the strikers as "un-American and unpatriotic" (UPI dispatch from Washington, Aug. 9), Morse has emerged as the principal attorney for the position of the airlines in the dispute. He has filled the Congressional Record with reams of juggled statistics designed to "prove" that it isn't true that the plane mechanics get less money than, for example, Greyhound Bus mechanics.

In addition he has portrayed the strikers' demands as exorbitant, constantly branded their legitimate use of the strike weapon as "naked economic power," and wept copious tears about the alleged poor financial record of the profit-bloated airlines.

On Aug. 2 he declared: "Shall Congress let this strike continue to a point at which there has to be a surrender to a union that uses its naked economic power? If the Machinists Union, by the exercise of its naked economic power, is permitted to set a precedent, the whole line of labor disputes waiting in the wings will come onto the economic stage and argue that they are deserving, not of less, but of as much as was contained in the airlines case."

The following day he asserted: "The government is not only vested with the public interest but the public is entitled to be protected from the inflationary tornado that will be started if the union is allowed to use its naked economic power to extract from the employer's in this case a settlement that violates the public interest."

Conceding that "there is no question of the fact that the last two years have been very profitable for the industry," he added speciously, "but they were not profitable in all of the last ten years."

And anyway, he added, "How in the world do my colleagues in the Senate think this industry can expand unless it makes money?"

# REVIEWS and REPORTS

## THE AMERICAN HEALTH SCANDAL by Roul Tunley, Harper and Row, 282 pp. \$4.98.

When Roul Tunley decided to write this book, he did it because "ignorance about the world of medicine had been gnawing away at me. Not its technology . . . but rather its organization . . . social and economic by which physician and patient are brought together and those sturdy bills paid." It is fortunate for all of us that Tunley undertook this task and was able to condense several years of research into so small a work.

Written for the layman, this book uncovers the real crimes against humanity committed by the organized force of American medicine — The American Medical Association. Running like a deep-dyed red thread throughout the book is the role of this reactionary trade association whose main role today is keeping United States medicine within the confines of "free enterprise" and safe from the threats of "socialized medicine." The author makes one glaring mistake, however, in my opinion. He categorizes the AMA as a "union." It is about as much of a trade union as the National Manufacturers Association.

But one error in evaluation does not rob this book of its real value. During the several years of research — interviews with "doctors, nurses, druggists, technicians, economists, statisticians, insurance men, labor leaders, university professors, hospital officials, congressmen and last but not least, that most unconsulted of all men, the Patient," Tunley went even further. He traveled abroad to investigate the medical systems in England, Sweden, Germany, Yugoslavia and Canada.

The widening gap between what is known by medical science and

its application to the American patient's needs (unless he happens to be wealthy) is one of the most interesting and devastating sections. Especially since Tunley is able to contrast what the average American gets for his health dollar with what the people in every other metropolitan country in the world get for theirs.

Health standards of a nation are judged by the infant mortality rates because these statistics reflect all other phases of a country's life — nutrition, medical personnel, drugs, hospital facilities, organizations and standards of living. The U.S. stands *eleventh* on the international health standards scale — lower even than a poor country like Ireland, way below Great Britain since National Health Service was introduced there in 1948.

With the advent of Medicare and the other services affecting the medically indigent, the situation in American medicine has been brought sharply into focus.

The acute shortage of medical personnel in all categories, and the equally critical shortage of adequate hospital and nursing home facilities, the waste inherent in medicine for profit with the duplications of facilities in some areas and their complete absence in others, the rising infant and maternal death rates, the rise of tuberculosis and venereal diseases — all these subjects are discussed in depth.

He winds up his book with a chapter entitled "Why Not A Health Service?" Why not, indeed?

—Marvel Scholl

**HEALY "RECONSTRUCTS" THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL — DOCUMENTS AND COMMENTS BY PARTICIPANTS IN A FIASCO.** With a preface by Joseph Hansen. Socialist Workers Party, 873

Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003, 40 pp. 35c.

This pamphlet contains documentary material of particular interest to partisans of the Fourth International and to revolutionary socialists concerned about the good name of Trotskyism in Britain. It provides an inside picture of what went on at an international conference organized by Gerry Healy of the Socialist Labour League last April with the avowed aim of "reconstructing" the Fourth International.

The conference, which had been ballyhooed by Healy's weekly publication, *The Newsletter*, for some time as a coming major event in the revolutionary socialist movement, ended in a complete fiasco. Of the three main participating tendencies, one was kicked out and another walked out, leaving only Healy and his group.

The pamphlet includes letters written by representatives of the American *Spartacist* tendency, who attended the conference as observers and who saw their leading spokesman James Robertson hustled out of the gathering; a letter by Healy trying to justify the dictatorial way he ran things; an exchange of letters between James Robertson and Tim Wohlforth after the conference; and an article by the *Voix Ouvrière* group recounting the abysmal political level of the gathering and why they as invited guests and participants were faced with no choice but to walk out.

In a preface to these illuminating documents, Joseph Hansen indicates the background to the pretentious conference and why it was the participants — to their own complete surprise — found themselves at loggerheads, despite the common views that had brought them together in the same room.

—Alex Harte

## Peruvian Prisoners Salute Leo Bernard

A group of 21 Peruvian revolutionaries, including Daniel Pereyra, who are imprisoned in Lima, sent the following message to the Socialist Workers Party:

Because we are political prisoners we have only now learned about the cold-blooded assassination of Leo Bernard. This young revolutionary fell victim to an anti-communist fanatic. We wish to express our deepest sympathies to his relatives and comrades. At the same time we strongly condemn such acts of violence which are undoubtedly inspired by the more official way in which the heroic people of Vietnam are massacred and our own Latin American countries cruelly exploited.

## America's Road To Socialism

By James P. Cannon

50 cents

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# THE MILITANT

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Monday, August 22, 1966

## Why a Labor Party Is Needed

Trade union support of the Democratic Party brings ever-sorrier results. With the Democrats controlling the White House and Congress, workers still lose jobs due to intensified exploitation of labor. Wage earners face rising prices and stiff taxes because of war and war profiteering. Union action to defend the workers' class interests meets attack from Democrats and Republicans alike, including liberal "friends of labor."

This situation was inherent in Johnson's message last January on the State of the Union. He then assured the capitalists that their record profits would grow still bigger. At the same time he told the workers to abide by his wage-freeze guideposts and, to force union compliance, he asked Congress to tighten up existing laws restricting the right to strike.

When the employers brought on the airlines strike by rejecting the workers' just demands, the government was quick to attack the union. Both Democrats and Republicans have sought to break the strike, but neither Johnson nor Congress wants primary blame for the foul deed in an election year. So the Senate passed a "compromise" bill under which Congress would order the strikers back to work for 30 days and leave it up to the President to extend the order another 150 days. The bill is now before the House and Secretary of Labor Wirtz has said that, if Congress enacts a law of the kind, Johnson will sign it. A negotiated settlement of the strike might postpone new anti-labor legislation but, most likely, only until after the November elections. In any case it has been made clear that the strikers have no "friends" in the capitalist government. Any gains they achieve will result only from their own magnificent struggle.

Top AFL-CIO officials seem to learn nothing from these strike-breaking experiences with the Democratic Party. The *New York Times* reports that unnamed "union presidents and senior staff members" regret the "political embarrassment" caused Johnson by the strike and they hope to "get back" the liberal Democrats who oppose the strikers. But labor can't make "friends" out of class enemies. The Democrats will always attack the unions when the chips are down because theirs is a capitalist party in the service of Big Business. Union officials who fail to shape labor policy on that basic premise will only mislead the workers.

The political answer to government strikebreaking has been advanced by striking locals of the Machinists on the West Coast who have called for the formation of a labor party (See page 1). This progressive step entails a complete break with all capitalist politicians. It requires union mobilization of anti-capitalist political action by labor and its allies. It means defense of working class interests through labor's own independent party, its own program and its own candidates.

The fighting airlines strikers have pointed the way politically. If the present union officials won't act to form a labor party, the union ranks will have to seek leaders who will act.

## Nationalize the Airlines

Basic issues posed by the strike on the airlines emphasize the need for nationalization of these capitalist enterprises. Workers in the industry, whose pay is below the going rates elsewhere, have demanded justified wage gains to offset rising prices. They have done so within an industry where productivity is rising around eight percent a year. Hogging the money gains from the increased labor productivity, the greedy private carriers have racked up record profits from which they could easily meet the workers' just demands. Instead, they have hidden behind Johnson's wage guidepost swindle and relied on the capitalist government to drive the strikers back into line.

Behind this social outrage lies still another piece of skulduggery. Profits are also poured into the private carriers' pockets through airmail subsidies and less direct forms of government aid. Fares are regulated by the government to the benefit of the private owners and at the expense of the traveling public. Taxpayers' money is used to promote research and development from which the carriers reap profit bonanzas, as in the introduction of jet airliners. Another giveaway is Johnson's "classified" decision last April to authorize development of a supersonic airliner. Facts dug out by reporters indicate the project will cost up to \$5 billion. Although intended primarily to benefit the airlines owners, it has been given top priority, far ahead of Johnson's phony "war on poverty."

On every count, private operation of the airlines is a prime example of capitalist parasitism and greed. The workers and technicians operate the airlines under adverse employment conditions. The people generally contribute high fares and tax money for airline subsidies. All the private owners have to offer is an insatiable greed for profit.

The nation's airlines should be nationalized. To prevent mismanagement by the government the industry should be operated through democratically-elected committees of its workers and technicians. They actually keep the airlines running, so they should have full control in order to assure operation on a fair and equitable social basis. Let the airlines be managed by the workers and technicians who contribute to society, not by the capitalist profiteers who steal from it.

# Rallies, Marches Hit

[The following are brief accounts of the Aug. 6-9 protests against the Vietnam war held across the country. In virtually every locality where demonstrations took place, the theme of immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops was coupled with protest of the horror of the war, and with defense of the rights of GIs to discuss the war and to oppose it. Defense of the Fort Hood Three was a primary point in many areas.]

## New York

By Harry Ring

NEW YORK — Despite vacations and summer heat, more than 20,000 people participated in a Hiroshima Day march and rally against the Vietnam war here Aug. 6. A central feature of the action was support to the GIs who are insisting on their democratic right to express their views and take a stand on the war. This theme was stressed by A. J. Muste, chairman of the sponsoring Vietnam Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, who told the demonstrators:

"That we should have, increasingly, opposition to the war among the armed forces themselves is a tremendously significant development which the Johnson administration is going to have to take account of. And I am here to tell you and to urge you to join in backing up the right of all the men in the armed services today to have their right of free thought, free speech and free discussion inside the armed forces, as well as outside, in opposition to the war."

Seated on the speakers platform were relatives of Pvt. Dennis Mora and Pfc. James Johnson, two of the Fort Hood Three, the GIs now being held in the stockade at Ft. Dix. The three GIs had denounced the war in Vietnam as illegal and had initiated court action to prevent the army from sending them there. The army arrested the GIs, and gave them orders to go to Vietnam in the midst of their legal proceedings. The GIs refused to go. The army has not yet announced specific charges against the three.

A featured speaker at the rally here was Grace Mora Newman, sister of Dennis Mora.

The marches and rally were very impressive. Participants gathered in various areas of the city and then marched to Times Square. Those from Brooklyn, Queens and Staten Island marched in their own boroughs and then took subways into Manhattan. In addition to the neighborhood "feeder" marches, a group marched from the UN and a contingent of Veterans and Reservists began their march at Madison Square Park.

As the demonstrators converged on Times Square, they joined in a huge picket line that encircled the triangular area from 42nd to 47th Sts. They then marched to Rockefeller Plaza, past the home office of the Dow Chemical Corporation, a principal manufacturer of the napalm being used on the people of Vietnam. Later A. J. Muste announced a boycott of Saran Wrap, a Dow product.

The rally was held at Park Avenue and 48th St. with participants filling the long, wide block from Park to Madison Avenues and stretching around Park Ave. to 47th St.

A highlight of the marches was the presence of highly dramatic costumed groups organized by Peter Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theater. Bread and Puppet contingents led three of the "feeder" marches — one from Greenwich Village, one from the West Side and one from the East Side and Gramercy-Stuyvesant areas. Two of the groups featured ghost-like, grotesquely masked, shrouded figures depicting the atrocities of Hiroshima and Vietnam and the horrors of napalm warfare. A third

## Chicago

By David Herman

CHICAGO — A line of 400 pickets demonstrated at the Federal Building here on Aug. 6 from 1 p.m. to 2:30 p.m. and then were joined by several hundred more for a rally protesting the war in Vietnam. The demonstration was sponsored by the Chicago Peace Council, a co-ordinating committee representing a wide spectrum of organizations against the war, and the ad hoc Hiroshima Day Committee, which includes a number of organizations not affiliated to the Peace Council.

The talk by Mrs. Marlene Samas, wife of David Samas, one of the three Fort Hood soldiers who have refused to go to Vietnam, was the high point of the rally. The crowd greeted her with prolonged applause and responded warmly to her story of the heroism of the three young men who are being inhumanly treated in an army prison while awaiting court-martial. All of the funds raised at the rally beyond those needed to cover the expense of the demonstration itself were donated for the defense of the Fort Hood Three.

## Cleveland

By Robert Leonard

CLEVELAND — The largest antiwar demonstration in the history of Cleveland's Vietnam protest activity took place Aug. 6. A meeting, march and rally were sponsored by the ad hoc Cleveland Area Council for Peace in Vietnam, a broad organization of many groups opposed to the war.

The meeting was addressed by Stokely Carmichael, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Bronson Clark, of the American Friends Service Committee; and Ruth Gage Colby of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

Following the meeting, about 500 people in the audience marched to the public square in downtown Cleveland and held a rally which was addressed by Art Evans, vice president of the Congress of Racial Equality; Sidney Peck, coordinator of the University Circle Teach-in Committee; and Daniel Rosen-shine, chairman of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

## San Francisco

By Hal Verb

SAN FRANCISCO — An estimated 10,000 persons participated in a two-hour march along Market Street and a three-hour rally at the Civic Center to protest the war in Vietnam on Aug. 6. The demonstration was probably the largest antiwar rally ever held here and presented a significant display of unity among the more than 40 organizations taking part.

During the rally, supporters of Johnson's war and policies were about as hard to find as diamonds in an ocean. Two members of the American Nazi Party did show up and they picketed across the street from the civic center. However, they left after the rally got under way, carrying with them a banner that read "Communism is Jewish."

Featured speakers at the rally included Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party candidate for President in 1952; Mrs. Ann Samas, mother one of the Fort Hood Three; Pete Camejo, Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee leader; Sidney Roger, a radio commentator; and Robert Scheer, foreign editor of *Ramparts* magazine.

Camejo told the audience, "We have a power structure that has taken our independence away from us and we have to reassert it. We have to declare our independence again." He continued, "The first thing we should do is



Photo by Finer

Grace Mora Newman

group, lampooning the military, was decked out as pompous, stupid-looking brass hats leading a lone GI in tow. They were followed by shrouded figures with signs bearing the inscription "We regret to inform you . . ."

Another highlight of the East Side march was the presence of a spirited, militant contingent of Latin Americans organized by the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence.

A significant and heartening feature of the protest was the fact of a march from Harlem and the participation of CORE and SNCC in the action. Lincoln Lynch, assistant national director of CORE, and Ivanhoe Donaldson, director of SNCC's New York office, were featured speakers at the rally.

Lynch declared he was very gratified by the turn-out. He made a strong indictment of the U.S. racist system and scored the NAACP and Urban League officials who go along with the war. "We must stop this slaughter," he insisted, "and bring our sons home!"

A young Japanese woman, Miss Kamiko Kosasa, a Hiroshima bombing victim, was introduced and there was a brief address by Yuzuru Katagiri, Japanese poet and peace movement spokesman. He noted that the U.S. is justifying its present reactionary course in Asia in much the same terms as Japan tried to justify its aggressions in the 1930s and 1940s.

Sexto Alvelo, who is resisting the draft in Puerto Rico, delivered a fiery anti-imperialist speech in Spanish.

Dave Dellinger, chairman of the rally, also introduced John Morgan, a Marine from Camp LeJeune. He had enlisted in 1964 but on the basis of his discussion and observations in the army became a pacifist and decided he could no longer maintain the oath he had taken on induction. He left his outfit last month but intends now to return. He will refuse to bear arms.

The principal speaker of the afternoon was Grace Mora Newman, sister of Dennis Mora.

A resident of the Spanish-speaking community in East Harlem, she made a militant plea on behalf of her brother and his fellow opponents of the war. She said the people of her community live their lives surrounded by poverty and then are asked to give the blood of their young men. If these young men survive and return, she commented acidly, they have the privilege of pinning their service ribbons and medals on the wall of a rat-infested ghetto-apartment.

The Fort Hood Three, she said, "have refused to fight in this illegal, immoral and unjust war. And every young man, black or white, has the same right to refuse to fight in this undeclared war."



# Vietnam War

break from the two-party war machines."

Camejo also declared the position adopted by the VDC in support of the right of self-determination for the Vietnamese people. Howard Seidell, representing the 70 people now in the San Bruno County Jail for participating in the 1964 San Francisco civil rights demonstrations, read a statement from them:

We extend our support to all who protest the war in Vietnam.

## Detroit

By Evelyn Sell

DETROIT, Aug. 6 — A rally against the Vietnamese war held here today was harassed by a right-wing hate group and broken up by club-swinging riot cops. Eleven of the antiwar demonstrators were arrested, including Frank Lovell, Michigan State Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party.

Lovell was charged with assaulting Donald Lobsinger, head of the extremist group known as "Breakthrough." In fact, the demonstrators had repeatedly tried to get assistance from onlooking policemen to prevent the right-wing heckling. Instead of making any attempts to stop the harassment, however, the cops tried to create incidents by knocking into members of the audience who were listening to the rally.

Finally the police seized upon Breakthrough's actions to disrupt the rally. Lines of patrolmen from the specially trained riot squad known as "The Tactical Mobile Unit" advanced across the square pushing demonstrators in their paths. Ten youths were arrested and charged with obstructing an officer in pursuit of his duty. One girl was dragged across the concrete sidewalk.

Other activities sponsored by the Ad Hoc Committee included protest picket lines at Dow Chemical Company in Midland, Mich. Groups of students from Detroit and Ann Arbor were in Midland Aug. 7 and 8 to engage in protest activities.

The four days of protest were concluded with an Antiwar Arts Festival and Rally held Tuesday, Aug. 9, at the Central Methodist Church in downtown Detroit.

## St. Louis

By Dick Clarke

ST. LOUIS — The Hiroshima day protest here was carried out by the St. Louis Citizens for Peace in Vietnam. It consisted of a march, a leaflet distribution, and ended up with children lighting and putting candle-laden boats on the Mississippi River.

A number of people from the predominantly-Negro Cochran Housing Project took part in the demonstration. One young Negro carried high above his head a sign saying "Bring the Troops Home," and behind him a middle-aged Negro woman carried a sign saying, "Our Program for Peace: Today Lord Deliver Us from LBJ."

## Denver

DENVER — A rally against the war in Vietnam was held here on Aug. 6 on the statehouse lawn after over 100 demonstrators marched from 20th and Broadway in downtown Denver. They carried such signs as "Bring the Troops Home Now," "Let the Soldiers Discuss the War," and "Free Speech for the GIs."

Speakers included Rev. Clifton R. Whitley of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party; Joseph Johnson of the Socialist Workers Party; Laren Watson, a Denver leader of the Congress of Racial Equality; Rudolph "Corky" Gonzales, a leader of the Crusade for Freedom; and Stephanie Wishart, publication director of *Insurgent*, the magazine of the W.E.B. DuBois clubs.

## Washington

By Don Slaughter

WASHINGTON — The antiwar movement in the capital won an important victory Aug. 6 when the Deputy Chief of Police backed down on his court-supported decision to prohibit picketing of Luci Baines Johnson's wedding reception. The event culminated a week-long hassle between the Washington Ad Hoc Committee for the Saturday demonstration, and the police, which had gone up to Supreme Court Justice Warren, who upheld the police.

After a rally of 500, demonstrators began a march to the White House. When they were confronted by the Deputy Police Chief, they refused to stop and pushed forward shouting "There's Space for Us on the Sidewalk."

The reference was to the cops' claim that they were reserving the sidewalk for visitors of the White House spectacle.

## Los Angeles

By Gordon Bailey

LOS ANGELES — Over 2,000 L.A. citizens marked the 21st anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima Aug. 6 by demonstrating against the Vietnam war. A three-hour rally was held followed by a two-mile march through the heart of town to the Army Induction Center. The demonstration was organized by the Peace Action Council, an ad hoc committee comprising over 60 organizations.

The speakers at the rally consisted mainly of peace candidates, and Senator Ernest Gruening, one of the outspoken critics of Johnson's war policy in the U.S. Congress. However, there were several younger speakers who opposed the two-party system.

Dan Gray, a leader of the Non-Violent Action Committee, called for boycotting the election since both parties are committed to the war. A different approach was posed by John Haag, formerly a leader of the W.E.B. DuBois Club.

"The Democratic Party is headed by a war criminal," Haag stated, "and California's Governor Pat Brown is his accomplice." Haag urged that it was time to start a new force that will oppose both the Democrats and Republicans and that this should be done before the November election.

A letter from the mother of Pvt. David Samas, one of the Fort Hood Three, was read, indicating her full commitment to his fight.

## Boston

By Johanne Eubanks and Phyllis Sawyer

BOSTON — Two demonstrations marked the Days of Protest in Boston. These were a major march and rally on Aug. 9 organized by the Greater Boston Coordinating Committee Against the War in Vietnam, and a street-corner rally in the Roxbury section of Boston organized by the Afro-Americans Against the War, Aug. 6.

About 600 demonstrators turned out for the Aug. 9 march which went from the Boston Commons to the Esplanade along the Charles River. The rally was chaired by Judy White, former co-chairman of the Greater Boston Committee. She has recently moved to New York to run as Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of New York state. Miss White, who was one of the founding members of the Boston committee and was a leading antiwar activist in the area, was presented with a plaque by Rev. Jack Zylman in recognition of the work she had done in coordinating the 16 groups which now make up the Boston committee.

A featured speaker at the rally was Grace Mora Newman, sister



Photo by Finer

DEMAND HALT TO WAR. Scene at New York Hiroshima Day rally which demanded immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

of Dennis Mora of the Fort Hood Three. Mrs. Newman told about the bleakness of life for her and her brother as they grew up in Spanish Harlem in New York City. "It was no land of opportunity for the people of that ghetto or any ghetto," she stated. "It is a land of opportunity for General Motors, Standard Oil, Dow Chemical..."

Other speakers included the Rev. Jack Zylman, adviser to the Liberal Religious Students in Boston; Donald Tormey, International Representative for the United Electrical Workers; and Byron Rushing, a member of the Northern Student Movement and the Afro-Americans Against the War.

The Roxbury meeting was highlighted by the appearance of Tom Blunt, an ex-GI who recently returned from Vietnam. "Discrimination is evident in the white army," Blunt remarked, "when a commander always sends the black men out to be 'pointers.' These are usually the first men killed in a battle."

Bob Eubanks, co-chairman of the Afro-American Committee, also addressed the rally, stressing the importance of black unity: "Some of you say, 'Why should I care? I've got a decent job, good house, and had my street cleaned today.'"

"But I say if one black family is in a slum house, we are all affected. If one black baby is bitten by a rat, we are all bitten. If one black man is killed down South by a trigger-happy racist, we all die a little. Black unity is our strength and black power is our battle cry."

Other speakers at the one-and-a-half-hour rally were Gary Hicks, a conscientious objector, and Mrs. Jacqueline Guilderson, the Afro-American Committee's press secretary.

## Atlanta, Ga.

By Nelson Blackstock

ATLANTA — Aug. 6 saw the largest antiwar demonstration in Atlanta's history. Despite a driving rain, about 150 people turned out to commemorate the victims of Hiroshima and protest U.S. involvement in Vietnam. "Bring the Troops Home Now" was the main slogan of the protest.

The day began with a picket line around the old Post Office. A march then proceeded through the streets of downtown Atlanta to a rally at Martin Luther King Jr.'s Ebenezer Baptist Church where they were welcomed by the co-pastor, Martin Luther King, Sr.

Speakers at this rally included Howard Moore, one of Julian Bond's attorneys; Sanford Gott-

leib, political action director of the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy; and representatives of the Atlanta Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

## Twin Cities

By William Onasch

MINNEAPOLIS — A Negro soldier who had spent 12 months in Vietnam, who had received the Purple Heart, and who had been recommended for the Silver and Bronze Stars for valor in combat action, took the stand at an antiwar meeting here Aug. 6 and blasted the racist war from top to bottom. The soldier was a member of the U.S. Special Forces, the "Green Berets."

"The troops in Vietnam go through life day after day praying that they will see the next sunrise or that they will breathe for the next hour," the young man stated. "The sad part is they don't have the slightest notion of what they're fighting for... I have been asked by Vietnamese soldiers, 'Why do you fight in our country and die when you have no freedom in your own country?' I have no answer for them."

"There has been violence in many bars in the downtown areas of Saigon and Bienhoa," the soldier explained, "where Americans seek entertainment. There have been fights between black and white Americans. What kind of image does this project to the people we are supposedly showing how to live peacefully?"

The meeting followed an antiwar rally and march of 400 sponsored by the Minnesota Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The march, from Minneapolis to the State Capitol in St. Paul, was routed through a commercial section of the city, but it encountered little heckling.

## Seattle

By Debbie Leonard

SEATTLE, Aug. 9 — The University of Washington Committee to End the War in Vietnam, organized on the campus this summer, expressed solidarity with the Days of Protest in a symposium entitled "Vietnam: Escalate or Withdraw?" held today. Professor Giovanni Costigan of the UW History Department outlined the step-by-step escalation of U.S. intervention in Vietnam over the past two years and blasted Johnson for the insincerity of the "peace offensive."

Syd Stapleton, who was a member of the Berkeley Vietnam Day Committee steering committee before moving to Seattle, traced the development of the antiwar movement.

## San Diego

SAN DIEGO, Calif. — A new high point in antiwar activity in San Diego was reached here with the Aug. 6 march and rally of 500. The events were sponsored by the San Diego Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Coordinating Council for Social Action, and the Students of the Independent Left.

Emphasizing the theme of "Bring the Troops Home Now," the rally opened with antiwar songs by nationally known folk-singers Guy Carawan and Gil Turner. Other speakers included the actor Will Geer, John Wagner of the Students for a Democratic Society, and William Hathaway of the group supporting the *Bring the Troops Home Now Newsletter*.

## Dayton, O.

By Rick Wadsworth

DAYTON, Ohio, Aug. 6 — More than 175 people demonstrated here today against the Vietnam war. Most of the participants were members of the Antioch College Committee to End the Vietnam War, or students of Antioch College. Others were members of the Yellow Springs Committee for Peace and Freedom and the Dayton Peace Committee. (Yellow Springs is the town in which Antioch is located.)

The demonstration consisted of a march from Cooper Park through downtown Dayton to the Federal Building.

## Madison, Wisc.

MADISON, Wisc. — The highlight of the Aug. 6-9 International Days of Protest was the two-day leafleting of troops at the University of Wisconsin. The troops were on their way home from summer training at Camp McCoy, and they stopped at the university for meals.

The leaflets concerned both the Fort Hood Three case and Lt. Henry Howe's. Over 2,000 soldiers received the leaflets and their response was excellent, considering they were under heavy pressure from their officers not to talk to the members of the antiwar movement and not even to take leaflets.

## Philadelphia, Pa.

PHILADELPHIA — On Aug. 6, about 600 people and 30 cars and trucks formed a parade through the main shopping district here. The parade was organized by the Hiroshima-Vietnam Day Parade Committee, composed of many organizations against the war.



# MEANING OF BLACK POWER

By George Breitman

DETROIT, Aug. 6 — In a Malcolm X memorial speech last February, I pointed out:

"... while organizationally the black nationalist tendency [with which Malcolm was associated] has suffered serious setbacks in the last year or two, ideologically its influence has spread far, wide and deep. It is as though it was locked out of the door and came creeping in the window. For today many of the ideas, demands and slogans originated by black nationalists in 1962, '63 and '64 — ideas, demands and slogans associated in the public mind above all with Malcolm X — are common coin in most of the black community and even in many of the civil rights organizations that didn't want to touch Malcolm X with a ten-foot pole.

"Malcolm is dead and the movement he wanted to build has not grown or prospered organizationally. But many of their ideas — black leadership, black power, building a base in the ghetto, control of the ghetto, self-defense, racial pride and solidarity, identification with the colonial revolution and Africa, independent black political action — these and other concepts, which were considered the unique attributes of black nationalism and Malcolm X two years ago, are now generally accepted in the black community, or they are not argued about, or at the very least they are given lip-service even by civil rights organizations that repudiated and denounced them not long ago." (Young Socialist, March-April).

Since February the process I was referring to has speeded up, has become more concrete and has polarized the civil rights movement. Great changes have taken place inside SNCC and CORE.

In part, these changes were a result of Malcolm's influence, but of course the main reason SNCC and CORE have come to certain new positions and policies is that they believe, as a result of their own experience, that those positions and policies are necessary if the black people of this country are to gain their freedom. Nevertheless, it is a vindication of Malcolm, and a tribute to him, that many of the ideas he presented and defended, almost alone, live after him and are shared today by the most militant human rights organizations in the country.

As a result of these changes, SNCC and CORE can now be considered the radical wing of the movement, with the NAACP representing the conservative wing, and Martin Luther King's SCLC in the middle, somewhere to the right of center. SNCC and CORE now occupy some of the ground held by Malcolm and his tendency at the time of his death (approximately, not exactly; they

have not yet expressed his strong and explicit anti-capitalist and pro-socialist views). But they are better organized than the Malcolm tendency had time to become, and they have more numerous organized adherents.

For more than 20 years CORE had been committed to a variety of nonviolence that prevented its members from exercising the right of self-defense against racist attacks. An attempt was made to lift this prohibition at CORE's 1965 convention, when James Farmer was still national director, but it failed. At this year's convention last month, when Floyd McKissick was national director, it succeeded.

At last year's convention the CORE delegates voted at one session to condemn the U.S. war in Vietnam, but under pressure from Farmer they rescinded their anti-war resolution before adjourning. At this year's convention CORE took, and kept, a very strong stand against the war.

In recent years CORE has also been debating its attitude to "integration." Even Farmer, who is far from a radical, had begun to understand that the term, as it is conventionally used, is ambiguous, defective or irrelevant as the immediate goal of the struggle; that as a slogan it does not correspond to the needs felt by the masses in the ghetto.

Meanwhile SNCC, under its new chairman, Stokely Carmichael, had reached virtually the same conclusions: It had adopted a very firm and advanced position against the war in Vietnam; came out for self-defense; and, through Carmichael, declared "integration" to be irrelevant.

Both organizations have reaffirmed their sympathy for the colonial revolution. Both have expressed their determination to work with any and all organizations to achieve black unity. And, of course, both are advocates of "black power."

I have just gone through more than a hundred newspaper and magazine articles about black power published in the last couple of months. Johnson, Humphrey, the newspaper editors and columnists, and the Negro lieutenants of the capitalist class — including those who distort what black power is and attack its advocates, and those who claim it hasn't been defined precisely enough — all know very well what black power means, and they don't like it.

They know it means that growing numbers of black people want to "get off the plantation," break away from the dead-end run-around of gradualism and tokenism, and set out on a new independent course, based on the needs and aspirations of the ghetto masses whose conditions remain unchanged despite all the bull about integration, great societies and wars on poverty.

This is why every genuine radical and revolutionist has hailed the raising of the black power concept, welcomes the coming together of the black power tendency, and will give growing support to organizations like SNCC and CORE, which are now being abandoned by many of the white liberals and labor bureaucrats who helped finance them in the past. An independent black movement is in the best interests of all fighters against the status quo, black and white.

While the essence of black power is already perfectly clear, it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to expect a complete definition or a complete program, all at once and right away. The black power movement is just starting. It must be given time to complete the discussion so ably opened by Carmichael, McKissick, and others. The movement will soon be much bigger than the present membership of SNCC and CORE, and its character will be decided col-

lectively by all of its participants, not just its present spokesmen.

## The Political Alternatives

One of the key questions that will be settled is political action. Stokely Carmichael is quoted in the *Chicago Sun-Times* (July 24) as saying that black power is "the political endeavor of black people at electing representatives and forcing those representatives to speak to their needs."

Black power, in addition to other things, is political — it involves electing representatives who will be controlled by the black people and really responsible to them. This doesn't mean just electing black representatives, but electing black representatives who will "speak to the needs" of the black masses because they will be controlled by the black masses.

From this standpoint the Lowndes County Freedom Organization ("Black Panther Party") and its current election campaign in Alabama are an excellent and inspiring example of black power. The LCFO is a sovereign, independent political organization, democratically created by black workers and farmers of Lowndes County, and running its own candidates for major county offices against the Democratic Party.

SNCC helped the black people of Lowndes County to form the LCFO, but it is not an adjunct of SNCC or controlled by SNCC. It is controlled by the black people of the country, and it is able to express their aspirations and needs because it is independent of the two-party structure through which the capitalist class maintains political power in this country.

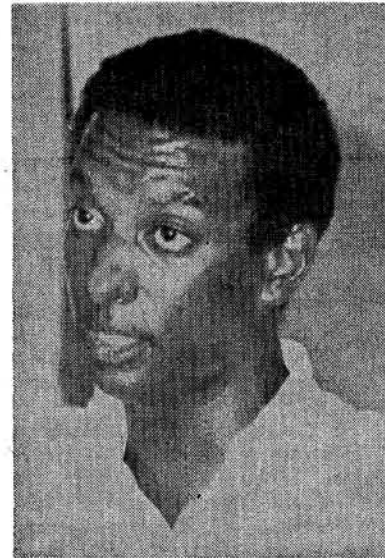
Carmichael was one of those who helped the LCFO to be formed, and who urged its members to break with the Democratic Party and build an organization which they themselves would control. He is also a vigorous critic of the national Democratic Party. He enraged the liberals, black and white, by saying that it didn't make any more sense for Negroes to try to reform the Democratic Party than it would have made for Jews to try to reform the Nazi party in Germany. Under his chairmanship, SNCC, when it refused to participate in the recent White House conference on civil rights, called upon "all black Americans to begin building independent political, economic and cultural institutions that they will control and use as instruments of social change in this country."

On the other hand, Carmichael has joined the new National Conference for New Politics, whose main objective appears to be financing the election of liberals inside the Democratic Party; that's politics all right, but there is nothing new about it. He has allied himself with Adam Clayton Powell, who talks about black power but remains a generally loyal Democrat; the last thing in the world Powell wants to see in Harlem is independent political institutions.

On July 29, Carmichael endorsed the candidacy of Rev. Albert B. Cleage. Two years ago, Rev. Cleage was the gubernatorial candidate of the independent Freedom Now Party. He continues to advocate black power, but this time he was running in the Democratic Party primary to replace Rep. Diggs.

The question is: Can political black power be obtained through the Democratic Party, or do black Americans need "independent political... institutions that they will control and use as instruments of social change"? If it can be obtained through the Democratic Party (by reforming it or taking it over or any other name you want to call it), then what need is there for independent political institutions or parties?

In 1964 the Freedom Now Party was the most advanced form of an organization striving for



Stokely Carmichael

black power that this country had seen. It did not survive the 1964 election, even in Michigan where it was strongest, for reasons that should be studied by all radicals. But it, or something like it — an independent political organization controlled by black people — remains the only alternative to trying to reform or take over the Democratic Party.

(This question was dodged by Grace and James Boggs in the *April Monthly Review*. They advocate that black people take over the big cities where they are becoming a majority, but fail to discuss whether this can or should be done through the Democratic Party. They recently became active in a Detroit campaign in the Democratic Party).

Some people are willing to accept the independent strategy of the Lowndes County Freedom Organization solely because black people are a majority in that county. But the Harlem congressional district from which Powell is elected has a black majority, and so do many other electoral districts in this country. Does black power mean black people breaking with the Democratic Party in Lowndes County but not breaking with it in Harlem, Detroit and elsewhere?

With the new positions that SNCC and CORE have adopted — for self-defense, against the Vietnam war, against the fetish of "integration," for black unity — they have put themselves in a position where they can get a sympathetic hearing in the black ghetto. If they can match those positions with an equally bold and independent stand on politics, they will get, and deserve to get, the confidence of the ghetto masses and an opportunity to lead them in struggles that will culminate in victory.

## Black Power and Black Nationalism

The remainder of this article deals with a less urgent question. Some will dismiss it as mere semantics, but I think it is more than that for those who are interested in social and political theory, especially theories about black liberation.

When members of SNCC and CORE began to chant the black power slogan on the recent Mississippi march, reporters repeatedly tried to get Carmichael to discuss the connection between black power and black nationalism. "Black nationalism in this country means 'anti-white,'" Carmichael said. "That's the trick they're trying to put me in." (Report by William A. Price, *National Guardian*, June 25.)

Carmichael was absolutely right about the motive of most of these reporters and about the "meaning" that the capitalist class and its press have given to the concept of black nationalism. They "define" it as anti-whiteism, black racism, black supremacy, separation-into-a-black-nation, etc., and that is how it is understood by

most people in this country, black as well as white.

Since the concept of black power advocated by SNCC and CORE does not correspond to any of the (unpopular) labels contained in the capitalist and liberal definitions of black nationalism, it is perfectly proper for Carmichael to refuse to be put in that "trick." Black people not only have the right to decide their own program, strategy, tactics, theories and slogans — they also have the right to choose the names by which these will be known. In general, therefore, if the black power tendency does not want to be called black nationalist, its wishes on this point should be respected, and I intend to respect them.

(It is worth recalling that Malcolm X, who proudly designated himself a black nationalist, later began to question the adequacy of that label for himself).

But suppose you think — as black nationalists and revolutionary Marxists do — that the capitalist and liberal definition of black nationalism is wrong, invalid, scientifically worthless, nothing but smears and epithets? Suppose you think that black nationalism, objectively and scientifically analyzed, is a highly progressive and potentially revolutionary tendency, with important contributions to make to the freedom struggle? Should we stop using this term, should we throw it out of the vocabulary, because of the distortions and misrepresentations of the capitalist enemy?

If we do, then what is to stop the enemy from doing to the term "black power" precisely the same thing it has done to the term "black nationalism"? In fact, the capitalist propaganda machine started to do just that the very same hour that "black power" was first shouted in Mississippi, and it will continue to do it with all of the vast resources at its command. Will the term "black power" then be given up too?

Let's hope it won't come to that. Let's hope that "black power" has already caught on so well among black people that it cannot be discredited in their minds. But let's also understand that there is a point beyond which we cannot go in letting the capitalist class decide what words and terms will mean to us.

Black nationalism is not what the capitalists and their white and black lieutenants say it is, any more than black power is. If black nationalism in the United States is defined objectively and honestly, it can be called "the tendency for black people in the United States to unite as a group, as a people, into a movement of their own to fight for freedom, justice and equality. Animated by the desire of an oppressed minority to decide its own destiny, this tendency holds that black people must control their own movement and the political, economic and social institutions of the black community. Its characteristic attributes include racial pride, group consciousness, hatred of white supremacy, a striving for independence from white control, and identification with black and non-white oppressed groups in other parts of the world." (From a book soon to be published, *The Last Year of Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary*, by George Breitman.)

If members of the black power tendency don't want to be called black nationalists, for tactical or other reasons, their desire should prevail. But they, and especially young people who want to equip themselves theoretically so that they can be most effective in the struggle, should recognize whatever valid connections exist between the old black nationalist tendency and the new black power tendency, and absorb all the rich lessons of the past. We always know better where we are going if we know where we came from.



Floyd B. McKissick



# Letters From Our Readers

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

## Philadelphia Justice

Philadelphia, Pa. In Philadelphia there have been an enormous amount of complaints relating to the police and their brutality toward citizens. There have been a number of trials of policemen for brutality. There also have been killings which always result in the same verdicts — accidental because the policeman was acting in the line of duty. The citizen is never acting in the line of duty — or so they proclaim.

But is it not the citizen's duty to protect himself against terror or brutal action deliberately directed toward him? Is it not for the citizen to raise his hand to stop the next blow of the "night stick," or should I say "death stick"?

If he does, he is committing the crime of assault and battery on an officer. So this is justice?

Out of the hundreds of complaints where men, women and teenagers have been brutalized, how many cases have these people won? I can assure you there has never been a cop really punished in Philadelphia for his wrong-doing as far as brutality is concerned.

Judges are so convinced that all policemen are good and loyal and everything they say is true and accurate — no matter how much proof there is of perjury—that they refuse to see the citizen's right of self-defense.

The latest example of this kind of thing was the trial of four young people who were just tried for a second time after being arrested during the long picketing last year of the Jim Crow Girard College. There were motion pictures of these innocent demonstrators being kicked and beaten (one was knocked unconscious) by cops before they were arrested. The defendants sat confidently in court, sure that with the weight of evidence they could not be convicted. Suddenly they found all the evidence was useless. Justice was nowhere in the courtroom. They were convicted.

The four young defendants — Eugene Dawkins, Dwight Eisenhower Campbell, Leonard Hill, Maru Hill — will appeal their conviction.

Stanley Vaughn

## Message from Japan

Kyoto, Japan The Japanese Section of the Fourth International presents its deepest condolences on the murder of Comrade Leo Bernard and the wounding of Comrades Jan Garrett and Walter Graham.

This fanatical attack by Yankee imperialism on your party has aroused shock and popular anger here.

We express strong solidarity with the struggles of your party

which will develop more and more in spite of this shameful attack.

With fraternal greetings,  
**Y. Takamine, T. Furusato**  
For the International Dept.,  
Japanese Revolutionary  
Communist League

## LBJ in Indianapolis

Yellow Springs, Ohio Saturday, July 23, 200 to 250 people greeted Lyndon Johnson in Indianapolis by demonstrating against the Vietnam war at a public park where Johnson spoke. Bloomington, Indianapolis, Cincinnati and Dayton, as well as many other communities in Ohio and Indiana, were represented. The crowd which came to hear Johnson was estimated by the newspapers at 4,500, but many people said 1,500 was closer to the truth. Demonstrators included supporters of Senator Vance Hartke of Indiana, sometimes critical of Vietnam policy, as well as supporters of immediate withdrawal and Vietnamese self-determination.

About 25 people were arrested by Indianapolis police on charges of "disturbing a public meeting" by displaying "malicious" picket signs. Several passers-by expressed surprise and disgust at this undemocratic action by the cops.

Leaflets advocating immediate withdrawal were distributed and were received well despite the presence of large numbers of American Legion members in the crowd.

Later Johnson spoke to labor and business big-shots at a banquet at the Indianapolis Athletic Club. As he left the Athletic Club, antiwar activists in the crowd waiting to see the President raised the chant "Stop The War." When this chant began, the rest of the crowd fell silent.

Rick Wadsworth

## Canadian View on Vietnam

Vancouver, Canada *Maclean's Magazine*, one of Canada's leading and largest circulation publications, had an editorial on Vietnam Aug. 6. Even these well-heeled representatives of Canadian capitalism have concluded that the U.S. should "get out of Vietnam."

I doubt if they would be so bold as to call for Withdrawal Now, but it is highly significant that the editors of such an important capitalist publication have come out so strongly against U.S. policy.

Keep up the excellent job you are doing. It's an inspiration and guide to all of us.

P.C.

## Mass Slayings

Brooklyn, N.Y. The Vietnam catastrophe as has been reported by radio and television commentators in their so-nonchalant acceptance of the indiscriminate slaughter of "communists," seems to reflect the lack of respect for human life as occurred recently in the Chicago and Austin, Texas, mass slayings.

The two individuals were no doubt insane, but let it not be forgotten that they are products

of an insane society! A society that injects venom into the brains and hearts of young children, in their mass indoctrination of anti-communist and anti-socialist propaganda. A society that officially pretends to abhor violence, but which in fact has saturated its citizenry and its youthful ones in particular on the merits of murder — or genocide.

Could it not be that the foreign policies of the "Great Society," and in general, the moral decadence of this nation was a factor in the subconscious minds of the two young men as they contemplated their purposeless crimes? **C.M.**

## On Social Change

Fillmore, Utah I agree with the letter from Hal Morgan in your issue of July 25 about the need for people to inform themselves about this system and do something to change it. Americans would certainly be wise to take his advice and inform themselves.

I would add I think revolution must come but it must be fought in the schools of education and the ballot box, not on the fields of bloody battle.

A. C. Gregerson

## Texas Killings

Waubashene, Canada The recent tragic killings in

## Thought for the Week

"I was just thinking this morning that I'd never slept over at a colored person's house. I'd never had dinner in a Negro home. There's a big foreign country in my country that I know very little about. And more than that, when whites talk about riots, we really lose our perspective completely. A man from Mars could see what's really happening — convicts rioting in a corrupt prison." — Lenny Bruce, night club comedian and social satirist who died Aug. 3 at the age of 40.

Texas were a direct product of our social system!

One doesn't have to be a brilliant theorist to work it out for oneself, but unfortunately we are not encouraged to work things out for ourselves.

Our educational system is geared deliberately to produce non-thinkers who will fit neatly and unthinkingly into pre-determined categories. Three pieces in today's *Toronto Globe & Mail* give definite support to this well-proven theory, and I quote:

(1) "Just as normal as anybody I ever knew" (Whitman's father-in-law) — which brings me to the question of just what is normal in this society?; (2) "Guns hung in every room" of his father's house; and (3) the fact that Whitman had been trained to kill. (Had he done this in Vietnam he would have been regarded as a hero!)

We have daily violence on TV, comics, radio, films, toys, games

and play. We are taught to compete constantly in all aspects in order to "get on."

Schizophrenia being a by-product of our system made Whitman what he was. In a society that cares for and about people instead of property, this could possibly be detected and remedied. The fact that we are slaughtering people in Vietnam proves we are not that kind of a society. But anyone who tries to point out these things is automatically labelled kook, nut, commie — you name it.

Look at what happened to Watt Tyler, Socrates, Christ, Joan of Arc, Kennedy, Lincoln, Malcolm X, to name a few. All this may seem to be disjointed and unconnected with the tragedy of Charles Whitman. But you can find the connection — you can see the whole picture — if you can think at all!

L.D.

## It Was Reported in the Press

**Batman** — Two somewhat differing views have been offered on Batman. Mexican critics judged the TV program fit "for mental defectives." Meanwhile, the Rev. Robert Terwilliger of New York said that for millions of Americans viewing Batman was akin to a religious experience.

**Far-Out Radicals** — The Socialist Party paper, *New America*, has a headline firmly declaring: "Escalation No Solution in Vietnam." The paper reports that at the party's June convention a resolution calling for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam was defeated "by a wide margin." The convention affirmed the party's position in favor of a negotiated settlement.

**The Brazen Gall** — Ambassador Charles Bohlen made a vigorous complaint to the French government about the anti-American tone of French radio and television broadcasts about Vietnam. His principal complaint was what one U.S. source described as the "equity of credibility — giving the same credibility to what we put out and what the north Vietnamese put out."

**Unsuitable Advertising** — Mr. and Mrs. Glenn Thuerson of Chicago have asked the federal district court to direct the Chicago Transit Authority to accept an anti-Vietnam-war poster which they submitted. The poster read: "To President Johnson: War is not peace. Tyranny is not freedom. Hate is not love. End the war in Vietnam." The Transit Authority said it was controversial and criticized the government.

**Miscalculation** — The Aug. 7 *New York Times* carried an interview with Air Force Major James H. Kasler, described as the top U.S. pilot in Vietnam. He gave a glowing account of the "gratifying" activity of U.S. bombers. He said the southern part of Vietnam looks like a moon valley with huge craters and few signs of life. "It's just dead country," he said. "You pop over a mountain and look at a valley and there's no one there." The Aug. 10 *New York Times* reported Kasler had been shot down. He bailed out but rescue planes couldn't get to him.

He radioed that his leg was broken.

**Philippine LBJ** — Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos is sending a 2,000-man army team to aid the U.S. in Vietnam. When he was running for president, he vigorously opposed a proposal to do so made by the then president, Diosado Macapagal.

**It Figures** — New York's Mayor Lindsay did a TV show Aug. 7 with a Wall Street brokerage firm as the sponsor.

**New Weapon** — The United States Information Agency has held a series of top-level meetings with ranking Madison Avenue publicity geniuses on how to improve the U.S. image in other lands. One suggestion was to dig up old TV programs for viewing abroad.

**The Southern Way** — The Atlanta home of Joel Chandler Harriss, creator of the Negro story-teller, Uncle Remus, has been opened as a tourist attraction — for white tourists only.

**Some Detroiters Doing Well** — Colleen O'Brien, *Detroit Free Press* staff writer, reports some Detroiters may be pinching their pennies to cope with inflation but others are spending nicely. Gold-plated custom bathroom fixtures are currently popular with the Grosse Pointe crowd. The men are going for \$300 cashmere or silk suits and alligator shoes at \$120. They also like gold buttons for their sports jackets. (Three for \$85.) There's also a brisk business in antique French wardrobes which come in handy as TV tables.

**Costly** — It's expensive to be arrested in Dade City, Fla. To begin with, there's a \$7.50 arrest fee, plus \$2.50 court costs. Then, if you can't post bail, you are charged \$2.50 board at the jailhouse from the time you're taken in until there's a verdict in your case. After being sentenced, you can reduce your costs by working for the city at \$1.85 a day. As an added inducement, prisoners who work get three meals a day. Others get two.

—Harry Ring

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## ANSWERING A FRAME-UP

# Plan Real Cleveland Grand Jury

# San Francisco Jailings Of Civil Rights Workers

By Eric Reinthaler

CLEVELAND, Aug. 14 — Negro reaction to the Cuyahoga County grand jury report on the recent Hough ghetto uprising was angry and negative. Nearly 100 representatives of Hough residents, civil rights groups, political parties and other organizations met at the offices of Cleveland CORE Aug. 11 to plan a series of public hearings to expose the problems in Hough ignored or minimized in the grand jury report.

Reaction to the report was precipitated by its ignoring the basic problems of police brutality, jobs and housing in Hough. Instead, it attempted to place the blame on outside agitators and Communists. The report stated:

"This jury finds that the outbreak of lawlessness and disorder was both organized, precipitated and exploited by a relatively small group of trained and disciplined professionals at this business.

"They were aided and abetted, wittingly or otherwise, by misguided people of all ages and colors, many of whom are avowed believers in violence and extremism and some of whom also are either members of or officers in the Communist Party."

On Aug. 11, Fred Giardini and Jessie Thomas, two police plants, reported their "findings" on the Hough riots to the grand jury. They also held a press conference in Safety Director McCormick's office. Their testimony directly contradicted the grand jury report.

Police Chief Wagner introduced the two agents to the newspaper and television reporters by saying that the police department, in its "mission" to protect life and property, maintains a subversive activities unit which conducts activities on "either end" of the political spectrum. The two agents worked for 13 months in the Communist Party and W.E.B. DuBois Club of Cleveland. Giardini, as peace chairman of the DuBois



Photo by John McCann

**GREAT SOCIETY.** Scene in Cleveland's ghetto during recent outbreak. Guardsmen have .50 caliber machine guns.

Club, also attended meetings of the Cleveland Committee to End the War in Vietnam.

The agents answered "no" to each of the following questions: Do you know of any kind of plot in the Communist Party or Communist Party front organizations? Do you know of any organized cadres of Negroes with rifles? Can you cite any general or specific conversation that would prove planning of the Hough riots?

Further questioning of the agents revealed no plot by "agitators" or anyone else.

During the Hough uprising, four Negroes were killed (two by white racists, one apparently by police bullets, and the other still "undetermined"). A Negro mother and her child were severely injured with permanent physical impairment. But the grand jury absolved the police of any responsibility for misconduct.

Attorney Stanley Tolliver is representing Mrs. Diana Towns, whose eye was shot out by police bullets, and her son Christopher,

who suffers permanent brain damage as a result of the same police shooting. Tolliver called for a united defense of all victims of the police and for a vigorous investigation of police abuse.

Baxter Hill, chairman of Cleveland CORE, pointed out that despite the use of police spies, whom he characterized as "agents-provocateurs," the grand jury returned no indictments, but instead created a witchhunt atmosphere in an effort to divide the black community.

Tonight at the Cleveland Militant Forum, five local speakers will discuss their views on a "Reply to the Grand Jury." Speaking will be Baxter Hill, Jr., Chairman of CORE; Ron Lucas, Staff member of the W. E. B. DuBois Club; Eric Reinthaler of the Socialist Workers Party; Louis Robinson, Director of the J"FK House; and James M. Russell, past president of the Freedom Fighters.

Manie W. Harris, Co-Chairman of the Committee to Aid the Debs Hall Defendants, stated that after all the noise about Louis Robinson and the J"FK House, the best the police could come up with was to issue re-arrest warrants for Robinson, his wife and 27 others. The warrants stem from a raid on Debs Hall during a benefit buffet for *The Militant* last Nov. 13. These charges had been previously thrown out of court by the judge a week prior to the Hough outbreak.

By Hal Verb

SAN FRANCISCO — A statewide committee of concerned citizens has demanded "full, across the board pardons" for 160 civil rights sit-ins who are now serving or will serve prison sentences for demonstrations they participated in two years ago at San Francisco's Sheraton-Palace and Auto Row hotels.

Included in the list of supporters are noted jazz columnist Ralph Gleason of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, congressional candidate Robert Scheer and Assemblymen Willie Brown and John Burton.

The group has also set up "Funds for Justice" to cover the excessive fines and bail forfeitures of the demonstrators, some of whom have already served out their sentences.

A letter circulated by "Funds for Justice" notes that a total of 4,940 days in jail, \$13,289 in fines and \$9,498 in bail forfeitures has been "society's answer" for those "fighting to make society live up to its promises... and winning."

In the spring of 1964 the civil rights demonstrations at the Sheraton-Palace and Auto Row resulted in a historic agreement between 33 major hotels and the Ad Hoc Committee to End Discrimination which was widely heralded across the country.

The "Funds for Justice" letter points out that the demonstrators drew heavy sentences ranging up to 90 days although charged with "trivial misdemeanors." Fines beginning with \$29 and up to \$220 have been posted and in some cases bail on appeal has been set as high as \$440.

One of the 160 defendants is Dr. Thomas Burbridge, a prominent Negro physician who holds both an M.D. and Ph.D. degrees.

Dr. Burbridge recently received an invitation from President Johnson to attend ceremonies for the Atomic Energy Commission. He had to decline the invitation, however, and sent back a letter saying that he could not attend since he was serving a prison sentence.

Friends and supporters of civil rights have been asked by the "Funds for Justice" to contribute generously. Contributions can be sent to: Funds for Justice, 690 Market Street, San Francisco, Calif. 94104.

I interviewed some of the civil rights prisoners at the San Bruno County Jail.

"Two-thirds of the people [regular prisoners] in here shouldn't be here at all — they should be in a hospital," declared 21-year-old Halkett Allen. Allen is serving a 30-day sentence.

"The rehabilitation and recreational facilities are practically non-existent," Allen charged. He also said that there was no proper medical care for the more than 600 inmates of the prison. (Only one doctor is assigned to them.)

I asked him about food and health conditions. Allen replied that although each prisoner is supposed to get three ounces of meat daily "they aren't getting even that." And food provisions are heavily over-starched with varieties of food such as potatoes. The potatoes are grown on the farm where the inmates themselves work.

He said that there is hardly any fresh air in the prison and that prior to the arrival of the sit-ins few yard privileges were granted. Now that they are there it is a different situation and apparently the prison has bowed to the sit-ins' influence and allowed prisoners to go outside about once every other day.

Darrel Myers, who is serving a 90-day sentence for his role at the Sheraton-Palace demonstration in 1964, was in good spirits as he told how a "grievance committee" had been formed at the prison to discuss their mutual problems and make proposals.

Myers charged that one of the deputy sheriffs attempted to intimidate prisoners who organized such committees. He would warn them, Myers said, that a prisoner "might not get a job" when he left the prison.

Commenting on the poor medical facilities, Myers related the incident of a prisoner who had an enormous boil on his leg. When the inmate complained to the doctor, the doctor assigned another inmate to treat him.

Myers said that "conditions are so bad and so crowded that they make people sleep on mattresses on the floor." He said: "If someone were to get sick here or if someone were actually to die in the evening the three deputies stationed here couldn't do anything about it until the morning because they aren't supposed to leave their station."

# CP, SWP Speakers Debate Views at Los Angeles Forum

LOS ANGELES — A confrontation between the views of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party took place here on Aug. 5. The occasion was a debate on the new program of the CP, sponsored by the Militant Labor Forum, in which Ben Dobbs acted as spokesman for the CP and Milton Alvin represented the SWP.

A large portion of the near-capacity crowd were young people, some from each of the organizations represented by the speakers and many who were uncommitted.

Both the debate and discussion centered on the outstanding question facing the labor, Negro and antiwar movements. That is, whether those movements should continue to support the Democratic Party, as the Communist Party advocates, or break from both major parties through independent working class anti-capitalist political action, as the SWP believes.

In elaborating the position of the CP, Dobbs made the following points: He believes in the "lesser evil" method in politics, since it is obvious that there is a lesser as well as a greater evil; the election of Johnson in 1964 was a victory because a great deal has been learned from the experience; and it is correct to try to capture the Democratic Party.

The spokesman for the Communist Party tipped his hat to

independent politics, to the need for a mass party based on the workers and minorities, but he made it clear that the CP line was to continue to work in the Democratic Party.

In contrast, Alvin pointed to the 30-year record of class collaboration through support of the Democratic Party, showing how this policy has produced nothing but defeats in America. He explained how the gains of the 1930s were won through independent struggles and not by supporting capitalist parties. He cited several examples from the experience of the Communist parties in other countries, most recently in Indonesia, where class collaboration has led to defeat.

He asked those who had supported coalitionism to consider how much further we would be towards building a mass workers party in America, if the CP had advocated such a party for the past 30 years instead of supporting the Democrats.

Alvin commented that if the election of Johnson was a victory, who needs defeats? The lesson to be learned from the 1964 election, he said, is never to vote for a Democrat again. When he went on to say that the CP policy in the coming gubernatorial race in California is to defeat Republican candidate Reagan by supporting Democratic Governor Brown, the audience indicated its disapproval of such a policy.



Minneapolis Tribune Photo

**DEMAND U.S. WITHDRAWAL.** Antiwar demonstrators march on Minnesota state capitol in St. Paul during Hiroshima Day rally. (See reports on nationwide protest pages 4 and 5).