

# NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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RESISTANCE ON RISE

## U.S. youths balk at draft

By Jack A. Smith

**D**AVID MITCHELL, the young objector to the draft who converted his trial into an indictment of the United States government for "crimes against humanity," was sentenced Sept. 15 to up to five years in prison and a \$5,000 fine by a federal judge in New Haven, Conn., for refusing to report for induction into the Armed Forces. The severe sentence—the government's answer to Mitchell's charge that the U.S. was conducting an illegal and immoral foreign policy—was intended to deter action by a growing number of youths who oppose the Vietnam war.

Chief Judge William Timbers said he was imposing a maximum sentence as "a sharp warning to anyone who thinks he can avoid military service. . . I want this sentence to serve as notice to Mr. Mitchell and others of his ilk that defiance of the orders of Congress will not be tolerated."

"Fortunately," the judge continued, "his views appear not to have cut any ice whatsoever in this country or in this community. . . Instead they appear to have galvanized upright and loyal citizens of this country to rally and support this country in time of need."

Regardless of the court's comments, it was apparent that anti-draft sentiment was rising, especially on American campuses. The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors in Philadelphia reported that during August it handled 513 inquiries pertaining to avoidance of military service on political or moral grounds—compared with 182 for the same period in 1964 and 103 in 1963. In addition, the Students for a Democratic Society has launched a nation-wide anti-draft campaign, primarily directed at students. The Du Bois Clubs and May 2 Movement are likewise engaging in anti-draft activities.

MITCHELL, 22, who lives in Brooklyn, is free on \$5,000 bond pending appeal. According to usual procedure on a five-year sentence, Mitchell would be eligible for parole on a five-year term after serving 18 months. Timbers recommended, however, that parole be denied unless he agreed to join the Armed Forces when the 18 months was completed. Payment of the heavy fine is another precondition for release from prison. In an interview with the GUARDIAN, the young bookstore worker was asked if he would ac-

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U.S. MARINES ROUNDUP IN VIETNAM VILLAGE NETS ONLY WOMEN, CHILDREN AND OLD FOLK  
The male population fled the Qui Nhon area before U.S. maneuver began

### AMERICANS, BACK AFTER TRIP, TELL OF BOMB DAMAGE

## On-spot report on No. Vietnam

**"T**HERE IS NO question in my mind that they are going to win. It is just a question of how many people the United States is going to slaughter on the road to defeat." The speaker was Michael Myerson, a 25-year-old Californian who, with three other young Americans, concluded a two-week tour of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam this month—the only U.S. citizens to survey the bomb damage wrought by American planes on North Vietnam.

"The bombings," said Myerson, a San Francisco longshoreman and international secretary of the W. E. B. Du Bois

Richard Ward, one of the four Americans to travel in North Vietnam, is preparing a first-hand account of the two-week journey for the GUARDIAN.

Clubs of America, "have united the people of North Vietnam. Production is zooming, despite damage to factories. Everyone seems to have a rifle—in the plants or fields—and they are prepared to use them to defend their homeland. Trenches are in evidence throughout the country—in the cities, on roadsides, near fields. At the University of Hanoi, for instance, students man the trenches and attend sessions in rifle practice after classes. In one province, we met armed students in the trenches, studying with the help of dim oil lamps."

Myerson was accompanied on the journey by Christopher Koch, program director of New York radio station WBAI-FM; Harold Supriano, a San Francisco social worker and Du Bois Club member, and Richard Ward, an American writer who lives in Paris. The trip was undertaken in violation of U.S. State Department regulations against travel to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam

(North Vietnam). The government so far has not taken action against the four, who left Hanoi Sept. 4. The only other Americans to visit the DRV in recent years—GUARDIAN writers Anna Louise Strong and William Worth, and exiled civil rights activist Robert Williams—have not attempted to return to the U.S. They were in Hanoi for two days last winter, before the bombings.

**DURING THEIR VISIT** as guests of the Vietnam Youth Federation, the Americans held a one-hour interview with DRV Premier Pham Van Dong; visited wounded civilians; explored bombed hospitals, factories, farms, markets and dams; spoke with workers, peasants and students and were themselves obliged to take cover when U.S. planes flew overhead on a bombing mission.

Myerson and Supriano told the GUARDIAN in an interview Sept. 16 that the premier stressed that the DRV would

not consider discussions with the U.S. unless the latter "accepted in principle the DRV's four points for ending the conflict" (these conditions include withdrawal of troops, willingness to enter negotiations directly with the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam and agreement to the peaceful reunification of North and South). Despite ideological differences in the socialist bloc, the premier told them, "all socialist countries are united" on the question of Vietnam. Both China and the U.S.S.R., he said, "have given us everything we have asked for."

The visitors were also told that 2.5 million North Vietnamese volunteers have signed up to fight in South Vietnam if called to do so by the NLF.

The Americans said they saw extensive evidence that U.S. planes bombed non-military targets. In Danming (the country's third largest city), they reported having seen a hospital—clearly marked on top by a red cross—with the entire front blown off; the remains of a pagoda and a bullet-riddled school. A half-mile to the south, they said, a residential area of six blocks was flattened by bombs. Nearby, one building of a textile complex was badly damaged.

**THE FOUR** traveled at night, since vehicular traffic is prohibited during daylight because of bombing attacks. Night bombing takes place, but because these raids are preceded by the igniting of flares, travelers have 15 minutes to reach safety (due to the fact that the light intensity of flares is so high that it takes about that time for pilots to see targets clearly). At one point, the Americans rushed from the road to a trench shelter, but the bombers passed by without causing damage.

They witnessed one bombing raid on Hamrong Bridge, south of Danming. "Of

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Mondo Nuovo, Rome



# NATIONAL GUARDIAN

the progressive newsweekly

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Editor

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE  
Editor-in-Exile

JOHN T. McMANUS: (1904-1961)  
General Manager, 1948-1961

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## He wants out

Following is a copy of a letter to Senator Morse of Oregon:

Dear Senator Morse: This is to ask you to do all possible for me to facilitate a discharge from the Army.

This war in Vietnam is nothing but a butchery of a whole people with the object of setting up our kind of colonialism plus a military base. The end result is another land of cheap labor to use against American workers. Nothing but the Ultimate weapon can subdue these people; use of the Ultimate weapon is the surety of drawing in China and the Soviet Union—thus the holocaust!

There is nothing honorable in serving in any army that is supporting dictators while mouthing freedom, there is nothing honorable in bombing civilians who have no arms, we are no longer an honorable democracy leading the free nations; rather we are a dishonorable invader destroying the right of self-determination of peoples. Let them vote; and let me go home.

James Farrell, Pfc  
US 56365648  
Medical Co., USA Hospital  
Ambulance Section  
Ft. Leonard Wood, Mo.

## Dominican 'settlement'

MANISTEE, MICH.

Your interesting report (Sept. 11) on the "Dominican settlement" has my near-total agreement. The so-called Act of Reconciliation appears to be little more than a subtle effort on the part of the Johnson Administration, in collaboration with the right-wing elements in that country, to perpetuate the rule of the oligarchy and military. This new delaying tactic is only one of a series by Washington to prevent the return to constitutional government and democratic rule, which is the stated goal of the Caamaño forces.

With a virtual puppet regime erected, the U.S. can take steps to eliminate the left-wing groups. Thus when elections are finally held, they can proclaim that the people had a "free choice." Of course, all of this will be done under the guise of fighting "communism." This all fits into Johnson's concept of "democracy" for Latin America.

The only way to restore real democracy to the Dominican Republic is for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. and OAS forces from the nation, the immediate implementation of the Bosch-supported Constitution, and the conducting of general elections throughout the country with all parties, including the Commu-

## How crazy can you get dept.

ALERT BAY—A small group of men, women and children is camped in wilderness near an abandoned logging camp at Wakeman Sound, practicing firing their automatic weapons, and waiting for the Communists. They have fled from the United States [from Indiana], where they expect communism to rule soon . . . They are united by a common fear: "The Communists will start their take-over of the U.S. within three years," one of the group told a bush pilot who visited them.

Victoria (B.C.) Colonist, Sept. 8

One-year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J. P., Lakeland, Fla.

nists, being allowed to participate, and the removal from power of all military men associated with the reactionary and dictatorial forces of the junta. However, this is very unlikely, as Johnson considers Latin America to be the exclusive property of the U.S.

David C. Lorenz

## The farm question

WAUKESHA, WIS.

Permit me to suggest that the farm question is a big one and that the GUARDIAN ought to pay more attention to it. Farmers were the first to get the John Birch treatment under Ezra Benson, and now LBJ and HHH give us more of the same. LBJ talks about eliminating 2.5 million farmers, which means that at least an additional 2.5 million rural town families will also trek to city soup lines.

This is social planning all right, of, by and for big business. The plan calls for eliminating most of the smaller family farms, but it might not work out that way. Small farmers may survive on a lousy subsistence basis and the so-called productive middle-sized farmers may go broke, leaving a few feudal corporate farms to produce our food at a damned good price. This farm kit is part of the package of corporate fascism being offered to U.S.A.

It is time for socialist publications to disavow the social planning toward farm fascism and instead to spell out socialist farm objectives, maybe including democratic cooperative farms with guaranteed minimum incomes as an alternative.

A. Farmer

(See page 6.—Editor)

## A correction

The caption on the Fred Wright cartoon on page 5 in the Sept. 18 issue, showing a death's head representing the Vietnam war speaking to a worker, should have read: "Well, your job is SAFE . . . Now are you prepared to sacrifice your son?"

## A SPECIAL REPORT FROM INDIA

# A war to solve nothing

The following dispatch is by a veteran Indian newspaperman who has written previously for the GUARDIAN, and particularly on the Indian-Chinese border dispute. It was written just prior to the UN Security Council action for a cease-fire in the Indian-Pakistani conflict, and to a Chinese demand that the Indians dismantle military installations on the Chinese side of the Sikkim border and on the border itself.

While the U.S. press presented the Chinese demand as a provocative ultimatum, the Indians themselves conceded in Washington that they have built installations as charged by the Chinese and that the construction (despite repeated denials) has been in process for more than a year. Washington was described as "embarrassed" by the situation.

There was embarrassed silence in Washington on another score: The conservative London Daily Telegraph Sept. 13 indicated CIA complicity in the India-Pakistan war. It said the CIA had informed New Delhi shortly before India "made its decision to embark on the war," that a coup was imminent in Pakistan to depose President Ayub Khan, and that Pakistan was preparing an attack on Kashmir. The paper said the U.S. embassy had advance knowledge of India's intentions and approved them because of its desire to "cut Ayub Khan down to size." The U.S. embassy in London denied the reports.

By Narendra Goyal  
Special to the Guardian

NEW DELHI

FOR THE FIRST TIME in 100 years (since the 1857 Indian revolt against the British), this sub-continent is experiencing a war of some magnitude. India's Defense Minister calls it a limited war—and so it is by the nature of its objectives, the near "equality" of the contestants in their weakness and in the realization by their rulers that it will solve no problems.

There is no danger of escalation of the Indian-Pakistani conflict—unless other big powers jump into the fray—because neither country has enough war material to continue it indefinitely. Their production potential of planes, bombs and tanks being nil, they cannot fight for long except with simple guns and bayonets. The war may boost the synthetic morale of the peoples of each country, and keep the fires of hatred burning, but it will resolve nothing.

That both the governments have only one motive—playing to the gallery in their respective countries—is evident from the way the war is being fought. Planes fly as far as Delhi or Rawalpindi (the respective capitals) unchecked and return without dropping bombs. More are chased away than are shot down. They drop paratroopers but deny having done so. The Indian army refuses to take Lahore, 18 miles from the border, and does not advance in East Pakistan. The Pakistani forces infiltrate but do not make any headway on Indian soil. The motto obviously is "Safety First."

FOR THE PEOPLE, TOO, it is not so serious as it might be. They are taking it in their stride. This is an euphemism for saying that they are indifferent, and at best consider it a nuisance. The full impact of a war has not dawned upon them.

The positive reaction here is greater because for the first time in 18 years India has taken military and diplomatic initiative. The military initiative consists in the policy of crossing the international frontier as a kind of punitive action against Pakistan. The diplomatic initiative consists in India's restraint toward East Pakistan. India's preparedness is also greater than in the past, so she is able to show some success. But unthinking applause is no substitute for morale, rising out of conscious determination to make sacrifices.

In many ways war between India and Pakistan had become inevitable. Pakistan attempts in Kashmir failed twice. Kashmir has had a fairly stable government. Pakistani President Mohammed Ayub Khan was obviously misinformed—it is a weakness of dictatorship that the dictator hears what he wishes to hear—that the Kashmiris were seething with revolt against India and would open their arms to Pakistan's armies.

THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT for its part, was in need of actions to silence or suppress its opposition at home. The "national emergency" had thinned out in the last three years and had become ill-disguised tyranny, as the Socialist leader, Dr. Lohia, successfully pleaded before the Supreme Court against his detention under the Defense of India Rules. The emergency had to be made real, stable puppets in the face of public opinion.



Marino in Excelstor, Mexico City  
"Daddy, which one is Communist?"

The left Communists won a major electoral battle in Kerala, even though they were called traitors and Chinese agents. Rising prices, food shortages and unemployment had united the opposition as never before.

With the magnetic Nehru gone, Prime Minister Shastri and Congress President Nadar found they could not rule India by their personal charm. They had to prove themselves men of action, and Pakistan was obliging.

The government has announced rationing in many towns in which it was previously difficult to introduce, and all the opposition leaders, including right Communist Dange and Swatantra Dandekar, affirmed their loyalty before Nadar at a public meeting in New Delhi.

The mayor of Delhi, broadcasting on the first day of the war, acclaimed it as having increased national solidarity and postponed class conflicts. He mentioned class conflicts three times.

THIS IS A WAR for the most lopsided objectives. India's declared purpose is to destroy the bases from which Pakistan has been mounting its provocations against India. Few people in India believe that this can be done except by overrunning the whole of Pakistan and by uniting it with India by a confederation of some sort. The government of India has no such aim in view.

President Ayub Khan says that the cease-fire line in Kashmir has lost all meaning and that he will not desist till there is a plebiscite in Kashmir. Even if this were accepted by India, it would only be the beginning of troubles, not their end. And he could hardly force India to accede to a plebiscite except by overrunning Kashmir.

Both the parties know—or should know—that neither can overrun the other. When their powder runs short, they could continue the war as border skirmishes, as has been the situation in the past. But if the war makes India and Pakistan realize that there is no military solution to their problems, it will have served a purpose. But New Delhi gives no indication of this.

ON THE SOURCES of military supplies to the two countries, Indonesia has declared it will help Pakistan, but it cannot do much more than sack Indian consulates since it is burdened with its own problems. Without CENTO aid, Turkey and Iran are broken reeds to sing for Pakistan. New Delhi figures that in the event of Chinese help to Ayub Khan, it would be sure to receive massive U.S. aid.

In discussions in New Delhi, the question is being asked whether, if China supports Pakistan, the U.S.S.R. would support India. The Soviet leaders have already scotched Indian hopes by their strict neutrality, but it is a comforting vision for the elite groups to see the two Communist powers opposing each other to test their strength and ideology, even if it is on Indian soil.

The Indian government has not been encouraged by any country thus far to nurse any illusions of military aid. It knows nonetheless that the U.S. would be only too willing to test its new missiles on the Chinese mainland, if it could mount them from another country and at the invitation of its genuinely constituted government. Thus far the U.S. has depended upon un-



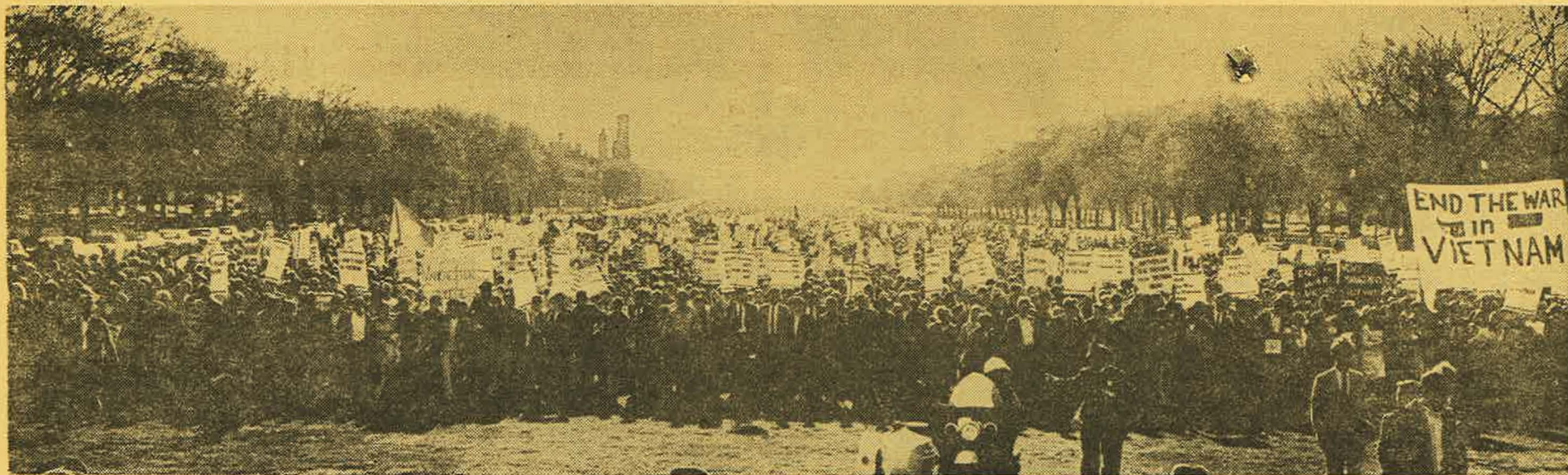


Photo by Students for a Democratic Society

MANIFESTATION OF NEW LEFT'S POTENTIAL: 25,000 PERSONS MOBILIZED BY SDS AS THEY MARCHED APRIL 17 IN WASHINGTON.

## MOST RADICAL YOUTHS NON-SOCIALIST

# New Left: The ideological bases

By Michael Munk  
(Second in a series)

AMONG THE CENTRAL questions that a radical ideology must attempt to answer are: What are the fundamental changes needed to transform society, and what are the steps that radicals can take to help bring these about? In this respect, the ideologies of the New Left can be divided roughly between those whose answer to the first question is "socialism," and those who look toward unspecified conditions in which all citizens will "share in the decisions that affect their lives."

A functional definition of the New Left can thus be approached from two levels. First, in the broad generational sense of shared historical experiences, the term can include the present-day youth groups that openly declare their commitment to Marxism and socialism, as well as the groups that consciously reject the ideologies and parties of the Old Left and attempt to develop alternate perspectives and tactics of their own. But second, the term New Left can be applied in the ideological sense only to those groups and individuals who are committed not to Marxist ideology but rather to the development of new and what they consider as more relevant programs and tactics. In this context, all radical youth groups are part of the generational New Left, but only several (whose members greatly outnumber the rest) can, in the narrower sense, be included in the ideological New Left.

AMONG YOUTH organizations on the generational New Left, the Marxist and socialist groups fall into two categories: those who see socialism as a long-range goal to be won through a radicalized coalition of mass movements (the W. E. B. Du Bois Clubs of America and the few remaining "loyalist" chapters of the Young People's Socialist League) and those who are concerned with organizing revolutionary socialist parties as the only viable tactic (the Young Socialist Alliance, Youth Against War and Fascism, the Spartacists and possibly the May 2 Movement).

The non-socialist radicals of the New Left include the Students for a Democratic Society, the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, the Northern Student Movement and unaffiliated community and campus groups. In addition, since members of organized groups compose only a small proportion of the New Left generation, tens of thousands of young people without formal ties to any existing group generally identify with the views and tactics of the non-socialist radicals.

THE GAP BETWEEN radical generations produced by the failure of the Old Left to recruit significant numbers of young people during the 1950s has resulted in an almost total lack of formal organization links among the Communist, Socialist and Socialist Workers parties and those youth groups that generally agree with their perspectives. By far the largest of these are the Du Bois Clubs, which occupy a place on the New Left roughly parallel to the Communist Party's position on the Old. The Du Bois Clubs claim about 2,000 active members in more than 40 chapters across the country, or more than double their strength at their founding one year ago.

Perspectives of the Du Bois Clubs are derived from their Marxist socialist theoretical base, combined with the New Left's emphasis on direct action, although their membership includes wide variations in political education and different tactical tendencies. But most members agree that socialism can be achieved only through united action of the working class and popular organizations. They do not agree with some on the New Left that trade unions have "sold out" and believe that popular coalitions directed toward defeat of the ultra-right are the most promising first step toward radicalization of today's mass movements. While the Du Bois Clubs neither endorsed nor opposed Lyndon Johnson in the 1964 election, they participate in local politics when they

foresee possible advances (the New York clubs, for example, endorsed William F. Ryan's mayoralty candidacy).

Thus the Du Bois Clubs insist that they are not part of the "far left," which they think isolates radicals by making excessively narrow demands and preventing the development of, for example, a mass base in opposition to the Vietnam war. While the Du Bois Clubs formally call for U.S. withdrawal, they favor participation in broad actions that raise minimum demands. But within the clubs, which are now reviewing their year's activity, there is debate on whether they should adopt a more militant anti-imperialist stand or continue to endorse the multi-level approach.

Unlike the community-organizing projects of the non-socialist groups, the Du Bois Club projects in ghettos and working-class neighborhoods attempt to recruit young people directly into club membership. They have a much higher proportion of non-student members (as high as 40%) than other radical youth groups as they try to build a radical youth movement.

THE OTHER "COALITION" tendency on the New Left is represented by a small group of students oriented toward the Socialist Party. The party's official youth group, the YPSL, was suspended by the parent organization in September, 1964, for ideological deviations to the left of the SP's position. A small number of the "loyalist" YPSL chapters have been reorganized while those expelled have formed the American Socialist Organizing Committee in Chicago, which takes a militantly anti-liberal position. Politically, the loyalist SP youth groups represent an anti-Communist tendency that parallels their parent party's position in the Old Left spectrum. Its coalition approach, developed mainly by Michael Harrington and Bayard Rustin, emphasizes a "realignment" of the two-party system by ejecting racists from the Democratic Party.

The "far" New Left consists of the Young Socialist Alliance, unofficially associated with the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, and at least two groups that have split from the SWP on ideological grounds: Youth Against War and Fascism and the Spartacists. Their combined membership is less than 500. They militantly reject the coalition theory of social change and adopt the vanguard revolutionary approach. The SWP runs party candidates in many national and local elections.

THE CONTINUITY and links between the Old and New Left are reflected in the largely informal relations between such socialist youth groups and the Old Left parties. The only new political party organized during the rise of the New Left is the Progressive Labor Party, which reflected the split between the Chinese and Soviet Communist Parties. Although its organizational form is modeled on that of the CP, from which most of its leaders were expelled, its program is based on revolutionary class struggle in opposition to coalition. Many of its more than 1,000 members are members of the New Left generation, attracted by what they regard as its open and frank socialist program.

While all New Left organizations have made the Vietnam war the focus of their 1965 activities, one was organized specifically on this issue. The May 2 Movement, named for the date, in 1964, of its first demonstrations, describes itself as a radical, anti-imperialist student peace movement that regards the revolutionaries of the third world as "brothers." While some of its leaders and members also belong to the PLP, many of its 17 chapters have cooperated in joint projects with SDS against the Vietnam war and there is now a tendency within the May 2 Movement to enter SDS. May 2 membership does not exceed 400, but Free Student, its newspaper, publishes more than 10,000 copies.

WITHIN THE AMERICAN radical community, however the term New Left often refers to something more specific than the combined membership and influence

of the existing radical youth organizations. In this sense, the New Left is composed of those organizations and individuals which have developed new ideological and tactical approaches to radical social change and which consciously reject the existing political parties of the Old Left. In addition, these have developed a style, vocabulary and even mystique that distinguishes them from the socialist youth groups.

The largest group and by far the most influential organization of this strictly defined New Left is the Students for a Democratic Society, which claims more than 4,000 activists in about 80 chapters and communities. While formally the student department of an Old Left organization, the SP-oriented League for Industrial Democracy, SDS has broken all but paper ties to its parent since its reorganization at Port Huron, Mich., in June, 1962. In the last year alone, which saw its sponsorship of the April 17 March on Washington mobilizing 25,000 persons, its membership rose from 1,200 in 27 chapters.

Since both main strains within the New Left are committed to direct action, perhaps the most important distinction between SDS and officially socialist groups is its abstention from an ideology that can be accommodated within the forms of the Old Left. In common with SNCC and the Negro ghetto-based Northern Student Movement (SDS is sometimes referred to as a northern counterpart to SNCC), SDS agrees that the economic and social system itself, rather than its failures in specific areas, is the fundamental block to social progress at home and peace abroad. But it identifies that system as a broader form of organization than capitalism per se, a system that frustrates individuals' attempts to participate in the basic decisions that affect their lives. When former SDS president Paul Potter told the March on Washington that "we must name that system" now frustrating the will of the American and Vietnamese people to end the war, he was not referring to capitalism alone. Neither does the New Left provide a clear vision of a new society, a fact admitted by Potter shortly after the march. Without the Marxist perspective, then, SDS and SNCC have been challenged to produce an alternative ideology and theory of action.

THE MAIN RESPONSE of the New Left to this challenge has been the gradual development of concepts of "participatory democracy" and "counter-community," and tentative identification as the agency for social change for the poor, unemployed and non-unionized masses in the rural South and the ghetto North. The theory of action, as practiced by hundreds of student organizers, is directed toward community organization formed around the immediate issues that affect people's lives: housing, police brutality and jobs in the urban ghettos; education, voting rights and a sense of individual worth in the South.

Such counter-community groups, known in the North as "community unions," are built on the principles of "participatory democracy" to counter the threat of co-optation of their most militant members by the local power structure. Basically, this means "let the people decide"—on what issues should be attacked, on what level and how deeply. Organizers attempt to avoid leadership positions in the community groups that could lead to what some call "manipulation" of the poor—i.e., the imposition of programs and tactics from above and from outside the social group. A tenet of participatory democracy is that persons who are drawn into activities where they are responsible for the major decisions will 1) become radicalized by confrontation at various points with the power structure as they realize that they have no fundamental power over basic decisions that affect their lives (the question continually emphasized by organizers is "Who decides?") and 2) that their awareness of these facts will lead to a commitment to radicalism that will not be destroyed by token concessions and co-optative offers from the power structure.

New Left organizers believe that political action, in forms decided by the people themselves, will naturally flow from such radical constituencies. An effort to provide national links between the 20 or more community (Continued on Page 4)



## VIETNAM PROTEST

## Peace rallies set Oct. 15-16 in many cities

**P**EACE GROUPS in as many as 75 U.S. cities and communities may participate in the Oct. 15-16 national days of protest against the war in Vietnam, according to the National Coordinating Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Plans for the workshops and demonstrations, however, are far from complete in many cities. Two cities, New York and Berkeley (including the San Francisco Bay Area), are expected to organize the largest demonstrations. Here, briefly, are the plans:

**New York:** Peace organizations are hoping to attract up to 20,000 people to a peace parade, possibly up Fifth Ave., on Oct. 16. About 35 organizations with an interest in ending the war are involved in some degree, the broadest sponsorship ever attained for a peace activity. General slogan for the demonstration is "Stop the War in Vietnam Now." A rally is planned after the parade. Many of the groups are also cooperating in two other peace events before and after the march: civil disobedience on Oct. 15 and workshops on Oct. 17. (Further details next week.)

**Berkeley:** The Vietnam Day Committee is organizing demonstrations Oct. 16 both on the campus of the University of California and at the Oakland Army Terminal. Organizers hope for as many as 10,000 to join a march to the terminal, with up to 500 offering civil disobedience, possibly in the form of blocking entrances or "invading" the base—a major shipping area for troops and supplies to Vietnam. The coordinating committee (341 W.



MEMBERS OF VIETNAM DAY COMMITTEE CHEER EL MEXICANO'S CREW  
Mexican ship was one of four that refused to carry war supplies to Vietnam

Mifflin St., Madison, Wis.) announced that it will call a convention of community and national peace groups in Washington Nov. 25-28.

ON NOV. 27, SANE and various other peace groups will conduct a Washington peace demonstration calling for "a negotiated settlement in Vietnam." Advance reports indicate that the meeting will begin at 10 a.m. in front of the White House, moving at 2 p.m. to the Washington Monument for a rally.

An "international teach-in" is scheduled Oct. 8-10 in Toronto, sponsored by the International Teach-in Committee (University of Toronto, Toronto 5, Canada). The committee, which largely consists of university faculty members, plans to arrange for a telephone hookup to many campuses and communities, similar to the national teach-in in Washington

last spring. A committee member writes: "There will be a major difference between the Toronto teach-in and the one held in Washington. The international teach-in will confront American foreign policy not only with opposing views of Americans but with views from very different vantage points: neutralists, revolutionaries and others who come from different countries and are primarily concerned with those countries."

Residents of New York's Lower East Side will gather at 9th St. and Ave. B Saturday, Sept. 25, for a Vietnam rally beginning at 3 p.m. outside the Welfare Department building. Slogan of the rally, for which leaflets have been printed in Spanish as well as English, is "War on Poverty—Not on the Poor." Speakers include Jose Fuentes, independent candidate for the State Assembly; Paul Krass-

ner, editor of the Realist; Dave Gilbert, N.Y. Committee to End the War in Vietnam; Judy Mendel, Welfare Workers for Peace in Vietnam, and speakers from the Du Bois Clubs, May 2 Movement, Movement for Puerto Rican Independence, Progressive Labor Party, Socialist Workers Party and Youth Against War and Fascism.

The Sing-in for Peace Committee announced that tickets were still available for the all-night "sing-in for peace" at New York's Carnegie Hall the night of Sept. 24.

A vigil against the war will be held at New York's Times Square recruiting station on Broadway between 12:30 and 2 p.m. Sept. 25.

**ABOUT 70 MEMBERS** of the Vietnam Day Committee demonstrated near the Oakland Army Terminal Sept. 5 "to protest the shipment of war goods to Vietnam and to support the crew of the Mexican freighter El Mexicano." Crew members had refused to transport war goods bound for Vietnam. The U.S. Military Sea Transportation Service announced earlier that military cargo had been removed from the ship, which departed the terminal accompanied by cheers from the demonstrators. The Mexican government has stated publicly that it is opposed to having ships flying the Mexican flag entering the waters off Vietnam with military supplies, but the El Mexicano was destined to unload in Japan, a non-restricted area.

The Mexican freighter was one of four ships that have recently refused to transport war material bound for Vietnam. The other three ships were Greek.

**THE GUARDIAN** depends very much on its readers for clippings from the local press of news and activities on peace and civil rights, and pertinent cartoons. Keep us in mind when you read your papers.

## THE ECUMENICAL CONGRESS

## Division is sharp as ever in the Catholic Church

By Phyllis Rosner

*Guardian staff correspondent*

**P**OPE PAUL's observations immediately prior to the opening Sept. 14 of the Fourth and final session of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council have confirmed the impression of many Council observers that he and his closest advisers are worried that the demand for a renewal and modernization of the Roman church, set in motion by Pope John, could impair the dogmatic and authoritarian structure of the Catholic Church. The belief is that they are therefore striving to restrict the results and possible effects of the Council.

Pius XII and John XXIII, Paul's predecessors, were poles apart in temperament and ideas; their ideas, often irreconcilable, are reflected among the Council Fathers. Paul VI is trying to find a middle-of-the-road course and from this arise the contradictions and ambiguity of some of his actions and statements. Much that he does seems to confirm Pope John's description of him as the "Hamlet of Milan."

**THREE RECENT ACTIONS** by Paul VI—the publication of the encyclical on "The Teaching and Cult of the Holy

Eucharistia," his speech in the Catacomb of the Holy Domitilla, and his opening speech of the Council session—indicate a further conservative trend.

The encyclical is a clear attack on the theological reformist attitude of religious leaders of certain West European countries, in particular of Holland and France. The speech in the Catacomb referred to alleged persecution of the church and believers in the socialist countries. This is a theme typical of the Vatican's attitude during the reign of Pius XII. It also contradicts Paul's oft-expressed desire for "honest and dignified negotiations" between state and church in socialist countries.

It is no secret that an obdurate minority of the church is making strenuous efforts to influence Paul to follow increasingly the line of Pius XII; they would like the Ecumenical Council to condemn Marxism anew; they want a new anti-Communist crusade. But Paul seems to be resisting an Ecumenical Council condemnation in the style of Pius XII. The church would "nourish sentiments of goodwill and peace," Paul observed.

**ALSO SIGNIFICANT** is the manner in which the Pope has resolved the controversial question of the Bishops' Senate,

to give bishops from all over the world the right to share in the church government. The majority of the Council Fathers had supported such a Senate to reduce the influence of the extremely conservative Roman Curia, the present governing body of the Church, and to bring into effect the principle of collegiality of all bishops. The Pope announced the creation of such a Senate, but imposed many restrictions on its function and structure to minimize its threat to the influence of the Curia.

Controversial questions still to be resolved are the declaration on religious freedom; the church in the modern world (dealing with the family and peace and war), and relations with non-Christian religions, including the hotly debated declaration on the Jews.

**THE ORIGINAL TEXT** on religious freedom has already been revised 20 times to take account of the view of the majority of the bishops that religious freedom is an integral and fundamental component of human dignity. The present text propounds the overcoming of religious intolerance. It is supported by the Dutch Cardinal Alfrink, the German Frings, the Patriarch of Venice and the Americans, notably Cardinal Ritter of St. Louis, who told the Council: "One cannot say we are not responsible for our 'separate brothers'—who are really our brothers—when they are sometimes persecuted in Catholic countries."

Opposed are certain representatives from Italy, Spain and Latin America. Cardinal Ruffini, Archbishop of Palermo

and a leading conservative figure in the Catholic world, maintained that if the principle of freedom of conscience is accepted, then the entire Concordat policy of the Vatican and, particularly, the 1929 Concordat between the Vatican and the Italian State, would face crisis. Ruffini also attacked the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights because it does not distinguish among various religions.

**SHORTLY AFTER** the publication of the encyclical on the Eucharistia, Alfrink held a press conference to defend the Dutch religious representatives against charges that the Dutch church was anti-Roman. Alfrink said: "If one regards the word 'anti-Roman' as being 'anti-Papal,' then in good conscience I can categorically reject this statement. However, if one wishes to interpret it as meaning that certain members of the Dutch Catholic community raise objections—sometimes in a rather sharp form—against certain methods of the Roman governmental apparatus of the Church and against the manner certain people apply these methods, then I cannot and I do not wish to deny this."

It would be a serious mistake, he added, to believe that this "anti-Roman" feeling existed only in Holland: "It exists almost everywhere; it can also be found in Rome."

The initial stages of this final session of the Second Ecumenical Council clearly indicate that the differences between the conservatives and the more progressive-thinking are as strong as ever.

## The New Left

(Continued from Page 3)

unions now being organized was made at a conference of the groups in Newark in August, and the perspective is that of a national community movement that would demonstrate the links among local day-to-day problems across the nation.

**WHERE THE NEW LEFT** becomes vaguest in its vision is the translation of the power of radical constituencies into social change. One tendency agrees with the necessity of the radical constituency entering into coalitions with reformist social movements—but only after it has developed sufficient political strength to do so on its own terms. On the other hand, the concepts of "counter-community" sometimes imply rejection of electoral and party politics on the basis of anarchistic

and ideological principles. Some within the SDS and SNCC ask: Do not electoral politics include the worst features of manipulative organization, and are they not decadent forms of social change relevant only to the manipulative system? The question implies the search for new forms of political organization and action.

The ideological New Left is in fact characterized by its tendency to ask questions, rather than provide answers. It includes far more young people who are engaged in searching than in preaching and thus far its loosely organized and decentralized structure, together with militant opposition to red baiting and exclusion, has been one of SDS's and SNCC's most widely praised characteristics. But the time is fast approaching when the accumulation of more than a year's experience in the slums and rural areas will demand systematic re-evaluation, with rejection of concepts proved unwork-

able, and experimentation with new ones.

Already there are signs that the interminable debates within the new movements are moving to another level. Among the most significant are the questioning of whether the poor alone are a sufficient force for basic social change simply because they are most alienated (or, as in the rural South, the most "uncorrupted") by the existing system. The community-organizing projects centered on the specific issue of Vietnam, for example, have included middle-class neighborhoods. The need for a national radical movement is widely discussed, although the consensus among the New Left activists appears to be that the time is not yet ripe. But amid the debate, the conviction is growing stronger that coalition with liberals, whose perspective the New Left identifies as the ideology of the system it is committed to change, is an obstacle to New Left goals.

(Next week: The debates within the New Left).



WASHINGTON EXPORTS ITS McCARTHYISM

# The 'red peril' hysteria in Latin America

By Cedric Belfrage

MEXICO CITY

**A**FTER FILLING even friendly disposed Latin America with dismay by its performance in the Dominican Republic, Washington sent Jack Hood Vaughn, Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs, winging around the continent to "woo Latins" with a cheery message from President Johnson. The message was that the U.S. has "not lost its enthusiasm for economic and social change as embodied in the Alliance for Progress program."

Vaughn distributed a few million dollars' worth of loans for minor projects, explaining that there might have been more if the governments had proffered "acceptable concrete plans." In Chile, one of the last strongholds of bourgeois democracy, he said that since "the Communist peril must be averted by all methods," the U.S. could not discriminate against dictatorships in granting "aid."

The extent to which the "Communist peril" now monopolizes Latin America headlines recalls the height of the Mc-

office when the counterrevolutionary militarists were broadcasting from their San Isidro base: "The Communist menace has grown in the last few days, and if our democratic aims are threatened we will renew the armed struggle." Two days earlier rebel leader Col. Francisco Caa-mano, resigning under duress before 150,000 adherents, had called the U.S. (later "inter-American") intervention "the institutionalization of political crime as the standard of relations between countries in our continent." The multitude joined him in an oath "to fight on for withdrawal of foreign troops now on our soil."

**IN PERU** the ex-dictator and presidential aspirant Gen. Odria spurred an already intense witch-hunt by charging that the Belaunda government was soft on communism. Reds had "infiltrated" into top posts, he said, and communism was "now powerfully entrenched in our Andean mountains" with guerrillas operating in nine of the country's 24 departments under orders from "Moscow, Peking and Cuba."

Actually, the guerrillas' prospects cannot be assessed until the leaders' ability to draw in the peasant masses, and hold them against the full-scale government terror, is demonstrated. Andean peasants already have some revolutionary experience from the mass occupations of feudal lands during recent years. The guerrillas' clandestine radio said that the U.S. has an aircraft carrier in Peruvian territorial waters with 2,500 marines aboard, and is now directing the Vietnam-type operations in the interior—saturation and napalm bombings, parachutists, Pentagon-trained "Rangers" combing the mountains and jungles, systematic torture of local inhabitants. Jails are jammed and secret trials have begun of hundreds who are subject to the death penalty for aiding guerrillas under a new law. However, according to a French Press Agency correspondent, the guerrilla outbreaks have only "strengthened the conservative element's arguments against deep structural reforms."

Other current aspects of the "red menace" include demonstrations by students and underpaid teachers in Bolivia, Brazil and Colombia (now, like Peru, a miniature Vietnam in the hinterland), and Bolivian miners still resisting the military dictators' efforts to terrorize and starve them into submission. In Brazil hundreds more were arrested in connection with an alleged plot involving a street demonstration for the nation's independence day Sept. 7. "Communists" were reportedly circulating in Rio a call to "prepare for guerrilla war."

The specter also raised its head in Puerto Rico. Drafting of Puerto Ricans for Vietnam duty inspired a new wave of protests, demands for independence, and pressures for an immediate hearing before the UN's anti-colonial commit-



Rius in Politica, Mexico City

"Yes, we came together."

tee. Meanwhile Puerto Rican patriots praised Mexico for prohibiting the voyage to Vietnam, with 6,000 tons of arms, of a Mexican ship chartered by the U.S.

In Chile, the State Department's Vaughn offended his hosts by describing Marshal Castelo Branco's dictatorship as "the best government Brazil ever had." Vaughn touched a sensitive spot which had already been trampled on by Undersecretary of State Thomas Mann and Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D-Ark.) in a visit to Brazil. That visit was Washington's only major Latin American mission this year, and Fulbright took the opportunity to extol the Castelo dictatorship in Latin America's "dominant" country. This gave neighboring countries sharp notice of the extent to which Washington is fostering Castelo's Brazil—a country of stagnating industry, mass unemployment, rural despair and institutionalized terror—as its "privileged satellite" in suppressing popular movements anywhere. The French Press Agency described the mission's aim as "to give the Castelo government a testimonial of moral and material support, in the insecure Latin American climate that has arisen following the Dominican crisis."

This favoritism of the "new Brazil" galls Argentines, who see a bright career in the anti-Communist crusade and want the right to be chief U.S. henchman. But while Argentine crusaders are hampered by vestiges of democracy, Brazil is already "commanding" in Santo Domingo the nucleus of the "Inter-American Peace Force," whose extension and continental acceptance is now Washington's main concern.

Chief Argentine "gorilla" Gen. Juan Carlos Onganía recently discussed the matter in Rio with his Brazilian opposite number, Gen. Costa e Silva, apparently in terms of a partnership in "leading" Washington's crusade. When Onganía returned home the government's youth organization demanded that he be disciplined for "interfering in public life" and be reminded that President Illia is his commander-in-chief and responsible for Argentine policies. Working directly with the Pentagon, which is supplying him with arms including 50 supersonic fighter-bombers, Onganía brushed the complaint aside. The State Department may not bother to include Argentina in any of its missions, perhaps considering that country "in the bag" as its economic crisis deepens; but the Pentagon sent its top "Southern" Gen. James D. Alger to discuss the more practical aspects with Onganía.

The Onganía-Costa meeting, in the course of which both agreed that there should be no "limitations of frontiers" in the "defense of democracy," brought shudders in Uruguay, which still is concerned about democracy. Both "gorillas" had expressed open concern about Uruguay as "a focus of subversion." Lying between Argentina and Brazil, Uruguay has 15,000 refugees from the Brazilian terror, including ex-President Goulart and the progressive ex-Gov. Brizola; a Brazilian army is deployed along the border and makes occasional kidnapping sorties across it.

Behind the transparent screen of the Alliance for Progress ghost, Latin Americans increasingly see the intercontin-

ental organization of military repression as the sole and grim reality of U.S. policy for their countries. The "solution" of the Dominican crisis may finally enable the twice-postponed Organization of American States conference to be convened in Rio, and the "Peace Force" show to be got on the road over the protests of Chile, Mexico and others clinging to non-intervention principles. But the Pentagon and CIA have taken over the reins from the State Department and it is in inter-American military meetings, such as the August 18-nation conference behind closed doors in Lima, that Latin America's destiny is being mapped.

Apart from the fact that Latin America is under no external threat save from the north, the Lima conference theme was readily deduced from the Pentagon's "Plan Camelot," whose exposure produced a scandal and congressional investigation in Chile. "Camelot" is a scheme to measure "insurrectional factors" by pseudo-scientific procedures conducted through Latin American universities. The text of the plan was "borrowed" by Chileans and photostated, circulated and commented on throughout the continent. Pittsburgh University anthropology professor Hugo Nuttini, who approached Chilean universities as Pentagon recruiting sergeant, was expelled from Chile for "working for the Pentagon Intelligence under the pretext of an academic task." Camelot had to be officially "abandoned" in Chile, but similar "plans" are known to be under way in Colombia, Peru and Venezuela.



Mansbridge in Punch, London

"One and four are okay, two's obviously a commie, and I have grave doubts about three, five, six and seven."

Carthy era in the U.S. (although most Communist parties in Latin America preach the peaceful coexistence line that armed struggle is "adventurist provocation"). The red herring is skeletal because the bourgeois classes at whom it is directed remain extremely small. But the danger of armed insurrection as in Santo Domingo, whatever its leadership, remains as real as the fact that one Latin American child in every seven dies before the age of 5.

In Santo Domingo itself, the temporary García Godoy regime had hardly taken

## GUARDIAN TOURS



# MEXICO

Jan. 14 to Jan. 30 • Jane McManus, tour leader

**HOWEVER DELIGHTFUL THE WEATHER** when you receive this issue of the **GUARDIAN**, you can be dead sure, if you're an Easterner or Midwesterner, Jan. 14 will be cold. (And if you're a Californian you'll need a vacation anyway!) What could be better than 17 delightful days in that most charming of all countries, Mexico? And look at these itineraries!

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## How the New Left Seeks to Change Society . . .

is the subject of the second in a series of three articles by Michael Munk in this issue. Begin a sub with the issue dated Sept. 18 to include the full series. Order our special Guardian reprint which includes the article, "What to do when drafted . . ." by Pieter Romayn Clark; and the editorial "National Liberation, U.S.A." Available by popular demand at the low price of 50 for \$1.

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## BIG OPERATORS TAKING OVER WITH WASHINGTON'S HELP

## America's family farmers are facing disaster

By Katherine Lundeen

Special to the Guardian

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

IF A FARMER or rancher were greeted by his city cousin today with the perfunctory question, "Well, how are things down on the farm?" the city cousin might get an alarming and sad answer.

The speed and direction of agricultural change in 1965 indicate that in not too many years the greeting might well be, "How are things on the plantation?" But the greater possibility is that the country cousin will be writing to city relatives asking if they might locate a job, because "we simply can't make it any longer, it is no use." Merchants, clerks, tradesmen—and even small bankers—in rural towns might be writing such letters.

South Dakota's Sen. George McGovern, one of the few in Washington who speaks out in behalf of the farmers, said: "The plight of the farmers is the most serious I have known since I entered public life more than a decade ago." His words were an understatement.

In his recent book, *Agriculture and the Public Interest*, Leon Keyserling said: "Comparing 1964 with 1947 [the first postwar year, economically speaking], net farm operators' income dropped from \$19.5 billion to \$12.6 billion, or 35.3%. Meanwhile, total U.S. personal income rose from \$262.6 billion to \$484 billion, or 84.7%, and non-farm personal income rose from \$235.6 billion to \$464.2 billion, or 97% (uniform 1963 dollars)."

**THE FIGHT** against plantation (or big-business) farming will be lost across the breadbasket of America unless something is done soon. McGovern suggested that net farm income has to be boosted by \$5 billion annually, "or we will see the collapse of much of our rural economy, the steady exodus of farm families from the land and the acceleration of urban congestion and unemployment."

Rep. Ancher Nelson (R-Minn.) said: "Too few Americans realize that the

Last spring, when a group of independent bankers told the story of credit problems to Dr. John Schnittker, director of agricultural economics for the Department of Agriculture, it got no encouragement. Schnittker, recently appointed Under Secretary of Agriculture by President Johnson, told the rural bankers that under the circumstances they have no alternative to withdrawing credit from agriculture.



**POLICE ESCORT FARMER AND A PIG FROM SO. ST. PAUL STOCKYARDS**  
Action took place as NFO trucks blocked the livestock chute at the stockyard last year in a 'holding' operation to protest low prices

**HOW DID** such a situation arise in "prosperous America?" The answer could be, "They planned it that way" — "they" being the interests that have historically farmed the farmer while the farmer farmed the land. Predatory interests have exploited the divisions and conflicts within agriculture itself by the age-long method of divide and rule.

In the early New Deal days the goal of parity was written into the first Agricultural Adjustment Act. Farm commodities were to have the same relative purchasing power as they had during the period from 1909-14, a period when the farm economy supposedly was in balance with other segments. But the parity line has not been held.

The increasing farm debt (now at \$36 billion), the depression prices of 75% of parity for farm commodities, the great decrease in the number of agricultural units testify to the failure of farm organizations to come to grips with the "farm problem" and solve it. That is to say, organizations whose goal actually has been to help farmer members. Some "farm" organizations had their beginnings in the inner sanctums of the private grain trade, and were never intended to be anything but a means to keep farmers on a "safe-and-sane" tranquility track with their noses on the grindstone and out of politics.

**THERE IS** a class division among farmers: The best, the near-best, and the rest — i.e., the poorest. There is also a commodity division. Dairy men and poultry producers want cheap grain to meet the growing downward pressure on prices. Cheap grain comes at the expense of the people in the corn and wheat belt. Cattle feeders, who produce the dinner-table beef, want cheap grain, but they also want cheap feeder cattle along with it. When the squeeze is put on the man who raises feeder steers and heifers, he has nobody in the agricultural fraternity to whom he can shift the pressure.

Thus, when his prices decline he joins the forces that want cheap feed with the idea that cheaper feed will increase the urge to fatten cattle, which in turn would strengthen the demand for feeder cattle. But the more feeder cattle, the greater supply of table beef, so the planks are set for another downward slide in cattle prices. Meanwhile the predatory planners move in with various "solutions."

Predatory planning in agriculture re-

vived with a bang directly after World War II, with the passage of the Hope-Aiken Act and its "flexible," "sliding-scale" price support program, with support up to 60% of parity if supplies were large enough to depress the market and drive the family farmers off the land and into the cities or towns. Along with this betrayal, the battle for parity has been continually compromised as the conflicts within agriculture were agitated and ex-

**THE LARGE-SCALE** farm is a thoroughly capitalist enterprise, and the movement toward elimination of the family farm constitutes the last and most critical stage in the capitalistic absorption of "non-capitalist" enterprises.

Owners of large-scale agricultural operations are conservative politically. So are migrant farm or ranch "hands" who have lost out as independent operators.

Before the 1964 election "farm letters" put out by confidential dopesters stressed that the agricultural cost-price squeeze would continue regardless of the result at the polls.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey told the National Farmers Union convention this spring: "Food is power. Abundance — and the ability to produce abundance — is one of the most valuable assets of strength in the world today." Although Humphrey was careful to tell this party-minded audience that he rejected any "solution" that would, "in effect force the small farmers off the land," he concluded with: "The export market is the big area of potential expansion for agriculture — if we sell and don't price ourselves out of the market."

**PRICING** the U.S. out of the market is an argument long used against federal support price programs. Delegations of farmers and ranchers sent to Washington get the same message from the top economists in the Department of Agriculture. "We have to sell," delegates are told, and they are advised to stop thinking in terms of "parity."

As the stage is arranged for the agricultural pattern of the future, big newspapers and slick magazines such as the Minneapolis Tribune and U.S. News and World Report feature articles expounding ideas set forth by former Budget Director Kermit Gordon and President Johnson. Gordon said that 2.5 million of the present 3.5 million farmers, with gross sales below \$10,000 annually, "do not now and cannot in the future be expected to operate successful commercial farms." The Minneapolis Tribune pictured only three small farmers left out of ten for the nation as a whole.

There were more than 6 million agricultural units when the New Deal came to Washington and launched the recovery program, with its Agricultural Adjustment designed to combat farm bankruptcies. Today there are less than 3.5 million units with a bi-partisan policy of reducing this number to a million or less.

**THERE IS** every reason to believe that in the race for "efficiency," agriculture can continue to make two blades of grass grow where one grew before. The efficiency race has increased in speed since the tractors drove the horses and mules into the processing plants of pet-food canners. Already in certain areas plantation farms exist, and systems of multiple farms and/or ranches are combined in a complex operated by managers and hired men directed from a central headquarters by two-way radios on a round-the-clock basis.

When then budget Director Gordon published his agricultural thesis in the *Saturday Review* (Jan. 9, 1965), Rep. Harold Cooley (D-N.C.), chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, called it a "blueprint for doom of the family farm system in America."

The few big units left would not buy supplies from local merchants but from warehouses and factories linked to them through the unit's boards of directors. An example of the future pattern is the Kern County (Calif.) Land Co., with holdings twice as large as the state of Rhode Island. Kern County Land "is a major producer of livestock in Australia, where it owns both sheep and cattle operations . . . The company operates by lease the Boquillas Cattle Co. in northern Arizona comprising 129,000 acres . . . is interlocked with Safeway Stores, Inc., through the appointment of Kern County board member Ernest C. Arbuckle to the Safeway board of directors . . . Through a recent purchase the company

(Continued on Page 7)

## Current farm bill

**THE JOHNSON** Administration's farm bill, which is expected to set the pattern for price supports and direct subsidies to cotton, wheat, feed grains, rice and wool producers until 1970, was passed Sept. 15 by the Senate in a 72-22 vote. Some important differences remain to be ironed out with the version passed earlier by the House before the bill can go to the President for signature.

The bakery lobby won over wheat farmers when the price support for wheat dropped from a proposed \$2.50 a bushel to \$1.90 in the Senate version, but smaller cotton farmers—as well as textile manufacturers—may benefit from a new form of cotton subsidy. Wheat state senators who favored repealing the 50% U.S. ship requirement on wheat shipments to socialist countries were defeated by the AFL-CIO, which contended this would cost the jobs of U.S. seamen. Supporters of farm labor won a battle to keep jurisdiction over braceros with the Secretary of Labor.

farm income per person is \$913 a year less than the average wage of individual non-farmers. Too few know that the family farmer teeters on the brink of disaster, with his production costs highest in history, his farm debt up 50% in four years and his parity of income at a puny 75% of parity, lowest since the Great Depression."

The better part of the increase in the debt is secured by land mortgages on inflated values, as farmers go deeper into debt to keep their heads above water. Rural banks are now telling some of their customers, "We are sorry," when they ask for credit extensions; more will get the same answer in months to come. Some of the poorest risks have been asked to pay up — so they have a sale and quit.



## MFDP PLEA REJECTED

## House votes to dismiss Mississippi seat challenge

By William A. Price

AS THREE NEGRO women contestants watched from seats on the floor of the House of Representatives, its members voted 228 to 143 Sept. 17 to dismiss the women's challenges to the seating of five white Mississippi congressmen.

The action followed an eight-month campaign by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party since the original seating of the Mississippians on the opening day of Congress.

In the final week before the vote, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights urged opposition to the dismissal vote. This put every major civil rights organization—including CORE, NAACP, National Urban League, Negro American Labor Council, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, on record against the move to dismiss the challenge. Supporting the MFDP were 39 other LCCR members, including Amalgamated Clothing Workers; ACLU; Amer-

*The second part of William A. Price's analytical report of his tour of the South will appear next week.*

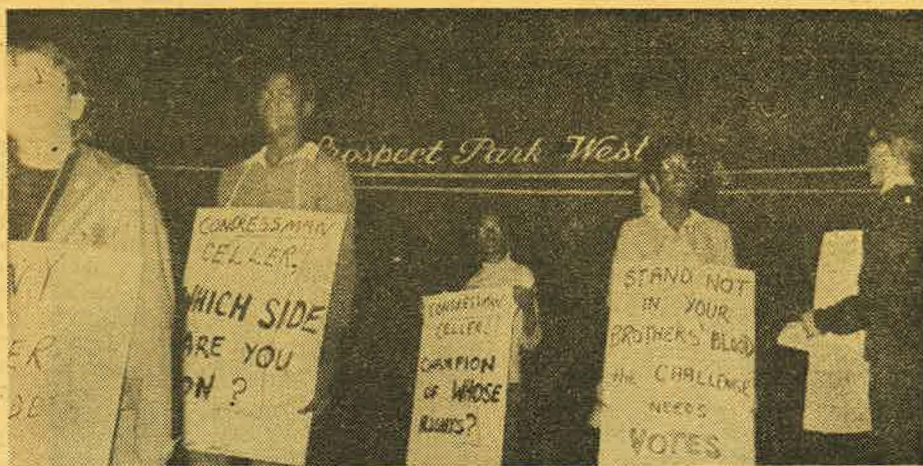
ican Jewish Congress; IUE; the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches; State, County and Municipal Employees; Textile Workers Union of America; UAW and the United Steelworkers of America.

Arrayed against this combination was the Johnson Administration and much of the liberal establishment in the House, led by Rep. Frank Thompson Jr. (D-N.J.), chairman of the Democratic Study Group.

Thompson, a member of the House Administration Committee, was the liberal architect of the committee's majority report which recommended dismissal of the challenge, but stated that such action "should not be interpreted as condoning any disenfranchisement of any voters in the 1964 election" and recommended that "the House make every effort to scrutinize with great care all future elections." It was this wording that provided an out for a number of liberal congressmen who had originally voted against seating on Jan. 4 to support dismissal of the challenge. Thompson proposed a "watershed" thesis that from now on the Voting Rights Act of 1965 would protect the rights of Negroes.

**BUT NEGRO** Rep. William L. Dawson (D-Ill.) told the House: "Negroes are still being intimidated from registering. They will endure even greater intimidation when they seek to vote. The enforcement of the Voting Act will require extensive litigation and long delay, whereas the unseating of an illegally elected representative will make it crystal clear to the state that it must accord full voting rights to all its citizens if it desires to have representation in this House."

In the final days of the challenge, more than 550 Negroes from Mississippi came to Washington to lobby for the unseating of the white congressional delegation. Among them were the three MFDP contestants, Mrs. Annie Devine, Mrs. Victoria Gray and Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, the first Negro women ever to sit in an official capacity on the floor of the House. Although the Administration Committee report did not recognize the three as legal contestants, pressure forced House Speaker John W. McCormack to invite them to



ALL-NIGHT VIGIL AT BROOKLYN HOME OF REP. EMANUEL CELLER

Brooklyn bloc in House reversed stand and supported MFDP Sept. 17

be seated as parties to the challenge.

Voting lines shifted in the final days. The loss of some liberal support was counteracted by the move of the entire Brooklyn congressional delegation from opposition to the challenge Jan. 4 to support of the MFDP on the final vote. This group, led by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) had been under heavy pressure from independent political action in that borough, including an all-night vigil at Celler's home.

At the same time, the Administration Committee's minority report which recommended recommitting the challenge to committee for full hearings, was reported to the floor by Republican Charles S. Gubser (R-Calif.). And Thomas B. Curtis (R-Mo.) protested the "high-handed abuse of power by the majority party" which had limited committee discussion to three hours behind closed doors. Gubser and Curtis were among 34 Republicans who voted against the dismissal of the challenge, along with 109 Democrats. Supporting the dismissal were 141 Democrats and 87 Republicans.

Twelve paired votes for each side on the final roll-call made the final tally 240 to 155. This compared to the Jan. 4 vote of

276 in favor of seating the Mississippians to 149 opposed.

Disappointment and bitterness were sharp for many of the Mississippi Negroes who had come to Washington. "You could tell America wasn't about to wake up," said Mrs. Hamer after she left the House floor. "We came here to see if the Constitution worked—and it doesn't. It hurt me when I came out to see my black brothers and sisters, tears streaming down their cheeks. I had a bitterness I don't think I could ever express. I shook with sobs. I'm not crying for myself alone, I'm crying for America. Because it's later than you think."

Behind the bitterness, however, was the cool assessment of political observers that the MFDP had put on a tremendous show of strength in which 143 congressmen had openly defied Administration pressure.

This strength was sure to be needed as the MFDP announced that it would go back to Mississippi now and escalate its voter registration campaigns, looking toward the running of candidates in next spring's local elections and in the 1966 Congressional contests.

## Farm problems

(Continued from Page 6)

also now controls 51% of the stock of J. I. Case Tractor & Implement Co. . . . It is also the owner of some 1,550 producing oil wells located on company land . . . lists as its most important assets 2,414,112 acres owned on the Pacific Coast and in the Southwest." — Rocky Mountain Union Farmer (May 14, 1964).

**A MEMBER** of Congress asked if the "American public would not be at the mercy of a few giant producers who would control the supply and prices of food." The answer is obvious. After the elimination of the family farmers by simply reducing support price levels, or even by leaving the levels where they are today, a relatively few food combinations could easily "get together," as they already have in some fields, to mulct the consumer.

With the elimination of large numbers of farmers and ranchers comes elimination also of non-farm families in rural communities. Businessmen worry along, waiting for business to "pick up." Finally they throw in the sponge. The manager of the Lemon, S.D., Chamber of Commerce told the Senate Committee of Agriculture June 10 that auction sales in the Lemmon trade territory in 1963-64 resulted in 93 fewer ranch-families, with a million-dollar loss annually to the small business of the area. He named more than a dozen Main St. businesses that had also gone under in Lemmon and the surrounding towns.

Already in rural America the ghost of a depression stalks. Probably 20 million people will head for cities within the next several years at the contemplated rate of farm-ranch elimination.

**WITH ALL** this "good campaign material," the GOP is documenting the whole record of the Democratic capitulation to big agriculture. After the President's budget message, the House Republican Task Force on Agriculture, read into the Congressional Record (May 20) a statement, "A Migrate Society for Rural America: The Great Society, then, is go-

ing to preside over the 'phasing out' of two out of three farm families as a solution to the problem of low-farm income . . . The 9 million farm people represented by 2½ million families the Administration would remove are equivalent to the combined population of 14 states . . . This does not include the additional millions of small-town residents who would be forced to migrate along with their rural customers."

**INTERESTS THAT** have always wanted "cheap food," wished to see a stream of farm people moving to the cities to flood the labor market, or simply favored big agriculture for other reasons have fought federal farm programs vigorously. As far back as 1932 the "surplus farmer" theory was developed as a "solution" for the problems of agriculture. It is the falling-dominoes theory in reverse: The more that fell the stronger would be those left standing. The land and holdings of the fallen could be incorporated into the units of the more "efficient." The public would have cheaper food, the farmers would not need federal programs, the taxpayers would benefit—so it was said.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the National Planning Association, the Committee for Economic Development, dozens of agricultural professors all joined in a big alliance to get rid of family farmers.

**THE POLITICAL** far right has spearheaded the movement to eliminate farmers by eliminating farm programs. Some far-right organizations — financed by people who contributed to pro-Hitler groups before World War II—argue that the U.S. government is infiltrated by "reds" who aim to bring about socialism via federal farm programs (government controls).

Liberal publications have either viewed the "farm problem" as out of their field, or joined the "too-many-farmers" chorus. Top leaders of the Grange and American Farm Bureau took part with the heads of Armour & Co., General Electric, Pillsbury Mills, Ralston Purina, Carnation Co., and heads of corporate ranches and farms, in the U.S. Chamber of Commerce report published March,

1945: "Variations in Farm Income and Their Relation to Agricultural Policies."

This report recommended that federal agricultural programs be directed toward the "third, or at most the half of the farmers on whom American consumers are dependent . . ." The two-thirds were considered "wasteful of time and human energy . . . economic and social liabilities."

**WHEN THE** Hope-Aiken bill was up for discussion in 1948 (the bill that would have lowered support prices to 60% of parity at times when farmers needed support most) Democrats, Republicans, Farm Bureau leaders, and the top brass of the Farmers Union joined in its endorsement. The Progressive Party farm conference (Chicago, 1948), came out strongly for family farming and warned that corporate agriculture would take over the small operators. It recommended a parity support floor of 90%.

The story goes that President Truman asked Harold Ickes what sort of farm program to run on and was advised to use the Progressive Party farm program—which he did. Truman charged that the GOP had stuck a pitchfork in the farmer's back, and the "undecided" farm vote decided to support Truman.

Strong pressures from rural areas after the election caused Truman to come up with the Brannan Plan, for direct payments to the farmer from the government to make up the difference between the market price and the "fair price" decided upon by Congress. The Brannan Plan was the best farm bill ever proposed in Washington, but it was soon discarded for the "Administration Farm Plan," the "very same thing" farmers were told. When the Korean war began, word went out that it would provide such a market that no farm program was needed. Still later "parity of income" became the formulation that replaced "full parity." Farmers Union top leadership slid down the parity scale along with the Democrats.

**THE FARM** "problem" has now become the private domain of politicians and professional "farm leaders." It has not been viewed as a national problem such

as flood control, highways or water pollution.

The farm population as a whole and the people in rural towns show little awareness of the threat of economic disaster, and farm organizations are doing little to alert the nation. The Grange is little more than a social organization with few members; the Farm Bureau's only fighting has been against any real solution — and against labor. Some branches have endorsed the Liberty Amendment.

Since the days when the National Farmers Union accepted the Cold War as a way of life and the top leadership became the agricultural arm of the Democratic Party, it has more and more taken on the job as errand man for the State Department. Its hands are tied when it comes to fighting against the Johnson farm plans. Dominated mainly by the Farmers' Union Insurance Co. and the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, it tends to react to farm problems like any insurance company or grain marketing company.

More and more the Farmers Union has become an organization of retired farmers and oldsters in the small towns who belong because they have FU insurance.

**THE NEW NATIONAL** Farmers Organization has absorbed the most militant section of agriculture, and some members of the Farmers Union and the Farm Bureau have taken to the highways to enforce the "holding actions," and also have joined NFO. The theory of NFO is that the farmer or rancher should put a price on his product and by a strike, or "holding," as NFO calls it, get his demands.

Some of the lower-level NFO leaders follow the political far right and supported Sen. Barry Goldwater in the 1964 election. Some attended the meetings staged by Billy James Hargis, the rightist preacher from Tulsa, Okla. And the masses of embittered farmers are certainly inclined to the far right politically because the far right is the only faction active in the field. Progressive political forces are weak, and in some areas have disappeared from the picture altogether.





FREE UNIVERSITY CLASS IN SESSION AT N.Y. LAST SUMMER  
Prof. James Mellen teaching in course on 'U.S. Imperialism'

## 46 COURSES IN FALL TERM

## N.Y. Free University opening

REGISTRATION will begin Monday, Sept. 27, for the fall quarter of the Free University of New York, after a summer term that brought 250 students to 21 courses. The fall catalogue lists 46 courses. Many deal with radical perspectives in social, economic, historical and cultural fields. In addition there are provocative classes extending from the social implications of hallucinogenic drugs to the search for authentic sex experience.

Among the faculty members will be Stanley Aronowitz (Theory and Practice of Radical Social Movements), Paul Krassner (Press and Satire), school director Allen Krebs (Marxism and Social Decadence), Levi Laub (Cuban Revolution), David McReynolds (Old Left and New Left) and Sue Warren (Marxist-Leninist View of Imperialism).

The school's opening semester indicated that politically oriented courses were the most popular, and registration had to be limited for three of them. There

have been almost 3,000 requests for information for the fall term and the unexpected pressure has resulted in the formation of a coordinating committee, comprising faculty members and students, to reach decisions on administrative affairs by consensus. The university was organized as a "parallel" institution to "factory-type" education. About 90% of the students have been from the white middle class.

Tuition for the 10-week fall semester is \$24 for a student's first course (operating expenses—teachers are not paid—are met through such payments), and \$8 for each additional course. Welfare recipients are free. Registration will continue until Oct. 1, and should be made on the same day of the week that the selected class will meet. Classes will begin Oct. 4.

Catalogues, class schedules and further information can be obtained from Free University of New York, 20 E. 14th St., New York (Tel.: OR 5-7424).

## Draft opposed

(Continued from Page 1)

cept the court's terms for parole: "Of course not," he said. "The United States is involved in criminal action around the entire world. I won't stop until it does."

Mitchell's three-day trial before a jury of seven men and five women began Sept. 13, four years after he notified his Selective Service board he would not submit to the draft. He was arrested June 1 and pleaded not guilty on the grounds that the U.S. government itself was violating legal and moral tenets in prosecuting the Vietnam war and committing "crimes against world peace and humanity . . . under the provisions of the Nuremberg Charter." The draft, he said in a brief submitted by civil liberties attorney Conrad Lynn, is constitutionally invalid—in part because it is an instrument to implement policies that violate national and international law (GUARDIAN, Aug. 28).

After a pre-trial hearing a week before the trial, on a defense motion to dismiss the charges, Mitchell decided he and his lawyer were "incompatible" and that he would seek other counsel. Lynn said he believed the disagreement arose "because Dave thought I placed too much emphasis in arguing the dismissal motion on the constitutional aspects of his case, to the detriment of the moral aspects—particularly those implicit in the Nuremberg trials." Lynn was referring to the concept developed at the postwar trial of Nazi leaders that an individual has a duty to refuse to obey official orders to participate in criminal deeds.

MITCHELL tried to obtain substitute counsel in the few days available to him before trial, but was unsuccessful. One attorney indicated willingness to take the case, but could not do so when Judge Timbers rejected the lawyer's request for a one-day postponement to consult with his client. Timbers assigned a lawyer to Mitchell, but the youth would not cooperate with him, asserting that he was being denied counsel of his own choosing and thus a fair trial because of the judge's refusal to grant a brief postponement.

Throughout the trial, Mitchell would not permit the court-appointed lawyer to examine witnesses or speak for him.

In summation before the jury retired, government prosecutor Howard Owens, an assistant U.S. attorney, declared Mitchell must be given the maximum sentence as a deterrent to other youths, especially at this period when draft calls have been doubled because of the Vietnam war.

After the government presentation, Mitchell read a statement requesting acquittal: "I have continually made clear throughout these proceedings my protest and attendant non-participation," he said. "I have not accepted court-imposed counsel and I have clarified throughout that this is not a waiver of my rights to counsel but rather a seeking for those rights and the time for preparing a defense. Your honor has repeatedly insisted that the issues are simple and any lawyer could proceed immediately . . . But of the many lawyers I have consulted they are all in accord that this is not a simple case. The issues are not simple, for they far transcend the narrow confines of the charge and

involve everyone in or out of this courtroom. If I was spared the deadly rush of these proceedings, if I was allowed counsel of my own choosing and time to prepare a case, I could have presented proof—including depositions from as distant as Vietnam and the Dominican Republic along the lines of my previous brief. This brief raises the issues of America's clear aggression, torture, genocide in Vietnam; of its clear intervention in Santo Domingo and around the world. And it raises, as was raised in the Nuremberg trials of Nazis, the clear responsibility of the individual to refuse when his government orders him to aid and abet crimes against peace and humanity. It is obvious that our government does not have the courage even to attain a legal facade from Congress for this undeclared war. Now this court, by rush and deprivation of counsel, has indicated its fear of this case. For the above reasons and for the reasons I have stated throughout the proceedings on Sept. 8, I move for dismissal and acquittal on grounds that this court has violated my right to counsel, preparedness and due process as guaranteed by the Fifth and Sixth Amendments to the Constitution."

TIMBERS DENIED the motion and the jury, after deliberating for 55 minutes, returned a guilty verdict. Timbers pronounced sentence immediately, without arranging for the customary pre-sentence probation report.

Mitchell is expected to file a motion for a new trial, based largely on his statement to the court. The New Haven American Civil Liberties Union is also expected to file a brief for Mitchell on the grounds that he was deprived of counsel and due process.

Mitchell believes he has a chance to win on appeal if given sufficient time to prepare his case. The first trial, he noted, had been scheduled for Sept. 27, but was moved forward to Sept. 7 by Timbers. At the second trial, he said, he hopes to present depositions from civilians and newsmen in Vietnam and from government sources to show American involvement in Vietnam violates international treaties and the Nuremberg decisions.

THE NATIONAL anti-draft campaign led by the Students for a Democratic Society began in the middle of September. The youth group seeks to encourage everyone of draft age to file the conscientious objector form, stating personal reasons for objecting to fighting. SDS has assigned two full-time staff members to the draft campaign. All SDS campus chapters (over 80) will distribute anti-draft literature and give advice to potential objectors. (Information from SDS, 1103 63rd St., Chicago.)

At first, SDS is expected to rely heavily on the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors for advice, material and legal services. The committee's publication, Handbook for Conscientious Objectors, will probably be distributed widely. (The Handbook, 50 cents, is available from CCCO at 2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., 19103.)

The War Resisters League told the GUARDIAN, "We've been swamped in the last few months by the number of young men seeking information about opposing the draft." WRL staff worker Ralph DiGia said: "We used to have three or four men walk into our office every month seeking advice. These days the figure is between 15 and 20 a week."

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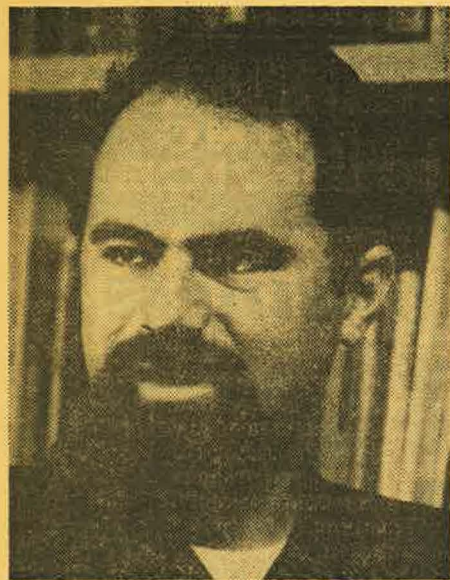
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**Carl and Sylvia WEINSTEIN**

Congratulations on your grandson Fred Magdoff's master's degree, and candidacy for his doctorate. We wish him success in his undertakings.

Betty, Max and Mania





Guardian photos by Robert Joyce  
MICHAEL MYERSON (LEFT) AND HAROLD SUPRIANO  
They report on bomb damage by U.S. planes in North Vietnam

## Vietnam report

(Continued from Page 1)

the 50 bridges we saw during our trip," Myerson said, "only three had been destroyed. One was nearly rebuilt, a pontoon bridge replaced another, and a ferry substituted for the third. Despite U.S. claims of disrupting transportation, traffic flows at a fantastic rate between bombings.

"Often," he said, "it flows over bridges the U.S. doesn't know about. Instead of rebuilding some bridges, the North Vietnamese replace them with portable pontoon bridges at night. They dismantle them before daylight so that the bombers can't get at them."

The four visitors were taken to what once was a modern tuberculosis hospital consisting of 30 buildings. Built in 1960, the plainly marked hospital was destroyed in three bombing raids. Five doctors were killed.

At another hospital, they visited the wounded or dying civilian victims of bombing attacks. Among the patients was a 7-year-old boy, his leg blown off, and a pregnant woman with a severed spine, the result of a strafing attack.

Myerson said that the DRV was experimenting with mobile hospitals, stationary only for brief periods of days or weeks, to avoid the bombers. "They think that dispersal of hospitals may be the only answer," he said, "because they are convinced that the hospitals are being blown up on purpose to terrorize the people."

THE GROUP also visited a bombed agricultural cooperative in Thanh Hoa province, an eight-hour night drive from Hanoi. They were told that the attacks killed 46 peasants. They asked the head of the cooperative whether the terror bombings had sapped the will of the people to resist U.S. aggression.

"If we don't win," he was quoted as saying, "it will be our children who will win. If not—our grandchildren."

At a new textile factory near Hanoi they interviewed a young woman engineer who told them: "We must fight. Where could we retreat even if we wanted to? The U.S. forces, at least, can retreat to their own country."

### ON MONTHLY REVIEW STAFF

## Gertrude Huberman dies in New York

GERTRUDE H. HUBERMAN, wife of Leo Huberman, co-editor of the Monthly Review, and a member of the staff of the magazine since its founding in 1949, died in New York's St. Vincent's Hospital from Hodgkin's disease on Sept. 16. She was 63.

During the 1920s she taught in New Jersey public schools. From 1929 to 1933 Mrs. Huberman worked for the League for Industrial Democracy; and in 1935-36 she was supervisor of nursery school education on Long Island for the Works Progress Administration. During the 1940s she was active in the Women's Auxiliary of the New York Newspaper Guild.

### CONVENTION RESOLUTIONS

## UE and Mine-Mill unions call for peace in Vietnam

TWO INDEPENDENT unions, the United Electrical Workers and the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, have passed resolutions calling for peace in Vietnam. At their 30th convention in New York Sept. 13-17, 300 UE delegates voted overwhelmingly to adopt a resolution giving full support to the forces which urge the Johnson Administration to "cease reliance" on bombing and more troops, to "stop quibbling" about direct negotiations with the NLF, and to "prepare the ground" for a cease-fire.

Meeting in Denver Aug. 16-20, almost 200 delegates to the Mine-Mill's 59th convention adopted a resolution on peace that noted its support for Johnson's domestic program but added: "We have questions about our Vietnam policy." It went on to urge a return to the principles of the 1954 Geneva agreements as the only way to Vietnamese independence. Specifically, it called for negotiations with the NLF and through the UN while declaring that "neither the Vietcong nor North Vietnam have shown sufficient readiness to come to the bargaining table."

The UE convention heard Sen. George Aiken (R-Vt.) say that North Vietnam's response to U.S. bombings has "confounded us all" and that the people of North Vietnam "have turned out to be a sagacious, courageous and determined foe." Aiken, who spoke out against escalation of the Vietnam war last spring, said that "Congress will support the President even though a large percentage of its members felt that the decision to carry the war to North Vietnam was unwise and that it would not accomplish the results predicted by military advisers." Aiken also praised Arthur Goldberg's appointment to the UN before the UE convention—perhaps unaware that the efforts of the CIO to expel the UE in the late 1940s on "Communist" charges were aided by the then labor lawyer Goldberg.

Floor debate on the Vietnam resolution was confined to three delegates from Washington, D.C., and California who appeared to support the war and five speakers for the peace resolution, including delegates from Pittsburgh, three from the midwest district and union president Albert Fitzgerald. Only scattered "nays" were heard in the voice vote.

The convention was also addressed by John Lewis, SNCC executive secretary,

and Andrew Hawkins, chairman of the strike committee of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. The delegates, after hearing the civil rights leaders discuss the issues behind the Mississippi challenge, sent telegrams to their congressmen to support the unseating of the state's five representatives.

In other convention discussion, the UE's general officers reported on one of their most successful organization years since the union left the CIO. In the last 12 months, the officers said, UE had organized an additional 5,000 workers bringing its membership to 164,000. So far in 1965, with major election victories in a GE plant at Waynesboro, Va. (1,100 workers) and the GHR Foundry in Dayton, Ohio (1,000 workers) UE has organized as many new workers as its AFL-CIO competitors, the IUE and the IBEW, combined.

THE MINE-MILL convention voted unanimously to support the nine-year legal fight against witch-hunting charges leveled at six past and present officers. The delegates heard that the ACLU, the National Farmers Union and two AFL-CIO international unions, the Meat Cutters and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers will join in an amicus curiae brief before the Supreme Court when the Mine-Mill case reaches it.

Two defendants are union president Al Skinner and secretary-treasurer Irving Dichter. Both were nominated without opposition for two-year terms. The conviction they are appealing was on charges of conspiracy to file false "non-Communist" affidavits (GUARDIAN, July 24).

### Mortimer Offner dead

MORTIMER OFFNER, stage and TV director and film writer, died in New York of a stroke Sept. 14. He was co-producer and director of the hit musical revue, "Meet the People." In Hollywood he adapted James M. Barrie's "The Little Minister" for the screen as well as Booth Tarkington's "Alice Adams" and other novels as vehicles for Katharine Hepburn.

After two years of television producing, Offner was blacklisted and turned to selling insurance. At his death he was active in a new committee of artists and professionals to end the war in Vietnam.

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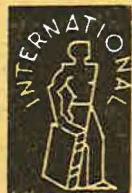
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(No. 8)

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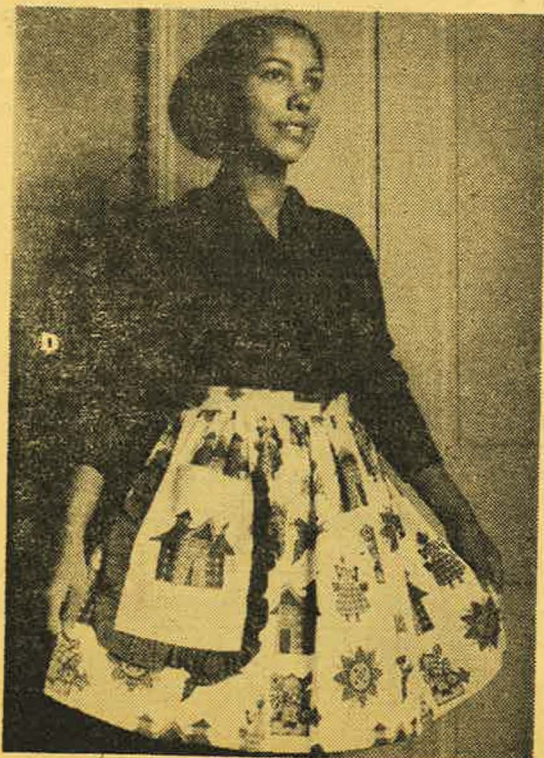


COOPERATIVES IN MISSISSIPPI

# The Poor Peoples Corp.: A venture in job-making

THE POOR PEOPLES CORPORATION is not a corporation in the common usage of the term. It is a non-profit, non-share assemblage of people in need of a means of income; members pay 25c a year dues. It was formed to develop cooperative shops in areas in which people were seeking an alternative to the slave-wage jobs open to them. Begun only four months ago in Mississippi by SNCC worker Jesse Morris, the PPC now has six cooperatives in operation in that state and they are rapidly multiplying.

The first coop was begun by a group of domestic maids in Canton, Miss., who quit their \$10-a-week jobs to form a sewing coop, and were so successful with their first products that they received a contract from Operation Head Start to provide smocks for youngsters in the program. Coop members are paid \$30 a week under the contract. Another sewing coop arose in McComb, along with a wood-working shop turning out unfinished furniture for local sale. Leather-working coops have recently been formed in Natchez, in McComb, and in Milledale, making suede purses, hip pouches, great



An apron made at a Poor Peoples Corporation sewing coop is modeled by Doris Derby. She will be the head of the PPC's training center in Jackson, Miss. The cooperative projects, begun in Mississippi, are spreading rapidly.

Guardian photo by Robert Joyce

floppy Greta Garbo-type hats and men's and women's leather belts. The hip pouches are fast becoming a status symbol among SNCC workers. Samples of PPC products which this writer saw in Mt. Beulah surpassed similar goods selling in Greenwich Village for double the price.

The aim of the PPC is to launch cooperatives which can become self-sustaining and self-reproducing. The PPC provides technical and financial assistance to groups which want to found coops, training people in the needed skills and making loans for equipment and materials from a revolving fund of contributions, coming largely from the North. They depend heavily upon wholesale manufacturers and distributors for donations of supplies and equipment.

THE PPC looks largely to a Northern market, for mail-order and contract sales. To maximize efficiency and profit, all purchases and sales are handled centrally, in Jackson. Coops are supplied with equipment and materials from Jackson, and send their goods to Jackson for marketing. This relieves local coops of bookkeeping and technical burdens. As one coop becomes established, members begin to train others in the area who wish to set up their own shops. Training centers in Mt. Beulah and Jackson are now moving into new fields such as stained glass and jewelry.

From the start the PPC coops have been closely connected with the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union. Many of the workers founded their coops when they went out on strike with the MFLU. They are pledged to abide by union regulations, such as the minimum wage, and are expecting soon to have MFLU union labels on their products.

Many coop products—all handmade of fine materials—are ready for mass sales, and orders are needed to provide funds to keep the coops in production. A sales brochure, with pictures and prices, is available from 900 North Farish St., Jackson, Miss. The PPC also welcomes donations of money and equipment, e.g., sewing machines, and materials (fabrics, leather, thread etc.). Information may be obtained from Jesse Morris at the Jackson address, or from the PPC's New York representative, Ellen Maslow, 5 Beekman St., Room 1037, New York, N.Y. 10038, RE 2-3996.

It is hoped that the coop idea will spread to the North, particularly within urban ghettos. A woman in the Southeast Bronx ghetto of New York is planning to set up a store there to sell Mississippi coop products, and local products if they become available.

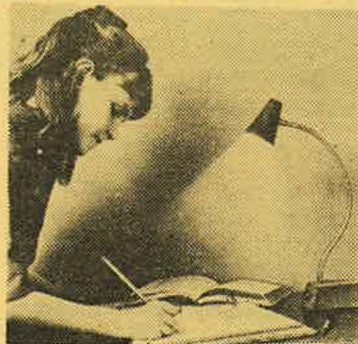
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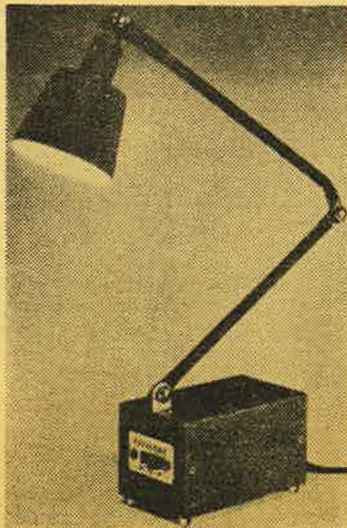
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AFTER OUR BRIEF SUMMER HIATUS, GBS is open again, preparing to bring you a dazzling array of bargains. Our Annual Guardian Buying Service Catalog will appear early in October. In the meantime here are two of our most reliable and best-selling items—TENSOR Hi-Intensity, and LUXO lamps. All orders will be shipped promptly. Let us hear from you soon!



### TENSOR STUDENT

All-metal construction with goose-neck arm which twists into any position. Base just 2"x2 3/4". Neutral wrinkle or Brass & Walnut .....\$8.95

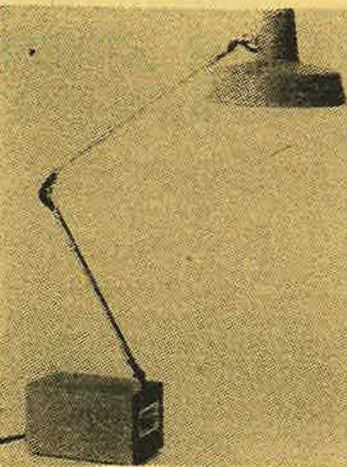


### MODEL 5975

(with "Hi-Lo" Switch)

This is the basic and most powerful TENSOR; all-metal construction, nylon feet, "flocked" shade, (black, felt-like insulation) key-hole slot in base for wall hanging, two extra bulbs supplied.

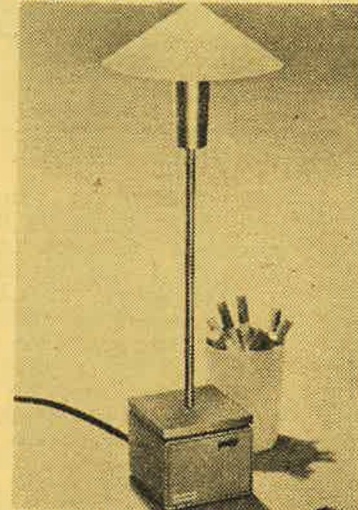
Neutral wrinkle finish or Brass & Walnut .....\$15.50



### A New Tensor—THE "RUMFORD"

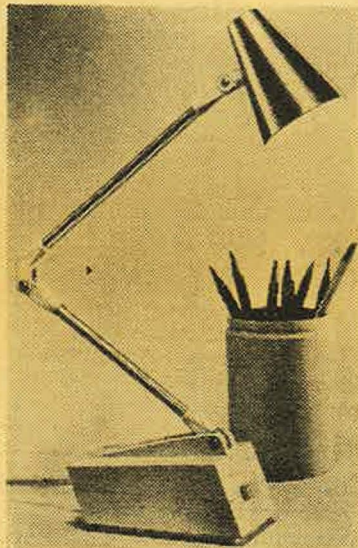
The new Tensor "Rumford" (Model No. 6975) is the basic Tensor lamp with a new shade to spread light over a wider work surface—6 ft. when only 12" from the table. The two-position switch gives you 115-foot candles in high, 55 in low. Two-year guarantee. Packs compactly for travel. .... \$14.95

(REMEMBER: All Tensor lamps fold compactly; they can be put in a suitcase for traveling, vacations, etc.)



### A New Tensor Lamp THE "BOUGUER"

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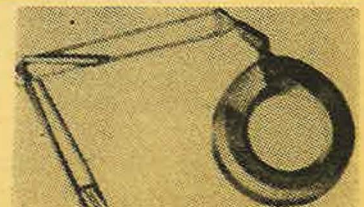
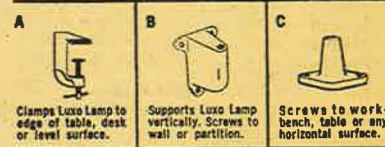


### LUXO LAMPS

"COMBO LAMP"—(pictured above) a combination fluorescent & incandescent fixture, with 45" extension arms. Comes in desert tan, mist green, and office gray. Bulbs not included. ....\$21.95

"FLAIR" LAMP—Incandescent only, with flared shade. Same colors as above, plus black and oyster white. ....\$20.95

IN ORDERING: Please specify bracket (A) Table clamp, (B) Wall mount, or (C) desk mount, which screws to desk. All brackets are in matching colors. If you want more than one bracket, to move lamp from room to room, specify both types and add \$2.



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**NATIONAL GUARDIAN**

17th Anniversary

**DINNER**



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## CALENDAR

### LOS ANGELES

**TESTIMONIAL BANQUET** honoring DR. HERBERT APTEHEK, noted historian, Marxist scholar, editor, author of 18 books in the area of Negro history, U.S. history, U.S. foreign policy and social criticism. During the last 20 years Dr. Apteker has lectured at nearly every leading university and college in the U.S. and has been visiting lecturer in Europe, Asia and Africa. **SUNDAY, OCT. 10, 1 P.M.** Statler Hotel, 930 Wilshire Blvd. Program: Distinguished Personalities. Donor contribution \$10. Ausp. So. Calif. Comm. for People's World.

### OAKLAND, CALIF.

**MEET OTHER GUARDIAN READERS** at Humanist Center each Sunday 11 a.m. Live subjects & speakers. 411 28 St. Children cared for.

### NEW YORK

**FRI., SEPT. 24—LEON TROTSKY** in the AGE OF PERMANENT REVOLUTION, an assessment of his ideas on the 25th anniversary of his death by **GEORGE LAVAN**, former Editor, The Militant, 116 University Pl., 8:30 p.m. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

**VIET NAM RALLY** Conrad Lynn, Paul Krassner, José Fuentes, others. Sat., Sept. 25, 3 p.m., at 9th St. & Av. B. (outside Dept. of Welfare Bldg.) "War on Poverty—Not the People."

**METROPOLITAN FRATERNAL CLUB** MEETS! Fri., Oct. 1, 8 P.M. City Elections—Outstanding Speaker **ACADEMY HALL**, 853 B'way (Rm. 18K)

**Bronx Philharmonic Chorus** Sat., Oct. 9, 8:30 p.m. at Bronx House, 990 Pelham Pkway South. Dancing with Murray Sherman. Sub. \$1.25.

## CLASSIFIED

### GENERAL

**ANNOUNCING** the establishment of **JOHN BROWN COLLEGE** for fall term 1966. Persons interested in participating in advance party, 1965-66, contact Acting Rector, Box 23, S. Kortright, N.Y. Include details of background.

### 21 Ways to Save on Your Phone Bill

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**ANTI-WAR STICKERS**—Assortment of 24, \$1 ppd. Fanfare, P.O. Box 2312, Department N., San Francisco, Calif. 94126.

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### LOS ANGELES

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Oh where have you been, McGeorge old boy,  
Oh where have you been, McGeorge Bundy?  
I've been to Saigon  
To egg the war on  
I told them to win it by Monday.

And what did you see, McGeorge old boy,  
What did you see, McGeorge Bundy?  
I saw Generals and Priests  
I spoke at their feasts  
I gave them till 10 A.M. Monday.

What else did you do, McGeorge old boy,  
What else did you do, McGeorge Bundy?  
When I laid down the law  
About winning the war  
I departed for Washington Sunday.

### NEW YORK

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—in response to the Cold War and the Garrison State  
—in revolt against the bankrupt educational establishment  
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Sounds unbelievable? New York's most active concert producer is founder of this limited-member club, in cooperation with other leading producers, aimed at "papering" houses to capacity. Single membership \$7.50. Double membership (2 free admissions to each event) only \$13.50. Send to: **N. J. SEAMAN CONCERT CLUB, 119 W. 57 ST.**

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- 5—INTRODUCTION TO CAPITAL—Art Kunkin

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# This ad contains a shameless bribe

**I**N the fall of 1961 a group of young American journalists had an inspiration: to give to this country its first completely uninhibited and truly beautiful magazine devoted to the subjects of love and sex. They proceeded to put together such a magazine and called it *Eros*.

*Eros* appeared on Valentine's Day, 1962, and became an instantaneous and great success. Newspaper and magazine critics all across the country hailed *Eros* as a welcome addition to the art and literature of our time ("It will probably become a status symbol on the coffee tables of our society," said the *San Francisco Chronicle*) and over 150,000 Americans purchased subscriptions despite the fact that its \$25-per-year price made it the world's most expensive magazine.

The contents of *Eros* were not tawdry and sensational but tasteful and elegant. Featured were such long-suppressed masterpieces as

John Cleland's *Fanny Hill*, Frank Harris's *My Life and Loves*, Mark Twain's *1601*, Robert Burns's *The Merry Muses of Caledonia*, and Edgar Degas's magnificent monotypes for de Maupassant's *Madame Tellier's Brothel*, in addition to scores of original works by the greatest poets, writers, artists, and photographers alive.

But while *Eros* was delighting critics and intellectuals, it was also arousing the anxiety of censors and prudish who, in the spring of 1963, succeeded in driving the magazine out of business.

The editors of *Eros*, undaunted, picked themselves up and bounced back with a new magazine, one that was broader in scope and even more controversial than *Eros*.

Its name was *Fact*, and *Fact*'s editorial purpose was to print suppressed material dealing not only with love and sex but with any subject.

The first issue of *Fact* appeared in January,

1964, and featured a major expose telling how the Catholic Church siphons millions of dollars from the United States Treasury. Subsequent issues contained: a report suggesting that Dag Hammarskjöld had deliberately blown up the plane that took him and 15 other persons to their deaths in the Congo in 1961; a full disclosure of how the American press hid the truth about cigarettes and cancer from the American people for over 20 years; a report on how multimillionaires evade income taxes; and a damning indictment of Detroit for consistently refusing to build "crashworthy" cars, thereby causing hundreds of thousands of otherwise avoidable highway deaths. (This last article generated enormous public and government pressure for improved auto safety and led, indirectly, to recent announcements by certain major auto manufacturers stating that starting with next year's models all new cars will carry—as standard equipment—padded dashboards, padded sunvisors, seat belts on

all seats, and other important safety features that are expected to reduce the number of highway deaths tremendously.)

*Fact* immediately attracted a highly literate and distinguished readership, but a small one, and its editors are now seeking to expand it.

To accomplish this, they have assembled a magnificent portfolio in which 59 pages of the best of *Eros*'s superb artwork, photography, poetry, and prose have been reproduced. This portfolio includes works by D. H. Lawrence, Ovid, Durer, Utamaro, Degas, Carracci, and Robert Burns, in addition to spreads from dozens of memorable *Eros* features like "The Brothel in Art," "The Erotic Sculpture of India," "The Love Life of Napoleon," "The Kama Sutra," "The Streetwalkers of Paris," and photographer Bert Stern's unforgettable "Last Portraits of Marilyn Monroe."

This handsome portfolio, representing the quintessence of *Eros* and incorporated into a special issue of *Fact*, is now being offered absolutely free to all new subscribers to *Fact*. Included, as a special bonus, is a dramatic 35,000-word account of how government censors suppressed *Eros*. (As one of our editors remarked, "The offer is so generous, it amounts to a shameless bribe.")

To enter your *Fact* subscription and receive your copy of this portfolio containing the best artwork, poetry, and prose from *Eros*, simply fill out the coupon, and mail it with \$7.50 to *Fact*, 110 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y. 10018.

Since this portfolio is bound to become a collector's item, we urge you to act at once.

## "Fact is a crusading new bimonthly, scrupulously honest, fiercely libertarian"

**T**HAT'S how New York magazine writer Robert Anton Wilson recently characterized *Fact*. Mr. Wilson is not alone in his enthusiasm for *Fact*. John Steinbeck, Henry Morgan, Ogden Nash, Louis Untermeyer, Richard Condon, Elia Kazan, and "That Was the Week That Was" have all heaped praise and good wishes upon *Fact*. "Fact pulls no punches," says California's Governor Pat Brown. "Fact is well prepared, irreverent, and serious," says Bertrand Russell. "Fact is brave enough to take a swipe at any one," says the *Toronto Globe*. "Fact is lively, handsome, unconventional," says Al Hume in the *New York Post*.

Why does *Fact* excite such wild acclaim from critics? Simply because it publishes the most trenchant, significant, and enormously readable articles in print today. Here are descriptions of the kinds of articles *Fact* prints:

**Arnold Toynbee Excoriates U. S. Policy in Vietnam**—A scathing rebuke by the world's greatest living historian.

**The Sexual Superiority of the Negro Male**—The noted Dr. Albert Ellis separates truth from myth.

**L.B.J.'s Muzzle on Hubert Humphrey**

**Unreported Hazards of 1965 Cars**—Why auto manufacturers have been feverishly recalling certain 1965 models.

**The Great Trading-Stamp Fraud**

**The "Negative" Income Tax**—An anti-poverty program consisting of massive cash handouts to the poor is proposed by (of all people) the economic adviser to Barry Goldwater.

**Is America a Dying Country?**—A poll of leading American artists, writers, theologians, educators, and scientists.

**Psychosomatic Aspects of Headache**—Why headaches most often plague intelligent, sensitive, methodical people.

**The Martyrdom of Alice Herz**—An absorbing profile of the elderly Detroit schoolteacher who set herself afire last March to protest the war in Vietnam.

**The Overcommercialization of Broadcasting**—It exists, in part, because more than one-third of America's Senators and Congressmen own radio and TV interests.

**Circumcision as a Savage Rite**—The practice of circumcision constitutes "a 20th Century barbarity, a \$100,000,000 racket, and the most vicious hoax in medical history," says a leading pediatrician.

**Why Hasn't the U.S. Signed the U.N. Genocide Agreement?**

**"I, Judas"**—Negro author James Baldwin sharply but constructively criticizes Civil Rights Movement leaders.

**"Seven Days Can Make One Week"**—Biographer Richard Gehman tells of spending a week at the sumptuous Chicago townhouse that Hugh Hefner shares with 34 Bunnies and Playmates.

**L.S.D.: A Cure for Alcoholism?**—A report on the spectacular results achieved by the city of Saskatoon, in Canada, where massive doses of this powerful hallucinogen have been administered to the City's 2,000 hard-core drunks.

**When Negroes Become Niggers**—14 Negro children describe the anguishing moment when they first discovered race hatred.

**"The Noise Explosion"**—A report on the increasing volume of urban din and its pernicious effect upon city-dwellers.

**America's Catholic Communists**—*Fact* visits an upstate New York farm where a group of devoutly religious Catholic laymen live a completely communized existence according to the tenets of Karl Marx.

**The Disappearing American Inventor**—A report on how big corporations have destroyed the initiative of small inventors by encumbering them with expensive litigation resulting from unjustified patent-infringement claims.

**The Hibakusha of Hiroshima**—A report on the 90,000 A-Bomb survivors who have been outcast by Japanese society because they are erroneously believed to be radioactively contaminated.

**The Hate Mail of Sherri Finkbine**—The murderous, mindless passions aroused by the subject of abortion are unforgettably revealed in a portfolio of letters sent to the Arizona housewife who obtained an abortion in Sweden rather than give birth to a Thalidomide-deformed baby.

**Harding College of Arkansas: The Right-Wing's West Point**

**"Some Thoughts on the Science of Onanism"**—First publication of a long-suppressed Mark Twain masterpiece.

**Don't Buy U.S. Savings Bonds**—Why they make a terrible investment, how they undermine sound government fiscal planning, and why some investment advisers believe they are palmed off mostly on rubes and financial boobs.

**The Books Nobody Dares Review**—Gershon Legman, the University of California bibliographer, reports on 10 exciting books that the nation's "respectable" literary journals refuse to write about.

**Should Our Leaders Be Psychiatrically Screened?**

**Life Insurance: A Legalized Swindle**—A Connecticut actuary tells why he believes that "more than 90% of American policies are sold through misrepresentation and fraud."

**Is Vaccination Obsolete?**—A Colorado University professor of medicine points out that the United States has not had a single death from smallpox since 1948, although it has had nearly 300 deaths resulting from smallpox vaccinations.

**How Catholics Are Wrecking Our Public Schools**—An impassioned outcry by novelist Sloan Wilson.

**Deception in the Supermarket**—A complete run-down of the label flimflam that makes it virtually impossible for a housewife to shop economically.

**14,000 Americans Can Be Wronged**—A leading criminologist decries the huge number of innocent people imprisoned every year because of inept policemen and ambitious prosecutors.

**Atheism on the American Campus**—The results of a nation-wide survey.

**The Ignoble Parentage of the D.A.R.**—A noted genealogist, after 24 years of painstaking research, offers proof positive that many of the Revolutionary "heroes" to whom the Daughters of the American Revolution trace ancestry were actually court-martialed as deserters, horse-thieves, and British spies.

**The Worst State in the Union**—Measured 12 different ways, one state consistently emerges as most backward.

**Ezra Pound Revisited**—An intimate profile of the expatriate poet by a young American writer who lives next door to him in Venice.

**Automation's Threat to White-Collar Workers**—The little-publicized impact automation is expected to have upon the jobs of teachers, librarians, engineers, accountants, lawyers, doctors, and other professionals.

**America's Unscrupulous "Ethical" Drug Manufacturers**—Concrete evidence of price-fixing, collusion, and illegal profiteering.

**Who Spreads Rumors and Why?**—An analysis of 20 outrageous falsehoods currently in circulation.

**Blindness Caused by Contact Lenses**—The horrendous results of a survey of American ophthalmologists. Prostitutes as Wives

**The Psychology of Political Affiliation**—A description of the personality traits that determine whether a person will become a liberal or conservative, Republican or Democrat, John Birch or Communist.

**Classic Military Blunders**—How hundreds of thousands of American lives have been squandered by obtuse and callous officers, right up through the war in Vietnam.

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**Have Labor Unions Outlived their Usefulness?**

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