

# Kennedy OKs CIA Financing of Vietnam Storm Troopers

## President Is "Patient" With Alabama Racist

By George Lavan  
 With the ending of Governor Wallace's defiance of federal authorities, token school desegregation arrived in Birmingham and three other Alabama cities.

Administration publicists are praising Kennedy for having "outmaneuvered" Gov. Wallace. This "outmaneuvering" consisted in Kennedy's refraining from sending federal marshals or troops to enforce the court-ordered integration which Wallace delayed for a week.

Though Northern Democrats are touting this as Kennedy's clever strategy to avoid "playing into Wallace's hands," Southern Democrats are praising it as proof of Kennedy's praiseworthy use of federal forces to enforce Negro rights in the South.

Neither of the above explanations, however, correspond wholly to the truth. His "monumental forbearance," as the New York Times describes it, in the face of Wallace's provocations, was dictated by Kennedy's policy of wooing the white-supremacist Southern Democrats for the coming presidential elections, but doing it cleverly enough not to alienate the Negro vote in the pivotal Northern states.

**Diservice to Negroes**  
 Yet Kennedy's "forbearance" or expediency in "not sending federal troops or marshals to Birmingham is a disservice to the Negro children who have been "integrated" there. He is gambling with their lives when he leaves them without federal protection. Perhaps nothing will happen to them — but their lives and limbs are being risked in the pro-segregation campaign maneuvering.

It should not be forgotten that it was in Alabama that William Moore, the Baltimore postman, was murdered for carrying a pro-integration sign. His murderer has yet to be tried. Furthermore, Birmingham has a longer record of "unmolested" racist bombings than any other city in the country.

The total effect of Kennedy's "forbearance" policy is to embolden the KKK, White Citizens Councils and assorted racist groups and individuals. Wallace's defiance — though unsuccessful — goes un punished. (Kennedy, the Northern Democrats tell us, doesn't want to "fall into the trap" of making a martyr of him by sending him to jail as he deserves and for which

By Steve Graham  
 The elite troops that raided pagodas and crushed the Buddhist movement of protest against the Catholic-dominated Ngo Dinh Diem regime's religious oppression were and still are secretly financed by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency with the full knowledge of the Kennedy administration. That was the burden of a revelation that recently reached the press.

The Special Forces of Col. Le Quang Tung, close confidant of President Diem and right-hand man of secret police chief, Ngo Dinh Nhu, are supported by "di-

rect, under-the-table aid" amounting to \$3 million a year, according to the reports. Their salary and upkeep are covered by payments via the CIA of \$250,000 at the beginning of each month.

Although Kennedy, in a hypocritical gesture, publicly disavowed the Diem government's attacks on the Buddhists and called for changes "in policy and perhaps in personnel" in South Vietnam, secret payments to the temple-wreckers were continued by the CIA for the current month.

The way this revelation reached the press is as significant as the

revelation itself. It is typical of the high degree of secrecy around the Vietnamese war in general — the only war in which the U.S. has been so open which has not received detailed coverage while it was going on.

According to the reports, CIA Co-ordinator Saigon, Gen. Stephen T. Mason, and the State Dept. agreed, nearly unanimously that payments to Col. Tung's storm troopers should cease. Coming from the most closely associated with the creation and development of these forces, such a recommendation would presumably carry great weight. It was rejected in Washington. That Kennedy approved this rejection was made clear in his subsequent statement on TV that the CIA "co-ordinates its efforts with the State Department and the Defense Department."

**Story Leaked**

But revealed at the death of Col. Tung's Special Forces was apparently so great even among the arch-reactionary members of the CIA that someone had leaked the story to the press. The story was sent from Manila since the tight censorship in South Vietnam tends to keep such news from the American public.

Had not dissension broken out in the secret inner circles, the American people would never have learned about the secret payments. How much more is there about this "dirty" war which the American people are not being told?

Kennedy tells us that aid must continue to the Diem dictatorship or else the "Communists" will take over. The peasant guerrillas in South Vietnam seem to have a lot of popular support. An army of over 250,000 aided by the world's greatest military power cannot suppress them. While Diem, as the huge demonstrations by Buddhists have shown, has no popular support but is kept in power only by brute military force — armed, trained and paid by the U.S. and reinforced by U.S. troops.

Is it "Communists" that Kennedy fears or the Vietnamese people, who might take over their country for themselves and kick out U.S. influence?

Kennedy says he will continue to "press for reforms" of the Diem despots, but just, meanwhile, "we must be patient." How can you "press for reforms" when you pay the upkeep for Gestapo-like storm troopers? That would be like financing Gov. Wallace's state police by secret payments to Col. Linde, while calling for "equal rights in Alabama" and telling Negroes there to "cool off."

Kennedy's professed hope that the Diem regime will reform itself is in the same class with Eisenhower's lies about the U-2 incident and Stevenson's denials in the UN that the U.S. had any part in the April 1951 invasion of Cuba.

The latest news from Vietnam tells of Col. Tung's U.S.-paid storm troopers and secret police (Continued on Page 6)

THEY WERE SET TO STRIKE. New York delegates' assembly of United Federation of Teachers met in a hall before city granted concessions that averted strike.

## Fighting Stand by Teachers Brings Gains in New York

By Tom Loeonard

NEW YORK — Ever since negotiations began last April for a new contract affecting more than 40,000 school teachers, the AFL-CIO United Federation of Teachers confronted a hostile N.Y. School Board which ultimately forced the union to the brink of a city-wide strike.

Aided by the daily press, radio and TV, the school board, headed by Superintendent Dr. Calvin E. Gross, attempted to whip up anti-union hysteria against the teachers. The majority of New Yorkers, however, remained sympathetic to the teachers' cause and the board relied increasingly on injunctions and anti-labor laws to threaten and intimidate the UFT.

The most vicious law at their disposal is the Condon-Wadlin Act which prohibits strikes by public employees and calls for immediate firing — without right of appeal — of all violators. In addition, teachers would have been subject to a fine of two days' pay for every day on strike — up to 30 days.

The courts had also issued injunctions barring the right to strike, the right to picket, and the right to "advocate" the union's program of "No Contract — No Work."

As the strike deadline — set for the opening of school on Sept. 9 — drew near, more pressure was put on the teachers. The press reported that plans were being discussed to hire unlicensed "teachers" to be used as scabs. Parents were instructed how to get their children to school despite picket lines. Even former President Harry Truman was dragged out of mothballs for

a maraling anti-union smear of the teachers.

Despite these attacks, the UFT stuck to its demands. In addition to salary increases, these included an overall improvement of conditions in this city's notoriously overcrowded, outmoded and understaffed schools. They won wide support from parents as the result of a union educational campaign that linked the teachers' demands to improved education. Most important of all, the union stuck to its policy of "No Contract — No Work" adopted last March, and which made any agreement between the school board and union negotiators subject to a vote of the rank and file.

On Sept. 5, the teachers turned down the school board's final offer by a vote of 5,219 to 794 and a meeting of more than 1,000 (Continued on Page 2)



Kennedy

## A Special Offer to New Readers

The recent March on Washington registered a high-water mark in the Negro struggle for Freedom and Jobs. Leaders of the march all agreed that this was a beginning not an end to the Freedom Now campaign.

The Militant has actively participated in support of the Freedom Now movement and has given major coverage to its actions. It will continue to do so in the future. Reports will be combined with analysis as the movement marches forward to conquer its freedom objectives.

To reach an ever-widening section of supporters and participants The Militant is now offering a special introductory subscription of four months for 50 cents. All readers of The Militant are urged to help expand our circulation by introducing our paper through the special subscription to friends and supporters of the Freedom Now struggle.

# THE MILITANT

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## BOOK REVIEW

### A Quarter-Century of Un-Americana



This Militant cartoon by the late Laura Gray, published in 1949 when the then HUAC head J. Parnell Thomas, was convicted of conspiring to defraud the government, is reproduced in *A Quarter-Century of Un-Americana*.

### Kennedy's Attack on Students Who Defied Cuba Travel Ban

In ominous fashion a federal grand jury has begun an inquiry into the recent student trip to Cuba. A Brooklyn grand jury — having jurisdiction over New York's Idlewild Airport, from which the students left for Cuba — subpoenaed several members and leaders of the Progressive Labor Movement, an independent socialist organization, to appear at hearings starting Sept. 10. The trip to Cuba was sponsored by the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba.

Most of those subpoenaed by the federal grand jury were not members of the student committee. Still they were officially and unreasonably "commanded" to bring with them the records of that committee!

Simultaneously, five students who had travelled to Cuba were subpoenaed to appear before the House UnAmerican Activities Committee in Washington Sept. 12. Four of these five were also members of the Progressive Labor Movement (PLM), although the great majority of the 58 students who saw Cuba for themselves had no political affiliations.

Those subpoenaed by the federal jury include Fred Jerome, editor of the monthly magazine, *Progressive Labor*, Milton Rosen, chairman of the PLM, and Mort Scheer, PLM vice-chairman.

The hand of the Kennedy Administration stands clearly revealed in this action. Kennedy intends to launch a red-baiting attack in which the real issues of freedom to travel will be obscured.

He indicated such intentions in a statement at his Aug. 8 press conference that "Communists" among the student travelers might be prosecuted.

The HUAC hearings, which usually serve no legislative purpose but from which testimony may be used by courts, will probably reinforce this administration effort to convince the public that the Cuba trip was a "Communist-engineered plot."

The Kennedys do not want to look like they are persecuting a group of students who insisted on seeing Cuba. There might be too much sympathy for such students. So they are going to try to drag in the leaders of *Progressive Labor*. The Kennedys — concerned of the McCarran Act — want to make a record for themselves, it seems, that will keep them in good with the worst of the witch-hunters.

The Kennedys don't want to fight out the issue of freedom to travel in the courts on its own merits. There is too strong a civil-liberties tradition still in this country for government control of travel to be a very popular cause.

That's why, when Robert Kennedy initiated the prosecution of *Afro-American* newsmen William Worthy, he concentrated on the technicality that Worthy had returned to this country "without a valid passport," not that Worthy had been in Cuba and had reported favorably on the revolution — which is the real gripe the Kennedys have against him.

The Kennedys seem bent on smear and scandal to becloud the real issue in the case of the students who visited Cuba.

We denounce this needless harassment of persons who asserted their right to travel and to gather information.

We denounce the subpoenaing of persons not connected with the sponsoring committee as a transparent smear technique.

Let no one be misled by red-baiting. This case should become a rallying point for every civil libertarian and believer in the rights of the common man. It should be fought to the hilt and establish for good and all the right of Americans of all political persuasions to go where they wish and to inform themselves on whatever concerns them.

**A QUARTER-CENTURY OF UN-AMERICANA — 1938-1960.** A Tragic-Comical Memorabilia of HUAC. Edited by Charlotte Pomerantz. New York: Mrazani & Munzell, 127 pp. \$2.50.

After 25 years, a quarter-century, two generations and millions of words later, what is there now to be said about the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC)? That it is an aid and abettor of reaction and McCarthyism has been well documented. Yet here is a book that has a wonderfully fresh approach, a piercing plea of laughter to explode the malicious HUAC bubble, a broadside of vinegar-sweet vignettes, quotes, cartoons, quips and roasts' gallery of star in-quisitors. A quarter-century of Un-Americana — or the expositors, expostors, and exposés.

In his foreword, H. H. Wilson, professor of politics at Princeton University, distills the essence of HUAC: Individuals are humiliated and punished extra-legally by the arbitrary action of Congress. Areas of ideas and communications are invaded and a beachhead established for the right wing.

Professor Wilson makes the cogent point, "If Congress really wished to reform its own investigating procedure it need only pass a statute which would establish procedures to protect both the witness and the legitimate interest of Congress in obtaining information pertinent to its legislative function."

In the Epilogue, with which the book closes, James Baldwin writes: "We are living through the most crucial moment of our history, the moment which will result in a new life for us, or a new death. When I say a new life, I mean a new vision of America, a vision which will allow us to face, and begin to change, the facts of American life; and when I say death, I mean Carthage. This seems a grim view to take of our situation, but it is scarcely grimmer than the facts. Our honesty and our courage in facing these facts is all that can save us from disaster. And one of these facts is that there has always been a segment of American life, and of a powerful segment, too, which equated virtue with mindlessness.

In this connection, The House Un-American Activities Committee is one of the most sinister facts of the national life."

Cartoons as functional records of history and its follies, reach, I think, a high point from the 1950s to a ripe maturity today. A work could well be written about this medium that spotlights and lends an urgency to the considered moment. The many cartoons selected for this book are enlightening and skillfully patterned for maximum effect. It is gratifying to find among them two by the late, beloved cartoonist for *The Militant*, Laura Gray.

Let's try a few random quotes from the book:

**Martin Dies:** "Never participate in anything in the future without consulting the American Legion or your local Chamber of Commerce."

**Harold H. Velde:** "The basis of communism is education of the people."

**John R. Wood:** "The threats and intimidations of the Klan are an old American custom like illegal whiskey making."

**Carlson Caption:** Asked of a teacher being third-degree, "Have you ever taught or openly advocated freedom of thought in your classroom?"

Nowhere does this book suggest the standoffish attitude of an observer, taking in, but not committing oneself. The book takes us to Martin Dies (HUAC's first chairman), through McCarthyism, to "Black Friday" in San Francisco (scene of student resistance to HUAC hearing), to the recent attack on Women Strike for Peace. From start to finish the book is a demonstration of reaction vs. awareness. As stated by the representative from WSP, "We submit that it is not we women who should be 'investigated' but those who, with the cool logic of madness, attempt to recast us to complete destruction."

The advertisement against "calling" 45 leading Los Angeles musicians before HUAC is another example. Here is an excerpt: "Are you now or have you ever been guilty of Fortinbras? Do you believe in Allegro, best notes or blues in the night? Do you dig pop? How about force and violence? The song of McCarthy may be

ended, but the melody lingers on." Editor Charlotte Pomerantz with a past of vigorous protest that says way to the acceptance and confirmation of the 1950s. To her this book is a letter of protest that was finally written. A letter that says, "The 90s may close with more of a bang than a whisper." It says, here's what this insanity is all about. Please add your name to this letter.

—Lee Forrest

### Jail Colo. Pacifist For Tax Refusal

For 35 years, Dr. Arthur Evans, a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Colorado, has refused to pay that part of his income tax which corresponds to the percentage of the national budget used for military expenditures. In the past the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) has subtracted from his bank account the amount he refused to pay. This year, however, the IRS insisted that he pay the full amount. Dr. Evans refused. He also refused to produce his financial records when ordered to do so by District Court Judge Alfred A. Arraj. On Aug. 14, he was ordered jailed for 90 days for contempt of court.

Last January, when the IRS was still pressuring him to produce his financial records, Dr. Evans replied: "I have not changed my mind in regard to my previously stated position that it is wrong for me to cooperate consciously and voluntarily with the state when it takes the fruits of man's labor and uses over half of it to prepare man's destruction."

Dr. Evans is still refusing to cooperate and has chosen instead to serve his 90 day contempt sentence in the Denver County Jail.

"The ideology called 'dialectical materialism,' regardless of the propriety of its title, has taken hold of the imaginations of men or perhaps no doctrine has been able to do so since the time of Christ." —Henry D. Allen (b.1913), Professor of philosophy, Harvard.

## Local Directory

- BOSTON.** Boston Labor Forum, 285 Huntington Ave., Room 202
- CHICAGO.** Socialist Workers Party and League for Peace and Democracy, 100 N. Dearborn St., Room 315, WE 9-2444.
- CLEVELAND.** Eugene V. Debs Hall, 200 East 7th Street, Cleveland 14, Ohio.
- DENVER.** Militant Labor Forum, 1337 Woodward, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 202 Woodward, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 202 Woodward, Eugene V. Debs Hall, 202 Woodward.
- LOS ANGELES.** Militant Workers Party, 135 East Fourth St., AN 3-8825 or WE 9-5228. Open 11 noon to 8 p.m. daily and 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. Saturdays.
- MILWAUKEE.** 120 E. Johnson Ave.
- MINNEAPOLIS.** Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 94 Hennepin Ave., Room 202, Federal Bldg., Open 11 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Friday, Wednesday, 11 a.m. to 4 p.m.
- NEWARK.** Newark Labor Forum, 305 Washington Ave., Newark 2, N.J.
- NEW YORK CITY.** Militant Labor Forum, 110 University Place, LU 5-7822.
- OAKLAND-BERKELEY.** Labor Book Shop and Socialist Workers Party, 225 10th St., Oakland 12, Calif. TE 3-9777. If no answer call 202-26.
- PHILADELPHIA.** Militant Labor Forum and Socialist Workers Party, P.O. Box 2000, Philadelphia 1, Pa.
- SAN FRANCISCO.** Militant Labor Forum meets second and fourth Fridays at Pioneer Book Store, 1428 Fulton St. WE 1-2607.
- ST. LOUIS.** Phone Main 1-2686. Ask for Dick Collins.
- SAN DIEGO.** San Diego Labor Forum, 1000 La Jolla Village Drive, San Diego 16, Calif. Tel. 524-1234. Labor book and socialist book store. If the San Diego Militant is in the office.
- SEATTLE.** See SEATTLE Library, book store. Open 11 noon to 8 p.m. Saturdays. Phone NE 2-7446.

COMMISSION EXHIBIT NO. 1341—Continued

N.Y. Times Doesn't Care for Idea of Freedom Now Party

Cites Labor Chiefs' Dependency on Major Parties as 'Wise' Example

By Tom KERRY

As spokesman and defender of the liberalist two-party system, the New York Times of August 26, casts a jaundiced editorial eye upon the proposal for the organization of a Freedom Now Party. Such a party, it avers, would isolate the Negro minority from their "allies," the "whites of goodwill" who in their great majority are to be found in one or another of the two major parties.

To bolster this argument the Times points to the labor movement as an example of the kind of political wisdom the Negroes should emulate in their fight for freedom and justice. "The labor movement in this country," it says, "long ago realized that a labor political party would be self-defeating because it would isolate union members politically from the majority of the population." It adds: "The same consideration applies even more strongly to the idea of organizing an all-Negro party."

So, for the good of both "minorities," the Times counsels continuation of the policy of relying upon the Democratic and Republican "whites of goodwill" to look after their welfare. The Times' pundits on the Times editorial staff could not have chosen a worse example.

Labor's Decline

It is universally acknowledged that never, since the rise of the CIO in the 1930s, has the political influence and prestige of the union officialdom been at a lower point than in the year 1963. Never, in American labor history, has the political policy of a union leadership proven so bankrupt. This view is not unique with this writer. It is shared by a variety of commentators and students including the former labor specialist and now member of the Times editorial board, A. H. Raskin.

Writing in the July issue of the liberal magazine, Commentary, Raskin highlights the cause and problems confronting the union movement today: automation unemployment, growth of the labor force, color discrimination, political action. All of these problems extend far beyond the limits imposed by the policy of pure-and-simple trade unionism practiced by the labor leaders today.

After documenting an expanding list of such problems with which the current policy of the labor leaders is unable to cope, Raskin adds: "All of the above problems — the demise of the strike; increased mechanization of bargaining; increased bureaucratization of the work process itself; automation and unemployment — will require for even their proximate solution a degree of political commitment American labor has never shown. They demand that politics become a principal business of unions, not a haphazard adjunct of their narrowly economic purposes."

Although Raskin doesn't say so, for politics to become a "principal business of unions" would require a decisive break with the current

policy of political subordination of the labor movement to the Democratic Party. It would require that the unions take the initiative in organizing their own party, running their own candidates on a program that would represent the interests of the working people — who, despite the tendentious political arithmetic of the N.Y. Times, represent along with their natural allies, an overwhelming majority of the American people.

But, as Raskin points out, the politics of the union leaders "lack conviction and direction." "Their programs for securing the public weal," he adds, "are as lackluster, and offered as perfunctorily, as those that the administration keeps shoveling into the Congressional hopper: looking forward to all the right things, but with no real expectation that anyone will pay attention."

'Seek Refrain'

Summing up the essence of the political policy of the top labor brass, Raskin comments: "Labor's stock refrain is the admonition to 'seek refrain' from anything the President wants in order to stimulate the economy, only that the President's bills don't go through."

The organized labor movement in this country numbers some 18 million members. Numerically, it is the largest union force in the capitalist world. Potentially, it is the most powerful political force in the nation. Yet, through an unfortunate quirk of historical irony, there stands at the head of this massive army a general staff afflicted with hardening of the political arteries. That is the fatal flaw.

Toward any manifestation of militant opposition in the ranks they react like ferocious tigers; toward those they consider their superiors, they fawn like drooling lickspittles. Consider this revealing scene drawn by Raskin of the leaders of American labor on one of their ritualistic visits to the White House:

"When union leaders come to the White House," he observes, "they are docile guests. I asked one labor participant in a recent presidential campaign whether any of the unionists had told Mr. Kennedy he was not doing enough about the unemployed. 'Oh, we didn't tell him,'" Raskin replies. "He told us. He said the real problem in America was not balancing the fiscal budget but balancing the human budget." [Sounds like a Reutherian, doesn't it? — T.K.]

White House Tour

"And," Raskin continues, "with that problem tidily wrapped up, everybody went on a personally guided tour of the White House upstairs. They all left confirmed in their opinion that the United States had a great President."

That Kennedy ever deigns to invite them to visit the White House is considered a great honor. A pat on the head, a meaningless generality that passes as the last word in political wisdom, a guided tour of the White House "upstairs," and they go padding out the door supremely satisfied that they have fully discharged their responsibilities to the working people of America.

Is it any wonder that people who are sympathetic to the needs and aspirations of the workers are becoming more and more discouraged and pessimistic about the future of the union movement? In a recent pamphlet, published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, staff director Paul Jacobs of the Center's Study of the Trade Union, concludes that "unions must move on from the simple economic level" upon which they have been operating.

"In Israel, in the Scandinavian

countries, in England, and in many other foreign lands," he adds, "unions are an integral part of the political system, not onlookers as they are in America. In the simplistic AFL tradition of rewarding friends and punishing enemies is still dominant. The tragedy of American unions is that they who did so much to create the old collective bargaining system are taking so minor and unimportant a role in developing a new one. It may mean their death."

The directors of the Center go even further in a more recent study, recording a conversation between ten unidentified leaders of the UAW and Paul Jacobs and W. H. Perry, vice president of the Center and former director of public relations for the CIO Political Action Committee. They declare: "At the Center, studies have concluded that, far from growing stronger, the trade unions are consistently declining in power and support and that, in fact, we may be witnessing the beginning of the end of the trade-union movement."

To predict the early demise and burial of so lively a corpse is somewhat premature. Changes are today taking place which will effect a profound effect on the consciousness of all sections of American society and — more specifically — upon the American workers. The greatest of these being the Freedom Now revolt of the Negro people, comparable in its social impact to the CIO movement of the 1930s.

Future of Mankind

If the future of the union movement depended solely upon initiative of the fossilized union tops, the prospects of doom would have a good case. It would be a bad mistake to write off the American working class. Once before, it was judged. In the 1920s, liberals and many radicals viewed the prospect of toppling the open-shop empire of the industrial monopolies as hopeless. But when the American workers began to move in the early 1930s they moved massively.

The movement for industrial organization rolled over the palmed union timeservers who sought to restrict and contain it within the framework of the AFL craft union structure. It evoked a split in the AFL tops in response to the radical upsurge from below to establish, for the first time on an industrial soil, a genuine trade-union movement encompassing the decisive section of the workers in the mass production industries.

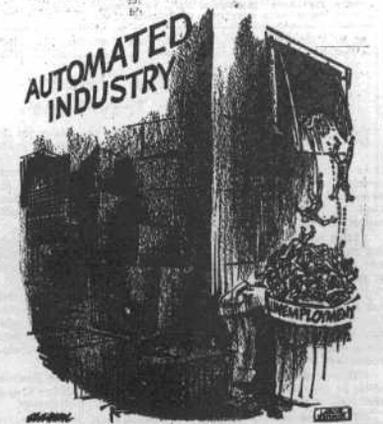
It is true that the situation today is much different. The extension of union organization to include a few more hundreds of thousands or even several million workers would make no qualitative difference. Experience has demonstrated that numbers alone don't count for very much. The fact of the merger of the AFL and CIO in 1955 did not stem the decline of union influence nor did it solve any of the fundamental problems of the American workers. In fact the process was accelerated.

Problems Are Fejllit

All of the important problems confronting the working people today are essentially political. They cannot be solved through the medium of collective bargaining between individual unions and the employers. Even here, in what is presumed to be the essential function of the unions, we find the government constantly intervening to impose one or another form of compulsory arbitration. This is especially true since the election of the Kennedy administration.

More and more the top union leaders are adapting themselves to the surrender of union indepen-

"Without Regard to Race, Color or Creed . . ."



dependence on the economic field. Combine this with the political policy of subordinating the labor movement to the Democratic Party and the workers are disarmed in the face of increasing onslaughts by the employers and their political representatives in Washington and the various states. The end result is that the unions are more and more beginning to resemble the job trusts of the pre-CIO days.

It is small wonder then that the millions of youth who enter the labor market each year become easy prey to the anti-union propaganda of the employers and the kept press. And less wonder that the Negro people, who in their vast majority are workers, begin to view the unions as obstacles and barriers to their struggle to break down job discrimination in industry.

Need Radical Change

The unions cannot survive as defenders of the status quo. To the Negroes, the youth, the growing army of unemployed, the status quo becomes intolerable. They will respond only to a program of radical change. To be considered seriously, such a program must be given organizational form through a new political party. For labor such a party must be independent of the two major capitalist parties and based on the organized trade-union movement.

At various times in the past, especially at times of acute conflict with the political representatives of big business in Washington, the union brass has warned that continued anti-labor legislation, imposing more onerous restrictions and repressions on the unions, could lead to the formation of a labor party. Some have gone further and, when pressed, substantiated their warnings. "It may be," they were told, "but — now is not the time."

If the labor leaders feel they can afford to wait for a more propitious time, the militant freedom fighters are convinced that the Negroes can't. As against the substantiated "now-is-not-the-time" view they advance the slogan: For a Freedom NOW Party.

They recognize the essentially political nature of the struggle for freedom and jobs. Their initiative can serve to crystallize sentiment among the trade-union ranks and lower rungs of the union leadership to emulate their action. The realization of a Freedom Now Party would shatter the monstrous Labor-Negro-Demo-

cratic coalition and compel the union leaders to move in the direction of labor's independent political action or risk the fate of the mossbacks who ruled the AFL in the pre-CIO days.

Such a development could clear the ground for a genuine alliance between equal partners in a political movement for the emancipation of the Negro people from the Jim Crow system — and the white workers from the system of capitalist wage slavery. That is the perspective. The white workers owe the militant Negro freedom fighters an eternal debt of gratitude for their initiative in directing a body blow at the pernicious political policy which has led the union movement into a dead end.

The lesson to be learned from all this is not the one the N.Y. Times tries to teach — that the Negroes should follow in the wake of the labor leaders to avoid "isolation," but the contrary: Unless the Freedom Now movement breaks with the coalition policy of subordination to the boss-controlled Democratic and Republican parties, it will inevitably go down the same road of political perdition that threatens to engulf the union movement in a quagmire of frustration and despair.

...South Vietnam

(Continued from Page 1)

rounding up high-school girls and boys, hauling them to concentration camps in trucks bearing "clashed hands" emblems of the U.S. aid mission. It tells of students shouting slogans condemning U.S. aid to Diem and crying, "President Kennedy will not help us." One sign the students raised must surely strike a response from Americans fighting for their rights in this country. It read: "We Want Freedom."

How long can the American people allow this to go on? How long will our tax dollars be funneled behind our backs specifically to the torturers, executioners and storm troopers of an utterly discredited tyranny? How long will American GIs have to fight and die in jungles and rice paddies to keep a corrupt police regime in power? How long will the American people tell Kennedy in no uncertain terms: Withdraw all U.S. troops from Vietnam! Stop all aid to the Diem dictatorship!

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