

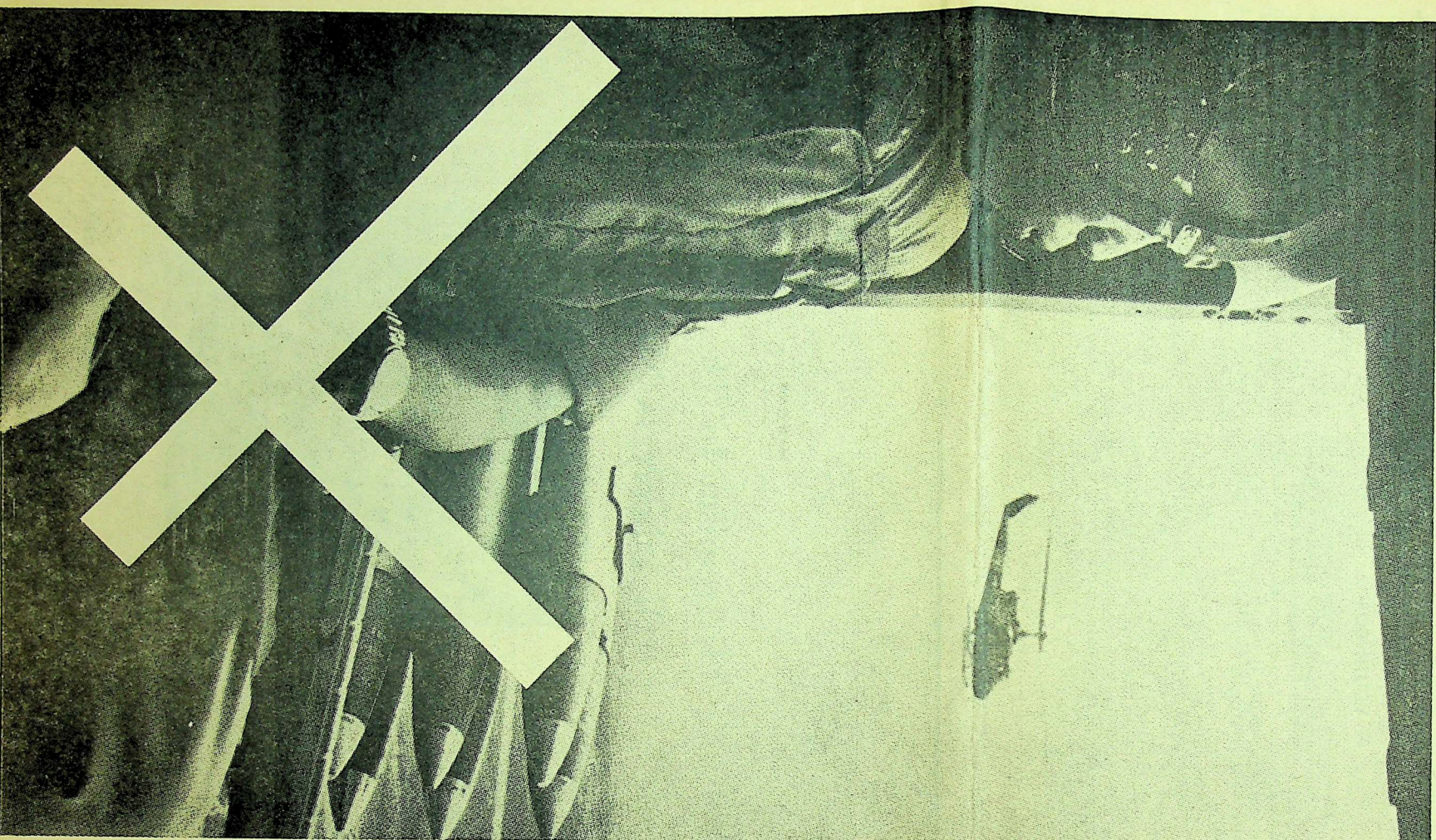
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AMERICAN SOCIALIST

February-March 1965

Journal of the American Socialist Organizing Committee

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It becomes clearer each day that the only way Lyndon Johnson can win his war is to execute nearly every man, woman and child in South Vietnam. It is no longer civil war between seriously contesting sections of South Vietnamese society, but war between the United States and its handful of supporters in the Saigon "government" on one side, and the overwhelming bulk of the South Vietnamese on the other. Johnson understands that the war cannot continue on this basis, but his attempts to "turn the war into an Asian war", as one NBC commentator approvingly referred to plans to import South Korean troops, can neither hide nor change the real situation.

America's hired Army of South Vietnam can no longer be counted on to defend either the various Saigon regimes or their American "advisors". It was humiliating enough when the Vietcong passed unreported through villages supposedly loyal to Saigon, mortars in hand, to stage the recent attacks on American air bases. But

editorial

newspapers were also filled with stories of South Vietnamese army detachments who were strangely "missing" from duty when the attacks took place, or "did not see" Vietcong troops pass within a few yards of them.

It is doubtful, however, that Johnson will apply the "final solution" and wipe out the hostile population entirely, although the idea may be tempting him. (He told a group of students in Washington recently that he "would like to see them develop as much fanaticism about the United States political system as young Nazis did about their system during the war." — *The New York Times*, Feb. 6. Certainly the Administration has no principled objection to mass murder—that is what the war in Vietnam is—but in this case a real campaign of extermination would only hasten defeat.

The raids on North Vietnam are the latest device Johnson thinks may help save his neck. What they won't accomplish is clear: They will not reduce the ability of the Vietcong to attack more American bases or the crumbling South Vietnamese army. They will not recapture the two-thirds of South Vietnam under Vietcong military and political control, or regain support for the U.S. among the peasantry or the anti-government movements in the cities. They won't alter the fact that the American army and its few allies in South Vietnam are an army of occupation, despised by a population losing no opportunity to assist its enemies.

THE RAID GAMBIT

In fact, the attacks on North Vietnam are not intended to solve these overwhelming political and military problems. Just the opposite. The raids are pointed towards finding ways outside South Vietnam itself to force a political solution to the war—and implicit in that outside search is the admission that the war there is lost; that John F. Kennedy's shiny new "counter-insurgency" gambit has been swallowed up in the reality of a society in upheaval and crisis.

First, the raids give Johnson, exploring the possibility of negotiating a settlement "from a position of strength"—which in this case means anything but being driven into the ocean without a canoe—the kind of militant razzle-dazzle he thinks he may need to pull out. Rumors are current in Washington and the UN that "unofficial" approaches are being made for a conference and settlement of the war. Assumed in the reports are ultimate U.S. withdrawal and some form of Vietcong takeover.

Understanding that U.S. withdrawal will have the kind of staggering political impact associated with the U.S. defeat in China, Johnson must attempt to mini-

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U-JOIN fights the band-aid war (on poverty)

The War on Poverty has been received in Baltimore liberal circles with all of the enthusiasm that one would normally expect to be reserved for the Second Coming. The idea of a "War on Poverty" is not new to Baltimore however, for the current WP, locally known as the "Human Renewal Program," had its origins in a paper called "A Letter to Ourselves" by Stanley Mazer, Baltimore Mayor McKeldin's special assistant on poverty.

WAR AGAINST THE POOR

The program evolved from this paper has little to do with actually eliminating poverty, unless there is poverty among the bureaucrats and middle-class professionals who are to run the program. The entire "Human Renewal" program will cost \$23,800,750 a year after the first year. *Of this, about 80% will go to professional salaries*, which should have a decided effect on economic deprivation in the \$10, to 30,000 income bracket. For example, the 136 bureaucrats who are to "direct", "supervise", and "counsel" the poor in the Community Action program must divide among themselves a spartan \$2,370,000 in salaries, for an average income of close to \$17,500 a year. By way of contrast, the 300 neighborhood people hired to tell the bureaucrats what the poor are doing have been granted \$263,740 to divide for an average income of \$880 a year. One is reminded of a certain politician who told the American people: "Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country." This line is becoming the Great American Joke.

vietnam continued

minize that impact in advance if the withdrawal option is to be kept open. How? *Why not kill a batch of North Vietnamese—or several batches of them!* To critics at home, he can say he showed boldness, courage, and spared no effort to win. For external consumption, he can say U.S. "firmness" forced the Communists to negotiate when they saw they could not win through "subversion." Unbelievable as that line will be outside the three-mile limit (and, for that matter, inside it), it is still, for Johnson, better than the colossal zero he has to show for U.S. efforts now.

In a more immediate sense, Washington's belligerence also tends to lessen the heavy pressures on the Administration from those sections of the government and the capitalist class who firmly believe the Vietnam are nothing more than monster-zombies invented by Mao and Ho Chi Minh, whom they can and will call off if sufficiently threatened. Leading spokesmen for the Let's-get-Mao-now-before-he-gets-bigger school are Bundy and McNamara, who are leaning hard on Johnson to step up the war. (The more sophisticated grouping of butchers within the Administration, known as "doves" or "liberals" tend to discount the "Agents of Mao" theory about the Vietcong, and view the raids as "Bombs for Peace and Negotiations.")

War is "an extension of politics by other means," and the raids are classic Johnson. The "doves" and the "warhawks" contesting for his support can each hope they mean Johnson will move toward their position. Standing "above the battle", Johnson has taken off some of the pressure, and bought a bit more time to build support for his decision—or to postpone making it. *And as America's pernickious emperor ponders the best interests of U.S. capitalism and his Administration, the war and the deaths go on.*

THE NEXT VIETNAM

Administration thinking is not only directed towards present wars, but towards future ones as well. It is reported by the *New York Times* and other sections of the press that Johnson has abandoned the "domino theory" which holds that if Vietnam falls, Thailand, Malaysia, India, etc., must also be lost to American influence.

This is not surprising. For Vietnam has fallen, and

Not surprisingly, the entire program is built around social work. Instead of wiping out poverty, the object of the program is to teach the poor to make the best of their circumstances. There are 24 programs in the "Human Renewal" program and there is not one of them that even promises to create new jobs!

Eleven programs deal with Baltimore's educational system. The most significant thing about them is the assumption that they reveal. This assumption is the old notion that the poor are poor primarily because they are ignorant. The other side of this coin is, of course, the assumption that given enough education, anyone could make it in our "free enterprise" system. Unfortunately, this has little validity in an economy that demands people to fill the millions of low paying jobs that abound in the marginal and service industries. In fact, two of these programs—the Vocational Curriculum and the Educational Work Assignments proposals—are geared to train young people for the lower echelons of the working class.

Another four of the proposals have the middle-class goal of teaching the poor how to "live right". These include invaluable advice on how to consume when you have no money, how to home-make in a high rent slum, and plans to "build character" among "anti-social" youth. An especially lovely program worked out jointly by the city's government and slumlords proposes to teach "property responsibility", otherwise known as "Pay your rent on time and don't make trouble."

YOUTH CORPS

The gem, the pulsing heart of "Human Renewal" is the Neighborhood Youth Corps, a program "to provide work experience for young men and women ages 16 through 21 . . ." Last anyone misinterpreted this and become concerned that the city might actually do something about poverty, the introduction to this proposal states:

"Some of the jobs envisioned will provide opportunities for learning basic skills, but this will be a by-product rather than the primary goal of the program." (Stress added.)

In order to insure that these teenagers didn't suffer the blight of disappointed rising expectations, it was originally decided to pay them a magnificent sum of 85c per hour, though it now appears that intervention by the AFL-CIO, worried by a potential influx of cheap labor, will get this raised to \$1.25 per hour. Since kids in school will be allowed to work only ten hours per week and those out of school 20, we still needn't

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NOTE TO OUR READERS:

We will resume regular monthly issues at our usual length starting with the April 1965 issue.

fear an upsurge of inflationary wealth.

Most of the "basic skills" gained as a "by-product" of this program are those required by low-paying marginal and service industries. Thus the real "by-product" of this program is to "provide opportunities for learning" how to keep your place in the lowest sector of the working class. To insure that the poor knuckle under to the miserable jobs (and lives) most of them can look forward to, the program states that "the formation of good work habits and attitudes will be stressed."

THE BARONS OF POVERTY

In Baltimore, the 50% federal, 50% local financial structure of the program has caused an "agonizing reappraisal" by those Councilmen whose wards are dominated by middle class property owners. (City financing is done largely on the basis of a property tax.) Local politicians also understand the threat to their power that increased political awareness by the poor constitutes, and have been quite unenthusiastic about any program which might lead to it.

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"Extremism In The Defense
Of Liberty Is No Vice."



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WELFARE WORKERS STRIKE

Once again Bob Wagner and the machinery of New York have beaten down unrest among the natives. They have crushed the welfare workers' strike. With the clerks and social workers back on the job, and the 19 SSE and Local 371 leaders out of jail, nothing remains on the surface except an occasional oil-slick released by the face-saving arbitration board.

Even in defeat the Social Service Employees Union (SSE) must command respect, and the fact that for the first time welfare workers went out on strike against the City is a victory in itself. Nevertheless, in the end the Wagner Administration broke the back of the strike, and the future of the SSE is in doubt.

Some within the union leadership, such as Vice-President Judy Magee, refuse to admit that the SSE has been defeated. Their hope is that the public furor caused by the strike will force the arbitration board to grant significant improvements over the last contract, and that these gains will keep up union morale and momentum. So far the arbitrators have found that the "caseload" (the number of individual or family welfare cases that each social worker must handle) is well above the level of 60 set in the last contract. Predictably, the arbitrators have also concluded that nothing can be done about this. While something slightly better than the \$25 per month raise the City offered may be given as a consolation prize, the prospects for any real gains through arbitration remain grim. Certainly they have lost what was the central issue of the strike—the SSE's demand that caseload, administrative procedures, and working conditions be changed so that the service staff could actually try to help those on welfare.

WHAT IT MEANS

The fact that this was what the strike was about is a good measure of the SSE's importance. Welfare Department work has of course no relation to anyone's "welfare", and social workers within the Department are reduced to glorified clerks [with B.A., of course]. Any real social work assumes material resources and considerable time



per case, and both these factors are conspicuous-ly missing from the welfare worker's job.

Although the office working conditions are downright crummy, the biggest gripe is the ever-mounting caseload. A unit may be scheduled for seven "social investigators" (the official name for social workers), each of whom is supposed to carry 60 cases. In reality the unit will have only five welfare workers, and the average load will be 80—and when vacations arrive the caseload goes even higher. As if this weren't enough, each "social investigator" is buried under a warehouse of idiotic forms and reports. Any constructive work is completely impossible.

A rational working day was unheard of in the Harlem office. We could have spent the whole week at the office filling out forms and never

Johnson must now either obey the "theory" and write off the rest of Southeast Asia, or try to regroup his military and political forces and hold on to what is left. Increasingly Thailand is being portrayed as the next "bastion of democracy" in Southeast Asia: the next "stronghold against Communism." And already, reports come from the arid, poverty-stricken Korat Plateau of Northeast Thailand, telling of underground peasant movements and complaining that "police have been unable to get villagers to cooperate with them or to testify against suspects." A Thai government official describes the situation as like that in South Vietnam "five or six years ago." The implications are clear.

Equally clear is the fact that immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from South Vietnam alone is not enough. That a number of liberal Congressmen and American liberals generally are for getting out of what they call a "losing, self-defeating" war is less than impressive. Aside from the unmistakable implication that if it were a "winning, successful" war they would have a different attitude, this kind of position utterly ignores the basic questions involved.

What about American forces in the rest of Southeast Asia — in Thailand for example? Must they not also be withdrawn if Thailand and other Southeast Asian countries are not to be turned into recaptulations of the Vietnamese slaughter? What will happen when the Thais begin to move against their dictator and his American advisors? Why not deal with that situation now, rather than after another country is ravaged and its people destroyed? What do Morse, Gruening, Church & Co. have to say about that?

More basic: what about American foreign policy as a whole? Has it been ordained by God that the United States must always oppose movements against the decadent social order that prevails not only in Southeast Asia but in much of the rest of the underdeveloped world as well? Or is the only thing that ordains American opposition to anti-capitalist movements the fact that the United States is a capitalist power and defends its interests accordingly?

LIBERAL BLOODBATH

And what do the Congressional critics and their allies have to say about the role of the Democratic Party in the Vietnam war? What about the fact, for example, that when the liberals' savior Kennedy took office

there were 700 U.S. troops in South Vietnam, and when he departed there were 17,000? Our conscience-stricken Congressman talk of a "crisel", "disastrous" and "inhuman" war. Yet so agile is their double-think that they can do so without a single word about the "crisel", "disastrous" and "inhuman" political party—their party—whose policy this war is.

The war in Vietnam bears an unmistakable trademark: "The Liberals' Bloodbath." The responsibility for it cannot be evaded.

Evaded? They have wallowed in it, Kennedy, Stevenson, Johnson; all have defended it and told us it was a war for "democracy."

But in reality nothing more could be expected from these gentlemen. What is a tragedy is that even those forces who have the potential for opposing this brutal war find themselves supporting it. The labor movement, which speaks only through the faty jowls of George Meany and his fellow bureaucrats, officially backs this war and every other war that Washington may cook up. Even Bob Moses, the radical leader of Mississippi SNCC, is caught. At the memorial services for Chaney, Schwerner and Goodman in Mississippi, Moses condemned the raids on North Vietnam. Yet Moses, SNCC, and the rest of the civil rights movement, were pledged to and worked for the election of the very Administration that ordered bombs to be dropped.

The war in Vietnam follows the traditions of all previous adventures in the Democratic Party's foreign policy: This war does not benefit the Vietnamese people, those in Appalachia, in the slums, or the American working class. Its one and only purpose is to save a rotten branch of the capitalist system overseas. Whether popular or unpopular at home, both political parties will commit the American people to these wars time after time.

When Eisenhower hinted that he might end the Korean disaster, he gained millions of votes. When John F. Kennedy finally decided that the Pentagon didn't need any further nuclear tests, his test-ban treaty got such a wave of popular support that even Dirksen Republicans were forced to vote for it. In our lifetime even the faintest gestures towards peace have reaped significant electoral support. The only reason why the Democratic Party insists on its Vietnams is that it is,

have kept up with the flow of red tape. On the other hand, we could have spent the whole week "in the field" visiting families, and never have kept up with that end either. Few activities are more depressing than spending day after day with forms, repelled home visits, telephone calls, discussions with supervisors, etc., just to get one woman a needed winter coat.

A CALL TO ORGANIZE

It was precisely to combat the meaningless routine of Welfare Department work that the SSE was formed. Its organizers were not primarily concerned with "bread and butter", but instead believed that a union of wel-

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and always will be, committed to defending the social system of which it is a part.

DON'T FIGHT!

The only way to remove forever the Vietnamese war and the wars that will surely follow it is to remove from power the interests that created that war. Capitalism is not just corporate monopoly and unemployment; it is a danger to the lives and well-being of the entire world. In the end, only socialism is the real answer. For those who might think this "impractical", look at the "practical" solution that capitalism has produced in Vietnam. Even in the here and now, only a mass movement opposed to the liberal establishment can effectively fight the Johnsons.

Students for a Democratic Society has called for mass picketing of the White House on April 17th to protest the war in Vietnam. They are urging the participation of all "who agree with us that the war in Vietnam injures both Vietnamese and Americans and should be stopped." This demonstration is a beginning and should be supported. The Commander-in-Chief of this war deserves a thoroughly discomfiting demonstration of opposition, not just supplication. But a White House picket is not enough.

SDS and other radical groups who are active among youth, both on the campus and in the community, should begin to organize among those who are actually being asked to fight this war. Leading, pickets, and counterprotesters at recruiting centers in the ghetto is just one example of how to strike back. Another way to start resistance to this aggression is the direct refusal of youth to become cannon fodder in Lyndon's Armed Forces. Resistance to the draft should not be limited to isolated individuals "bearing witness" in the Quaker sense. The anti-draft movement must be organized on a nationwide basis, calling all of draft age to refuse to submit if they are called into service.

We call upon American soldiers now in the Army to refuse to fight in Vietnam, or to participate in this war effort in any way.

We call for unilateral U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam and all of Southeast Asia.

STARS AND BARS

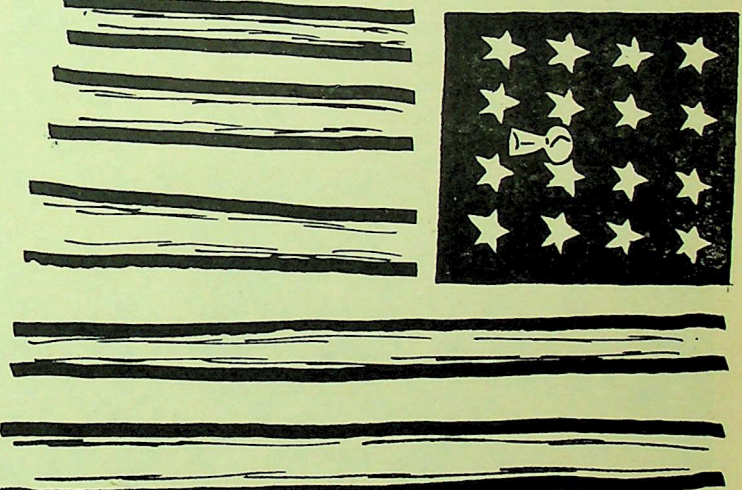
McCarthy has faded into the hysterical past and Goldwater has been exiled to the Arizona sun, *yet witch-hunts are still very much in style.* It doesn't seem to matter that the man in the White House is the model of paternal liberalism; the Justice Department, the Subversive Activities Control Board, and the FBI have been getting their orders to ferret out the witches.

OVER AND OVER

The Justice Department has reopened fire on the Communist Party. In December, the Department demanded and got a new trial of the Party for failure to register under the McCarran Act. (This act requires Communist Party members and the Party itself to register with the Justice Department as "agents of a foreign power." Once registered, members can be arrested under the Smith Act, which makes mere membership in the Communist Party a crime.) The Communist Party has already been dragged through the courts once before under this act, only to have its conviction and \$120,000 fine voided since the government could show no individual willing to risk self-incrimination by registering the Party.

The Subversive Activities Control Board has also been busy attacking the CP. Throughout December and January, the SACB held investigations of alleged Party members charged with failure to register under the McCarran Act. The Boston trials, in which forty-four people were called up, were complete with a husband-and-wife team of informers who had been sending in monthly reports of local CP activities for the last 11 years in exchange for \$32,000 and, naturally, reimbursement for contributions to the Party. *Even they, however, admitted when pressed that in all their 11 years in the Party they had never heard anyone call for the violent overthrow of the government.*

In December, Russ Nixon of the *National Guardian*, and Dagmar Wilson and Donna Allen of the Women's Strike for Peace were cited for contempt of Congress when they demanded only that the executive session of HUAC to which they had been subpoenaed be opened to the public before they would testify. Apparently visiting the State Department is un-American these days; the House Committee had called the three up supposedly solely because they were investigating visits made by the three to help obtain a U.S. visa for Kaom



Yasui, head of the Japan Council Against A & H Bombs. Even the Immigration and Naturalization Service got into the act by moving to deport Joe Johnson, the Socialist Workers Party organizer in Minneapolis, on the trumped-up grounds that he had given up his U.S. citizenship during a six year stay in Canada.

In Indiana, the state Supreme Court, reversing a local court decision, recently upheld County Prosecutor Hoadley's indictment of three Indiana University Young Socialist Alliance members for violation of the state anti-Communist act.

Meanwhile, in the supposedly more liberal East, a Philadelphia judge pinned the summer's riots on Shaykh Muhammad Hassen, leader of the Muslim Improvement Association. Sentencing him to 1½ to 3 years for inciting to riot, the judge claimed Hassen was *personally responsible* for the four million dollars property damage done!

NEW YORK'S WINTER FESTIVAL

As an outcome of the Harlem street fights of last summer, New York City held its own inquisition. Led on by liberal Mayor Wagner, the city first zeroed in on Progressive Labor Movement leader William Epton, arresting him for attempting to lead a protest march during the fighting. Later, five others were indicted on charges of perjury and criminal contempt for refusing to testify as informers.

INVESTMENT IN TERROR

This March brings the fifth anniversary of South Africa's Sharpsville Massacre. Our minds still recall the press photographs of that mass African demonstration, unarmed but proud, marching to protest the *apartheid* internal passport law; the scenes of horror, of crowds of men and women scrambling over bodies, running to escape the sprays of machine gun fire from armored cars, from the guns of the white soldiers. Afterwards, the empty photographs showing only the bodies of the murdered. So long as the Verwoerd regime remains Sharpsville must never be forgotten, for it is a part of the present as well as the past.

SDS DEMONSTRATION

The Students for a Democratic Society are calling for nationwide protests on March 19th against the *apartheid* regime. In their words, "This will be a significantly different action from the anti-*apartheid* demonstrations of the past; rather than decriing the far-off evil of *apartheid*, we intend to underscore the fact that the U.S. is very deeply implicated in that ugly system—that the evil is not vague, but tied to specific American interests." In New York City activity will focus on a sit-in at the Chase Manhattan Bank (controlled by the Rockefeller's), which has loaned the Union of South Africa \$10 million on its own, and participated in another \$40 million loan.

In a weaselly letter that does full justice to David Rockefeller's mentality, the Bank writes to SDS: "We are pleased to learn that organizations such as yours follow banking news, and in particular, our loans to the Republic of South Africa. I understand and concur with your commitment to racial equality and democracy, and hope you appreciate our stand on the matter. . . . A loan

to the Republic of South Africa is considered sound banking business. . . . This does not mean, however, that the Chase Manhattan Bank endorses the political decisions of the government of the Republic of South Africa. . . . On the other hand, we believe it would endanger the free world if every large American bank deprived developing countries of the opportunity for economic growth. . . ."

INVESTMENT IN "FREEDOM"

It goes almost without saying that the "free world" is tripping over itself—not to help Ghana or Mali—but to strengthen the slave economy of South Africa. Ford Motor Co. has invested over \$500 million there, and Britain's version of Du Pont or I.G. Farben, the mammoth Imperial Chemicals Limited, has opened a multi-million dollar munitions factory for the Verwoerd regime. The list of British, American, French and German companies pouring capital into South Africa reaches into the hundreds.

The SDS demonstration is important not only because it commemorates the anniversary of Sharpsville by calling attention to the international interests behind that massacre, but because 1965 marks a new "high" in the development of South Africa's totalitarian society. On New Year's Day the full provisions of the Bantu Laws took effect. Now no African can leave the "reservation" areas except as slave labor through the State Labor Bureau. This law gives the government full "legal" control over the movements of all Africans—those who have grown up in cities or in white farming districts can be banished en masse to the barren "reservation" lands. South Africa is no Nazi fantasy world—it is the real life case of how western capitalism has produced its "ideal" society in the underdeveloped world.

On Dec. 19, three members of the May 2nd Committee in New York were subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury also. Continuing its smear tactics, the city carefully chose to deliver the subpoenas on the 19th, the same day the May 2nd Committee had called for a city-wide demonstration against the war in Vietnam.

Throughout the fall, Mobilization for Youth, an experimental social work agency, was investigated by everyone from Wagner to its own Board of Directors. The most notable thing about this attack was that although streams of protests about the subversives lurking on the MEY staff poured out from both city officials and the reactionary New York Daily News, MEY emerged intact. No one was fired, even though one staff member made no secret of his Socialist Workers Party activities. Why? It was a case of the liberals being unwilling to kittle themselves: Mobilization for Youth is a War on Poverty agency. If subversion had been discovered, the responsibility would have been their own.

THE LIBERAL HOUR

Today's witch-hunts are not like the 50's. Much of the sensationalism and irrationality that surrounded the McCarthy attacks is gone. Few storms of protest arise now. Since every other liberal and his grandmother isn't being hauled in as an agent of the Red Conspiracy, the liberals that once beat the civil liberties drums sit by in silent acquiescence while the less publicized witch-hunts go on. Indeed, today it is liberalism itself running the most dangerous witch-hunts, not a half-crazed McCarthy.

Johnson's witch-hunters haven't had to learn anything new, however. Even the notorious Attorney General's list was not an ultra-rightist's brainchild, but the creation of *Truman's* Attorney General. And it was Americans for Democratic Action's godson, *Hubert Horatio Humphrey*, that pushed through Congress an amendment to the McCarran Act that keeps the concentration camps built to house Japanese-Americans during World War II in constant readiness to hold radicals whenever the government desires to round them up.

But the Justice Department is not hounding the Communist Party simply to keep in practice. Nor is the CP being hit just because long ago the McCarran Act got passed. Wagner's police didn't arrest Epton just because the New York Criminal Anarchy law exists. That they decided to *enforce* these laws is the telling point. Even if these particular laws were wiped from the books, attacks would still be made on other grounds. Witch-hunting serves a necessary function for defenders of the status quo—liberal though they may be. The aim is to brand social protest as a dangerous conspiracy of a few leftist nuts, and to intimidate those who might protest the system.

In New York, the real reasons for the riots were pushed aside, and much of the fighting was explained away as the work of a few agitators. In Baltimore, the longshoremen refused to accept an inadequate contract and immediately their protest was chalked up to a couple of malcontent Reds by both government spokesmen and their own union officials. At the same time, capitalism finds it useful to pillory a few radicals to serve as examples for those who would oppose it. Even the bed-ragged Communist Party is brought to task as an example.

All who stand for civil liberties must wholeheartedly oppose each attack on them, from whatever source. But protesting after the attacks are made is not enough.

Nor is the task of getting rid of the investigations and their attempts to discredit the idea of social change as simple as getting a few laws repealed. *The failure to recognize this is the mistake of those who board buses to Washington to protest HUAC but who in November ring doorbells for Johnson.* It underlies the ideology of the Communist Party, which protests the anti-Communist laws but enthusiastically supports LBJ and critically approves the status quo itself.

Much more than the occasional chanting of outraged protests or lobbying to repeal old laws is necessary. The fight for civil liberties must be a continuous struggle in political opposition to capitalism's guardians of today.

Janet Heywood

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**WELFARE STRIKE
CONTINUED . . .**

(Continued from Page 3)

fare workers could become a real force in the battle against the Welfare machinery. One of SSE's first organizing leaflets shows this very well:

"... Look around you, and see the price old hands have paid. In the Training Units new faces appear constantly. Within three months they become 'Welfare'. Bewildered. Disillusioned. Definitely hostile. Loathe the sight of a client. . . . After a year four of six will be gone. One will hang around, a Mr. or Mrs. Mcawber, hoping something may turn up, preferably a new job. The sixth will stay, at the risk of going kooky."

"Investigators are humiliated by their job every day. If you demand dignity and pride, you must struggle for them. . . ."

Do not delude yourself. Welfare is a third of your daily life. You are changed by it.

"To Social Investigator Tranees who are the uncorrupted among us: we know how many of you came here with a conscious or unconscious desire to help the forgotten, the disabled, the old. Do not let Welfare distort your humane feelings, nor stifle your pity, nor drive you to seek escape into the commercial world."

THE OLD SELL-OUT

This reaction to the degrading nature of Welfare only explains a part of the SSE, for the union is also a reaction to the Department's former union, Local 371 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFL-CIO). Under the leadership of Jerry Wurf, Executive Director of AFSCME District 37, Local 371 refused to engage in any battles whatsoever. Nothing showed this more clearly than the circumstances surrounding the previous contract, negotiated by Local 371 in October, 1962.

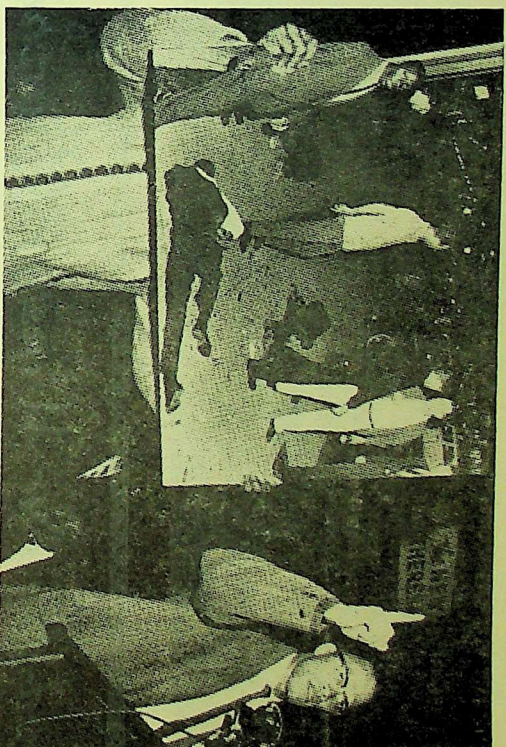
The officials showed a strange attitude for union leaders, as they entered the fray, by demanding less than Welfare Commissioner Dunnington had publicly admitted social investigators should earn. It isn't surprising that although all of the City's three offers included a small raise, the gap between Welfare Department salaries and earnings of all comparable City employees widened. Even Local 371's big "victory"—the reduction of the caseload from 75 to 60—was hollow. New Federal regulations made it mandatory for Welfare departments to have an individual caseload average of no more than 60. The agreement negotiated by the officers of Local 371 gave the City until the expiration of the contract (in January, 1965) to actually reduce the caseload, thus "winning" a clause even weaker than Federal regulations.

When these terms were revealed, an outraged membership twice rejected City offers, and voted to strike. Under pressure from the rank and file (and the young SSE), the leadership of Local 371 was forced to break with its traditions and for the first time threaten the City with a walkout. Yet strong evidence exists that this move was all a show of militancy, pre-arranged with City officials, and that the Local leaders had no intention of permitting any strike. The walkout was called for October 10th, which was one day before payday. In the face of the Department's known position that strikers' paychecks would be withheld, this timing surpasses the believable limits of ordinary stupidity. It could only have been calculated to create confusion and hesitancy in the membership, weakening any move towards striking.

The Welfare Department's actions were curious also. At first Commissioner Dunnington called an emergency Administrators meeting, sent out all-staff memos, and in general laid plans to carry on the Department during the strike. But the day before the scheduled strike, Dunnington cancelled the emergency meeting, recalled the memos, and stopped all preparations for dealing with the strike—just as though he knew it would never take place!

On the evening of October 9th Local 371 held a special meeting to consider a third and "new" City offer. Although it was essentially identical to the offers already rejected, the Local officers managed to ram it through the meeting. In part, this was due to the fears caused by the proposed date of the strike, although the fact that the terms of the "new" offer were not announced until the meeting started played a major role in the opposition's defeat.

Despite the bitterness caused by their sell-out of the October, 1962, negotiations, the leaders of Local 371 continued to spring into action whenever welfare workers threatened the City. When social workers at Boro Hall, the largest of the Welfare Centers, tried to get what the 1962 contract had promised them, they were hit by a united front of the City and Local 371. By February 28, 1963, the raises that they were supposed to get on January 1st of that year had not appeared, and neither had the caseloads been reduced. Unable to even obtain copies of the contract, they staged a walk-out. Welfare Commissioner Dunnington promptly suspended 120 of them, while the President of Local 371 publicly opposed the demonstration.



We must murder the yellow-haired hawkers of brandy and the courtesans of apple and sand; we must batter with fishblows the gone little jezebesses, in a lather of bubbles; for the king and his hosts must come singing from Harlem.

Federico Garcia Lorca

* * *

Some of history's most brilliant figures come out of "nowhere", out of the bottom of their society. Malcolm X was one of these. It was hard to avoid the feeling that of all the Negro leaders Malcolm might be the right man at the right time. The entire civil rights movement wondered for years when his break with the Muslims would come—everyone knew that someday he would have to leave. Malcolm understood that the Muslim movement is a make-believe world, a high-class con game preying on the agony of the ghetto. Even when he was still within their ranks he tried to turn outward toward the real world, joining other Negro groups fighting police brutality, or pressuring for the \$1.50 minimum wage law in New York state.

The civil rights leadership is a dreary group as a whole, and Malcolm X stood out among them as an electric figure. Malcolm told his personal truth, and said what he felt. This alone made the Kings and Farmers look like Black George Meany's. When you think of the "Big Six" your mind instantly pictures them at a press conference, or at the White House. Think of Malcolm and your mind returns to Harlem.

This is the key to the magnetism he undoubtedly had, and the excitement he generated. When Malcolm attacked America, when he refused to go through the self-degrading hypocrisy of "mourning" Massa Kennedy, he was speaking both for himself and for a part of the ghetto. It was no accident that he was recruited out of prison. Malcolm spoke for those Negroes who had been cast down out of society, who had no social role even within the working class.

Yet his future was a question mark. He was undoubtedly changing in his last two years, and many claimed that Malcolm was at last becoming a "moderate". Certainly he left nothing visible to judge him by: no real organization, no political program, no battles in progress. During the critical summer of 1964, when Harlem was in upheaval, Malcolm insisted on touring abroad. On the other hand, it's hard to picture Malcolm X as just another panicky bureaucrat, another Black Major-Domo to the liberal court. He might have been moving toward a confrontation with capitalism, translating his anger and oratory into something tangible. Whatever of significance he might have done for his people lay in the future, and his tragedy is that this possibility has now been denied.

MALCOLM X

THE NEW UNION

With this background, it isn't surprising that the SSE gained a majority in Center after Welfare Center, clinching their victory against Local 371 with elections to determine who would represent the social investigators. [Local 371, still representing the clerical staff, was pressured into the recent strike only because the SSE was definitely "going out".]

Certainly the SSE is as different from Local 371 as day is from night. Local 371 is set up to discourage rank-and-file participation and control. Elections take place in at-large meetings, where thousands of men-

bers are massed together to vote for candidates most of them know little or nothing about. One-third of Local 371's Executive Board is appointed by the President, while almost all the rest are Administrators and Supervisors from the Central Office. In contrast, the SSE Executive Board is composed of elected officers and representatives elected from each Welfare Center. The latter form a majority on the Board, and can be recalled by the members at each Center. All of the officers earn their living as social investigators at Welfare Centers. In general, the SSE is a militant, highly democratic union.

(Continued on Page 9)



Good-By Sir Winston Churchill

Who was the far-sighted man who said: "It is alarming and also nauseating to see Mr. Gandhi, a seditious Middle Temple lawyer, now posing as a fakir, striding half-naked up the steps of the Vice-regal palace to parley on equal terms with the representative of the King-Emperor.?"

Who was the man who said: "France has all the right on his side because he loves his country. Also France is defending Europe against the Communist danger—if you wish to put it in those terms.?"

Why, of course, it was none other than Sir Winston Churchill.

* * * * *

Sir Winston's death touched off a damn colorful show of old-fashioned pageantry. The Royal House Guards, the Royal Marines, and the Royal Labour Party were only a few of the Crown units involved in the great show. Flowers, prancing horsemen, flashy uniforms, the assembled nobility and statesmen of 100 countries; all contributed to the best spectacular in many a day. (If only those boring Democratic Party conventions could open and close with a state funeral they would be much livelier.)

There was, however, one serious lack in the whole business. Nobody, but nobody, could think of anything to say about the late Sir Winston. Most heads of state just mumbled something about "great statesman," "champion of freedom," and so on. His old comrade-in-arms, Dwight Eisenhower (who occasionally gets things confused), informed us that "Churchill was England." Harold Wilson, the Commander-in-Chief of Her Majesty's Own Socialist Government, was plainly at a loss. No mean speechmaker himself, Bold Harold was forced to tell Commons how Sir Winston was a "great parliamentarian." Our real sympathy goes out to Adlai Stevenson, who had to pretend before the U.N. (he's quite good at it, actually) that the death of a doddering, reactionary was somehow a tragic loss. Adlai cribbed a bit from a certain poet and announced that Sir Winston's death left "a lonely place against the sky," or words to that effect. And so on.

Alas, we will have to admit that Sir Winston's personal history seems to embarrass the statement of today, and they all appear to have a puzzling mental block about him.

WINNIE BETWEEN WARS

Lord of the Admiralty during World War I, Churchill found himself representing England at the Versailles "Peace Conference". In keeping with the air of that infamous body, he proposed that the European nations form a joint army and invade Russia. As Lenin said: "He boasted that he would mobilize 14 states against Russia—this was in 1919—he would take Petrograd in September and Moscow in December. He was a little too loud in his boasting."

Sir Winston's inability to persuade the English government to declare war on Russia left him heart-broken, but his enthusiastic love for good causes could never be dampened. In Parliament he defended the good work of the "Black and Tans". And in 1922 he opposed the Irish Free State Bill (Sir Winston was no petty racist; he believed that most of all races should be held in slavery to the glorious Empire).

The 1920's saw the rise of fascism in Italy, as Il Duce's secret police enforced the long night of totalitarianism over the Italian working class. As the "champion of democracy", Sir Winston was deeply moved by all this. In 1927, while visiting Mussolini in Rome, he declared: "If I had been an Italian I am sure I would have been with you from start to finish in your triumphant struggle against the bestial passions of Leninism."

Churchill was also busy at home. In 1924, he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and, as *Time* magazine commented: "His first budget was the first link in the deflationary chain that led to a general strike, a nation-wide depression, and the fall of the second Baldwin government." This was a real "mover of men" at work. In his own courageous way, Sir Winston believed in taking the consequences of his actions, and he played a leading role in crushing the general strike of 1926.

We will skip over his support of Dollfus in Austria, Francisco Franco in Spain, and his insistent demand that the Congress movement in India be suppressed. Let us enter into his golden age—World War II. We will pull up the curtain on the Yalta Conference, where Roosevelt, Marshall Stalin and Sir Winston are cozily deciding what they will do with the world they are on the verge of winning.

BUSINESS AT YALTA

The Yalta meetings revealed Churchill's statesman-like grasp of what the war was really all about. Not democracy, since Sir Winston was in constant opposition to what little he understood of it. Rather, it was over which nation or group of nations should grow fat over the loot that our teeming globe provides. As Sir Winston put it:

"Our objective is seeing that Germany will not starve in helping the Soviet get all it can in manpower and factories and helping the British get all they can in exports to former German markets."

In keeping with this, Sir Winston took the liberty of suggesting at a later meeting between himself and Stalin a division of Eastern Europe that would have something for everyone (or almost everyone):

"The moment was apt for business, so I said Let us settle about our affairs in the Balkans. Your armies are in Roumania and Bulgaria. We

have interests, missions and agents there. Don't let us get at cross purposes in small ways. So far as Britain and Russia are concerned, how would it do for you to have 90 per cent predominance in Roumania, for us to have 90 per cent of the say in Greece, and go 50-50 about Yugoslavia? While this was being translated I wrote out on a half-sheet of paper:

"Roumania	90%
Russia	90%
The others	10%
Greece	90%
Great Britain	(in accord with U.S.A.)
Russia	10%
Yugoslavia	50-50%
Hungary	50-50%
Bulgaria	75%
Russia	25%
The others	25%

"I pushed this across to Stalin, who had by then heard the translation. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it and passed it back to me. It was all settled in no more time that it takes to sit down."

"After this there was a long silence. The penciled paper lay in the center of the table. At length I said, 'Might it not be thought rather cynical if it seemed we had disposed of these issues, so farcical to millions of people, in such an offhand manner? Let us burn the paper.' 'No, you keep it,' said Stalin." (Churchill's Memoirs, Vol. 6)

MAN OF HIS TIMES

Sir Winston, a man of old-world integrity, took this deal very seriously. So when British troops landed in Greece in 1944, they brought with them the former King George, and set up a puppet regime under Prime Minister Papandreou. Not understanding Sir Winston's statesmanship, the Greek people launched wave after wave of mass demonstrations against the puppet regime.

On November 7, 1944, Churchill sent this memo to Anthony Eden: "In my opinion, having paid the price we have to Russia for freedom of action in Greece, we should not hesitate to use British troops to support . . . Papandreou." (Churchill claimed the troops would prevent a situation ". . . in which all forms of government would have been swept away, and naked triumphant Trotskyism installed. I think Trotskyism is a better definition of Greek Communism and certain other sects than the normal word. It has the advantage of being equally hated in Russia.") So the British army machine-gunned unarmed demonstrations, and Sir Winston's planes strafed villages, killing women and children. Hitler's occupation ended, and England's economic domination resumed (where it had stopped in 1940).

* * * * *

Much more could be written on the career of "Old Fatgus," as the British working class called him. But his real epitaph can only be in his own most famous words: "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat." The reason so many statesmen of the 1960's develop amnesia about his career is not because Sir Winston was a colorful 19th Century fossil, but rather that his life so embarrassingly demonstrates the bloody political reality of our own times.

MARCH ON WASHINGTON TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM!

APRIL 17TH

THOUSANDS OF STUDENTS AND ADULTS FROM NEW YORK, BALTIMORE, WASHINGTON, PHILADELPHIA, MINNEAPOLIS AND OTHER AREAS ACROSS THE COUNTRY ARE BUSING TO PICKET THE WHITE HOUSE ON APRIL 17th, FOLLOWED BY A MARCH TO THE CAPITOL BUILDING — JOIN AND PROTEST AMERICA'S WAR IN VIETNAM.

CONTACT: SDS, 119 FIFTH AVE. NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.

SAY NO TO WAR!

BALTIMORE'S BAND-AID WAR continued . . .

(Continued from Page 2)

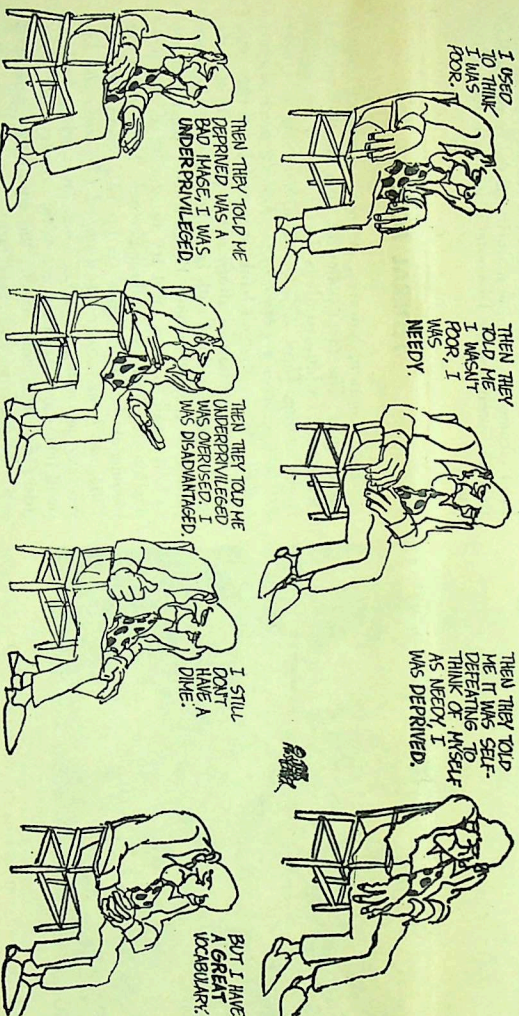
Fortunately, for the peace of mind of these high-minded political leaders, a Steering Committee was chosen that understood full well the needs of Baltimore's poor. Among the members are:

Thomas D'Alessandro III; President, Baltimore City Council (a Democratic machine politician of the usual variety); George Robinson, Jr.; President, Maryland National Bank (slum real estate); Rev. Robert T. Newbold, Jr. (who opposed spreading the word of the March on Washington in the ghetto because it might have sparked race riots); Louis B. Kohn, Jr.; Vice-President, Hochschild, Kohn and Co. (his major department store pays some of its workers 85¢ per hour and was just picked by the AFL-CIO for selling scrub clothing); N. Page Worthington; General Public Relations Manager, Chesapeake & Potomac Telephone Co. (no comment needed).

It needs little imagination to picture what these gentlemen will do for the poor of Baltimore.

"As residents living in the so-called action area of the local anti-poverty program [Human Renewal] we call for a massive and effective war on poverty. Even though this plan is supposed to help us, we have never been asked what we want this plan to do. The present anti-poverty plan will not attack some of our most basic problems. We need more, better, and cheaper housing, more jobs, and higher incomes. The present plan is just an extension of the same social welfare services that we already have."

It also listed five demands: 1) Inclusion of the poor in decision making; 2) employment of jobless workers to rehabilitate slum housing; 3) a food stamp program; 4) creation of neighborhood recreation centers and playgrounds—again to be constructed by unemployed workers; 5) a minimum wage of \$1.25 per hour on all "Human Renewal" programs. Signed by more than 800 people, the petition formed the climax to U-JOIN's presentation of the detailed alternate plan at the second hearing.



KICKING BACK

The poor, however, have actually had the nerve to complain. In January of this year, the Judiciary Committee of the City Council began to hold public hearings on City Ordinance 868, which would create the governing body of the "Human Renewal" program. At the first hearing, representatives from various social welfare agencies, city departments, and liberal organizations poured forth platitudes about the imaginative and ambitious nature of "Human Renewal". Complaints and criticisms were presented by the Urban League, the Citizens Planning and Housing Association, and the Union for Jobs or Income Now (U-JOIN). The chief complaint of the Urban League was that they, along with the NAACP and the Interdenominational Minister's Alliance, were not listed as members of the governing board; CPHA's concern was with the lack of housing proposals in the plan. U-JOIN, a neighborhood-based organization made up of working class people, along with several others from the community, gave the most serious criticism of the plan. They attacked the proposed plan on the grounds that it had been drawn up undemocratically and that it didn't deal with the most pressing problems of the poor—lack of income, unemployment, rotten housing.

Following the meeting, U-JOIN continued work on its own plan, an alternative to the one proposed to the City Council. At the same time it circulated a petition in the area "Human Renewal" had designated as that of greatest poverty. The petition stated:

The final hearing saw Baltimore liberals' finest hour. Under the impact of neighborhood people testifying against the "Human Renewal" program, the councilmen, who certainly had no plans for voting against or improving the program, viciously attacked the people it was supposed to help. Typically, the attack was led by liberal and "labor" councilmen. The social welfare forces were represented by Dr. Edleson, head of the Baltimore Health and Welfare Council, who began by saying that the program would work eventually, but that it would take at least one generation before its effects would be noticed. He went on to say that he really couldn't define who "the poor" were, and that he was not sure that he could involve them in any program even if he did know who they were. (Despite Dr. Edleson's professed ignorance of who "the poor" are, he apparently has some idea, for he said that the neighborhood people could not possibly represent the poor because they were too articulate.)

In truth, Baltimore's liberals are fairly crude in their opposition to any steps which might lead to demands for power among the poor. When a representative of the Federal Poverty Office told the local poverty bureaucrats that "it was written into the law that the poor must be included in the program," Stanley Mazer asked him, "Just how much of a revolution do you want to legislate?"

At this writing, a number of things are clear. First, the program will pass in essentially the same form it

was proposed. At most, a few of the proposals may be cut, or alternatively, a deal with the Federal agency made on the question of financing. The opposition and criticisms of U-JOIN and the neighborhood people have, of course, been totally ignored. The program is, after all, far too important to let any of the people whose lives it will affect have any say in it. Fortunately, the ordinance will do no more than establish the governing board. This means that grass-roots opposition can still be made and a continued campaign against the program waged.

Even within its own terms, however, the "Human Renewal" program in Baltimore is doomed to failure, for its main accomplishment is to reveal all the defects of the capitalist system, even as defined and applied by the liberal imagination. It has given the local politicians the opportunity to go through all the motions of concern when they are performing publicly, and has revealed all the cynicism of the Politics of Poverty when they think the public isn't watching. In addition to exposing the inability of liberalism to deal seriously with the problem, the War on Poverty has provided another example of the "poverty of politics" as they exist today.

Kim Moody and
Bob Moore

TIP OF THE ICEBERG

As we go to press America is engrossed in a golden celebration—press, business, the Administration, and liberal leaders are all joyous over this economy's continued boom. It is true that predictions of a downturn in mid-1965 are slightly annoying, but in the best capitalist traditions everyone feels that they'll "believe it when they see it". There is at least one indicator that is already visibly flashing in alarm. As the February 11 *Wall Street Journal* informs us: "At the height of the nation's longest peacetime boom, more Americans are losing their homes through foreclosure than at any time since before World War II."

In 1964 over 100,000 families lost their homes—the highest number since the Depression year of 1939. The percentage of home mortgages foreclosed on has doubled since 1959 (which was not exactly a prosperous year). The *Wall Street Journal*, quoting real estate analyst Sanford Goodkin, warns that this year's troubles are "an iceberg, of which foreclosures are only the visible, smaller part—the rest would surface as foreclosures in a recession." The ominous truth is that so much of the current consumer buying boom is extremely fragile, composed of families buying goods on the "never-never" well beyond their stable ability to pay. What happens when the bottom block is removed from the pile?

THAT'S LIFE

If you remember, five year ago the Eisenhower Administration brought anti-trust charges against 29 leading electrical corporations. It turned out that top executives from these "competing" companies had been getting together for years to rig prices bid for major electrical equipment contracts. Not only were a score of big wigs fined and given short jail sentences, but the companies have been deluged ever since by lawsuits from the businesses and local governments they swindled. General Electric alone has had to pay out over \$170 million in damage suits.

Unfortunately, last year the Tax Men ruled that fines and damage suits incurred while violating the anti-trust laws are "ordinary and necessary" business expenses—tax deductible, naturally. It's a special occasion when the Federal Government admits that conspiring to break laws is a necessary part of business life. Of course, the Internal Revenue Bureau won't let this go to their heads. We can rest assured that, together with Congress and the White House, they will continue their back-breaking task of finding tax loopholes for America's upper class.

NEWS NOTES

at last August a new kind of struggle boiled over onto the American scene, as the National Farmers Organization struck local packing plants all over the Midwest.

In county after county, particularly in the northern Midwest, the NFO tried to starve local markets of their normal livestock supply in a determined effort to force collective bargaining agreements for higher prices. Mass demonstrations and bursts of violence on both sides (in one case resulting in the deaths of two farmer-pickers) attracted nationwide publicity. *Behind these strikes is the pent-up desperation of the small farmer, who is rapidly being shoved off the land as American agriculture becomes dominated by large-scale, high investment farming.*

The NFO has an estimated 200,000 members (its national leadership does not release figures) scattered over 23 states. They claim considerable strength in Ohio, Nebraska, Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin, and to be expanding east and west, with requests for organizers coming from the deep South. Locally, their members are organized by county and congressional district, with delegates to the annual national convention elected on a county-wide basis.

What has focused so much interest on the NFO is that its program is an application of the tactics so痛fully learned by industrial workers during the great CIO organizing drives. While this has happened before, it has usually been among hired agricultural laborers or tenant farmers. In contrast, the National Farmers Organization is made up of family farmers, who own their own farms and are proverbially "their own bosses."

Their goal is the *elimination* of local markets—the middlemen between farmers and meat companies—and a nationwide network of contracts between packing plants and NFO groups. Uniform high prices would be forced on the processors, and maintained by the threat of strikes (called "holding actions" by the NFO). This is the core of the NFO program. But since small family farms do not control the bulk of supply in many areas, the battle must center around the fight to block off or tie up local buyers and processing plants themselves. This forces the NFO to adopt direct action tactics, in the same way that the heart of many union organizing strikes was to keep "scabs" out of the shop.

THE BATTLE

Midwestern meat packers were hit just at the time when livestock shipments were heaviest. Picket lines of angry farmers surrounded the gates and unloading areas of processing plants, prepared to stop deliveries from nearby markets and farms.

Some of the delaying tactics developed in the course of the fight provided moments of comic relief. In one instance, a farmer sent one hog to market along with a couple of guinea hens. The hens, notoriously fleet aloft, escaped when the hog was unloaded, and the ensuing commotion tied up the unloading dock for almost an hour.

Nevertheless, the seriousness of the demonstrations was unmistakable. NFO supporters swelled the lines to as many as several hundred, and tensions mounted with each approaching truck: in Wisconsin, a crowd of demonstrators clashed with state police. And on September 9, in Bondue, Wisconsin, two farmers were crushed to death beneath the wheels of a livestock truck when NFO pickets sat in to keep the truck out of the stockyard.

In militant areas, this strike was more akin to guerrilla action than to the kind of industrial strikes the 1960's have so far produced. Last summer, wholesale livestock prices were at a 14-year low, and many of these small farmers were literally fighting for their economic lives. Throughout the Midwest, trucks were fired on en route to local stockyards; other trucks were stopped by farmers' barricades on the highways. Tires were slashed and uncooperative drivers terrorized, and NFO members tell stories of some drivers — and their trucks — that simply disappeared.

The strike successfully closed some local markets; in other areas, where boycotts and threats to buyers and sellers failed, NFO militants dynamited to force a more permanent shutdown. In one Midwestern town, a new, completely automated beet processing plant suddenly and mysteriously blew up. Explosions also shook the Orion, Illinois, stockyards owned by Oscar Mayer & Co., and one September weekend saw several Wisconsin yards also hit by dynamite.

When the NFO leadership ended the strike on October 2, however, no significant gains had been achieved. Contracts between farmers and meat companies were reported signed in some areas, but they do not take effect until the NFO small farmers represent 60% of the firm's normal meat supply. In most areas, NFO members produce considerably less than this.

Minnesota members said that no trucks had been getting through the western part of that state, and there was widespread rank-and-file dissatisfaction with what they considered to be a premature end to the meat strike.

Blindly, however, even a longer or more widespread strike would have had little chance of making a real difference in the lives of these farmers. Today, large, highly mechanized farms, requiring a great deal of capital investment and often owned directly by processing chains, can produce enough food to supply all or al-

most all domestic and foreign markets. Eighty percent of marketed farm commodities are produced by the 27% of American farms earning over \$10,000 annually. In short, no small farmers' strike can come close to cutting off the processors' raw materials. *Workers in the St. Paul packing houses stated that the plants were running overtime during the period when the meat strike should have been most effective.*

THE CONFLICT INSIDE

On top of other difficulties, the NFO's entrenched bureaucracy provides a further brake to effective action. President Oren Lee Staley has headed the NFO since it was founded ten years ago, and nothing short of TNT will remove him. Unlike most organizations, the NFO doesn't boast of its activities, or of the structure and extent of the group; in fact, the top leadership is so secretive that membership rolls and figures are unavailable even to NFO members themselves.

At the recent national convention (held in Minneapolis in early December), delegates were treated to optimism and praise of Staley in place of hard facts,

NFO NFO NFO NFO



NFO NFO NFO NFO



and there was no serious discussion of NFO policies or of the problems facing small farmers. The NFO lawyer, whose account of the hog and the guinea hens drew applause from the delegates, also lectured the membership against irresponsible and "disorderly" behavior—with the NFO receiving nationwide coverage, it must become more respectable! Officials stressed, and restressed their demand that the governing board be allowed to begin and end projects *without question or objection from members or local groups*, and in general they showed no willingness to involve the membership in running the organization. One opposition delegate accused the bureaucracy of calling last summer's meat strike only to build itself a militant image for the convention.

Moreover, NFO organizers are paid only when on assignment, and opposition members point out that officials who cross Staley get no assignments and thus no pay. Membership turnover is considerable, as members in older areas become dissatisfied with Staley & Co.'s rule, and discouraged by the general lack of success. Not surprisingly, this state of affairs has produced a marked decrease in opposition to the bureaucracy within the past couple of years. December's convention delegates tended to be newer members, many still with illusions about the NFO leadership. A few conventions ago, Staley was opposed by three powerful rank-and-file caucuses, and drew only a plurality in the election. *The opposition candidates together polled a clear majority, but could not unite.* No longer is Staley's position so precarious. This year he was absent in a Minneapolis hospital, with Erhard Phngsten, NFO vice-president, officiating in his place like a high priest at the altar of an unseen but powerful god. Absentee Staley won easily, 4767 to 679.

NEW OPPOSITION

All that remains of the rank-and-file movement to-day is a series of small, disunited local groups. Running against Staley at this convention was Lynn E. Bove of the Sherburne County, Minnesota, NFO; he was also supported by the Minnesota Victory Committee and a North Dakota group. These three consider themselves the nucleus for building a new opposition within the NFO. With local variations, their program calls for: 1) *internal democracy*; 2) *selective strikes, hitting one processor at a time*; and 3) *strikes in dairy and grain, which they claim are less dominated by large enterprises than is livestock.* In addition, the Minnesota Victory Committee, some of whose members had experience in the Minneapolis Teamsters' strike of 1934, emphasizes cooperation with urban workers as a prerequisite for any significant gains.

Even if the opposition could someday oust Staley and substitute its own program, the chances of real victory are slight. The economic weight of small farmers is like a drop in the agricultural bucket, and is growing slighter every year. The NFO does not even include, or attempt to fight for the lowest strata of the farming population—those who try to wrestle a bare living out of microscopic plots, who tenant farm (perhaps on Ladybird's land), or who have no land at all and sell their muscle as migrant laborers.

Other farm organizations as well have no realistic program for small family farmers. The National Farm Bureau Federation is trying to get ten or more of its state Federations to pool resources and buy control of the A & P chain. It's a wry commentary on the nature of the National Farm Bureau that it is thinking of—decades too late—a conservative parallel to the cooperative movement. Retail grocery chains have the lowest profit margin in the retailing sector, and any real profits must come from the processing and wholesaling operations. But here, the experience would be the same as that of rural canning cooperatives, where the need to compete price-wise and service-wise in the market forces them to pay their farmer-members bankruptcy prices.

More interesting is James Patton's 400,000-member National Farmers Union, which sees the only salvation for the family farm in pressuring for subsidies from the Federal Government. The fact of declining farm family income has moved the NFU towards political positions far more radical than the stereotyped Republican farmer (in fact, the majority of the farm population has been solidly Democratic for well over a decade).

FEDERAL ROLE

This program, however, is hopeless within today's status quo. The farm policy of both Republican and Democratic Administrations has been to strengthen large farming. *Those 27% of all farmers who earn over \$10,000 per year get 80% of the Federal price support dollar.* As for the soil bank program, it benefits only those farmers who can afford not to farm part of their total acreage — those with large holdings or who have outside sources of income. Because the price levels are so low, small farmers must try to squeeze all the production they can out of their acreage. Thus, while the income of the larger farms is up 13% from 1959 to 1963, *net farm income has dropped 15% over the 13-year period ending in 1963.* When farm prices decline, small farms are wiped out across the country, and when prices rise, this only widens the equipment and land gap between large and small farms.

The latest Federal programs, while publicly admitting that past programs have only accelerated the crisis of the small family farm, are meant to smooch the pathway off the farm. Lump sums of \$1,000 or \$1,500 will be given to some poverty-stricken farmers. Others will be given better welfare, and job retraining. The simple truth is that the small farmer, as a group will die out. But to be sure, the people will remain, living in poverty for at least several generations while successive Administrations ponder what to do about them.

FARMING FUTURE

Just as urban workers in many industries find themselves helpless before the changes of automation, so the NFO is fighting against the grain of an enormous economic transition. The day of the agro-corporation, of the vertical combine controlling agriculture from the land to the wholesale distribution, is now upon us. Some family farms still have a future, but increasingly, those that survive successfully do so on the basis of having expanded, introduced modern equipment and technology, and become in effect a large family-owned business.

Many solutions are possible, but the concept at the heart of all of them is putting control of the agricultural process in the hands of those who do the work. Small farmers, agricultural laborers, packinghouse workers displaced by geographic shifts and automation,

(Continued on Page 9)

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

This nation is caught upon a treadmill of ever-expanding danger in the unstable status quo. The leading governments of the world realize that the threat of nuclear war is tremendous . . . but there seems to be a group of people on the rise in positions of power and influence who see nuclear war as a realistic alternative to peace . . . persons who constantly argue as to how many millions of casualties would, in the event of nuclear war, be "acceptable?"

Barry Goldwater and the Nuclear Nuts have passed at least for the moment from any position of great influence over national decisions, but the forces that made Mr. Goldwater a powerful political figure have infiltrated top positions of government as well as having many adherents in the realm of social activity. They presently have little influence upon our nuclear policy, but many "moderate" individuals follow the same basic beliefs—the dangerous and faulty belief in the Deterrent Ethic; the idea that an ever-growing arms race is an acceptable course for America.

Those who seriously consider deterrent, limited nuclear war, and proliferation as realistic and necessary steps would do well to remember the anxious words of John F. Kennedy, in an address delivered to the United Nations, September 25, 1961: "Every man, woman and child lives under a nuclear sword of Damocles, hanging by the slenderest of thread, capable of being cut at any moment by accident, miscalculation, or madness."

But John F. Kennedy was an energetic supporter of deterrent madness—the same militaristic posture that leads directly to war. How can the proponents of deterrent at one moment speak of the danger of an arms race, then in the same breath speak of deliberately increasing that danger by expanding the size and amount of our nuclear arsenal? The answers is twofold: first, the interests of monopoly capital are directly involved in expanding our "peacetime war effort", and secondly, the terror-value of nuclear weapons is a valuable asset in the United States' domination of foreign economies.

The danger, then, is clear. There must be room for an alternative course of action. . . . The clash of markets and economic influence abroad between the two great rival imperialisms—Russian state despotism and American capitalism, not to mention Chinese Stalinism—is the essential basis for the frantic rush for bigger and more destructive weapons.

The time has come for men and nations to . . . cast aside the parochial and outmoded city-state attitude of nationalism, and for the human race to unite in one union for the good of all mankind, not for any given elite. A world based upon peace, freedom and human dignity . . . a world, in short, brought to the reality of socialism.

Dan Raphael
Tacoma, Washington

APRIL 17, 1965

MARCH ON WASHINGTON TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM!

(Continued from Page 8)

are all fated to lose without the restructuring of society that this concept entails. The skills, experience, and lives of small farmers are not useless, just "unprofitable". In the social context of the nationalization of all farm land, massive government capital aid to cooperative farms, and a free land-leasing system for individual farmers, these people could play a vital part in society.

Of course, such programs are well in the future. But organizations such as the NFO and the NFU are a beginning toward that future. *What makes the NFO important despite all its problems, is its concentration on direct struggle.* This understanding must lead them to link up with others involved in struggle both on and off the farm, and the focus of battle must turn away from processors and local markets to the Government itself.

Eleanor Arnason and Kathie Kelly

WELFARE STRIKE . . .

(Continued from Page 5)

THE PROBLEMS

This, however, does not tell us why the strike failed, or what problems the SSE faces. Mistakes and slip-ups by the union leadership during the hectic pre-strike and strike period were not generally of much importance, although they were sometimes surprising. The SSE Executive Board didn't realize until the strike that the union had also won as the bargaining agent for the Welfare Department Homemakers (who prepare family budgets, approve requests for buying furniture, etc.).

More serious were mistakes in conveying the SSE's message to the public. Some picket signs and slogans were confusing to those not familiar with the Department's internal problems (outside the Callagy Hall girls home, for instance, one hand-painted sign bore the slogan "VACATIONS WITHOUT CHAOS"). Similarly, President Joe Tepedino's television presentation during the strike did not convey anything like the real mess within Welfare. What really crippled efforts to get across the strikers' message to the public was the newspaper "blackout" on SSE statements and press releases. This must be considered an expected by-product of any militant union struggle.

The inability to create sufficient public pressure on Wagner meant defeat, because the strike itself did not stop the Welfare Department from functioning. Social workers are absolutely necessary to the daily functioning of a real welfare agency—but the City Welfare Department is hardly that. Social workers are needed as window dressing and cogs in the red tape machine; the disbursing of welfare checks can go on without them. The Department kept the works going just



with those clerks who did not strike, aided by administrative personnel. Of course, it would need social investigators in the long run, but they could be dispensed with for months if need be. By the time the strike was broken the Department was already starting to carry out required interviews and affidavits by mail, processed only by clerks.

WHAT ABOUT THE CLERKS?

A simple strike, depending solely on the union's ability to bring all work to a halt until demands are met, cannot succeed *without militant organization of the Welfare Department clerks.* This brings up one of most difficult problems the SSE must face. Traditionally, clerks formed the base for the conservative Local 371 leadership. Doing as much work as the social investigators for much less pay, clerks often resent the faceless stream of social workers that regularly come on the job only to quit a few months later. It is precisely this rapid turnover in social investigators that created a dilemma for the militants within Local 371. If they waited until the clerks could be effectively organized, their base among the social service staff might have vanished several times over.

So the decision was made to organize a separate union, pulling the more organizable social investigators out of the same union structure as the clerks. *Yet this*

only solved one problem to leave another unanswered. To this day the clerks are represented by Local 371, and it is significant that of the first wave to leave the strike and return to work the overwhelming majority were clerks. Without a college degree—and hence with fewer job choices—, with lower pay, the clerks are more vulnerable to threats and pressures. They are also potentially as militant as any.

WHAT MUST BE DONE

The official position of the SSE is that social investigators have different needs, and therefore should have a separate union. Whether the SSE becomes a union for social investigators and clerks, or whether it encourages and actively aids the formation of a militant union of the clerical staff, the job must be done if victors are to be won for any Welfare Department workers.

This is only one facet of the SSE's general problem: in order to win it must get substantial support from other groups. Since it must fight against the City—under the handicap of the repressive Condon-Wadlin Act—the SSE is fighting with one arm tied behind its back if it doesn't at least attempt to threaten Wagner with trouble at the polls. Looking for allies, the union should fight for better living conditions and more dignity for those on welfare, so that Welfare workers and Welfare recipients could both be organized against a common enemy. In the area around the Brooklyn Welfare Center, SSE members distributed leaflets urging those who needed welfare money to demand their rights at the Center. When over 300 of them did this, the clerks and administrative staff on duty were completely overwhelmed, paralyzing the Center. If this and similar tactics could have been spread, the strike would have been given a new lease on life.

THE OLD ENEMY

Because the Welfare workers are in reality demanding the death of the entire Welfare structure as now constituted, the SSE found its opposition among New York's liberal "reform" bureaucracy as well as in the Democratic machine. The union "victually" did not mention the fact that Mrs. Roy Wilkins used her husband's name to become a top public relations staffer for the Welfare Department, thus lending this poverty institution another liberal fig leaf. This did not save the strikers from being publicly pilloried as anti-Negro and anti-Jewish by Roy Wilkins, who himself used his NAACP position to aid the very City Department he should theoretically be fighting.

The fact that they must directly battle the City, together with the nature of their demands, may leave the SSE isolated at times. It might well be true that the union will be considerably weaker for a period—or might even die. Regardless, it's clear to everyone from Mayor Wagner on down that the Welfare Department's first strike was only a taste of strikes yet to come. And for millions of social workers, teachers, mental health workers, and other government employees, the SSE is a pioneer and a valuable lesson.

J.S.

(The author is a former member of the SSE, and was active in organizing in the Harlem Center.)

THE INJUSTICE OF VIETNAM

Nineteen year old Melvin Waters, a Negro youth, joined the Army last summer right after graduating from Wendell Phillips high school in Chicago. Waters, one of five children, enlisted, according to his father, because he could not find a job and he desperately needed money to support the family. The elder Waters, 64, is unable to work because of a heart ailment. On January 31st, his birthday, Waters sent his family \$50. Two weeks later he as dead, a victim in the bombing of the U.S. Army barracks at Qui Nhon.

As the war gets bloodier this tragedy will be repeated in many working class families in the United States, as it already has been in Vietnam. It is a real injustice that it was Melvin Waters who died and not the chief prosecutor of the war, Lyndon Johnson.

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SHRIVER'S FRAUD

One of the Federal Government's million arms has just popped up in the record business. The latest "Great Society" release stars actor George Maharis, and is a pitch for the Job Corps. In a smooth, even, sun-tanned voice Maharis purrs: "You can get a good job, doing the kind of work you like . . . and your buddy can come too!" Leaflets show pictures of swimming parties, weekend trips to town, and other scenes of teenagers having a ball. Shriver promises that unemployed teenagers will have both a good time and the beginning of a new life in a Job Camp. While we're hardly able to predict the social aspects of the Camps (although no one can seriously doubt that their life will be a regimented one), it is clear that as the answer to youth unemployment they are a fraud.

THE CAMPS AS FARCE

These Camps are supposed to deal with the massive problem of school dropouts, whose lack of education, job skills, and middle-class manners makes it impossible for them to get a decent job. When Shriver's planners tell us that they expect the trainees to have reading and math skills between 4th and 7th grade levels, it sounds as though they might be really facing the problem. Of course, it isn't so.

To begin with, Shriver is looking for youth who live in poverty, but who have not suffered its worst effects. Thus, teenagers will be "screened to eliminate those who are mentally retarded or who have physical or personality defects (such as serious criminal behavior, alcoholism, drug addiction, homosexuality, behavior requiring psychiatric treatment) which would disrupt the program." True to form, the next several sentences deny what Shriver's staff has just gotten finished telling us: "However, there will be no deliberate skimming of the cream off the top; quite the contrary will be the goal. The aim of recruiting and selection will be to enroll those who need the Job Corps the most."

Out of the 5½ million mentally retarded people in America, the overwhelming bulk (4½ million) have no organic defects; they are retarded simply because of their childhood social and emotional background. Similarly, a 20-year-old alcoholic in the Washington ghetto or a "madriner" in Spanish Harlem are being destroyed by the miserable world of poverty they live in. The "War on Poverty" bureaucrats cheerfully propose to leave these victims in their own personal hell because they might "disrupt the program."

But even for those who get in, the Job Corps is no great break. Those who have the worst education, who are the "least likely to succeed" in this society, will be shuffled off into the Conservation Camps, which will eventually take roughly half of the 100,000 teenagers enrolled in the Corps. Sixty-two of these camps have already been designated, and the first is opening up now in Maryland's Catoctin Mountains. Here slim kids will learn how to "care for wildlife" (very useful if you meet a sick bear on 125th Street in Harlem), fight forest fires, cut timber, operate farm equipment, and reach a "functional" (defined as 7th grade) reading level. *Although that son of the White House may preach about the character-building aspects of outdoor life, it's obvious that these camps aren't going to help anybody get out of poverty. When the "graduates" of these camps return to the urban slum—without any real job training and with a "functional" education—they'll be right back where they started.*

The "best" part of the Job Corps is the Urban Training Centers, the first three of which are now under construction. At idle military bases the trainees will spend up to two years learning basic literacy and a trade. Some of the courses—such as those in marine mechanics, air conditioning and refrigeration repair, motorcycle and small engine servicing, diesel mechanics, office machinery maintenance—may really lead to a decent working class job. As anyone could have foretold, the program is padded out with classes to train waiters, short-order cooks, janitors, department store clerks, gas station attendants, etc. These classes thoughtfully get you skilled and ready for low-wage employment.

Even if the Urban Training Centers got all their graduates decent-paying jobs, the Centers wouldn't dent the problem of youth poverty. There are almost 800,000 Americans between the ages of 16 and 21 who are neither in school nor employed. There are millions more who are trapped in drab jobs, working for a poverty wage of \$30 or \$40 per week—in between bouts of unemployment. And this situation is growing worse every year, as the "baby boom" produces ever larger groups of teenagers entering an outmoding society. At full strength, Shriver's Urban Training Centers will take in 25,000 new trainees every year, which won't even handle the yearly increase in poverty-stricken youth.

From beginning to end this program is pathetic. The Job Corps has been literally thrown together, like a movie set of papier-mache buildings. The whole atmosphere of this phoney program can be glimpsed from a report by Paul J. Hogan of the University of Pennsylvania, on his September meeting with Task Force officials in Washington:

"I arrived at the Task Force Office at 10 a.m., and met with Dr. John Kennedy, Dr. James Adler and Roy Stellar. The first two men were with the Task Force and the third was on loan from the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

"The Loyalty Oath is applicable only to the trainee volunteers and not to the staff according to legal research by the Task Force legal staff.

"There are no no salary guides—we must make up our own and justify them. The \$10,500 figure for Conservation Corps Camp Director is not valid and is unrealistic. They thought a Camp Director should be in the neighborhood of \$17,500 to \$20,000. [Off the record].

"They expect us to determine the length of enlistment, the degree of supervision, how to handle problems such as stealing, rape in town and related items. We are to determine the number of passes—some will be from Tennessee and won't be able to go home on weekends—how would we handle that?

"There will be absolutely no girls. I later talked to a woman, Peg Crosby, of the Women's Section who hopes to set up camps. I only had 15 minutes with her. She gave me literature and said she'd cooperate wherever possible, but didn't know too much. She appreciates the problem of dances and dates, and the need for recreation, but has nothing worked out.

"In every aspect, we are trying a realistic approach to the problem—with Vietnam, the army is trying to back down on the degree of involvement. We can expect little day to day support. We will have to contract out for food support and they felt that I should see Dr. Keller, VP of Public Relations at Penn State. Perhaps their Hotel Administration Faculty could help us.

"Dr. Keller visited the Task Force people several weeks ago and claimed he had a perfect site but no plan. Drs. Adler and Kennedy are much more interested in a plan and an attitude and a capability than in just a site. He assured me that we were not in competition with Penn State.

"So far, no proposal has been accepted. . . . Most proposals were too verbose and loaded with a "feedback" of the original outline which we have. Several times I was told to keep it short and meaty."

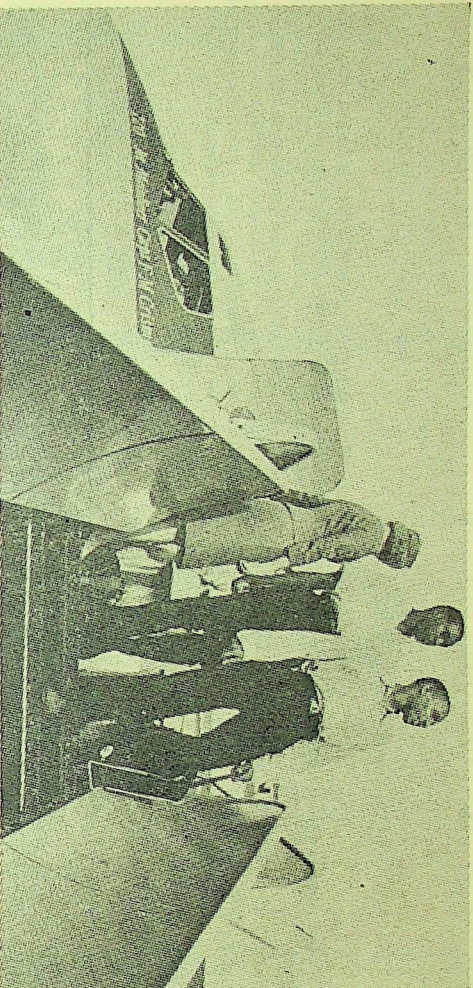
"We can expect no VISTAS (domestic Peace Corps —ed.) for at least six months. They don't have a proposal to train the VISTAS — let alone the Job Corps applicants. We have to handle everything in the way of personnel."

WORDS OF WISDOM

More revealing is the odd mixture that is Shriver's "Tentative Outline For A Job Corps Training Center." Some sections are nothing but meaningless gobbledey.

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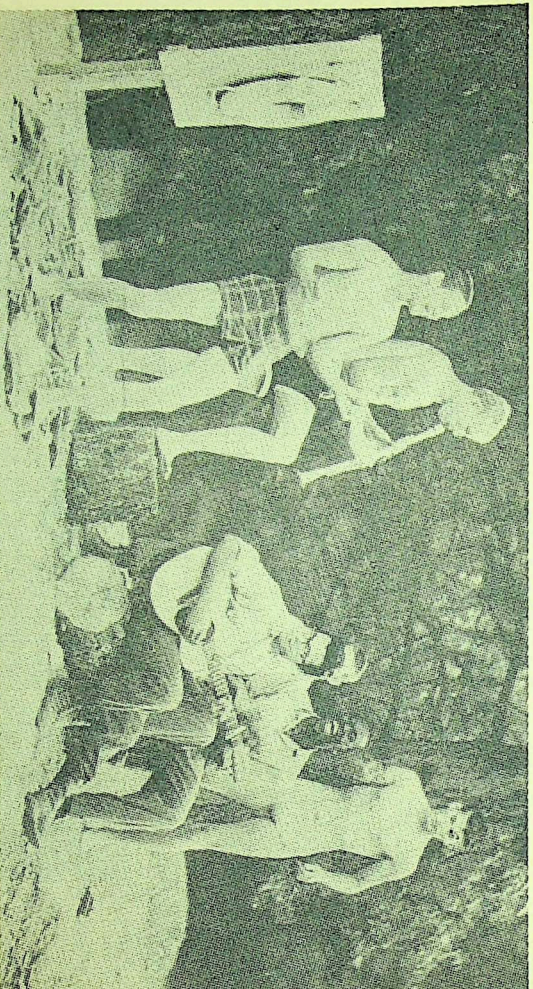
OFFICIAL JOB CORPS PHOTOS



TRAVELLING BY JETLINER



AT THE OLD COUNTRY SWIMMING HOLE



HOOTENANY AT THE BEACH

LIFE IN THE JOB CORPS! (ACCORDING TO SHRIVER)

gook.

"Only by combining knowledge and experience (both theoretical and acquired from working with similar youngsters) from such fields as anthropology, psychology, education, guidance and counseling, physical education and recreation, group dynamics, and psychiatry, will an integrated, interrelated experience be achieved."

What all that is supposed to mean (especially since youth who have serious problems are barred from the Camps) is hard to tell. Other sections of the "Outline" are equally curious. *When Shriver's staff tells us that "The Job Corps enrollee will need to acquire the whole range of living or social skills necessary for modern urban living," how does that compare with a program that is taking most of these youth out to live in the boon docks?* Of course, what Shriver is really talking about is the Administration's hope that ghetto kids can be taught middle-class manners. ("Even though you don't have a future, for God's sake don't riot!")

"OBEDIENCE SCHOOL"

More important than manners is the Administration's need to "educate" for jobs: "Jobs will neither be acquired nor held if attitudes . . . towards work are not altered. . . . Moreover, enrollees must come to believe that there is a place for them within our society. . . ." In general, teenagers who live in poverty make poor workers. They come in late, change jobs often, and some drink on the job. In fact, many of them have no intention of ever holding a steady job, and are uninterested in schools and programs [such as the Job Camps] which are designed to prepare them for work. This is a problem for which the Job Corps has no answer, because these kids' attitude is essentially a realistic one. If sweating 40 hours a week only gets you a miserable pay check [and poverty], why not take off whenever you feel like it? Pushing the "idiot stick" or stacking cans in the local A & P are jobs hardly worth fighting to keep.

This is the attitude that liberals must "educate" out, because they are unable to change the class society that creates it. *It is hardly an accident that Shriver is getting corporations to help him "educate" the unemployed.* IT&T is managing (for a guaranteed 4.7% profit) the Camp Kilmer Urban Center, and Ford Motor Co. is handling the classes at Tongue Point. Westinghouse and IBM also have proposals in the works. No doubt the corporations will give these teenagers a thorough lesson in real job conditions under capitalism. . . . that is to say, regimentation. The *Wall Street Journal* tells us: "Once in the camps the boys will be under the watchful eye of supervisors around the clock. And the boys will be put on notice that a serious offense will result in expulsion from the Job Corps."

This week I caught a TV news broadcast which interviewed several of the 180,000 applicants the poverty office has gotten. These are kids who are still whole enough, still hopeful enough to be taken in by Shriver's illusion. What will happen to their hopes is nothing less than tragic.

RE-RUNS OR RETRAINING?

The entire Job Camps concept is a tacit recognition of the fact that intensified urban poverty is so brutalizing that in order to change some people you must remove them physically from the ghetto. Yet the question remains . . . remove them to what? Shriver's Corps is in need of complete overhaul, and the sooner the better. To start with, let's propose some specific changes like these:

1) A drastic shift away from the present emphasis on the Conservation Camps, which are only re-drawn from the dusty blueprints of C.C.C. and N.Y.A. projects of the 1930's. They didn't work then, and the fact that the Administration is once again foisting them off on the public is a giveaway to LBJ's real intentions. *All youth entering the Job Corps should be able to enter training centers where the emphasis will be on acquiring serious knowledge and job skills, instead of fighting forest fires.*

2) Concentration on those teenagers who need too much real help to be included in Shriver's Disneyland: Kids with criminal records, who might be on narcotics, who are emotionally disturbed to the point where it is difficult for them to function in any society, guys who lean pretty heavily on "Silver Satin" or "Little Richards." No one can really believe that with enough money, and enough mobilizing of resources, *nothing* can be done with this strata of poverty.

3) Repeal of the "states' rights" provision in the current Poverty Bill, which gives Governors the power to veto projects within their state. *This section has already caused the abandonment of one major project in Tennessee.*

4) The absolute, unconditional guarantee that *everyone* who is young and lives in poverty can get into the Job Corps if they wish. Expansion should be dictated by demand.

(Continued on Page 12)

(Continued from Page 11)

5) The absolute guarantee that *all* graduates of the program will be found jobs in their field at a decent starting wage (over \$2.00 per hour at the minimum), and that this money will be paid them by the government until they can get a job meeting wage and other criteria. Those who are automated out of their jobs at a later point should have guaranteed wages and retraining.

6) *That each training center be run by the trainees and the staff.* In the present structure "councils" are provided for, in order to "teach" trainees about democracy. They bear an odorous resemblance to high school "student councils", and are, of course, totally devoid of power and meaning. *If it is important (and it is vital by so) that people who don't come from the upper class understand that they can make real decisions about how their lives are run, then this is a logical place to start.* Trainee-staff councils should have the power to decide

all questions relating to on-site, personnel, classes, schedules, allocation of funds (the trainees may decide that \$20,000 is too much for the Camp Director to get, and may either fire him or cut his salary—a delightful lesson for the future). People educated in this program may not make very supervisory employees for Ford, Westinghouse, I.T.&S.T. and the other giants of the corporate world, but that is capitalism's problem and need not overly concern us.

MEANWHILE, BACK IN HARLEM . . .

Such a program for the Job Corps is only a start. To begin with, it does little good to take kids out of Spanish Harlem for two years if they must return to the ghetto. Any honest effort to wipe out youth poverty must assume as its foundation the rapid elimination of slum housing, low-wage employment, job shortages, and all the other pillars of poverty. To say that this would

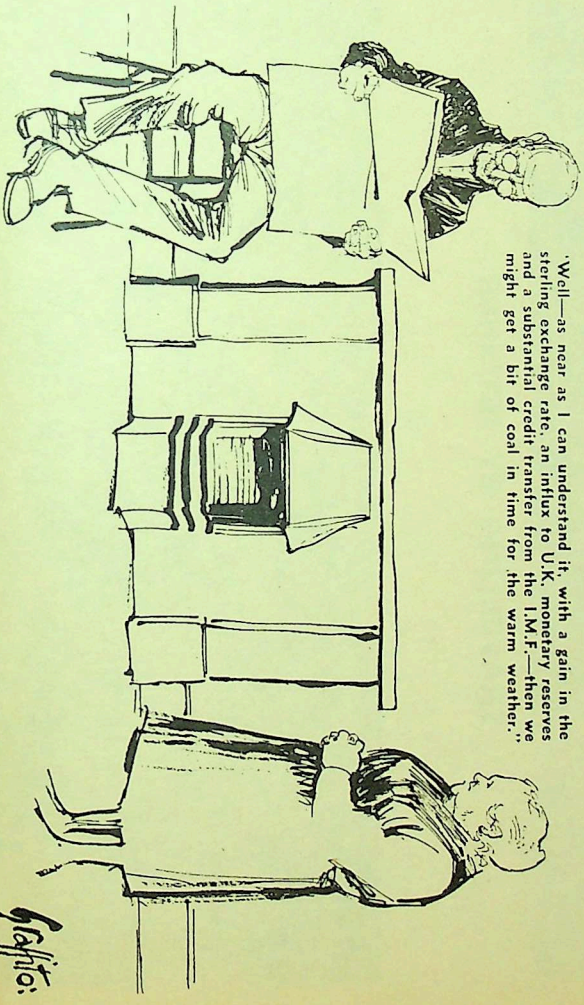
cost literally hundreds of billions of dollars and mean the total restructuring of the economy and society is to say the obvious. Instead, R. Sargent Shriver (who trained for the Job Corps and the Peace Corps by serving as Board Chairman for the racist Chicago public school system) and Lyndon-Bird are trying to offer the poor a cut-rate tourist agency — "Join the Job Corps and See the Boondocks!"

But that is the crux of the problem. Any simple examination of our industrial economy proves that *America has the resources now to wipe out poverty.* And the ideal programs and plans exist aplenty. None of that means anything, because this liberal administration has no intention of doing anything real about poverty, and even to get reforms means a serious battle against the liberal roadblock.

David Komatsu

14 WASTED YEARS

THE NEXT TWO ARTICLES ON
THE BEGINNING OF THE WILSON
GOVERNMENT ARE REPRINTED
FROM LABOR WORKER, THE
LEADING LEFT-SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER
IN ENGLAND.



"I myself have always deprecated, perhaps wrongly, in crisis after crisis, appeals to the Dunkirk spirit as an answer to the problem, because what is required in our economic situation is not a brief period of inspired improvisation, work and sacrifice, such as we had under the leadership of Sir Winston Churchill, but a very long, hard prolonged period of reorganization and reeducation. It is the long haul, not the inspired spirit that we need."

—Mr. Harold Wilson, 26.7.1961,
House of Commons.

"I believe that our people will respond to this challenge because our history shows that they mis-judge us who underestimate our ability to move, and to move decisively, when the need arises. I believe that the spirit of Dunkirk will once again carry us to success."

—Mr. Harold Wilson, 12.12.1964,
Labour Rally, Brighton.

Thus the bold and gallant Harold, symbol of the scientific revolution and the technocratic age, the Harold whose great election crusade carried him to the pinnacle of political power, staggers back to the sandhills of Dunkirk. Under the savage crossfire of international capitalism that great and glorious Labour Prime Minister has abandoned all his plans and promises for bold advance. In their place are vacuous appeals to the spirit of 1940, to a sense of national drive and purpose.

The Labour Party's retreat from their own inadequate promises has continued throughout the first 70 days of Harold's dynamic leadership—on every front. First came the decision to capitulate in the face of pressure from bankers in Switzerland and leading capitalists all over the world. Working in shrewd and devastating partnership, the Zurich gnomes sold their sterling, and the bankers rushed to Britain's "aid"—on one condition. In the City the condition is known as "deflation." To the working class it means run-down, Run-down in wages, jobs and overtime. Run-down in houses, run-down in social services.

WILSON SPEAKS

But why should the meagre resources of Labour Worker be forced to explain these complicated economic arguments? Why not leave it to our Leader himself: surely the greater orator (an economist) ever to enter Westminster? In July 1961 Mr. Selwyn Lloyd pushed the Bank Rate up to 7 per cent. Mr. Wilson taunted him ruthlessly:

"I turn to the Bank Rate at 7 per cent—almost the highest in our peacetime history. Have we not learned by experience? . . . The Chancellor

sinks again into the old groove. There is a screeching of brakes and the scorching of tires, the substitution of shock jolt and jerk for planned regulation of the economy.

"Did the Chancellor stop to think of the effect on local authorities? I understand that he is to spend his holidays in Hoyalake. . . I hope that he will go to the council offices and ask the local authority what effects his proposals will have there.

"When he has done that let him cross the Mersey to Liverpool where he will find 88,000 houses scheduled for slum clearance and 40,000 families on the waiting list. What effect does he think the 7 per cent bank rate will have on the solution of those problems?" [26.7.61.]

Mr. George Brown, now Economic Secretary to the Treasury, answered the last question in greater detail later in the debate. They pointed out that high Bank Rate means higher interest rates—which means less money borrowed and less houses built.

How right they were. Should Mr. Wilson follow his own advice to Lloyd in 1961, and go to Liverpool, he will find that the percentage interest rate for local authority loans has jumped from 6¾ per cent to nearly 8 per cent as a result of the high bank rate, imposed by the Labour Government.

Should he visit the largest rural authority in Britain—Chesterfield RDC—he will discover that the Labour Council have decided to stop their building programme altogether because of the "arstic effect" of the 7 per cent bank rate. Councillor Walter Everett, leader of the Chesterfield RDC Labour Group has said, "It would be economic suicide to go ahead with further building." The 2,500 families on the Chesterfield waiting list will have to enjoy the New Britain in their slums for a long time yet.

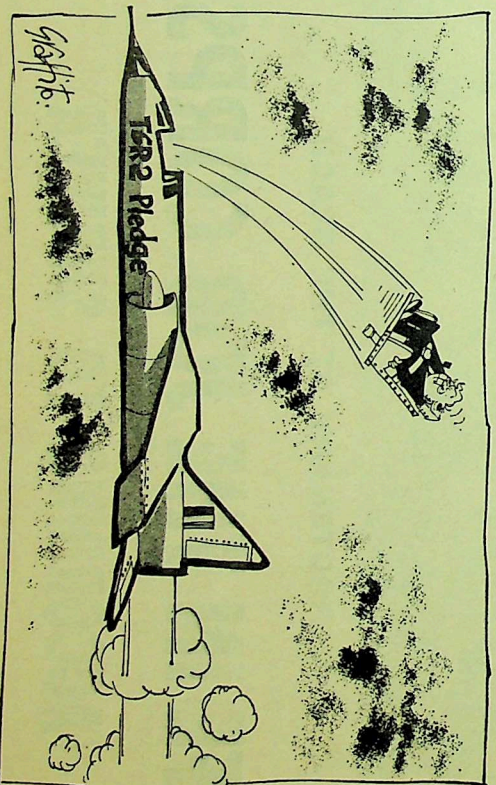
On September 28th Mr. George Brown made the following election pledge:

"We shall introduce a policy of lower interest rates for housing. These lower rates will apply both to intending owner-occupiers and to local authorities building houses to rent."

Fine. But the facts after 70 days? The local authority interest rate has gone up, as explained. Several local authorities have had to suspend mortgage loans to young couples as a result.

And Building Society loans? They too will go up shortly in the new year. Already the Leicester Permanent Building Society has raised its rate by ¼ per cent from 6½ per cent to 6¾ per cent. This means an extra monthly payment of £1 7s. 6d. (\$3.85) on a payment

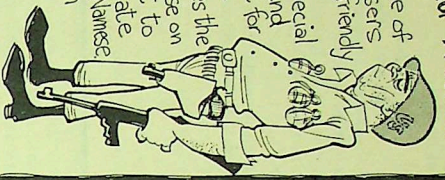
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ELBIE JAYS ABC OF VIETNAM

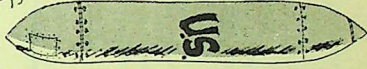
A is for Adviser

This is one of the advisers See how friendly he is... See his special uniform and equipment for advising... He advises the Viet-Namense on how best to exterminate other Viet-Namense. He is an American



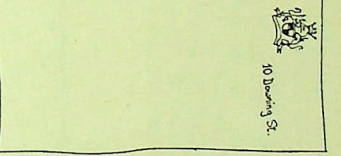
B is for Bomb

And this bomb is filled with napalm which burns up the nasty commie and his commie wife and commie baby and his commie chickens and it burns the commie leaves from the commie trees... After this, the commie quickly recognises the superior merits of Western democracy




C is for the Condemnation

expressed by the British Government...



D is for DEMOCRACY

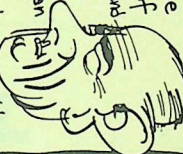
The South Viet-Namense are very lucky to have Democracy... and they have universal suffrage—this means that anyone over 21 can be dictator. ONE MAN—ONE VOTE!



Hands up those who want to live under American democracy!

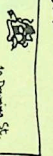
E is for ELBIE JAY

Elbie is the President of the U.S.A. and was voted in democratically by the American people. He is also boss of the South Viet-Namense although they don't get a chance to vote on it—which is just as well, because in their primitive ignorance, they might have actually preferred some saviour of their own choice.



F is for the FIRM

OPPOSITION shown by the British Government.



(Continued from Page 12)

for a £3,000 (\$8,400) house. Mr. Lewis Cohen, Chairman of the massive Alliance Building Society, and a known Labour supporter, held a cocktail party at the Brighton Labour rally for Labour leaders. At the party he told a reporter:

"I think Jim Callaghan should have stood up to the Treasury and seen that there was some kind of taxation subsidy for building societies. The hope of a subsidy has now completely disappeared."

Housing was of course a main issue in the General Election—and so was taxation. The wide boys of the City, championed the Labour leaders, were going to "pay their bit" in taxation.

COMPANY TAXES

Callaghan has announced his plans for a capital gains tax and a corporation tax. The first is slightly less harsh than its American counterpart; the second, whose terms were drawn up after a special Bank of England survey in the city on business reactions, turns out to be a rationalisation of the present company tax law. Many firms will do better now it has been introduced. The wealth tax (how embarrassing!) has been pushed well under the carpet.

DEFENSE

Any suggestion that the Labour Government might take a firm line on defence has been snuffed out. The V-thumpers, those "nonexistent deleronts," (Wilson

again!) are to cruise round the Indian Ocean with nuclear warheads. Polaris will play its role in a new Atlantic nuclear force, and the multi-lateral force will be on land, not, as previously expected, on sea.

APARTHEID

On the 17th March, 1963, Mr. Wilson spoke on Arms to South Africa in Trafalgar Square: "Britain cannot influence the world as long as we continue this inhumane traffic in arms. Let the Government announce that it will stop forthwith."

Forthwith. And forthwith on the election of a Labour Government the new Prime Minister declared: "Firm contracts will be honoured. The shipment of the 16 Buccaneer jet fighters to South Africa will therefore be carried out."

"Her majesty's Government will of course allow shipments of spares for the 16 Buccaneers as and when required." (25.11.64.)

The sword-bearer of freedom fighters all over the world, Mr. Anthony Greenwood, has been acting true to his reputation. He has assured the Commons that the Government intends to maintain "friendly relations" with Franco's Spain. He has openly supported the racialist reactionary, Forbes Burnham, in British Guiana against Cheddi Jagan, despite Jagan's majority in the elected assembly. He has loyally promised to defend the Aden base.

There is no end to the story of sell-out and hypocrisy which dominate the first 70 days. Nor

is there any sign that the process will be halted. The further in time the Labour Government gets from their promises, the further they will depart from them in practice.

The crumps thrown to the working class are pitifully small. We have a promise to abolish prescription charges in February (although the charges for false teeth and spectacles over which Wilson resigned from the Labour Government in 1951 are to remain). Further we have a much-headed bill to prevent landlords from evicting tenants in terror of Rent Act Repeal.

The first concession costs a mere 120m, and the second costs nothing. It is a meagre price for the ruthless wage freeze which Mr. George Brown, the employers and the official trade unions are preparing for the working class.

PARLIAMENT "LEFT"

The so-called "Left" in the Parliamentary Party has observed Wilson's retreat to Dunkirk with benumbed dismay. They have done everything except protest. For the social democrat Parliamentary power is not the means to the end but the end itself. For him the fact

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- Black Christmas in South Bend / Kit Komatsu
- Law, Democracy and the Unions / Burton Hall
- The Paradox of Samuel Compers / Al Nash
- Berkeley Campus in Revolt / Michael Shute
- The Mind of Clark Kerr / Hal Draper
- Anti-Poverty and Youth / Harry Brill
- Negro Protest at the World's Fair 1939-1940 / August Meier and Elliot M. Rudwick
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(Continued from Page 13)

of Parliamentary power is the be-all and end-all of political existence—without it (as we read every week in Tribune)—NOTHING can be done.

When it becomes clear that the Parliamentary structure, isolated as it is from the workers and their consciousness, not only restricts the Labour Party from social reform, but imposes on it the acts and decisions of reactionaries, the Left social democrat can cope no longer. He is punch-drunk. He fades away from practical politics into the limbo of parliamentary cretinism. Thus Mrs. Ann Kerr, MP for Chatham, the "hardest" of all CND MPs, is forced to ask the Ministry of Defence whether the proposed defence cuts will affect employment in the naval dockyard in Chatham!

2. CONGO & ADEN BRITISH GUIANA

It hasn't been a bad month. There were some who felt that even if Labour were wishy-washy at home they would at least show their true colours abroad. And so they have. Let's just look at them in the Congo, Aden, and British Guiana.

THE CONGO

The Congo first. There we had no reason for involvement—it wasn't even profitable for us; after all the situation there was the anarchical creation of Belgian capital alone. But when the crisis came there was a solid capitalist front, and British Ascension Islands were used as a base for Belgian troops to be ferried by U.S. airforce planes. Last anyone should think this an aberration, we even had Lord Caradon at U.N.O.—Dec. 15—defending the Stanleyville air-drop as "a mercy mission."

What he really meant was that after four years of indifference in the face of the corpses of black Congolese, the presence of white hostages in Stanleyville gave sufficient excuse for the landing of Belgian paratroops [which incidentally, as all survivors agree, provoked the massacre it was intended to prevent] just in time to meet the South African, Rhodesian, Portuguese and Cuban-exile mercenaries, who were no doubt defending democracy by spearheading Tshombe's counter-revolution against the Congolese rebels.

But at least we've cleared up any misunderstanding. What's good for the Union Miniere is right and moral for us—pity that the mercy mission resulted in the sacrifice of many of the white hostages, as well as the indiscriminate massacre of Congolese rebels and innocent villagers alike by the mercenaries.

ADEN

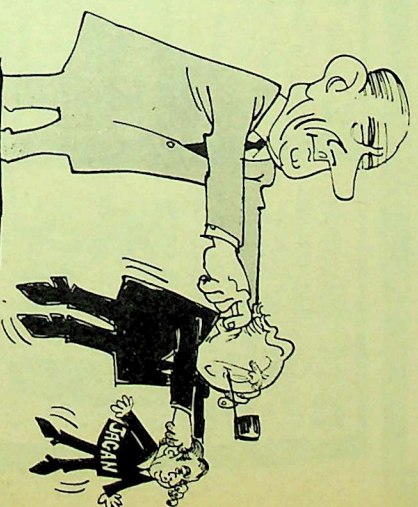
Aden could have been worse: Sandy's attempt at divide-and-rule has been replaced by the concept of a unitary state of Aden and South Arabia, to be given independence by 1968. Luckily for us our interests and those of the proposed state are identical. Anthony Greenwood clearly recognises the need not to break faith with our "traditional friends" among the pre-federal Sultans and Sheiks (who represent some pre-federal type of exploitative society!). What is needed is a stable political situation in the area. "Such a situation is essential to our having an effective military base here." (8.12.64) And because there has been no economic development of the area since Britain moved in in 1839, and everything in Aden resolves essentially around servicing British installation Greenwood is confident that the people of the area "will want the base to continue." Furthermore, as Greenwood told Parliament on his triumphal return from his one wise-man tour of the area, "in view of the aggressive and subversive activities from across the border. I took the opportunity to re-

Throughout the country Labour Party workers are suffering the first terrible pangs of disillusionment. The reality of the whole miserable farce is settling upon them in a cloud of apathy.

Labour Worker takes no pleasure from the fact that it has constantly predicted this debacle. It urges all those who regard themselves as socialists to think again about the struggle against capital—to ask again whether or not working people can be freed from the restrictive bondage of capitalism by a quinquennial ballot box and an "inspired" leader.

The struggle against capital, the struggle for socialism is a much more serious business than that.

Paul Foot



affirm that Her Majesty's Government is determined to carry out to the full its treaty obligations in the area." Even the Tories Cheer!

Aden is important in British imperialism as it protects her oil interests in the Middle East—from where 57.9 per cent of U.K. oil comes. In 1962 for instance Shell and B.P. combined profits were £149 million. But in fact major share of oil profits goes neither to Britain nor the sheiks of the area—but to the Rockefeller and the Morgans: Britain just foots the mainland military bill while the American 6th fleet patrolls nearby. The fact that there is no freedom of speech and assembly in S. Arabia, and only a restrictive freedom for political association in Aden (elsewhere prohibited)—a small price to pay for monopoly profits. But in the next issue of Labour Worker I hope to analyse the international oil cartel a little closer.

BRITISH GUIANA

Labour's actions in Br. Guiana are just disgusting. It has openly been admitted that independence has been continually delayed in response to pressure from the U.S. State Department who shudder at the thought of an independent left-wing state on the Latin American mainland, and just next-door oil rich Venezuela. Continued gerrymandering since 1953 culminated recently in the Sandys constitution providing for Proportional Representation in an effort to keep out Jagan's People's Progressive Party (P.P.P.), which had won the 3 previous elections. Even Wilson (in opposition) called the Sandys plan "a fiddled constitutional arrangement." It was obvious then that the effect of the plan would be to consolidate racial groupings and antagonisms in the colony.

Instead of taking a firm stand against the results of more than ten years of U.S. and Britain machinations, Labour just went right ahead with the jacked elections. The P.P.P. got 45.88 per cent of the votes, approximately by the proportion of Indians in the country, the People's National Congress 40.5 per cent, about the per cent of Negroes, and the right-wing big-business Catholic grouping of the United Force Party holds the balance.

Only when Jagan refused to resign to make way for a P.N.C.-capitalist alliance did Greenwood step in with a personal appeal to him to prevent further "unhappiness." Poor Greenwood. As if a few kind gestures can solve the crisis in a country where 80 per cent of capital is foreign owned and there is 20 per cent unemployment. No, what is needed is a national liberation movement which will unite the Negro workers of the towns with the rural Indian peasants and labourers, cutting across the artificial racial barriers encouraged by Sandys' manipulations and Labour's continued application of his plans.

Harold Jackson

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