

U. S. Marines Used to Suppress Dominican Freedom Movement

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Socialists Assail Johnson For Dominican Intervention

The following statement was issued May 3 by the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party:

The invasion of the Dominican Republic by U.S. Marines and paratroopers marks a dangerous new stage in Washington's drive to crush by force of arms any efforts by people of smaller nations to rid themselves of their oppressors. U.S. troops are not being poured into Santo Domingo by the thousands to "save lives" as Johnson hypocritically pretends. They are there to suppress a legitimate, popular revolution. As they did in the Congo and as they are doing in Vietnam, U.S. forces are fighting to impose on the people a hated dictatorial regime to be controlled from Washington.

In ordering this latest act of military aggression, Johnson contemptuously disregarded the Organization of American States. This front organization for U.S. imperialism was informed after the fact and then only so it could provide a legal fig leaf for the cynical violation of the OAS charter which is supposed to bar military occupations for any reason whatever.

In taking this course the Johnson administration has made it plain that the days of talk about inter-American "co-operation" and an "Alliance for Progress" are over and that even the pretense of concern for social reform is coming to an end. From now on any serious movement for social reform faces the threat of direct U.S. attack.

The occupation of the Dominican Republic provides a dangerous new base for military aggression against Cuba and the rest of Latin America. And the threat is not a temporary one. The Dominican occupation will not be short-lived. The brutally oppressed people of that country are determined to win their freedom and as long as there is a spark of struggle among them the U.S. forces will seek to remain to stamp it out.

Johnson's ugly McCarthyite contention that the Marines are there to thwart an "international conspiracy" also has ominous implications for the American people. McCarthyism cannot be exported in this manner without a parallel development of it at home. The current administration efforts to witch hunt and gag its critics can be expected to intensify.

For all of these reasons it is crucial that the strongest possible demand be made for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the Dominican Republic. Let the Dominican people rid themselves of dictatorship without interference from the U.S.

New York Victimization Continues

Framed-Up Negro Still Faces Chair

By David Herman

NEW YORK, May 3 — The latest round in the battle of New York's police, courts and political administration to frame George Whitmore, ended indecisively. A mistrial was declared April 30 when the jury failed to reach a unanimous verdict after the three-week trial of Whitmore for the murder of Minnie Edmonds, a 46-year-old woman in Brooklyn. Police beat "confessions" to three crimes from the 20-year-old Negro.

The discussion in the jury room revolved about Whitmore's confession in the Wylie-Hoffert murder case. In his incredible charge to the jury, the judge in effect instructed them to ignore the fact that the Wylie-Hoffert "confession" had been proved false and that another man, Richard Robles, had been jailed for the crime. District Attorney Hogan had deliberately refused to quash the Wylie-Hoffert indictment against Whitmore, so as not to weaken the prosecution in the Edmonds case.

According to the foreman of the hung jury, Harold Hacker, the jury knew that Whitmore had confessed to the Wylie-Hoffert murder, but never knew the confession had been discredited. They knew that another person had been indicted, but assumed that person was an accomplice of Whitmore.

This, of course, was not the case. No connection between Whitmore and Robles has ever been suggested. Hogan made clear he had no intention of prosecuting Whitmore, but left the indictment pending in order to confuse the jury in the Edmonds case.

"Improper" Evidence

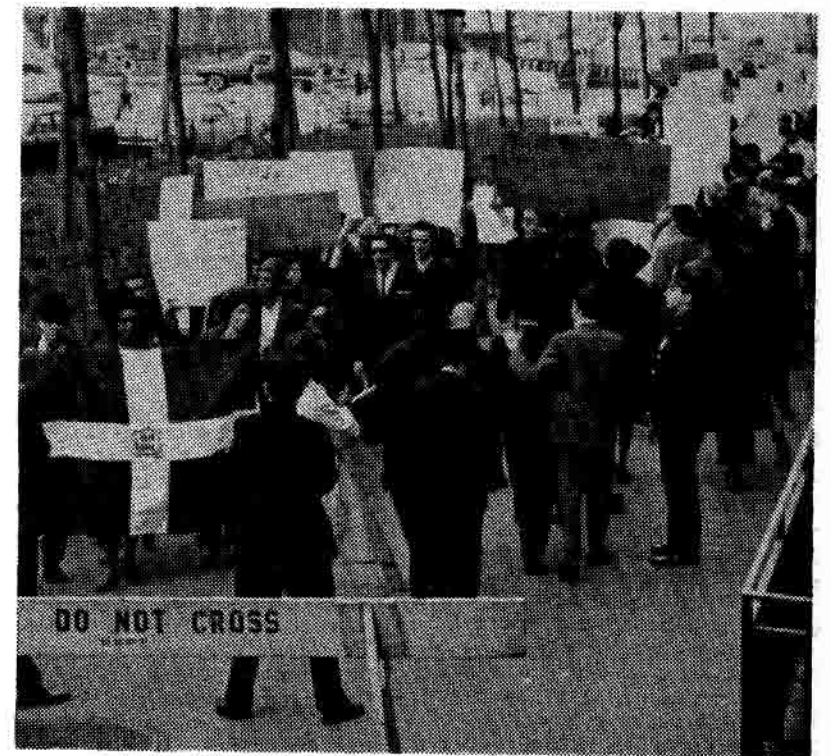
The confused jury asked Justice Rinaldi whether it was "proper" to consider the court testimony relating to the Wylie-Hoffert confession and the indictment of Robles. Rinaldi ruled that they should ignore the indictments, the investigation made by Hogan of the Wylie-Hoffert confession, and everything else about the Wylie-Hoffert case.

The fact that both confessions were obtained by the same detectives, during the same "interrogation," was apparently considered irrelevant by the judge.

Whitmore's troubles began over an altogether different charge. He was picked up for questioning as a presumed witness to an attempted rape of Mrs. Elba Borrero in Brooklyn on April 23, 1964. Police beat a confession to this crime out of Whitmore. Apparently, they decided to clean up a few loose ends while they were at it and had Whitmore confess to the Edmonds murder that had occurred nine days previously and to the slaying of Janice Wylie and Emily Hoffert in Manhattan's upper East Side in 1963.

Whitmore was convicted of the attempted rape, but the verdict was thrown out because of a prejudiced jury. Now, after a year spent in jail, he is back where he started from — with no convictions, but facing three indictments.

Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York City, declared today



PROTEST U.S. INTERVENTION. More than 300 Dominican residents in New York picketed at the United Nations April 29 in protest against the sending of U.S. Marines to their homeland. Most of the demonstrators were supporters of deposed Dominican President Juan Bosch.

assert that the Dominican people are being manipulated by "Cuban agents" and that their revolutionary struggle is "Castroite." They cannot produce a single shred of evidence to support the "Cuban agent" claim. And as far as the charge that the revolution is Castroite is concerned, it would be a good thing for the Dominican people if that were the fact. The hunger, disease, illiteracy, discrimination and totalitarian rule that Dominicans have suffered so long were also suffered by the Cuban people. But the Cubans abolished these evils with their "Castroite" revolution and the Dominicans could do the same. And it would be their absolute right to do so.

But the fact is that this is not the nature of the Dominican struggle. What has happened in the Dominican Republic is simply that the people rose up against the military dictatorship which overthrew the duly elected regime of President Juan Bosch and are seeking the restoration of constitutional government and a return of Bosch to office. An editorial in

the April 26 Santo Domingo daily, *Listin Diario*, declared the movement "a return to constitutional government" which it supported.

The Dominican Social Christian Party hailed the removal of the military triumvirate and the mass demonstrations in support of restoration of constitutional rule and declared: "The party expresses its congratulations to the honest soldiers who fought on the side of the people to make the justice of free men prevail . . ."

The Dominican Association of Lawyers issued a manifesto declaring its full support of the movement and called on other professional associations to do likewise, declaring: "This patriotic struggle means for the Dominican people the complete reconquest of its sovereignty, dignity and the free exercise of its rights."

McCarthyite Charge

U.S. propagandists have tried to rebut the facts of the situation with the assertion that while the movement admittedly began as a constitutional one, it has been "taken over" by Communists. Commenting on this assertion in a May 3 dispatch from Santo Domingo, *New York Times* correspondent Tad Szulc offered this delicately worded observation:

"This, however, is a controversial point. The rebels deny it and some competent Americans privately take exception to so sweeping a view of the situation."

This does not mean, however, that there isn't a real element of fear of "Communism" in the thinking of Johnson and his cohorts. In a May 1 Washington dispatch to the *New York Times*, Max Frankel put it this way: "With the memory of Fidel Castro's transformation from left-wing reformer to outright Communist in Cuba haunting

(Continued on Page 5)

More on Dominican Crisis

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THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Refusing to go along with the four-month extension of the national steel contract, nearly 3,000 members of Local 2243, United Steelworkers of America, went on strike May 1 against the Copperweld Steel Company in Warren, Ohio.

Another strike in Harvey, Ill., saw 300 steelworkers close a local plant of Bliss and Laughlin the same day. In this strike, however, the issue was the refusal of the company to accept the extended contract.

The steel union's national negotiators agreed to extend the contract four months beyond the May 1 expiration date in return for an agreement by major steel companies to place 11.5 cents an hour into a fund to be held in escrow. This fund will be part of the final settlement on a new agreement.

It may take quite a while for steel union members to see any kind of improvement in a new contract because after the four months there is a possibility of another extension if the government invokes the 80-day no-strike provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act. That would mean a total extension of seven months on the old contract. In the meantime, the steelworkers will not see the 11.5-

cent escrow increase, and just how much of it will eventually be paid in wages is not decided.

One of the factors that has complicated negotiations, which will resume on May 18, is the outcome of the election for union president. Although union tellers announced April 30, that I. W. Abel had beaten David McDonald by 10,000 votes, the latter announced that he is challenging the outcome through the U. S. Labor Department. This challenge could further disrupt negotiations in the days ahead.

In the meantime, Abel's reported victory puts him on the spot as far as his most militant rank and file supporters are concerned. So far, negotiations under McDonald's leadership have not included demands that correspond to the growing resentment of rank and file workers opposed to deteriorating on-the-job conditions. In addition, he has dropped from negotiations the demand of 32-for-40 (shorter work week with no loss in pay), which is finding increasing support. First this crucial demand was deformed into a 32-hour week with no loss in pay every fourth week, and then even this watered-down demand disappeared from negotiations.

It was precisely McDonald's past record of ignoring these legitimate demands while keeping a tight bureaucratic lid on the aspirations of working union members that won so much support for Abel. As a matter of fact one of Abel's most telling campaign demands was for greater rank and file democracy.

Abel has not, however, objected to the extended contract nor has he publicly introduced into negotiations any basic solutions to the mounting local grievances of steel workers.

It is quite possible, however, that militants in the steel union will take advantage of the extended negotiations and the discussion it will keep alive at the local level to continue to push 30-for-40, which is the most vital answer to continuing speedup and job losses.

A recent report by the U. S. Labor Department revealed that the practice of "moonlighting" — holding more than one job — was most prevalent among government workers such as firemen, policemen, and postal employees.

The report also showed that workers putting in less than 41 hours a week are less inclined to take second jobs than those working over 41 hours. This fact helps belie charges by big business lackeys that if all workers got a shorter work week most of them would only look for more work.

The big business charges are further contradicted by statistics on why workers hold two jobs. Ninety per cent of the "moonlighters," said the report, have families, which indicates that they have taken on extra jobs out of economic necessity — not money hunger!

15,000 railway firemen have been laid off or transferred to other jobs in the last year. An additional 6,000 of the country's remaining 22,000 are scheduled to receive the same treatment inside the next year.

The layoffs were precipitated by a federal mediation ruling last year which gave the railway companies two years to eliminate the jobs of 90 per cent of all firemen on diesel engines used in freight and yard service.

Railway companies have gleefully announced that the layoffs will save \$75 million a year in wages, most of which will wind up as profits for coupon-clipping bondholders.

Scores U.S. Aggression

Castro Flays Attack on Dominicans

MAY 1 — Fidel Castro delivered a blistering attack on the United States today in response to the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic and in commemoration of May Day. Without mincing words, Castro warned that the U.S. government must be resisted by a world-wide anti-imperialist coalition, if a world war is to be avoided.

The Cuban premier pointed out that the Johnson administration has become more and more aggressive and inhumane as it has been allowed to expand wars, unchecked, in Vietnam, in the Congo and now in Santo Domingo.

"The danger of war will increase more and more as long as this mentality of imperialism is not changed," Castro stated, "as long as the imperialists are not convinced of the fact that this road is dangerous... In short, we believe that the hands of the imperialists must be tied, their back broken somewhere, running the risks and letting imperialism know that we are ready to run the risk."

U.S. Exposed

"Few actions have so exposed the criminality and cynicism of U.S. imperialism," Castro stated in reference to the Marine landings in Santo Domingo. "On few occasions has it been possible to say with more hatred and more indignation what the people say — death to Yankee imperialism."

He pointed out that the invasion of Santo Domingo violated every treaty that the U.S. had made with Latin American nations, and that it showed the utter hypocrisy of U.S. pretensions to international law in South Vietnam. Answering the U.S. lie that the Marines had been landed to save U.S. citizens, Castro pointed out that in the days of civil strife before the landing, where many Dominicans had been killed, not one American citizen had even been injured.

Covering the Dominican events in detail, and giving a day-by-day description of the U.S. build-up of forces, Castro showed that orders for large-scale Marine in-



Fidel Castro

tervention had not been given until the right-wing military junta led by General Wessin was on the verge of collapse and had suffered severe losses at the hands of the Dominican rebels.

Discarding outright the U.S. claim that the Dominican revolution was being led by Communists, Castro called it a bourgeois democratic revolution, comparing it with the French and American revolutions.

The Cuban premier also showed that while U.S. military intervention had taken place without consultation of the OAS, the U.S. is trying "to make the other governments of Latin America jointly responsible for its criminal plans, to stain the other governments of Latin America with the blood of this crime, to sanctify and legalize its criminal action."

Irresponsible Policy

"In Santo Domingo," Castro stated, "the governments of Latin America and the Latin American people are reaping the bitter fruits of the stupid, criminal, irresponsible policy carried out against our country. They are reaping the fruits of their complicity with imperialism against Cuba."

From this criticism, Castro ex-

empted only Chile, which has called for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. "U.S. imperialism must be forced to withdraw its Marines from the Dominican Republic," he said. "U.S. imperialism must be forced to end its armed intervention, its participation in the civil war, its war against the Dominican people and patriots."

"In the face of the present situation," Castro stated, "imperialism has landed new troops in Santo Domingo. But the Dominican people have already forced them to take off their mask. The Dominican people have already forced them to reveal their real intentions, their role as enemies of the peoples, their role of defenders and allies of the reactionaries, because the U.S. forces went there to defend the same Wessin whose planes bombed and strafed the city, whose planes caused hundreds of innocent victims, women and children, among the Dominican civilian population, whose planes filled the hospitals with victims, with dead and wounded."

N.Y. Memorial Meeting Is Slated for Malcolm X

NEW YORK — A memorial tribute to Malcolm X featuring Afro-American artists, writers, entertainers and figures in the freedom struggle will be held here May 26.

Those scheduled to participate include Mrs. Malcolm X, James Baldwin, Ossie Davis, John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the Laroque Bey Dancers and many other entertainers. Representatives from African and Islamic countries will also appear.

The affair is sponsored by the Malcolm X Memorial Committee, Sylvester Leakes, Chairman. It is not a fund raising affair, and there will be no admission charge. A collection will be taken to defray the cost of the meeting itself.

The program will take place the night of Wed., May 26, at the Rockland Palace Ballroom, 280 W. 155th St., Manhattan.

The Hottest Record in America

MALCOLM X 'Message to the Grass Roots'

This album, "Message to the Grass Roots," contains Malcolm X's last important speech as a Black Muslim. It was delivered in November, 1963, to a large audience of black militants who had gathered in Detroit from all over the country to discuss the future of the freedom struggle. The only disc of Malcolm X now on sale, it is considered by many to be a classic — the greatest speech of a great speaker. Order now!

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South African Court Rejects Appeal of Apartheid Victim

The appeal of Dr. Neville Alexander and ten other opponents of apartheid has been rejected by the appeals division of the South African Supreme Court. The eleven were convicted in April, 1964 under the "sabotage" law and sentenced to prison terms ranging from five to ten years. Since December, 1963, the male defendants have been held in the maximum security prison of Robben Island, much of the time in solitary confinement.

Dr. Alexander, one of South Africa's leading non-white scholars, was a co-founder of the National Liberation Front, to which the other ten defendants also belonged. At the trial of the eleven, the prosecution made no attempt to prove any overt act of sabotage. The defendants were charged only with having studied Marxist works and books on guerrilla warfare and with having formed discussion groups to consider possible ways of conducting the struggle against apartheid.

Funds Needed

Funds to meet the costs of the first trial were raised largely in West Germany, where Dr. Alexander had studied. Action by individuals and organizations in England, Ireland, Japan, Algeria, Norway, and the United States, as well as Germany, made the appeal possible. Although, for the present, no further legal avenues are open, funds are still urgently needed. The families of the vic-

tims are destitute; in most cases, the defendants were the only breadwinners.

In the U.S. the recently-formed Alexander Defense Committee has raised funds to help defray the defendants' legal expenses and to aid their families. It will continue to focus the attention of the American public on their plight and on the character of the apartheid tyranny. In addition, at the request of the Lusaka, Zambia Office-in-Exile of the All-African Convention and Unity Movement of South Africa, the ADC has decided to support the legal defense of Leo Sihlali, a teacher forced out of his profession by the "Bantu Education Act" and Louis Mtshizana, a lawyer. Arrested in February 1965, they face long prison sentences for allegedly breaking the conditions of their "banning orders" and attempting to leave South Africa without valid documents.

Original sponsors of the ADC include: Ossie Davis, Ruby Dee, James Forman, Maxwell Geismar, Horace Kallen, John O. Killens, Slater King, Staughton Lynd and Julian Mayfield. Officers are: Paul B. Boutelle, chairman; Robert H. Langston, executive secretary; Berta Green, corresponding secretary; and Dave Dellinger, treasurer. All correspondence and contributions should be sent to: Alexander Defense Committee, P. O. Box 345, Canal Street Station, New York, N. Y. 10013.

Weekly Calendar

AD RATES

The rate for advertising in this column is 40 cents a line. Display ads are \$2 a column inch. There is a ten per cent discount for regular advertisers. Advertising must reach us by the Monday prior to the date of publication.

BOSTON

CAN A NATIVE BORN CITIZEN BE DEPORTED? Hear Joe Johnson of the Socialist Workers Party tell of the attack on his right of citizenship. Fri., May 14, 8 p.m. Rm. 307, 295 Huntington Ave. (one block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

CHICAGO

STUDENT ACTION ON CHICAGO CAMPUSES: A Symposium. Student leaders from five Chicago colleges report. Fri., May 14, 8 p.m. 302 South Canal St. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

IN DEFENSE OF BLOOMINGTON STUDENTS. Speakers: Jim Bingham, one of three defendants; Ernest Mazey, executive director, Michigan ACLU; Richard Goodman, attorney; Prof. Henry Herrmann, Wayne State U. Fri., May 14, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward, Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

OPEN HOUSE. Tape recording of Jan. 1965 speech by MALCOLM X. Fri., May 14, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

IF WE MUST LIVE. The story of Monroe, N.C. A three-act play presented by the Touring Artist Group. Fri., May 21, 8:15 p.m. Hold the date open. For tickets call AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238.

NEW YORK

RENT STRIKES: a symposium with Jesse Allen, Newark Community Union Project; Major Owens, rent-strike organizer, Brooklyn CORE; Major Williams, director, Harlem Community Council on Housing; Ted Velez, East Harlem Tenants Council. Fri., May 14, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

THE DOMINICAN REVOLUTION, a special report by Peter Camejo, nat'l sec., Young Socialist Alliance, just back from Puerto Rico where he interviewed Dominican revolutionaries. Sat., May 15, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Aup. Young Socialist Alliance.

PUBLICATIONS

UNION AND LABOR SPEAKERS' HANDBOOK for more pay, better conditions, and full employment. \$2 each (bound copies \$2.50). Order from Bala Press, Bala, North Wales, United Kingdom.

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THE GREAT FEAR IN LATIN AMERICA by John Gerassi.
Collier Books, 1965, 478 pp., \$1.50.

"The percentage of children in Latin America is higher than in any other area of the world — despite a frightening 20 to 35 per cent infant mortality. Slightly more than 32 per cent of Latin Americans are one to nine years old (22 per cent in the United States), and 23 per cent are ten to nineteen years old (17 per cent in the United States).

"The resulting dependency ratio (unemployable mouths to feed) is also higher than in any other area: 50 per cent of Latin Americans are either under fifteen or over sixty-five, compared to only 26 per cent in the United States. As these proportions increase, dependencies will become more and more of a burden. And as children become adults, a greater and greater demand for jobs will ensue."

These are some of the cold harsh realities that every Latin American child faces, as detailed in a recent and inexpensive book on Latin America, by a *Newsweek* editor, John Gerassi, formerly Latin American correspondent for *Time* magazine. Published in an up-to-date version, *The Great Fear in Latin America* is a revised paperback edition of this book which originally appeared in hard cover in 1963 under the title, *The Great Fear*.

What They Fear

And what is the "great fear" in Latin America? Gerassi might well have found the answer in Castro's "Second Declaration of Havana" (1962) in which the revolutionary leader described the impact of the Cuban Revolution on the United States:

"What is behind Yankee hatred of the Cuban Revolution? What could rationally explain the plot which unites the wealthiest and most powerful imperialist power of the contemporary world, and the oligarchies of the entire continent in the same aggressive purposes? . . .

"They are united and stirred up by fear. Fear explains it. Not the fear of the Cuban Revolution; the fear of the Latin American revolution. Not the fear of the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and progressive sectors of the middle classes who have assumed power in Cuba by revolution, but the fear that the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and progressive sectors of the middle classes will take revolutionary power in the oppressed and hungry nations exploited by the Yankee monopolies and the reactionary oligarchy of America; fear that the looted peoples of the continent will snatch the arms of their oppressors and declare themselves, like Cuba, free peoples of America."

Revolution Necessary

There is no hope, Gerassi says, for a U.S. policy that aims at preserving the status quo in Latin America. Revolution in this part of the world is not only inevitable, but necessary. He accepts this inevitability, and offers diplomatic, military and economic suggestions to the United States. For example, he calls on the U.S. to abrogate all military-assistance pacts and to end all the military missions in Latin America.

One may quarrel with some of Gerassi's essentially reformist measures, but one cannot ignore



Jomo Kenyatta

his desperate sense of urgency about U.S. policy in Latin America.

—Hal Verb

'MAU MAU' DETAINEE by Josiah Mwangi Kariuki. Penguin Books, 1965, 224 pp., \$1.25.

This is an account of seven years in 14 British concentration camps during the period of the so-called Mau Mau uprising in Kenya. The author, a Kenyan intellectual who owned a hotel when he was arrested, was "detained" from the early period of the Mau Mau scare in 1953 until 1960.

He was shunted from one detention camp to the next, as various colonial authorities and their Kenyan cohorts attempted to torture him into abdicating the Kenya liberation struggle. Josiah Mwangi Kariuki did not capitulate.

On the contrary, he organized resistance committees within the camps, and for this, more than once, he was singled out to be brutally beaten or left without food in solitary confinement for days. Kariuki makes no attempt to describe the guerrilla efforts of his compatriots outside the prison camps, because he was never with them.

Prison Camps

Instead, he presents a vivid account of "the pipeline" — the series of prison camps strung across Kenya in which the British attempted to "reintegrate" revolutionaries into the colonial way of life, and through which thousands of blacks were forced in those years of struggle. Kariuki's is a surprisingly patient explanation of why this "pipeline" failed, and his writing is not without humor.

"I do not know who makes fetters," the author begins a chapter about an island prison, "but Kenya must have taken up a large part of his annual production in 1956. Since few people today have much experience of wearing them, and most of the rest seem to be under the impression that they went out with the Inquisition, perhaps I could give a few tips about them . . ." With this introduction, he explains how to walk and dress while in chains.

The courageous struggle of Jomo Kenyatta's followers is little known in this country, where the major text has been Robert Ruark's racist smear, *Something of Value*. While *'Mau Mau' Detainee* is still not the whole story, it is an important part of it, and Kariuki is inspiring in the endurance he depicts.

—Dick Roberts

From Trujillo to Wessin

Background to Dominican Events

By Fred Halstead

The current U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic is the fourth time U.S. Marines have occupied that island nation. The last time was from 1916 to 1924. The bloody tyrant Rafael Molinas Trujillo got his start from the U.S. Marines during that occupation. Trujillo was a procurer of prostitutes for the Marines. He persuaded a Marine officer to send him to the school which the U.S. military had set up for training a puppet Dominican military establishment.

By 1930 Trujillo controlled the Dominican armed forces and was elected president. He maintained his grip for 31 years by cultivating powerful friends in Washington and the U.S. military, by a political patronage system which made his close friends wealthy while his opponents couldn't make a living, and by simply murdering any opponents who he thought actually threatened his rule.

Trujillo enjoyed more or less open support of the U.S. State Department until 1959. The Cuban Revolution and fear that the Dominicans might follow the Cuban example, then forced the State Department to pretend concern about the Dominican tyrant's brutality.

On June 14, 1959, a group of anti-Trujillo Dominicans did launch an armed attempt to overthrow his government, but the attempt was crushed. This was the origin of the June 14 Movement, the main popular anti-Trujillo force in the country during the tyrant's last year.

In early 1960, the U.S. voted in the Organization of American States for sanctions against Trujillo in an attempt to establish a precedent for intervention under OAS cover should the need arise.

Done In

Trujillo was assassinated on May 30, 1960, by members of his own group who had decided to move before a popular revolution overthrew them along with Trujillo. Trujillo was replaced by one of his own civilian appointees, Joaquin Balaguer, who received the undisguised support of the U.S. The Trujillato — as the Trujillo machine is called on the island — remained in power.

But its hold had slipped and the population began engaging in strikes and mass demonstrations for democratic and social demands. A revolutionary process had begun which has deepened more or less steadily ever since, in spite of all maneuvers by the

U.S. State Department to stop it. From that time on, the central demands of the popular forces — demands which Juan Bosch later promised to put into effect, but did not complete — were the disbanding of the bloody military machine built by Trujillo and the nationalization of the vast holdings of the Trujillato.

Mass Action

A series of general strikes and mass demonstrations between November, 1961, and January, 1962, forced the ouster of Balaguer and the restoration of many civil liberties. The country's first honest election since Trujillo took over was held in December, 1963.

Juan Bosch, a liberal of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, ran on a program promising drastic social reform and overwhelmingly defeated the conservative capitalist party, the National Civic Union. The June 14 Movement took a wait-and-see attitude to-

ward the Bosch government and supported the promulgation in April, 1963, of a constitution Bosch had promised embodying basic social reforms.

The constitution was never enforced for Bosch was overthrown by a right-wing military coup led by General Elias Wessin y Wessin on Sept. 25, 1963. The military junta eventually appointed Donald Reid Cabral as head of a triumvirate and the U.S. recognized and fully supported this right-wing military dictatorship.

The June 14 Movement, however, resisted the coup and defended the constitution. On Nov. 28, 1963, it issued the "Manifesto of the Constitutional Guerrillas." The main band of guerrillas was wiped out soon afterward, but the "Constitutionalistas" continued the struggle from underground for a restoration of the legal constitutional government. That struggle would have succeeded last week but for the invasion by U.S. troops.

Dominican Events Underline Need To Expand The Militant's Circulation

By Carolyn Kerry

In times of war and revolution truth is always the first casualty. This has never been so graphically demonstrated as in the lying propaganda spread by spokesmen of the Johnson administration on the war in Vietnam and the popular revolt of the people of the Dominican Republic. The foundation of the capitalist system, as of all exploitative systems, rests on a cornerstone of deception, lies and brutal repression.

Even the conservative *New York Times* is moved to editorial protest over the blatant distortion and falsification of the news by the Pentagon, the State Department and the White House. The Texas twister is a past master at mangling the truth to justify the commission of the most monstrous atrocities against people abroad fighting for liberation from tyranny and oppression and those at home seeking to right the injustice of race discrimination and class exploitation.

This emphasizes and underscores the importance of promoting the widest possible circulation of *The Militant* as an antidote to the poisonous propaganda emanating from the capitalist controlled press, TV, radio and other communications media. Letters to *The*

Militant business office testify to the gratitude of new readers introduced to our paper through our special introductory subscription campaign.

Since our last report on April 20 some 268 new readers have been added to our subscription list. This indicates that there has been a slowdown in the pace of sub campaigning by our supporters. Some, like our Chicago group, inform us that they are now preparing to go full speed ahead so we look forward with eager anticipation to getting a large batch of introductory subs soon. All groups take note! Spread the truth by spreading *The Militant*!

Scoreboard

| Area | Quota | Subs |
|---------------|-------|------|
| Detroit | 500 | 332 |
| New York | 500 | 265 |
| Oakland | 250 | 114 |
| Cleveland | 200 | 87 |
| Boston | 275 | 84 |
| Chicago | 500 | 58 |
| Denver | 100 | 58 |
| Twin Cities | 175 | 53 |
| Los Angeles | 200 | 53 |
| San Francisco | 100 | 47 |
| Newark | 200 | 41 |
| Philadelphia | 125 | 34 |
| Seattle | 75 | 33 |
| Milwaukee | 100 | 13 |
| St. Louis | 15 | 8 |
| San Diego | 50 | 4 |
| General | | 62 |

Total to May 4 3,365 1,346

Returns Reported in L.A. For Coover and Kirsch

LOS ANGELES — The results of the April 6 city elections in Los Angeles show that Irving Kirsch, 21-year-old candidate for office No. 6 on the board of education, received 31,115 votes. Oscar Coover, candidate for mayor, received 491 votes. Both candidates were endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The socialist candidates campaigned on a platform which hit at U.S. aggression in Vietnam and gave strong support to the civil-rights movement. They felt that their best reception was among young people and students.

In a mock election held in a Fairfax area elementary school class, nine-year-old Mark Geldman told his classmates that Coover "was against war and for the workers and the Negroes." The vote was zero for incumbent Samuel Yorty, 7 for James Roosevelt, and 30 for Oscar Coover.

National Tabulation of Socialist Vote In '64 Campaign Finally Available

Following is the complete 1964 presidential vote recorded for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party (Clifton DeBerry and Edward Shaw) and the Socialist Labor Party (Eric Hass and Henning Blomen), as compiled by the March 26 *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*:

| State | SWP | SLP |
|---------------|--------|--------|
| Arizona | | 482 |
| California | 378 | 489 |
| Colorado | 2,537 | 302 |
| Delaware | | 113 |
| Indiana | | 1,374 |
| Iowa | 159 | 182 |
| Kansas | | 1,901 |
| Massachusetts | | 4,755 |
| Michigan | 3,817 | 1,704 |
| Minnesota | 1,177 | 2,544 |
| Montana | 332 | |
| New Jersey | 8,181 | 7,075 |
| New Mexico | | 1,217 |
| New York | 3,215 | 6,085 |
| North Dakota | 224 | |
| Pennsylvania | 10,456 | 5,092 |
| Virginia | | 2,895 |
| Washington | 537 | 7,772 |
| Wisconsin | 1,692 | 1,204 |
| TOTALS | 32,705 | 45,186 |

From the same source, the following votes were cast for Socialist Workers Party candidates for the U.S. Senate:

Michigan, Evelyn Sell: 2,754
Minnesota, Everett Luoma: 2,357
New Jersey, Lawrence Stewart: 6,147
New York, Richard Garza: 4,202
Pennsylvania, Morris Chertov: 7,317
Wisconsin, Wayne Leverenz: 479
The SWP candidate for governor of Michigan, Frank Lovell, was recorded as having received 5,649 votes.

Error in Almanac

The 1965 *World Almanac* incorrectly attributes only 10,934 presidential votes in 1964 to the Socialist Workers Party and only 21,390 to the Socialist Labor Party.

In the 1960 presidential election, the SWP got 40,174 and the SLP 47,549.

THE MILITANT

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Monday, May 10, 1965

Vietnam As a 'Training Ground'

"Defense officials . . . concede that Vietnam has given the United States armed forces a 'laboratory for war,'" reports Jack Raymond in the May 3 *New York Times*.

"Officials hesitate to discuss Vietnam as a military proving ground because they fear it might be taken out of context — the Spanish Civil War 30 years ago was regarded by military experts as the Nazis' laboratory for World War II," he adds.

The Vietnam war is invaluable, a Pentagon official observed, "not only for the men in actual combat but for the policy-makers and the planners here." Guerrilla warfare is a new kind of fighting for the American military, and they are using the opportunity to learn.

Recall some of the monstrous new weapons and methods they have tried out: the use of tear gas and nausea gas against guerrillas; the use of poisonous chemicals, "defoliants," to destroy crops and other vegetation, and poison people in the process; the mass use of concentration camps, "strategic hamlets," against the peasant population. Much new equipment has been developed and tested.

The recent American invasion of the Dominican Republic points up the reason for the great efforts being made by the government in the field of anti-guerrilla technology. America's rulers are rightly convinced that any uncompromising struggle of oppressed people against their oppressors may lead to the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of a society like Cuba's. With the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America rising to fight for their freedom, the imperialists face the prospect of trying to suppress people all over the world by military force. In Vietnam they are working out how to do it most efficiently — as the Nazis prepared in Spain for bigger wars later.

Tightening the Curtain of Lies

In an infamous decision May 3, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld by a vote of six to three the State Department's assertion that it has the right to ban travel by U.S. citizens to Cuba and other places. The Cuba travel ban was imposed Jan. 16, 1961, to keep U.S. citizens from seeing for themselves what is going on in that revolutionary country.

The decision was handed down in the case of Louis Zemel of Middlefield, Conn., who applied to the State Department in 1962 for permission to go to Cuba as a tourist and was refused. Mr. Zemel gave as his reason for going: "to satisfy my curiosity about the state of affairs in Cuba and to make me a better informed citizen."

In explaining the majority decision, Chief Justice Earl Warren said the restrictions are justified in this case because there is a danger of the revolution spreading from Cuba through travelers.

In this decision, the Supreme Court majority capitulated to the logic of the government's hysterical anti-communist foreign policy to strike a McCarthyite blow at the right of U.S. citizens to know the truth from their own eyes. The sole purpose of the travel ban was, and is, to make even more airtight the brain-wash curtain which surrounds the American people, and particularly the youth.

The decision is expected to result in action against some 150 students who defied the ban in 1963 and 1964 by going to Cuba to see for themselves. It will also affect the case of Afro-American newsman William Worthy who has had a passport withheld for the last eight years because of defying the State Department's ban on travel to China, and who is now on a trip to North Vietnam, Cambodia and Indonesia without a passport.

Rebuts Administration's Lies

Morse Raps Vietnam Policy Again

The following are excerpts from Senator Wayne Morse's April 25 attack on two Vietnam-policy statements by the Johnson administration, a speech by Secretary of State Rusk before the American Society of International Law, April 23, and a press conference of Defense Secretary McNamara, the morning of April 25.

It is perfectly obvious what the Secretary of State would like to see. It is perfectly obvious what other spokesmen for this administration, whose statements I shall comment upon shortly, would like to see. They would like to see us go silent. They would like to see the critics of the Johnson administration go silent.

But let me say to the Johnson administration that no matter how many attacks they make on the senior Senator from Oregon, no matter how many attacks of the likes of the propaganda that was issued this morning by a spokesman for this administration, my lips will not be closed.

I intend to continue to carry to the American people what I honestly believe to be the facts about the wrong policy of the Johnson administration, in making war in Asia on a unilateral basis, completely outside the framework of international law, and in violation of one treaty after another to which the signature of the United States is affixed.

War Policy

I tell the American people today . . . that if the Johnson administration continues its present warmaking policy in Asia, the probabilities are that 12 months from now there will be several hundred thousand boys fighting and dying in Asia. That is my conviction.

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I, too, have sat through briefings. On the basis of those briefings, I see no other result than an all-out massive war in Asia. That war will kill hundreds of thousands of American boys. The time to stop that war is now . . .

It is very interesting to read the statement of the Secretary of State in a shocking speech last Saturday night. Apparently the speech is a part of the effort of this administration to drive criticism of its policies underground because it charges that some of those who speak against the administration are appeasers, in some way, aiding and abetting Communists . . .

That is the kind of smear tactic we can expect . . . What the administration is worried about, in part — and I think I engage in an understatement when I say it — is that 80 per cent of the academic world in this country are against the administration's policies in Vietnam, for the authorities, scholars, and students of Asia know that the Johnson administration is leading the country into a massive war that will kill hundreds of thousands of persons . . .

Let me say to the Johnson ad-

ministration that the war now is not only McNamara's war and Rusk's war; it is Johnson's war, as well. This administration has a solemn moral responsibility to stop the killing . . .

I announce to the Secretary of State, "Mr. Secretary, I shall meet you anywhere, before as many university campus faculty meetings as you want to arrange. I shall discuss with you the McNamara-Rusk war in Asia."

I say to the academic world, "Meet them, for you have a great service to perform by bringing your authoritative knowledge to bear upon the great issue that the United States has now raised in threatening the peace and the future of mankind."

Says McNamara this morning, and I paraphrase him, "He does not think that Russia and Red China will come in the war." I say that he has been so irresponsibly wrong for so long that any prediction that McNamara makes about the future course of this war in Asia, in my judgment, should be discounted and completely discredited. He ought to have been removed as Secretary of Defense months ago, and the Secretary of State along with him . . .

Right of Petition

The many who are meeting on the campuses of America, seeking to exercise their precious right to petition this Government in opposition to a policy, have, in my judgment, every reason to have fear as far as the future of this Republic is concerned. I say to those academic leaders . . . "You can rise up in campus after campus, in city after city, in community after community, and tell the country your answers to the propaganda of this administration's seeking to lull the population of this nation into the false assumption that we are justified in increasing the rate of this war."

McNamara said this morning that he did not think that Russia and China would come to war. My rhetorical question to that is: "Mr. Secretary, suppose they do?" I happen to think that our course of action and the plans for escalating

Vietnam Day Slated at Berkeley

BERKELEY, Calif. — "Vietnam Day," a 24-hour community meeting starting on the Berkeley campus at noon, Friday, May 21, is being sponsored jointly by the American Federation of Teachers Berkeley Faculty Local, the AFT Employed Graduate Students Local and the Faculty Peace Committee. An audience of more than 15,000 from the Bay Area is expected.

Speakers include U.S. Senator Gruening, I.F. Stone, Bob Parris (Bob Moses), Bob Scheer, Paul Krassner, State Assemblyman William Stanton, Si Casidy, Dave Dellinger, M. S. Arnoni, Colin Edwards, Paul Potter, Norman Thomas, Dr. Benjamin Spock, and many more. Entertainers include The Committee and the San Francisco Mime Troupe, which will give benefit performances of Bertholt Brecht's *The Exception and the Rule* at Garfield High School on May 14, 15 and 16.

this war that Rusk, McNamara and Taylor intend to implement, leave China and Russia no other choice than to come into this war.

When they escalate those plans and those nuclear installations of China are destroyed — and the preventive war crowd in the Pentagon Building, in my judgment, are bent on destroying them — the massive war in Asia is on. World War III will then be over the brink into which war we will tumble hundreds of thousands of American boys.

It must be stopped. The only place to stop it is here in the United States, by the American people making it perfectly clear to the Johnson administration that they want a change from war-making in Asia to the United States joining with other nations in peace-keeping in Asia . . .

The Old Line

I invite the Secretary of State to join me at meetings he selects, to meet the academic group which he insulted Saturday night in his speech, and discuss there our points of view. But, Mr. Secretary, when you meet me on the platform, do not try to hide behind executive privilege. When we meet on the platform, do not give me the old line that you cannot tell me something because it might affect our security.

Every time we ask for information to which we are entitled the officials hide behind executive privilege. To you, the people, I say, "Demand of the Johnson administration that you be given all the information about the war in Asia."

No President can lead this nation into a massive war in Asia, with all the consequences that will flow for many decades to come, and not go down in American history as totally discredited. This war is totally unnecessary.

Goldwater and Castro On the '64 Elections

PARIS, April 27 (*World Outlook*) — Barry Goldwater said here today "my President has done the right thing in the right way" in Vietnam. He joked over being the candidate named last year as "the trigger-happy, warmongering S.O.B. who wanted to do something about supply routes in North Vietnam."

"In the first place, this Mr. Johnson is a complete humbug. In his campaign against Goldwater, who was promoting the most aggressive thesis of imperialism, Johnson presented himself as a supporter of peace . . . an enemy of war-like adventures in order to take advantage of the concern and the worries of the American people and they voted more against Goldwater than for Johnson. However, the facts are confirming what we said during the election, that one was the same as the other." Fidel Castro, May 1, 1965.

Fund Scoreboard

| City | Quota | Paid | Percent |
|----------------------|----------|---------|---------|
| Boston | \$ 900 | \$ 900 | 100 |
| Detroit | 1,200 | 1,013 | 84 |
| Chicago | 1,800 | 1,466 | 81 |
| Oakland/Berkeley | 900 | 568 | 63 |
| Denver | 300 | 157 | 52 |
| Twin Cities | 1,400 | 700 | 50 |
| Cleveland | 800 | 385 | 48 |
| New York | 5,800 | 2,100 | 36 |
| Los Angeles | 4,000 | 1,039 | 26 |
| Allentown | 200 | 50 | 25 |
| St. Louis | 200 | 43 | 22 |
| Newark | 200 | 35 | 18 |
| Milwaukee | 400 | 67 | 17 |
| San Diego | 250 | 35 | 14 |
| Seattle | 500 | 50 | 10 |
| Philadelphia | 300 | 25 | 8 |
| San Francisco | 900 | 70 | 8 |
| General | 250 | 83 | 33 |
| Totals through May 3 | \$20,300 | \$8,786 | 44 |

I Want to Help:

- Spread the truth about Vietnam
- Reach a maximum number of people with straight facts and serious analysis of the Freedom Now Struggle
- Let people know what's really happening in Cuba, Algeria, the Congo, Latin America
- Educate people to the need for socialism

Enclosed is my contribution to the Militant Fund

Name.....

Street..... Zip Code.....

City..... State.....

Eyewitness Describes Dominican Events

By Peter Camejo

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico, May 2 — The following interview was given to me today by a U.S. citizen recently evacuated from Santo Domingo by U.S. troops. He was in the Dominican Republic when the uprising against the dictatorship began. Since he is sympathetic to the return of democracy to the Dominican Republic, he prefers to remain anonymous.

The Fourth National Conference of the Youth of the Movement for Independence of Puerto Rico, which I am attending as a fraternal observer for the Young Socialist Alliance, is being held here this May 1-2 weekend. (A report of this conference will appear in the next issue of *The Militant*.)

* * *

Q. How did the uprising begin?

A. The first I heard of it was over the radio on Saturday, April 24. Pena Gomez, a former secretary of Juan Bosch, with pro-constitution followers [supporters of a return to constitutional government], seized a radio station for half an hour and declared that dictator Donald Reid Cabral would be thrown out. They began to agitate for a return to democratic rule.

However, the Reid Cabral government recaptured the radio station and Reid Cabral himself went on the air to announce that he was still in power. The pro-constitution forces had by then taken a key bridge, the Duarte bridge, which is crucial to any movement in the city.

Reid Cabral threatened to execute all those involved in the uprising if they didn't stop their actions within 24 hours.

Q. Did he carry out this threat?

A. He couldn't. The pro-constitution forces recaptured the radio station, captured another, and won the support of most army units. Thousands of workers came out into the streets, and Reid Cabral found himself supported by only the most right-wing sections

of the armed forces.

Q. It was reported in the press that the workers were armed. Is this true?

A. Sunday morning, when it became clear that the people were winning against the unconstitutional dictatorship, the rebellion mushroomed and soldiers began giving arms to the people. Trucks full of soldiers would stop and hand out guns to the people who gathered around them. Large

NEW YORK — Peter Camejo will discuss the Dominican events at a special forum of the Young Socialist Alliance, Sat., May 15, 8:30 p.m., at 116 University Place.

groups began parading through the streets in support of the return of Bosch and for the constitution. They would go to the army and demand guns to fight the reactionary forces and to chase out those who were connected with the dictatorship, including rich Dominicans.

Q. What did Reid Cabral do?

A. He took off. I'm not sure where he went. Dr. Molina Urena became the acting president and stated that he would act as president until the democratically-elected Bosch could return. So the government was in the hands of the pro-constitution forces.

Q. Who were the military elements that backed Reid Cabral?

A. By late Sunday there weren't any except Wessin, the air force general. The democratic forces began pleading over TV and radio for the soldiers to join the people and representatives from unit after unit in the army went before the TV cameras declaring support for democracy. The [Dominican] marines wavered, but at one point also declared for the people.

However, Wessin based himself on the military cadets, who have tanks and training planes at their school. Their base is not easily accessible. Wessin immediately jailed any opponents within the cadet academy and threatened to bomb the presidential palace and the Duarte bridge.

Q. Did the people have any means of stopping Wessin?

A. They had nothing which they could use against planes. But, as I said, the pro-constitution forces became massive. Eventually they could have finished Wessin, but the landing of the U.S. Marines changed the picture.

Q. Were U.S. citizens leaving, and if so, why?

A. Yes. The armed people didn't particularly like the Americans and seemed quite pleased to see them go. On board a ship used to evacuate the U.S. citizens, it became obvious to me that most of those being evacuated either supported the military dictatorship or were for an outright take-over by the United States. They seemed to think anything else was Communism.

Q. The U.S. press gives very little information about what the pro-Bosch forces did, but makes a big deal about a military junta. What was this junta?

A. Wessin announced from a radio station he had at his military base (the only area he controlled) that he was setting up a military junta to run the country and if his terms were not accepted he would begin bombing. This created wavering in some sections of the armed forces such as the marines. He began bombing and machine-gunning on Tuesday. I left Wednesday at noon, but even at that time it was quite clear that the U.S. Marines were backing Wessin and not the people.

Why Counter-Revolution Is Doomed

A Report on South Vietnam

By Long Thuyen

The following article was translated from the Feb. 1965 issue of *L'Internationale*, organ of the Internationalist Communist Party, French section of the Fourth International.

* * *

The attempt to form a more or less stable government in Saigon, one able to resist the National Liberation Front (NLF) offensive and to defend the interests of the national bourgeoisie and the Americans, is destined to be an almost certain failure. In effect, "Bao-Daism" [Bao Dai was the French imperialist puppet emperor] is no longer possible in South Vietnam, for its "base" — this feeble but real national bourgeois class which tries to sell its services against the revolution to imperialism at the highest price — has disappeared in the course of 20 years of wars and revolutions.

The Americans have at their disposal only a few mercenaries, leaders of political-religious sects (Cao-Dai, Hoa-Hoa) who represent only themselves. For the Cao-Dai and Hoa-Hoa troops, composed of landless peasants, demand above all the departure of the American forces, peace and division of the land. The Buddhists, despite the desire of their leaders to co-operate with the Americans and the military, aspire in their majority for a return to peace, liberty and neutralism.

Catholic Role

Certain Buddhist leaders, like Thich Tam Chau, are known in Saigon for their neutralist leanings. The most serious popular support of the Diem regime was composed of Catholic refugees (about 900,000) who came from the North after the Geneva Accords of 1954. But, settled on the poor lands of the high plateaus and living in misery, a number of them finally turned against Diem.

Finally, there remain isolated individuals, perpetual collaborators with French imperialism during the 1945-54 revolution, and the army — sole organized force,



Ho Chi Minh

the only pillar of the Saigon regime. But here too, the soldiers and low-ranking officers have no desire to fight and to die for their generals and American imperialism. Some of them have gone over to the guerrillas with their arms and supplies; others work for the NLF inside the government army.

Concerning military strategy, the bombings of Northern Laos and the naval-aerial harassments of North Vietnam are attempts to intimidate the latter and to cut the supply lines of the South Vietnamese guerrillas.

However, in this regard, the Vietnam-Laos-Cambodian borders are more than a thousand kilometers long and go through mountains, jungles and plateaus. The bombing of the lines can slow things down, complicate the transports, but never completely stop them. But it ignores, above all, the fact that the NLF army is recruited from peasant volunteers in

South Vietnam who fight to capture arms from the enemy, who repair these arms and manufacture munitions in arsenals set up in the South Vietnamese countryside.

Militarily, this army (around 20,000 men; including militia, 100,000 men) is obviously better equipped than in preceding years: now they have heavy mortars and 55 mm. recoilless cannons. Moreover, they have benefited from precious experience accumulated in the course of nine years of revolutionary war against French imperialism.

Politically and socially, dual power truly exists in South Vietnam. The NLF, which controls two-thirds of the country, functions as an authentic state organization whose power extends right up to the most important cities of the country, including the capital. In the country, not only in the liberated zones but even in the regions ostensibly controlled by the government armies, they have gone ahead with the agrarian reform, something never accomplished in South Vietnam during the revolution of 1945-54. (It was voted by the parliament of the revolutionary government only at the end of December, 1953, about three months before the battle of Dien Bien Phu.) More than 3,750,000 acres of land have been distributed to the poor peasants, "marking the beginning of the policy of agrarian reform." (Political organ of the Workers Party of Viet Nam, October 1964.)

Led By PRP

While it formally appears to be a front of national union, the NLF is, in fact, led by the Popular Revolutionary Party (Communist Party of the South, whose "ties" with the Workers Party of the North are not in doubt) which writes: "The liberating army fights to realize the fundamental tasks of the national democratic revolution led by the proletariat, continuing the work of the revolution of September 1945, liberating the South and achieving the reunification of the country."

On the other hand, confronted with its own problems in the Vietnamese revolution, the Workers Party of Viet Nam has experienced, in the same manner as the Chinese Communist Party, an evolution on the questions of struggle against imperialism, the road to socialism, war and peace, the stages of the colonial revolution — positions definitely more correct than previously.

The Process

On the last point, for example:

"The nature of the present revolutionary process in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is that of the bourgeois democratic revolution with a national and democratic content. But, since it develops in a context of world proletarian revolution, where there are over a billion people living under socialism, it has the capacity of transforming itself into a process of permanent revolution, transforming itself thus into a socialist revolution, leaping over the stage of capitalist development." (Political and theoretical organ of the Workers Party, No. 2, 1964.)

The current picture of South Vietnam appears similar in its broad outlines. The general misery has reached a level never known under French colonization, except for the period of Japanese occupation (1938-1945). The NLF controls the vast majority of the country, enjoys the support of all the workers and peasants, and a good part of the intelligentsia, army, administration, etc. It receives aid of all kinds from the cities and from the capital, Saigon, where at night its militia patrols and its theatrical companies put on plays in the working-class districts.

Detroiters to Hear Indicted Student

DETROIT — A benefit concert and a panel on the Bloomington civil liberties case are scheduled for the weekend of May 14-16, when Jim Bingham, Indiana University student now facing up to three years imprisonment under Indiana's 1951 Sedition Act, is in town on his national tour.

Detroit folk singers Johnny Morier, Phil Esser, Jack Dalton, as well as other individual artists, and the Detroit Contemporary 4, a jazz group, will perform in a benefit concert Sunday, May 16, at 2 p.m. in Lower DeRoy Auditorium on Wayne State University campus. The proceeds will go to the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students. Tickets can be ordered at \$1 each from Detroit CABS, 3737 Woodward, Detroit.

On May 14, at the Friday Night Socialist Forum, at 8 p.m., Jim will be joined by Ernest Mazey, executive director of the Michigan Civil Liberties Union; Richard Goodman, Detroit attorney and civil libertarian; and Prof. Henry Herrmann, of the College of Education at Wayne State.

Mazey, Goodman, and James Lafferty, executive secretary of the National Lawyers Guild, have recently become sponsors of the CABS.

Another significant development in the fight against the Indiana witch hunt from the Michigan area is the decision of the Jackson Social Welfare Committee of the First Unitarian Church of Ann Arbor to support the case. This committee is contributing \$400 to CABS.

...U. S. Attack on Dominicans

(Continued from Page 1)

their deliberations, officials here are said to have decided to do everything possible to prevent a comparable Dominican development."

The meaning of this should be perfectly clear. So far as the Johnson administration is concerned, every movement for social reform contains within it the seeds of "Castroism" and must be crushed in the bud. This will lead to a continuing policy of seeking to repress every Latin American movement for social reform and active support to every reactionary militarist who seeks to oppose such reforms.

Mass Support

This is what is now happening in the Dominican Republic where the constitutional movement has the support of the overwhelming majority of the population throughout the island. News reports and photos of demonstrations from across the island in the previously cited issue of *Listin Diario* make this clear.

This is why the counter-revolutionary forces led by Gen. Wessin y Wessin collapsed and why the Marines had to take over for them. This is attested to by one of the generals in Wessin's junta who, the New York *Herald Tribune* reported yesterday, "said his troops were exhausted after a week of street fighting with the pro-Bosch forces." But the general added: "It will be impossible for the rebels to advance while U.S. troops hold positions on two sides of their downtown stronghold."

Today, Barnard Collier, the

Herald Tribune correspondent in Santo Domingo, reported:

"The U.S. maintains that the pro-Bosch movement has fallen under Communist domination. But the appearance is that the U.S. troops are in effect fighting in the name of Brig. Gen. Elias Wessin y Wessin and fellow officers of the anti-Bosch military junta who sit at San Isidro behind thousands of American troops and cynically use the U.S. for their own purpose."

The U.S. decision to take over from the defeated militarists can lead to a terrible blood bath. The horrifying possibilities are pointed to by Barnard Collier. He writes: "Among both natives and Americans in Santo Domingo fear grew yesterday that a looming takeover of the entire capital by the U.S. troops would result in a major political, diplomatic and social catastrophe . . ."

"Diplomacy has completely broken down here," one tired American officer said. "This is botched up and dangerous, and it turns my stomach" . . .

"The Marines and paratroopers fear that no available number of men, not even twice the 12,000 or more already here, could wipe out the rebel forces without having to wreck the city with artillery, grenades and bazookas.

"If that order is given, hard-bitten U.S. officers admit reluctantly, countless civilians will be killed and even then Santo Domingo can never really be considered safe for U.S. citizens — or anyone who looks like an American."

Considerable Birth Pains Evident

The Progressive Labor Party's Founding Convention

By Tom Kerry

The crisis that hit the American Communist Party following Khrushchev's de-Stalinization speech at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party (1956), the Poznan revolt and the Hungarian uprising, gave rise to a protracted internal struggle that terminated in a whole series of splits and splittlets. The faction led by John Gates, former editor of the *Daily Worker*, which sought to accelerate the process of de-Stalinization and "independence" from Moscow, was defeated by the group led by William Z. Foster.

The Foster faction balked at interpreting Khrushchev's attack on Stalin as a complete repudiation of the genial butcher and insisted that his "good deeds" outweighed his bad and his "errors" were offset by his "positive achievements." This bookkeeper's approach to politics carried the day against the Gatesites who, stigmatized as "revisionist," voted with their feet, abandoning the CP to disappear into the limbo of political oblivion. Seriously ill, Foster later retired from active leadership responsibility.

It was not long, however, before the new CP heads came under attack from the "left" for succumbing to "revisionism." There followed a series of "leftist" splittlets led by the "Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the U.S.A.," a group in New England organized around the mimeographed publication, *Hammer & Steel*, and a group in New York led by Milt Rosen, former CP trade union director, which formed the Progressive Labor Movement, in that order.

What characterizes all of these grouplets is the claim of each that they, and only they, are the true exponents of "Marxism-Leninism," the legitimate heirs to Stalin's mantle and the indefatigable warriors against "revisionism"

and "Trotskyism." Each, of course, accuses the other of knuckling under to "revisionism" and being soft on Trotskyism. Each takes a dim view of the other's prospects of emerging as "the" Marxist-Leninist Party of the U.S.A.

The January 1965 issue of *Hammer & Steel Newsletter*, for example, announces the launching of its contender, the "New England Party of Labor," and advises Progressive Labor and Progressive Organizing Committee to give up the ghost. We are instructed that: "PL & POC may take a positive position on one or another question; they may champion certain necessary reforms, but their aversion to self-criticism, their dislike for theoretical discussion, their contempt for theory, guarantees that they cannot develop a Marxist-Leninist Party in a thousand years."

Despite this disheartening perspective, PL decided to proceed with the formation of its version of a reconstituted "Marxist-Leninist Communist" party, an event which took place in New York City during the recent Easter weekend. After some three years of existence the transition from "movement" to "party" was consummated, not without considerable birth pains.

By its very nature, a "movement" implies the presence of diverse and conflicting tendencies. Lenin's great contribution to Marxism in the sphere of organization was his insistence on maximum programmatic clarity to ensure effective striking power. Lenin always began first with the party program as the axis around which to assemble the party cadre. Those steeped in the Stalin school of politics begin the other way around.

The leaders of PLM set out to cheat history by forming an "action" organization which was to provide the spark to "electrify" the masses. Many of those corralled in one action or another could by no stretch of the imagination be considered either

"Marxist" or even reformist socialist. The result was a series of forays of an adventurist character which fizzled out, sometimes with individual victimizations, other times in repudiation as in Hazard, Ky., Monroe, N.C., etc.

This experience led to considerable "self-criticism" at the PL convention and the decision to function, hereafter, as an "open" organization; i.e., to openly avow the "communist" character of the group when taking part in any actions. We doubt whether this will provide the necessary correction. For after three years of existence the only document on program introduced to the con-

vention, "A Proposal Concerning the Formulation of a Program," begins by asserting: "At the present stage in the development of the movement it will probably not be possible to formulate a definite revolutionary program."

While not yet ready to "formulate a revolutionary program," the leaders of PL came to the convention fully armed with a set of organizational proposals culled from the arsenal of Stalinism. To begin with, factions, tendencies or groupings, which Milt Rosen stigmatizes as "Trotskyite notions," are banned. In addition: "Every member and every body of the Party must participate in organized sessions of criticism and self-criticism on a regular basis."

What this latter exercise in individual and group therapy means, was spelled out by Milt Rosen in an article in the Jan.-Feb. 1965 issue of *Progressive Labor*. "Some of our cadre receive criticism, accept it in words, and don't change one iota," Rosen complains. "They continue their harmful ways. They in fact act in such way as to undermine the movement, unintentionally. No matter how persuasive, patient, or correct the criticism is, the comrade shows no change; perhaps he gets sicker. This requires a different approach. One must become a little rougher. Actually, the patient is not sick enough to recognize his illness. Make him 'sicker.' Yell at him, 'knock' him in the head. When he is sick enough maybe he will respond to loving care. If not he needs a leave of absence to reflect more on his attitudes, his political development. Remove him from the scene, temporarily, before more damage is done." Thus Doctor Rosen on the application of Stalinist therapy in the gentle art of "criticism and self-criticism."

The same graduate practitioner of Stalin's quack medical school (in the article cited above) sets forth as one of his proposed "organizational principles," the edict that: "No club will recruit a

member who presently belongs to any Trotskyite, CP, or other counter-revolutionary sect." This was later changed by "Doctor" Rosen in his prescription to the convention: "A member may not hold dual membership in organizations whose policies are objectively counter-revolutionary. Revisionist and Trotskyist organizations are objectively counter-revolutionary..."

This medicine proved a bit too bitter for the taste of the convention delegates who voted to retain only the first sentence leaving to the discretion of the good doctor and his associates to decide which organizations are or are not "objectively counter-revolutionary." They also corrected a small oversight in Rosen's "organizational principles" by amendments from the floor providing that: "Members who are to be considered for expulsion have the right to trial by the club. They are to be considered innocent until proven guilty; be acquainted with the charges against them in advance of the trial; have the right to question and present witnesses," etc.

There was a healthy note of suspicion in the ranks over the horribly mutilated version of "democratic centralism" presented by the Stalinist-impregnated tops. It is estimated that some 25 percent of the organization, including practically the whole of the top leadership, came out of the CP saturated with the virus of Stalinism. Their professed aim is to restore the Stalin image, to ape his organization methods, to refurbish the myth of Stalin as heir and continuator of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. A hopeless task.

Gone forever are the conditions that created a Stalin. The attempt to turn back the clock of history can only result in creating a hideous caricature which all of the medicine men who matriculated in the school of Stalinism cannot invest with either health or hope.



Stalin

World Events

Chileans Hit Vietnam War

A series of meetings and street rallies protesting the U.S. war in Vietnam have been held in Chile since March 16, when revolutionary Marxist organizations sponsored a mass meeting that saw the burning of Uncle Sam in effigy. University contingents have burned the U.S. flag at two campuses. At the beginning of April a Committee to Support the Revolution in South Vietnam was organized. The walls of Santiago are covered with slogans accusing the U.S. of murdering the Vietnamese people.

'Policeman of Colonialism'

Polish government head Wladyslaw Gomulka, usually quite soft-spoken in respect to U.S. imperialism, has spoken out sharply for a change, reflecting the pressure of the Vietnam crisis. At a May Day rally he declared the U.S. had "become the policeman of colonialism" and was trying "with the aid of a dirty war, bombs, napalm, and gas" to break the "spirit of freedom and independence" of the Vietnamese. He said the same was true of the "brutal American intervention" in the Dominican Republic.

Deutscher on Trotsky on TV

Isaac Deutscher was interviewed on national French television April 14 about the third volume of his biography of Leon Trotsky, which just came out in French. Asked about how Trotsky is viewed today in the USSR, Deutscher told this anecdote: Some Soviet students were reading one

of Trotsky's books secretly at the home of the son of a high party official, when the father suddenly came in. "Do you know you can get 15 years in prison for what you're doing?" he warned them. "Fifteen years!" One of them responded, "We know, but the book is worth it."

Victor Allen Released

Dr. Victor Allen, the Leeds University lecturer who was sentenced for a year in Nigeria on "sedition" charges in the wake of last summer's general strike, has won release. Dr. Allen went on a hunger strike March 17 to protest unwarranted delays in hearing his appeal. Prodded into action, the Western Nigeria High Court heard argument, upheld Dr. Allen April 15 and reduced his sentence to four months; he was sentenced last Nov. 10. But the three Nigerian trade unionists sentenced with him are presumably still being held on the same discredited charges.

Angolans Report Gains

The National Liberation Army of Angola [ALNA] has issued a report on actions of the Angolan freedom fighters in the last part of March, including the following successes: Angolans blew up a locomotive and two freight cars some 50 miles from Malange; at the Cabulo cataracts, ALNA forces defeated a Salazarist attack on a temporary camp, killing six and wounding several; on March 16 a camp of the colonial army was hit and the enemy retreated, leaving arms and supplies to the ALNA; on March 22 a Portuguese

convoy was ambushed and three vehicles destroyed; on March 25 a violent clash with a Portuguese patrol left nine colonialist and five Angolan dead; the ALNA surprised another Portuguese force March 27, killing three and taking one.

Japanese Editors Protest

A group of Japanese editors has protested to the U.S. ambassador in Tokyo over an insulting remark by two high State Department officials; the two had said that the editorial staffs of *Asahi* and *Mainichi*, the two biggest capitalist newspapers, were "heavily infiltrated by Communists." *Asahi* and *Mainichi* have criticized U.S. policy in Vietnam. Washington seems bent on alienating leading circles among its Japanese allies, as it has already those of India and Pakistan.

Meanwhile, 6.5 million Japanese participated in May Day demonstrations at some 750 places. The keynote of the demonstrations was opposition to the U.S. war in Vietnam.

'Anything But That!'

"For God's sake, gentlemen, do something. But do it soon, with the urgency that the situation requires, to make sure that the Dominican people are not forced into a nationalistic struggle against the U.S. troops." — José Antonio Bonilla Atilas, long-time pro-U.S. Dominican diplomat and representative of the military junta, speaking at the meeting of the Organization of American States called to take steps for an "OAS-sponsored" Dominican cease-fire.

SWP Official Says Reporter Manufactured "Interview"

NEW YORK, April 30 — The following letter was sent today to the North American Newspaper Alliance.

* * *

Gentlemen:

We have just received a copy of a NANA news dispatch, under the byline of one Martin Arundel, published in the April 19 issue of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, consisting in part of completely fabricated statements attributed to "a top official" of the Socialist Workers Party, which constitute criminal libel against our organization and its official spokesmen.

Your Mr. Arundel cites a "top official" of the Socialist Workers Party as his source for the statement that the "Progressive Labor Movement (PLM) ... has a donation of \$100,000 to work with in its efforts to form a 'new U.S. Communist Party,' received from 'a wealthy former editor of a now defunct pro-Communist magazine.'" This outright falsification is compounded by the libelous slander that our spokesmen "implied that they would co-operate with an FBI investigation of the PLM."

The fact is that no statement of any kind was given to Martin Arundel by any official of the Socialist Workers Party. He staggered into our headquarters late one afternoon drunker than a lord, stinking to high heaven of cheap wine and canned heat. He mumbled something about having been ejected from the PLM convention — probably with good cause — and whined about having to meet a story assignment dead-

line that afternoon.

He was informed that anything we had to say about PLM or any other group would be said publicly in our own press, was expressly warned against quoting the SWP or its spokesmen as his source in any story he was in the process of concocting, and was politely shown the door. Apparently he staggered into the nearest bar where, after a few more rounds in a losing bout with John Barleycorn, he fabricated the completely fantastic account which was dutifully sent over your wire service to your naive clients.

He apparently "met his deadline" but with a tale so utterly devoid of truth and so highly colored by fantasy that it could only be construed as the vapors of a fevered imagination stoked with the alcoholic fumes of the rotgut Arundel had been pouring down his gullet. In a word, your Mr. Arundel was obviously suffering from an acute case of delirium tremens when he filed his story. But that does not excuse your broadcasting it over the wires of your press service.

We demand an immediate public retraction of the libelous statements attributed to the SWP and its spokesmen. And please, for the good of all concerned, instruct your Mr. Martin Arundel to stay away from our offices; otherwise we shall feel constrained to spray the barfly with Flit, or some more effective insecticide, to rid the premises of his verminous presence.

TOM KERRY
Socialist Workers Party

Letters From Our Readers

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

Vomit Gas for KKK?

New York, N.Y.

President Johnson opposed the idea of a boycott of Alabama on the grounds that it would hurt innocent people as well as guilty ones. This same kind of concern,

we are told, is the reason for using vomit gas in Vietnam so that the innocent inhabitants would not be blown up, but would only have to retch their guts out while the guerrillas are being rounded up.

It would seem to follow from President Johnson's logic that vomit gas should be spread over Alabama to facilitate rounding up the KKK terrorists. Since the protection of the innocent would be the main thing, no one could possibly object, certainly not Gov. George C. Wallace who has stated repeatedly that he agrees wholeheartedly with President Johnson's treatment of the Vietnamese.

R. B.

what Malcolm was to me." He said being a Negro in this country is like having "a big black toothache." He said Malcolm was the dentist and "you could go to sleep at night knowing he was going to fill that cavity in the morning, but now the dentist has taken the day off and we'll have to fill it ourselves."

He said benefits like this were necessary because Malcolm died broke. "He could have been a rich man," Gregory continued, "but if you want to know what a man is really worth, take all his money away from him and see what he's got left."

F. H.

wanted self-government and to throw off the yoke of their oppressive rulers.

The elected candidate was the "good" man against the "bad" man who lost the election. This war could have been avoided if a large Socialist Workers Party vote had been rolled up. Only the might of the workers and farmers can stop the mad plunge of the capitalists.

We must fight for socialism. I am 60 years old and I haven't stopped fighting and I don't intend to stop fighting.

A workers and farmers government is the only hope of the working people.

O. T.

understand that Canadian workers also celebrate on the same American-capitalist day?)

Instead, our Day has been renamed Loyalty Day, to honor the most reactionary and fascist groups in the land, like the racist, warhawk War Veterans and Daughters of the American Revolution, and other "super-patriot" groups, including the fascist-reactionary government of the United States.

A second revolution, to give the people what really belongs to the people (its government, its human and civil rights and its fruits of labor) and end the apathy, conformity and fear of the American worker, is well overdue in this country.

José (Chico) Cuba

Note to Cornell

New York, N.Y.

"Hail to thee . . . Cornell" for your representation on the April 17 March On Washington against the Vietnam war. And to the "independent" Y.A.F. students who staged a sitdown in front of your buses to prevent you from leaving — yes, we defend your right to demonstrate against, or for. But to obstruct others in a peaceful assembly to petition and protest against the war — No!

F.M.P.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

"In refugee-crowded Saigon, capital of South Vietnam, the past week saw shells bursting, tanks rolling, and machine guns firing as the puppet politicians of French imperialism fought for power against the puppet politicians of U.S. imperialism. The helpless inhabitants of the teeming Indo-Chinese city ran screaming with their children from pitiable shanty towns as mortar fire set them ablaze and as machine-gun fire raked the streets.

"The fighting began when the U.S. puppet, Premier Ngo Dinh Diem, till now a powerless figurehead, tried to squeeze out the Saigon Chief of Police. This was a challenge not only to the crime syndicate with its own army, the Binh Xuyen, but to French-owned Bao Dai, the Chief of State, who is Diem's superior . . .

"While his U.S. friends were buying up politicians and generals for him, Diem kidnapped General Nguyen Van Vy, whom Chief of State Bao Dai had put in command of the South Vietnamese army . . . Diem . . . organized a meeting of his supporters, which appointed a 'revolutionary' committee. This committee thereupon declared Bao Dai deposed and gave the power to Premier Diem. . . .

"The State Department stooges in Saigon declared their 'revolution' against the 'legal' government of Bao Dai on Saturday, April 30. The Sunday edition of the Times had an editorial hailing it and calling the handful of Diem supporters behind it, a 'popular assembly'."—May 9, 1955.

20 Years Ago

"In the first mass-scale defiance of a government strike-breaking 'seizure' and the Smith-Connally anti-strike law, 72,000 militant hard coal miners in Pennsylvania yesterday ignored Secretary Ickes' back-to-work deadline fixed in his ultimatum of last Thursday.

"Ickes, acting on President Truman's orders, 'seized' the struck mines and commanded the strikers to return to the pits not later than yesterday. The 'seizure' consisted of hoisting American flags over the mine properties and cloaking the mine operators and their supervisory agents in governmental authority.

"But not a miner has broken ranks or wilted under the government threats and the howls of rage of the dollar patriots and their kept press. Nine solid locals representing 10,000 members in United Mine Workers District 1, with headquarters at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., took the lead Sunday by voting to continue their no-contract, no-work policy. This resolution went into effect Tuesday with the expiration of their old contract. All other striking locals have followed suit." — May 12, 1945.

Blasts N.Y. Times

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Two weeks ago Alice Herz stood on a street corner in Detroit, poured a combustible liquid on herself, and set herself afire.

As a daily reader of the New York Times, it came as a surprise to me when I happened to learn during a weekend visit to Detroit that an American woman had made this ultimate protest against the criminal war being waged against the people of Southeast Asia.

My suspicion aroused, I scrutinized the March 27 and 28 New York Times for mention of Alice Herz' sacrificial death. Needless to say, there was none.

Gentlemen of the Times: You saw fit to black out this sacrifice of an American woman. For this act of arrogant ignorance, may you be damned!

E. B.

[A very brief report of Mrs. Herz' death appeared in the Late City Edition of the March 27 New York Times. The report did not appear, however, in the City Edition which is the one mailed to out-of-town subscribers. EDITOR.]

Circulation Builder

Matapan, Mass.

I am enclosing one dollar to pay for two four-month introductory subscriptions which I am sending to friends as a gift. A paper such as yours needs a wider audience. Let us hope its circulation doubles, or even triples, in the days to come. Both truth and man will prevail. And papers such as yours will have no small part in it all. Carry on the good work.

E. P.

Benefit for Malcolm's Family

New York, N. Y.

I was at the Apollo theatre in Harlem last Friday night when the Committee of Concerned Mothers sponsored a benefit for the widow and four children of Malcolm X. The Apollo is as close as anything is to being the heart of Harlem.

Though the show started at midnight, it looked like a full house, at least from the second balcony. A lot of big names performed including Sammy Davis Jr., Roy Hamilton and Lord Burgers, who sang the songs he wrote like "Island in the Sun" and "Jamaican Farewell." Nina Simone was great with renditions of "Brown Baby" and "Mississippi God Dam!" The Laroque Bey Dancers went over big with African dances.

Some of the artists said they were there for Malcolm's children, and some said they were there because they wanted their own children to remember Malcolm. James Baldwin showed up, and Dick Gregory dropped in between planes. Gregory said, "I just can't tell you

Sees SWP Confirmed

Mineola, N.Y.

We now have a plain, clear-cut example of what the Socialist Workers Party has been saying right along. Only a working people's party can and would represent the interest of the working people.

Before the election, the Socialist Workers Party said that there was no choice between the two capitalist candidates. Does not this war on Vietnam, North or South, prove it?

Now Vietnamese are being blown out of their homes and machine-gunned in the fields. People who

It Was Reported in the Press

Don't Need a House to Fall on Them — A UPI dispatch from Caracas, Venezuela, reported that the Dominican exile colony there staged a protest against "foreign intervention." This, the UPI explained with rare discernment, was "an apparent allusion to the landing of American marines in Santo Domingo."

Another Sundown Integrationist? — The mayor of Blytheville, Ark., was apparently unimpressed by the sad experience that Joe T. Smitherman, mayor of Selma, Ala., had in the nation's capital. Smitherman was allegedly flim-flammed by a Washington Negro who insists that he accepted money from the Selma segregationist to procure him a Negro woman and then, on the pretense of letting him hold on to the money, gave him an envelope of paper clippings and took off. The Blytheville mayor was arrested on disorderly conduct charges along with a member of his city council and two other people in Washington for the Chamber of Commerce convention. Police said Edwards was holding an envelope of paper clippings and that one of the arrested men said they had put \$108 in a similar envelope.

Press Information in Vietnam — A U.S. military spokesman in Saigon said that two information officers at Danang had gone a little further than they should have when they threatened newsmen with expulsion from Vietnam if they entered any U.S. officers' or enlisted men's clubs in the Danang area.

High Idealist — Electo Meurcie, who left Cuba in 1958, told a federal judge in Newark that he had been selling narcotics for a lofty purpose. He said the proceeds were intended to fight the Castro regime. The judge, apparently unimpressed, gave him seven years.

Those Willy Cubans — In an April 25 dispatch, New York Times military writer Hanson

Baldwin describes the extensive fortification system the Cubans have erected around Guantanamo Naval Base. "The rationale justifying the extensive and expensive system," Baldwin blandly writes, "is puzzling to Americans here." He adds: "One reason, naval and marine officers think, is that the new belt around Guantanamo, like the Berlin Wall, is to block [Cuban] refugees." The same issue of the Times reported the declaration of another Baldwin, the author James, who declared that the United States is "the most hypocritical of all countries."

Partial Haul — Burglars looted the New York apartment of Countess Danielle de Villard to the tune of \$100,000 in jewels and furs. But that was only part of the apartment's inventory. The countess reported that on her return home she found \$250,000 in stocks and bonds strewn on the floor and also discovered that the thieves had missed a closet full of furs and antique jewelry stored under her bed.

Big City Morals — New York is a haven for slumlords and sweatshop operators. Killer cops go unpunished. Judges uphold "confessions" beaten out of innocent people. The school system is segregated, overcrowded and understaffed. The transit system gets steadily worse. Air pollution is permitted to befoul the city. City officials are regularly caught with

their hands in the till. And Mayor Wagner tells a firemen's Holy Name Society breakfast that "this city has a much higher moral tone than is sometimes thought."

Our Rational Society — Triumphant over years of technical difficulties, the manufacturers of Dial soap have finally come up with a deodorant soap that is colored white. It will be sprung on the buying public with a \$7.5 million advertising campaign including double-page ads in Life, Look and other mass media.

Mere Nothing — Those who like to keep up with all aspects of life in the Great Society may be interested in this bit of intelligence from the April 21 New York Times: "Prince and Princess Stanislas Radziwill gave what the Princess called a 'teeny, tiny dance for less than 100' last night . . . It was well-supplied with New Frontiersmen, some of whom have graduated into the Great Society . . . A five-piece Lester Lanin ensemble was at one end, beside the windows. There were big bouquets of multi-colored spring flowers, some of which had been imported, and lots of champagne."

Hospital Care — A Columbia University survey of 430 cases selected at random in 98 New York hospitals disclosed that 43 per cent had received "less than optimal care." The category was defined as ranging from "fair to poor."

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Thought for the Week

"If the 82nd Airborne Paratroopers and the Marines do push into the narrow streets of the rebel sector, conservative estimates are that more than 5,000 will die in the fighting. Many of those will be United States troops." From a May 4 Santo Domingo dispatch to the New York Herald Tribune by Barnard L. Collier.

3 Negro Homes Burned In Indianola, Mississippi

Three Negro homes and a freedom house in Indianola, Mississippi, were hit with fire bombs May 1. Fred Winn, a worker for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, reported there were no injuries. Winn said he was sleeping on the couch in the home of Mrs. Irene Magruder when one of the fire bombs was thrown into a bedroom. "Mrs. Magruder was the first Negro here to open her doors to civil rights workers," said Winn. "Her home and the Dudley Wilder home nearby, burned to the ground."

The freedom house, which houses civil rights workers, was not as heavily damaged. Two workers who were in the house said they saw two white men running away after a Molotov cocktail had been thrown at the building. The combination home and store of Oscar Giles, who has been active in the voter registration drive, was also hit by a fire bomb.

The building which housed the Indianola Freedom School was burned down by arsonists earlier this year. For the past few weeks, an intensive voter registration drive has been under way in Indianola, with hundreds of Negroes appearing to register. Indianola is in Sunflower County, the home of Senator James O. Eastland.

INDIANOLA, Miss. — In spite of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, in spite of Abraham Lincoln, President Johnson, and even Martin Luther King, segregation, oppression and abject poverty are still hard realities in Sunflower County, Mississippi. In the nearby town of Moorhead a voter registration drive has been going on since March. But still only about ten of the 800 Negro residents

there have attempted to register to vote.

On the evening of April 21, a group of about 40 Negro students, including children, got together in the house of a local citizen and decided that something must be done. Somehow a change had to come. Most of them, beginning at the age of seven, have worked in the fields at 30 cents an hour. They live in a town where the park swimming pool is for whites only, and the summers are hot. If they want to go to the movies they have to sit in the balcony on hard seats while white people sit below in padded seats.

Most of the people in Moorhead had been taught through hard experience that to challenge this system was certain death. "Sunflower River cries with the bodies of folks who have tried to stand up," is a familiar expression there, and a true one.

But that night these students of Moorhead decided to try to go to the movies and sit in the soft seats in the lower section.

As they were marching toward the movie in single file, they were stopped by local policemen. Bob Strong, spokesman for the Mississippi Student Union in Moorhead, was arrested along with Charles Scattergood, a COFO worker. A policeman, said Strong, "asked me where I was going and I said to the movie and they said I was under arrest, so I asked what for, and they said for marching without a permit."

After the line turned around to go back, Gerald Allen, a senior at Gentry High School, was also arrested. Some of the other students went to the city hall to protest. They were met by local white men with guns who threatened to shoot them unless they turned back.

The arrested youths were taken to the county prison farm and released after two days in jail with very little food. "On the county farm," reports Bob Strong, "a Negro trustee, Willie D. Simmons, gave us some water. Later on we heard him being beaten and he is now back on the line [work gang]."

SELMA, Ala. — The civil rights glamor and publicity, the actors and the reporters are gone from Selma, but the day-to-day, door-to-door work continues. Even while the historic Selma-to-Montgomery march was in progress, civil rights workers here spread their organizational efforts to the nine counties surrounding Dallas County.

These are areas where the percentage of Negroes in the population is high, and where the higher it is, the more terror and intimidation are used to keep Negroes from exercising their rights.

Workers from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee have set up offices in the towns of York, Marion, Hayneville, Greenboro and Montgomery. In Lowndes County, where the Liuzzo murder took place and where until recently there were no Negroes registered to vote, SNCC workers aided local people in setting up the Lowndes County Improvement Association, and 40 people attempted to register at the courthouse.

Workers have moved into Perry, Wilcox, Lowndes, Sumpter, Greene, Hale, Pickens, Calhoun and Montgomery counties. All except Montgomery and Pickens have over 50 per cent Negro population. Greene and Wilcox have over 80 per cent. A SNCC field secretary explained: "Most of the work is trying to overcome fear. We are trying to organize the people so they can solve their own problems."

Washington Fears Dissenters

Students Smeared on Vietnam

By Jack Barnes

The Johnson administration's "intellectuals," led by Dean Rusk and McGeorge Bundy, and its press spokesmen, led by the *New York Times'* James Reston, have opened an attack on the students and professors who have been debating and opposing Johnson's war in Vietnam. Complementing and supporting the administration smear of the protests have been the attacks on the militant wing of the protest movement by the "respectable" leaders of the peace movement itself.

The administration offensive is not an attempt to debate or refute the arguments of Johnson's university opposition. It is an attempt to smear the debate as "irresponsible," "disloyal," and as "appeasement," and thereby to stifle it.

This heavy-handed attack on the student and professor critics is a substitute for a debate that is already lost. In this sense it is parallel to the bombing of North Vietnam, which is a substitute for the lost battle with the National Liberation Front for the allegiance of the Vietnamese peasantry. The purpose of the blasts against the students and professors is not to convince them but to force them to surrender on the basis of "loyalty" and "responsibility."

Johnson Disaster

A real debate would be a disaster for Johnson. Administration officials contradict themselves and each other day after day. They repeat their opposition to a "wider war" as they repeatedly widen it. McNamara says ten per cent of the "Viet Cong" weapons are captured — the State Department says 30 per cent. Two weeks ago Dean Rusk said that campus critics show a "stubborn disregard of plain facts" and then, in the same speech, stated that "there is no evidence that the Viet Cong has any significant following in Vietnam."

In response to a group of Washington University (St. Louis) professors who wrote McGeorge Bundy that "as scholars we are accustomed to questioning and discussing our colleagues' view," Bundy replied he found "strange your assumption that a public official is somehow especially accountable to the profession which he worked with before coming to the government." McGeorge Bundy doesn't



Johnson

"answer" to former colleagues and students — he "answers" only to Johnson.

To accept the challenge to debate from students and former colleagues would have ominous consequences for the administration. It would raise the right of the entire citizenry to debate and decide the basic issues of war and peace. It would establish the precedent of the administration's responsibility to clearly justify, defend and submit their policies to the nation.

The real concern of the administration and its responsible spokesmen is not intellectual honesty, academic objectivity or "disregarding of the plain facts." What they are worried about is the defiant anti-administration mood of the teach-ins, debates and demonstrations.

The students who marched on Washington and who have uncovered a lot of the truth about Vietnam are not "loyal oppositionists" of the Johnson administration. Unlike Reston and Johnson's other shamefaced apologists, they are opposing the policies they mistakenly thought they were avoiding when they supported Johnson in the last election.

Bloody and unjustifiable interventions by the U.S. and its allies

in the colonial revolution have occurred many times in the last twenty years. But, until the war in Vietnam, the American students, with the exception of a handful of socialists, have passively observed this slaughter with little dissent. Even the Korean war, one of the most unpopular wars in American history, saw no large-scale student opposition.

New Phenomenon

The broad student opposition to the war in Vietnam, and the defiant character of this opposition, is a startling new phenomenon for the ruling class. It not only reflects a more general dissatisfaction in the population as a whole but raises the possibility of mobilizing and stimulating this broader opposition. This is even more disturbing for Johnson.

An insidious attack on the students comes from the administration's stooges and apologists in the peace movement. On April 16, the eve of the March on Washington, eleven leaders of the traditional U.S. peace organizations issued a statement designed to dissociate themselves from and to attack "some of the elements" on the march. This statement provided the *New York Post* with enough ammunition to blast the whole march, and to congratulate editorially "several leaders of the peace movement" for having "taken clear note of attempts to convert the event into a pro-Communist production."

Thomas Letter

Among the signers of this statement were Robert Gilmore, Norman Thomas, and Bayard Rustin. Norman Thomas, in a letter to the *Times* written a few days after the march, warned the administration that "it ought to know that among the demonstrators and in the growing movement of protest are young people so outraged by our napalm bombs and what has happened in Alabama and Mississippi that they rush emotionally to embrace Vietcong. They seem to love it more than peace and, despite Communism's record, believe that it stands for true 'freedom.'"

These red-baiting attacks from these "respectable" leaders came after they failed to take control of the march away from the students, in order to keep out the more radical elements and prevent the march from becoming anti-administration. These "leaders" concentrate their fire on the militant and socialist wing of the movement in an attempt to blunt the whole movement and keep it within "respectable" bounds — the bounds of avoiding direct opposition to the Johnson administration.

Detroit Ghetto Fighters End Picketing of Store

By Derrick Morrison

DETROIT—The aims and aspirations of the black militants in the neighborhood of the Azzam stores have suffered a setback in a "settlement" that was reached after almost two months of day-and-night picketing of the store where a 20-year-old Negro, John Christian, was brutally murdered by the white proprietor's son.

The "settlement" — reached after tremendous pressure against the pickets by the press, the courts and the city administration — provided that picketing would cease, and that in return County Prosecutor Olsen's office would drop the charges of "conspiracy" against the pickets.

Inexperience of the leadership of the store boycott was one factor in the setback. Another was the fact that the lawyers for the pickets were liberals, tied to the white power structure, who crippled the struggle from the beginning by trying to compromise it short of victory.

The halt of the picketing represents, at least temporarily, a defeat for the pickets, whose aim it was to remove Azzam's business from the community. For many of the pickets, this was their first direct struggle with the power structure.

In reference to the group's future activity, Comer McNeil, organizer of the boycott, said: "We will continue to maintain a boycott of Azzam by talking to people in the community and we will also begin a political and voter education drive in the neighborhood." He said a community organization would be formed to deal with neighborhood problems.

Denver Socialists Give Views On AFL-CIO TV Broadcast

DENVER — War or peace and civil rights are the key issues confronting all candidates in every election, Barbara Taplin and Howard Wallace, socialist candidates for the School Board, emphasized in separate TV panel programs sponsored by the Colorado Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

"We must solve the political problem of obtaining a government that will educate children in peace," Mrs. Taplin said. "The American people must demand that Johnson stop the Vietnam war now by bringing all American troops home from overseas." She proposed that money for educational purposes be raised by putting a 100 per cent government tax on the profits of war industries.

Crucial Problem

Asked to list at least one problem crucial enough to be of general community concern, Wallace chose "the teaching of Spanish-American and Negro history in the schools. Almost everywhere schools present either a falsified

or a totally inadequate picture of the part Negroes and Spanish-Americans have played in American history." He advocated introduction of educational programs and books prepared by Negro educational organizations.

Both socialist candidates stressed the right of free assembly and free speech. Students should be encouraged to organize civil rights clubs in the schools. Negroes and Spanish-Americans should run their own candidates for office. They are the only candidates raising the issues of higher teacher salaries, collective bargaining and full unions rights, including the right to strike.

They have also been interviewed by the Committee on Political Education of the Denver Area Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, the Denver Classroom Teachers Association, the *Denver Post* and the *Rocky Mountain News*. Before the school board election on May 18, they will also speak at a series of public meetings organized by the Denver County Council of the Parent Teacher Association.



Dean Rusk