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A Meaningful Memorial For 3 Civil Rights Martyrs

An Editorial

If the Deacons for Defense and Justice, a Negro organization dedicated to armed self-defense against attacks by racists, had been organized in Mississippi last year, perhaps James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner would be alive today.

The three civil rights workers were kidnaped and brutally murdered just one year ago, on the night of June 21, 1964. Their killers, well known to the whole world, walk the streets today — free men. They will not be punished for their crime of murder — the worst that faces them is a slap on the wrist from the federal government.

Three of the 17 known murderers are Mississippi "law enforcement" officials. Southern Negroes faced with racist violence and terror not only cannot rely upon local authorities to protect them — these authorities are part and parcel of the apparatus of racist violence.

The federal government encourages and emboldens organizations like the Ku Klux Klan to commit violence by its failure to stop them or to use its many powers to bring them to justice. The only recourse open to Negroes in the South is to meet racist violence with armed self-defense.

The Deacons are being organized to do just that. The purpose of this new organization is to protect the Negro community from Klan raids, and to protect civil rights workers. For example, the Klan made threats to kill James Farmer, national director of CORE, when he was in Louisiana June 9 to attend the funeral of O'Neal Moore, Negro deputy sheriff who was gunned down by nightriders. Armed Deacons guarded Farmer while he was in the state.

The right of Negroes to defend themselves from attack is a right that is guaranteed to everyone by the Constitution. Negroes in the South have every justification, in the face of the legal and extralegal violence inflicted upon them, to exercise this right to the full. But there is more than the right of Negroes to defend themselves which is involved.

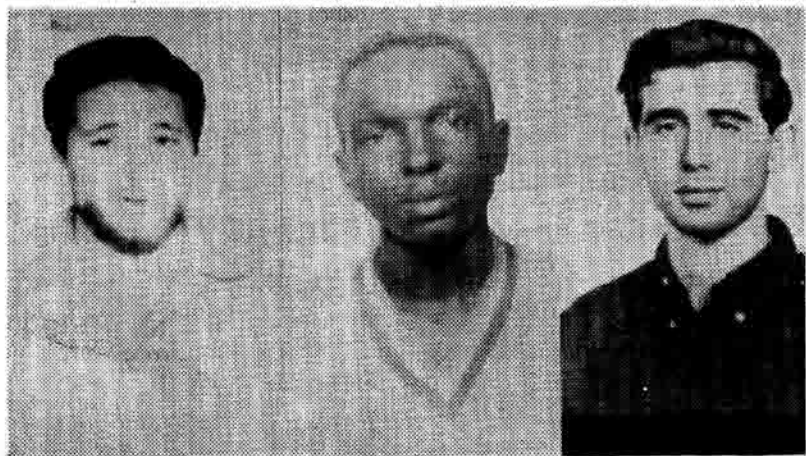
By organizing to fight back, the Deacons will not only reduce violence to Negroes during attacks, they will discourage the attacks themselves. Klan cowards will think twice about lynching when they face armed Negroes determined to resist them. Racists will be discouraged from joining the Klan itself.

By being prepared to fight back, the Deacons will help the civil rights movement win further victories, by reducing the terror which helps prevent Negroes from winning new rights and exercising rights already won on paper. And perhaps most important of all, by standing up and fighting back, Southern Negroes will dispel the myth of Negro docility and acceptance of his condition. Whites will be forced to re-evaluate their conceptions of Negroes, and Negroes will have a new and confident self-image.

The FBI, which cannot ever seem to be able to protect Negroes and civil rights workers, considers the Deacons to be dangerous and is investigating them. If the FBI and the rest of the federal government used their power to enforce the Constitution for everyone, there would be no need for the Deacons.

The Deacons originated in Jonesboro, La., last summer, and have spread to other communities in Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama. Everyone who is for civil rights and Negro equality should give the Deacons every support and encouragement, and should defend their right to exist and grow, free from government harassment.

Organizations like the Deacons will prove a meaningful tribute to the memory of James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner. By coping with racist violence against the civil rights movement, they will assure that these three young men did not die in vain.



MARTYRS. Michael Schwerner (left), James E. Chaney (center), and Andrew Goodman.

Johnson Expands War Drive Behind Backs of the People

By Farrell Dobbs

Naked acts of aggression come so thick and fast under the Johnson doctrine that it is not easy to keep up with events. It's doubly hard when the government lies to the people and when it goes behind their backs furtively to prepare new outrages while public attention is focused on the foul deed of the moment.

Take the dirty war in Vietnam, for example. Last February the president ordered daily bombing of North Vietnam in cold-blooded violation of its sovereignty. He did so on the premise that the South Vietnamese revolutionaries are mere puppets of the Hanoi government. The premise is false, as shown by U.S. correspondents in South Vietnam who picture the national liberation movement there, which they call the "Viet-cong," as a formidable majority force within the country.

As against the revolutionary majority, Washington supports the

SPECIAL FEATURE. A manifesto on the Dominican crisis from the 14th of June Movement in Santo Domingo. See text page 4.

military clique in Saigon, trying to palm it off as a "democratic" government. On their part the Saigon mobsters pull off one military coup after another in a fight over leadership of their own gang, meanwhile waging brutal warfare to "democratize" the Vietnamese people. But even with U.S. aid the Saigon overlords are losing the civil war.

Given these facts, it is clear that Johnson's callous order to bomb North Vietnam is a criminal act of frustration over Saigon's impending defeat. Truth has nothing to do with his motives. The unadmitted and unjustified, but no less actual, declaration of war against North Vietnam simply illustrates what he meant when he recently declared obsolete the "old distinction between the civil war and international war."

To serve imperialist ends Johnson is causing death, labeled "Made in USA," to rain from North Vietnam skies upon men, women and children. Revulsion against the inhumanity of his deed, and fear over the consequences of extending the war to North Vietnam, is causing a mounting protest here in the United States. He tried to blunt the protest by going on TV early in April to call for "unconditional negotiations" in the Vietnamese war. With typically Johnsonian double-talk he added an



"Come, let us reason together." A foreign policy declaration by Johnson at Catholic University.

"unconditional" condition. The South Vietnam liberation movement, representing a majority of the people, must be excluded from the "negotiations."

Even more outlandish than the attempt to deprive the South Vietnamese majority of a voice in determining their own fate is Johnson's brazen assertion of his "right" to negotiate the outcome of the civil war. The U.S. has no "rights" whatever in Vietnam and it should get out forthwith — troops, planes, brass hats, CIA, FBI and all. The Vietnamese people should be left to settle their own affairs in their own way.

That is the last thing imperial Washington intends to allow, however, so the high strategists set out on the opposite course of stepping up U.S. intervention. To minimize protests they looked for a way to divert public attention

while they made the key moves. The chance came when civil war broke out in the Dominican Republic and Johnson rushed U.S. forces to occupy Santo Domingo. With attention centered on that new violation of national sovereignty, moves to intensify the intervention in Vietnam quietly began.

To offset public suspicion about their motives, they cooked up a slick propaganda scheme. Bombing of North Vietnam was called off for six days, supposedly to enable Hanoi to "save face" in capitulating to Johnson's demand that it halt the civil war in the South. Nothing happened because Hanoi couldn't deliver on the demand even if it tried. Ignoring that fact, the war lords in Washington accused Hanoi of "stubborn refusal" to end its "aggression" and on that

(Continued on Page 3)

Vietnam Escalation Continues

Major Land War Looms

By Dick Roberts

JUNE 15 — Johnson's decision to send U.S. soldiers into active combat in Vietnam is another step in the direction of a major Korean-type war in the Vietnamese peninsula.

While "rumors" were reported in Washington that contingents of three Army divisions have been alerted for shipment to Vietnam, a U.S. paratroop battalion has dug in at battle-torn Dongxoi for the first American full-scale fight against the Vietnamese National Liberation Front.

New York Times correspondent Jack Langguth reports that this "American battalion is ready to move out by helicopter to take part in the battle. If there is no action," he continues, "the Americans expect to set out from their defensive positions, in the next day or two, raid and burn a Viet-

cong village and then withdraw to their regular base."

It is clear that one paratroop battalion is just the beginning. For two weeks in Dongxoi alone, the South Vietnamese puppet government armies have been suffering one major defeat after another. Already six government battalions have been crushed beyond combat use.

These losses stand at close to 1,000 dead — by far the greatest number of deaths in any single engagement of the Vietnamese war since 1954, when the French were kicked out. The U.S. clearly intends to send tens of thousands of troops into this struggle, in a last-ditch desperate attempt to stem the mounting victories of the Vietnamese liberation fighters.

One of many estimates of the probable size of U.S. commitment was given by Richard Starnes, a

conservative journalist in the Washington Daily News, June 4. "A completely reliable source," Starnes reports, "who was present at a White House briefing tells me this. 'I saw U.S. senators blanch when Robert McNamara told them they had to prepare to see 300,000 American men sent to Vietnam.'"

Another confirmation of the probable size of the massive military intervention being cooked up in the White House and Pentagon came from New York Times military analyst Hanson W. Baldwin June 14. Baldwin explained that the American troops recently sent to Vietnam are not the forces intended for battle but "are scheduled to build extensive supply and communications facilities before combat troops come ashore." (Emphasis added.)

Meanwhile the four-month-old (Continued on Page 2)

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

I. W. Abel, who was recently elected president of the United Steelworkers of America, mainly because of rank-and-file discontent with the pro-company policies of former union president David J. McDonald, has so far indicated that he is not going to make any radical changes in union policies.

In his acceptance speech at the posh Penn-Sheraton Hotel in Pittsburgh, Abel reportedly expressed concern over deteriorating plant conditions and the threat of automation to steel workers. Then, according to the June 10 *Lorain Labor Leader*, he "called for joint action by labor, industry and government" to solve these "terrorizing" problems. This is exactly the same do-nothing policy followed by McDonald.

Also attending Abel's inauguration was AFL-CIO president George Meany who utilized the occasion to mouth his support of President Lyndon B. Johnson's war program.

Rank-and-file steel workers who expect Abel to fight for their demands should be warned by the remarks of district director Joseph Germano of Chicago who acted as master of ceremonies at the gathering of labor bureaucrats. Germano, who acted as Abel's campaign manager in the union power fight against McDonald, praised McDonald as a "gentleman and a man of courage . . . a big man who did not allow his political differences to stand in the way of the union."

A significant demand for equal time for unions has been raised by the International Union of Electrical Workers in collaboration with the AFL-CIO. The IUE is demanding that unions be given equal time with bosses who hold antiunion meetings during normal working hours. According to an IUE attorney, a captive audience speech " . . . hammers away at the minds of employees, putting fear in their hearts."

In demanding "equal time under equal conditions," the May 27 *IUE News* argued for unions' rights to "reasonable access to the plant premises whenever the employer takes advantage of the choice available to him and makes the plant a forum for antiunion campaigning, and availability of an employee mailing list so that

the union can reach all workers with arguments to counterbalance those of the employer."

While they are at it, the IUE might as well extend their demand for equal time to radio and TV, which carry all kinds of anti-union propaganda.

The equal pay amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act, which purportedly bans wage discrimination because of sex when men and women covered by the law do the same kind of work, became fully effective on June 11.

The Pinellas County, Fla., school board recently approved an application for a National Youth Corps federal grant to provide summer jobs for students at a rate of \$1.25 an hour. Since this was 25 cents an hour more than wages paid some regular school employees, the latter were promised an increase equal to wages paid students. The increase would not go into effect, however, until September.

This means that, during the summer, part-time students would make more money than regular workers. In the application for federal aid, students were warned that if they spent their wages foolishly — buying new cars, for example — they would be immediately fired.

—Tom Leonard

... Vietnam War

(Continued from Page 1)

government of Premier Phan Huy Quat collapsed June 14 under pressure from South Vietnamese generals and the Catholic minority, and with the connivance of U.S. Ambassador Taylor. The actual coup took place after Taylor finished "negotiations" with both sides, and flew to Washington to be out of Saigon when the change occurred.

Leader of the new ruling junta, Maj. Gen. Nguyen Van Thieu, typical of the growing list of subalterns who have lined up for U.S. assignment in Saigon, received military training in the French Army and fought with the French imperialist forces against the Vietnamese revolution from 1947-1954.

While Washington is rapidly mapping plans to throw thousands of American boys into the jungles of Vietnam against an overwhelmingly popular guerrilla force, one pauses to consider exactly what the bombings of North Vietnam were about after all.

After tons and tons of bombs have been hurled against North Vietnamese railroads, bridges, roads and ships, and some several hundreds of U.S. planes have been shot down (exact figures are top-secret), Washington's war efforts in South Vietnam have not become more successful but steadily less so.

The answer is that the North Vietnamese bombings — no matter how many civilians have been cynically liquidated in the process — were not primarily a military answer to the South Vietnamese war at all, but part of a carefully conceived plan to escalate the war by gradual stages.

Washington has moved slowly and deliberately, always testing each move, to soften up the American people to the idea of this major war. At home the tactics vary from Texas soft-soap to out-and-out witch-hunting attacks, with a bevy of State Department hints, rumors and lies. Abroad, the tactics are straightforward: U.S. troops in Vietnam have more than tripled in number since Johnson became president 18 months ago.

McChesney Martin's Warning

Concern About Economy Mounts

By John Pederson

From the time Kennedy assumed the presidency in 1961, the belief that the United States and the advanced capitalist countries have entered a new era of permanent prosperity, economic miracles and rapid elimination of poverty, has become very widespread. This extreme confidence in the viability of "free enterprise" has been bolstered by the longevity and vigor of the current economic expansion or "boom," now the longest in U.S. peacetime history.

The optimistic perspectives now projected by the majority of government officials, bourgeois intellectuals and businessmen can only be compared to the mood that prevailed just prior to the 1929 stock market crash which ushered in the Great Depression of the 1930's. It is now occurring to a number of spokesmen for big business that the optimism of today may be as ill-founded as that of the late 1920's.

One of the most eminent of these spokesmen is the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, William McChesney Martin, Jr. The "Fed," as it is called, is the powerful institution which controls interest rates on loans. In a speech delivered at Columbia University June 1, Martin expressed serious misgivings about the prevailing superoptimism, pointing to what he called "disquieting similarities" between the world economic situation today and that of 1929.

The *New York Times* called the speech a bombshell. The stock market went into a tailspin. The chairman of the powerful Senate Banking Committee, Texas Senator Wright Patman, called for Martin's resignation because, he said, "Martin wants a depression every three years." And a spate of articles appeared commenting on the speech and speculating on differences that exist or may be developing between Martin and the Johnson administration on monetary policy.

Others Concerned

Martin is not the only one who has attempted to prick the balloon of complacency among big business circles. In an article appearing in June *Harpers* entitled "A Crash Next Year?", Peter F. Drucker, a management consultant and professor at the Graduate School of Business Administration at New York University, warns of an impending international financial crisis comparable to that of the early 1930's unless remedial steps are taken immediately.

Fortune magazine, in its May issue, warned that "the U.S. economy last month entered a new period of slower growth that may very well wind up a year from now in recession." Alfred L. Malabre, Jr., reported in the *Wall Street Journal* of June 7 that recently conducted interviews with leading economists indicate that most of them believe "the economy is more vulnerable to deep trouble today than at any time since World War II."

Both the *Wall Street Journal* and *Fortune* articles expressed concern with the massive growth of private debt (both business and consumer debt) that has occurred during the whole post-World War II period and particularly during the current expansion.

Malabre cites government figures indicating that private debt has skyrocketed from \$154 billion in 1946 to \$811 billion in 1964 and, as a percentage of the total dollar value of the nation's output of goods and services, from 73 percent to 130 percent. This compares to a 1929 figure of 154 percent. He points out that there is broad agreement among economists that "high debt levels tend to make pulling out of a recession more difficult."

In addition to these factors, the *Fortune* forecast of a recession is



BUSY DAY. New York Stock Exchange is scene of feverish activity when stock prices drop.

based on its projection of a slower rate of growth of consumer spending, a slowing of the currently high rate of inventory accumulation by businesses, and a lower rate of investment in factories and machinery which has recently been geared to an abnormally high rate of economic growth.

Of the recent analyses cited, Federal Reserve Board Chairman Martin's recent speech deserves the most serious attention, not only because of the important position he occupies and the influence he wields but because his speech, despite its brevity, reflects a deeper insight into the fundamental problems facing the U.S. economy. Indeed, Martin's speech epitomizes the high level of consciousness characteristic of influential sections of the bourgeoisie today.

In his speech Martin correctly emphasizes the international context within which the U.S. economy functions. Given the intimate interrelation and interdependency between the U.S. economy and the world capitalist economy, this has to be the starting point for any serious analysis.

Socialists have long held that the most fundamental characteristic of capitalism in its imperialist stage of development is the long-run tendency of national economies to develop at uneven rates (in terms of the output of goods and services, output per manhour, competitiveness on the world market, prices, etc.) in a general context of inadequate profitable investment opportunities.

Uneven Development

Looking back over the post-World War II period, we see that the main contradiction produced by this tendency toward uneven growth has been the growing gap between the advanced capitalist economies and the colonial areas of the world. Martin recognizes this growing gap and its "disquieting" similarity to 1929 when he says, "Then, as now, prosperity had been concentrated in the fully developed countries . . ."

Because of inadequate investment opportunities within the United States, American monopolies have been investing so much money abroad that a balance of payments deficit has resulted. Since foreign governments and capitalists can convert their dollar holdings into gold at any time, the net result has been the well-known gold outflow.

This gold drain is a serious problem because the dollar is the major world reserve currency, used by most countries to finance their world trade. Martin demonstrates his awareness of this problem and its parallel in the late 1920's when he says, "Then, as now, the payments position of the main reserve center — Britain then and the United States now

— was uneasy, to say the least; but, again, our recent cumulative payments deficits have far exceeded Britain's deficits of the late '20's."

Since it is this export of investments that is causing the balance of payments deficit and undermining the international strength and stability of the dollar, there is clearly developing a growing contradiction between the needs of U.S. capitalists and the continued healthy development of world trade and the world economy.

Warning

Martin concludes his speech with a warning that the continued growth and viability of the domestic economy cannot be maintained in the face of serious disruptions of world trade and economic growth.

Finally, in a remark aimed at the Johnson administration, he says, "the measures taken in accordance with the President's program of Dec. 10, 1965, have been highly successful . . . some of these measures are of a temporary character and these include the efforts of the financial community to restrain voluntarily the expansion of credit to foreigners . . . We should not permit the initial success of these efforts to blind us against the need of permanent cure." (Emphasis added.) However, Martin apparently has no idea of what measures would produce a "permanent cure." This is understandable because there is no permanent cure for these contradictions within the framework of capitalism.

From a socialist point of view, the conflicts and contradictions that are steadily developing in the world capitalist economy are very serious indeed. But because of the enormous complexity of the world economy, not to speak of the many political factors involved, it is extremely difficult and, in fact, practically impossible to predict just when a recession will occur or exactly when a long-term expansion will end.

There is no doubt, however, that the temporary economic viability the advanced capitalist countries have enjoyed since World War II is coming to an end, and will sooner or later end in severe crisis.

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Weekly Calendar

DETROIT

EARLY STRUGGLES IN THE UNITED STATES Lecture II of a four part series on **THE THEORY AND HISTORY OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT.** Speaker, Frank Lovell, A Marxist analysis by a long-time trade unionist. Fri., June 25, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Aup. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

LOS ANGELES

IS WORLD WAR III INEVITABLE? Prospects for peace in 1965. Speaker, Milton Alvin, socialist lecturer and writer. Fri., June 25, 8:30 p.m. Door donation. 1702 East Fourth St. (4th St. Exit, Santa Ana Fwy.) Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

NEW YORK

NATIONALISM AND SOCIALISM IN VIETNAM, a talk by Doug Jenness, editor, *Young Socialist*. Fri., June 25, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1, students 50c. Aup. Militant Labor Forum.

AD RATES

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DEUTSCHER ASSESSES TEACH-IN MOVEMENT

(World Outlook) — At the national teach-in held in Washington May 15, a representative of the European intellectual community was invited to participate. The guest selected by the committee in charge of arrangements was, interestingly enough, Isaac Deutscher, the well-known biographer of Leon Trotsky.

He presented his views at the Washington meeting, which was televised across the United States to about 100 campuses making up an audience of 100,000. Deutscher then crossed the country, speaking at a number of universities, and participated in a giant debate at the University of California in Berkeley.

The *Tribune*, a left-wing weekly of the British Labor movement, published the full text of the notes from which Deutscher prepared his speech [in two issues, May 21 and May 28]. The document offers a good popular presentation of the revolutionary Marxist view of the broad lines of American and Soviet foreign policy since the end of World War II. [For anyone wishing these two issues of the *Tribune*, the address is 222 The Strand, London, W.C. 2, and the cost is 28 cents.]

Impressions of Trip

The Paris Weekly *Express* of June 7 published Deutscher's impressions of his trip. These are of considerable interest.

For the first time since the end of the war, Deutscher writes, a formidable clamor has arisen in the United States over foreign policy, specifically Johnson's policy in Vietnam and Latin America.

"The clamor is being stirred up by the young American generation. In almost all the universities, thousands of professors and hundreds of thousands of students are participating in the movement."

Describing the teach-in in which he participated in Washington, Deutscher says: "It was not at all comparable with anything generally seen in the British demonstrations on nuclear disarmament: no prophets, no beatniks, no eccentrics. However, there was no doubt about the sentiments of the participants. They listened politely to the defenders of the government's policies but demonstrated their approval and their enthusiasm each time a critic of the government spoke."

Berkeley Debate

A "still more radical" meeting was the debate organized at Berkeley. It was an open-air gathering that lasted 36 hours, including speeches, reports, political satires, folk songs, one after the other. "Among the speakers were leaders of the Negro civil rights movement, organizers of anti-segregationist marches in the South, professors, authors, a senator from Alaska, a Negro member of the California state assembly, etc." Deutscher found himself speaking after midnight in the cold breeze coming in from the Pacific. But the students, 15,000 of them, did not wish to go inside. Deutscher continued with his Marxist analysis. [He does not mention it, but other sources report that when he finished he was given a standing ovation.]

"To those familiar with the political climate of America in the past decades, these meetings and these protests must appear — as they did to me — fantastic innovations. And the way in which this clamor has found an echo in the written and spoken press, so often sunk in conformism, is a sign that times have changed."

In estimating the import of this new movement, Deutscher feels "a little skeptical" about the immediate effects it could have. Nevertheless, it serves as a brake on those pushing for escalation of the war.

The long-range effects, he feels,

will prove much more important. "In my opinion, the awakening of the critical attitude in the United States is almost as important as the de-Stalinization in the USSR. In certain respects they resemble each other. A new left is being born that is sweeping away the corpse of the old traumatized left, worn out during the thirties and forties through its collusion with Stalinism, stunned by de-Stalinization and struck down by McCarthyism."

This new generation, now entering the political arena, "has known neither Stalinism nor de-Stalinization. It has not been intimidated by McCarthyism. It is entering politics remorselessly, fearlessly. It is engaging in struggle with innocence and courage. It reacts vigorously against the anti-Communist clichés and the anti-Marxist dogmas. It no longer supports the cold-war indoctrination: The Pharisaism and self-conceit of the American ruling class appall it. Aware of the gaps in the general prosperity, the vast continuing 'pockets of poverty,' the 'structural unemployment' in the midst of full economic expansion, the oppression of the Negroes, it wants to indict the whole established order."

Deutscher is not prepared to predict how far this generation will go. It is too early. "But there is not the least doubt that Marxism will appear or reappear in the United States as an intellectual and moral force and that this force will appear much more attractive than ever before."

Deutscher ascribes the origin of this movement to the struggle opened by the Negroes against racial segregation. They broke the "magic vise" of American conformism and served as a catalyst for the young radical intellectuals.

... Johnson's War Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

deceitful premise they claimed justification to go all out in support of the Saigon militarists.

Shifting from the "adviser" guise to a masquerade of "defensive" action, they are committing U.S. troops to unrestricted land combat against the revolutionary forces. Since Johnson's "unconditional negotiations" speech, U.S. forces in South Vietnam have more than doubled and Washington news reports forecast a redoubling within a few weeks. The full-scale land war now developing Korea-style will cause a leap in U.S. casualties, but that doesn't worry the Pentagon. Its solution is to conscript more American youth, as evidenced by the marked rise in the July draft quotas.

U.S. bombing operations in South Vietnam have been intensified with murderous consequences for the people. As *The Militant* reported last week, a news dispatch from Saigon about one bomb strike said that "three out of four patients seeking treatment in a Vietnam hospital afterward for burns from napalm, or jellied gasoline, were village women." American planes are also reported to use delayed fuse bombs which may explode as late as six days after they have been dropped. Who can know in advance whether children will be playing around them when they explode?

Such is the criminal nature of the Johnson doctrine, which serves the imperialist aims of U.S. big business in its outlook, and which reflects the Pentagon mentality in its actions. The object is to maintain imperialist domination over Vietnam and to use its territory for a base from which to conduct future military operations against other Asian countries, including China. All this is carried out primarily through executive

Boost for Anti-War Forces

A Permanent Teach-In Movement

By Harry Ring

The antiwar struggle was given another boost with the decision to establish a permanent organization of the teach-in movement.

Members of the academic community who organized the national teach-in in Washington May 15 have established the Inter-University Committee for the Debate of Foreign Policy. It was formed at a gathering of 75 scholars from 40 campuses at a meeting June 4-5 at the University of Michigan.

The committee will include students as well as teachers, a spokesman said. It will devote itself to continuing and extending public discussion of policies in Vietnam and other parts of the world.

Following the organization meeting, members of the group reportedly secured the agreement of McGeorge Bundy, principal architect of White House policy in Vietnam, to join with a group of professors in a nationally televised discussion of the Vietnam war.

The move to establish a permanent, organized basis for the teach-in movement should prove valuable in a number of ways. It will make more effective the efforts of the antiwar forces to win new adherents, and mount further pressure on the administration.

At the same time such an organization can help counter the smear and witch-hunt moves that the administration and its supporters can be expected to press against those opposed to its aggressive policies.

For the moment the administration seems to be undecided on how to deal with the opposition. That is, should it try to argue down its academic critics or should it simply do a hatchet job on them? This indecisiveness is personified by on-again, off-again Bundy who reluctantly agreed to debate at the national teach-in, dropped



PAUL POTTER, past president of Students for a Democratic Society which organized March on Washington to End the War in Vietnam.

out, and then agreed to debate on TV.

One of his more recent efforts to sneer down the teach-ins was offered at the Notre Dame commencement exercises where he made the asinine observation that "those who are the least learned make the most noise."

Bundy's theme was echoed in one form or another by a wide variety of administration members and supporters.

Inevitably, in the contemporary American atmosphere, such efforts to discredit the antiwar forces will lead to stepped-up red-baiting. (Senator Dodd, the Connecticut Democrat, has already tagged critics of Vietnam policy as "appeasers" of communism.) Those active in organizing and building the protest movement would not be ill-advised to give careful consideration to ways and means to cope with the likely eventuality of red-baiting attacks.

In considering this problem, a number of examples of how not to fight the witch hunters are offered by some of the established peace organizations and even by some of the groups regarded as radical.

High-Handed Stupidity

Despite bitter experience to the contrary, these traditional groupings cling to the illusion that it is possible to effectively counter witch-hunt attacks by offering proof of "respectability." Some of them have gone so far in their quest for such "respectability" as to themselves conduct witch hunts of their own memberships, and, which is equally shameful, to attack other groups and individuals.

A recent example of a small-minded effort to stay in the good graces of the power structure was offered by SANE during the preparations for the June 9 Madison Square Garden rally against the Vietnam war. Although SANE was the principal sponsor, a wide variety of organizations lent their efforts to support it.

To build the rally, Women Strike for Peace, a supporting organization, ordered an advertisement in the *National Guardian*, a progressive weekly. At the last minute the ad was canceled. A WSP spokesman told the *Guardian*: "We were told by SANE that if we insisted in running the ad... there would be trouble. Someone even threatened to send a letter to the *Times* denouncing us for the ad."

A spokesman for SANE told the *Guardian*: "We must be effective, and to be effective we operate within this framework of decision-making... We are most effective when we operate as close to a 'Mr. and Mrs. America' position as possible."

This piece of high-handed stupidity makes clear that the officialdom of SANE has learned nothing from previous experience. In 1960, facing a threatened probe

by a Senate Internal Security subcommittee headed by Senator Dodd, the leaders of SANE tried to avert the attack by doing the job for Dodd. They cleaned out members suspected of "subversive" leanings. This internal witch hunt demoralized the organization, which steadily declined in activity and influence from that point on.

This mania for "respectability" is even more dismaying when it comes from people who present themselves as socialists. It is particularly dismaying when they choose to attack other antiwar forces for being militant and democratic.

The Students for a Democratic Society, which organized the big March on Washington last April, was the target of such an attack because it refused to follow the advice and example of some of its elders. SDS insisted that the aim of the march be the demand of an immediate end to the Vietnam war, and that all who supported this aim were welcome to participate, without regard to political belief or affiliation. For this they were hit with a critical public statement by 11 leading figures in the traditional peace movement, including Norman Thomas, Bayard Rustin, and other members of the Socialist Party. Later, pacifist leader A. J. Muste, one of the signers, disclosed that the statement was mild compared to the one demanded by Rustin who, Muste said, wanted to "torpedo" the march.

Ludicrous Example

A more recent, and almost ludicrous example, of trying to lick the power structure by joining it, was offered by Mike Gold, longtime columnist for the *People's World*, West Coast voice of the Communist Party. In a June 5 column on the Berkeley teach-in, Gold expressed his unhappiness at the presence on the speakers' platform of historian Isaac Deutscher and novelist Norman Mailer.

Like the leaders of SDS, the organizers of the Berkeley teach-in took the sound view that all opponents of the Vietnam war were welcome to participate. They reportedly invited the Communist Party to send a speaker. The party is said to have declined on the ground that its presence might hurt the teach-in. The fact that its presence would have been a refreshing rejection of a witch-hunt taboo and would thereby have facilitated the struggle against the Vietnam war, obviously didn't occur to the party tops.

Gold suggested (without saying so frankly and forthrightly) that the teach-in organizers also made a mistake in inviting Deutscher and Mailer. He reported that there was a broad spectrum of speakers including "such extremes as Norman Mailer and his four-letter word crusade and Isaac Deutscher with one fixed idea — condemn the Soviet Union."

There is no point in arguing about Gold's sensitivity to four-letter words, but his description of Deutscher is shamefully dishonest. Deutscher devoted his speech to refuting the propaganda myth that the Soviet Union was responsible for the cold war and concluded his remarks by urging the assembled students to consider communist solutions to the problems of society.

And when he finished, the student audience gave him a standing ovation, clearly expressing a deep-going desire for a full, untrammelled discussion of the great issues of the day.

They demonstrated thereby that they understand far better than worn-out ex-radicals like Mike Gold that the only effective way to fight war is to build a militant and democratic movement that permits free play of all ideas, and in that way opens the door to finding basic solutions to the ills of society.

How Cuba Uprooted Race Discrimination

By Harry Ring

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THE MILITANT

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Monday, June 21, 1965

Labor's Duty in Mississippi

The members of the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union now on strike in the cotton-rich Delta area of Mississippi deserve the full financial, moral and material aid of the entire labor movement. The strikers, who have been weeding cotton for \$3 a day and driving machines for up to \$6 a day — from sunup to sundown — are demanding a mere \$1.25 an hour and some union recognition.

This is where the war on poverty is really being fought. It is where a drive to organize the South could really get an impulse. All the forces of the racist police state of Mississippi are arrayed against the strikers. The wealthy plantation owners have evicted them from their homes. They are being harassed by sweeping injunctions and the local police, and the Ku Klux Klan lurks in the background ready to move against the union with fire and bullets.

In spite of this, the strikes have been spreading since they began last month. But the union is in desperate need of aid. Union members across the country should urge their unions to pledge support and send substantial financial contributions to the strikers at the Mississippi Freedom Labor Union, P.O. 547, Shaw, Miss.

If there ever was one, this is an issue union militants should be able to take up on the floor of their local unions. It is an issue to which all decent union members should respond with some good old-fashioned union solidarity.

A Gain for Democratic Unionism

The Supreme Court decision throwing out the conviction of West Coast longshoreman Archie Brown is good news and an important step toward the rebirth of union democracy. Brown, who has been a Communist Party candidate for public office in California, was convicted and sentenced to six months in jail in 1962 because he had been elected to the executive board of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Association.

The conviction came under the provision of the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act making it a crime for a member of the Communist Party to serve as an official of a labor union. The court ruled the provision is clearly a bill of attainder — declaring a particular person, or group criminal and passing sentence by legislative act without a trial — and therefore unconstitutional.

The central issue involved is the right of union members to choose their own leaders without their class enemies dictating who can and can't run for union office. The court ruling is a legal blow to the witch hunt and thought control introduced into the unions with the beginning of the cold war, and which has been used by the bosses, the government and fat-headed, self-seeking union bureaucrats to pound down and dry up union democracy to the vanishing point. Brown, Local 10 and the American Civil Liberties Union are to be congratulated for pursuing this case.

It still remains to reestablish and exercise the tradition of internal union democracy, the competition of various ideas and programs within the unions without which the unions cannot be healthy organizations fighting in the interests of the rank and file.

New York Teen-Agers Hold First High School Teach-In

By Caroline Jenness

NEW YORK — Between 200 and 300 high school students gathered at the Community Church of New York on June 12 for the first high school teach-in against the war in Vietnam.

The meeting was sponsored and run by a new organization called the High School Students Forum. This committee was formed by high school students from all over New York City in an effort to bring information and debate on crucial issues to the high school level. The committee was inspired by the recent wave of teach-ins in colleges across the country.

The speakers at this six-hour teach-in were New York high school teachers. Although the students wanted to have both sides of the Vietnam question heard, they had difficulty in finding pro-administration spokesmen.

Of the six main speakers, five were critics of the administration policy and only one defended the U.S. intervention. Two teachers

who had agreed to take the administration's side pulled out at the last minute with the excuse that their principals had prohibited them from speaking. The student chairman opened the meeting by reading a letter from the State Department denying the students' request for a State Department spokesman.

Later in the teach-in, a man in the audience who had worked for the U.S. State Department in Vietnam agreed to speak in defense of the present U.S. policy. When he made the point that the students could not really know what was going on in Vietnam since they had never lived there as he had, the audience responded with hisses and boos. After similar reactions to other points, the man threw up his arms and stomped off the stage.

The chairman announced that the High School Students Forum was planning to expand into many new high schools and to hold more meetings on the Vietnam war.

FROM THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

14th of June Manifesto

We print below a declaration issued in Santo Domingo on May 17 by the Central Executive Committee of the 14 of June Movement. The text was distributed by the Pro-Independence Movement of Puerto Rico (MPI). The Dominican 14 of June Movement stems from an armed attack on the regime of dictator Rafael Trujillo which took place June 14, 1959. When the elected president Juan Bosch and the Constitution of 1963 were overthrown by a military coup two years ago, the 14 of June Movement resisted and launched a struggle by "Constitutional Guerrillas." The following is the full text, translated by *The Militant*.

* * *

To Arms, Dominicans, Against the Yankee Invader!

The Dominican people have undertaken a heroic armed struggle against their principal enemies, the sinister Yankee imperialists and the treacherous oligarchy, on whom the people have already inflicted serious defeats. At present, this struggle has a democratic and progressive content. It reaffirms political liberties and the reform of the old order, which was based on the domination of the most reactionary and antinational sectors. The decisive participation of the masses, as well as the armed struggle, gives it a profoundly revolutionary content.

Revolutionary Consciousness

This struggle has increased the revolutionary consciousness and experience of the people. Our masses have learned, by their own experience, that social progress is impossible unless they fight resolutely, in all ways, principally by armed struggle, and defeat Yankee imperialism. This consciousness has developed rapidly because, once the repressive apparatus of the reactionary oligarchy was destroyed, the Yankee troops invaded the country to save imperialist and oligarchic domination, and they are the only force that blocks the revolutionary advance of a people determined to triumph. And so the ground has been laid for the development of an open and definite struggle of our people for their national liberation.

The principal contradiction determining the Dominican political process is that between North American imperialism and the Dominican nation. The revolutionary 14 of June Movement developed as an expression of this struggle of the people against the exploitation of the imperialists, the same as in the dependent nations of America, Asia and Africa, where to be revolutionary is to be anti-imperialist and to fight against Yankee imperialism, the chief bastion of colonial and neo-colonial oppression.

Since our founding, we have presented as the only way out of our great national problems a democratic revolution for national liberation that is anti-imperialist and antifederal.

The Objectives

Anti-imperialist, because Yankee imperialism loots us of our principal resources and controls our economy: sugar, bauxite, banks, transportation, bananas, fuel, telephones, mines, international trade, etc. It tramples our national sovereignty, deforms our development, prostitutes our culture and promotes the most repressive and opportunistic regimes.

Antifeudal, because the latifundistas [plantation owners] and the intermediate parasites of high commerce strangle our people, slow down the development of the country, spread obscurantist ideas, and support the most reactionary regimes as well as betray the country.

Democratic, because it will change control of the state from the hands of a clique of exploiters and imperialist monopolists to the

hands of the large masses of the people.

These objectives, anti-imperialist, antifederal, democratic and nationalistic, acquire today, with the brutal Yankee intervention, the character of patriotic objectives of the people: the workers, peasants, students, professionals, employees, small merchants, national producers and honest military personnel. The struggle for independence and national sovereignty should be today the essence of all political and revolutionary work of the Dominicans. The revolutionary 14 of June Movement, as an instrument of the classes and social strata that are sincerely interested in the independence and progress of our country, calls all patriotic Dominicans to the struggle for liberation, and to rise above all political, ideological and religious differences to unite forces and concentrate the fire of our fight on the Yankee oppressor.

Right To Choose

All peoples have the sacred right to choose their own path, organize their own lives, their system of production, and solve their own problems. No one has the right to dictate the road that the Dominican people should follow. Only our people can resolve their internal problems. The right to self-determination of our people has once again been trampled on by Yankee imperialism.

We remember with indignation the military intervention of 1916-24 which plundered the peasants of their lands, which tortured and massacred the people, and prepared the country for the horrible pro-Yankee tyranny of Trujillo. On that occasion, the people put up a heroic guerrilla struggle in the east, at La Barranquita, and other places, against the Yankee invader.

Armed Resistance

In view of the fact that the government of the United States has militarily attacked our country, we have the right to respond to this unjust aggression. The people should organize and prepare armed resistance throughout the country against the Yankee invader.

This struggle will surge from the masses of workers and peasants, along with students, intellectuals, small producers, honest military personnel and other social sectors. The Dominican masses are the only ones that will be able to crush and drive the Yankee invader from our country and enforce the democratic Constitution of '63 and the constitutional government.

Up to this moment, only the popular masses of the capital have taken up arms, and around this form of struggle they are developing their political action. The uprising has affirmed, as the fundamental basis for the struggle, the redemption of national sovereignty, the Constitution of '63 and the constitutional government. We will not obtain this easily. Facing this reality, the revolutionary 14 of June Movement presents as an immediate task the prepara-

Big June 14 Rally in Santo Domingo

JUNE 14 — An enthusiastic rally of armed common people was held today in the Constitutional section of Santo Domingo, commemorating the sixth anniversary of the birth of the 14 of June Movement. It was at least twice as large as a "rally" held the day before by the Imbert junta in the U.S.-occupied section of the city. The junta "rally," according to U.S. TV reporters on the scene, was made up largely of unarmed "sullen faced" government employees trucked in from junta-controlled areas under pain of wage loss if they didn't come. It had 5,000 present and the June 14 rally had 10,000, according to the New York Times.

Constitutional President Francisco Caamaño spoke to the June 14 rally. The official speaker of the 14 of June Movement, Rafael Tavera, held up his rifle as he said the people must remain armed and "there will not be victory or peace until the last invader is destroyed and the last Yankee property seized."

tion and development of an armed struggle through the country, with the purpose of integrating the immense peasant masses into the active struggle for national sovereignty. The peasants are the overwhelming sector of the Dominican population as well as the sector that is most exploited. The peasant is the principal reserve for the Dominican revolution and will be the fundamental force led by the working class in the patriotic struggle against the Yankee invader.

The revolutionary 14 of June Movement is convinced that the present imperialist aggression against our country will not be stopped or condemned by international organizations such as the OAS or the UN, much less by the diplomatic lobbyists. We should, of course, mobilize all our juridical and political resources on a national and international plane but always understand very clearly that the only way we will crush Yankee imperialism is by basing ourselves on the strength of the masses and maintaining the armed struggle.

Our people are part of the oppressed and exploited masses in Asia, Africa and Latin America that fight for their independence and national liberation. These people form part of a family of two billion brothers who have the same problems and the same enemy. The solidarity and support of all these people for our struggle is an important boost for the upsurge and triumph of Dominican liberation.

The revolutionary 14 of June Movement appeals to the solidarity of all the sister nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to all the peoples who respect democracy, liberty and the right to self-determination, to offer their fraternal support to the heroic struggle that the Dominican people have undertaken against the Yankee military occupation.

Our people shall win. Imperialism shall fail!

Let us unite and fight against Yankee imperialism!

Armed struggle throughout the country against the Yankee invader!

Poor peoples of the world, unite against imperialism!

Liberty or death!

The Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) of Puerto Rico has announced the formation of a Dominican Solidarity Committee to provide information about the Dominican constitutional revolution and send medical aid to the Dominican people. The committee announced plans to publish a news bulletin and has asked those wishing to receive it or to contribute funds to write to MPI, Dominican Solidarity Committee, Ponce de Leon 1122 altos, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico.

Cancellation of Cuba Trip Announced By Canadian Fair Play Committee

TORONTO (World Outlook) — Vernel Olson, National Chairman of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and chairman of the Directorate of the Student Tour to Cuba, announced June 3 that the tour of 100 Canadian university students will not take place this summer. The tour was called off by Cuban authorities without an explanation, just two weeks before the first students were to leave Canada.

Last year a group of 45 Canadian students visited Cuba for eight weeks during July and August. The cancellation of this year's tour, while final preparations were being made, came as a complete surprise to those who have been active in the preparation of the tour. Students who were selected to go were stunned by the news and those contacted indicated deep disappointment at not having a chance to visit Cuba this summer.

At a joint meeting of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the Student Tour to Cuba Directorate, a leading member of the Toronto Selection Committee, and two representatives of the students, a full report was given by Olson and a statement was adopted unanimously, which said in part:

"The cancellation of the student tour to Cuba after three months of intensive preparation, and just as the first students were getting ready to leave Canada, constitutes a grave blow to efforts of Canadians to establish the truth about Cuba and is a blow to the revolution itself. The organizers of the tour were deeply conscious of the importance of 100 Canadian youth visiting Cuba this summer, in view of the increasing isolation of the island and its people from the North American continent. The tour was doubly significant in view of the total isolation of Cuba from the United States due to the restrictive travel ban.

"The unprecedented response to the tour by students from coast to coast was a high point in over four years of activities by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and student campus committees. The Canadian Fair Play for Cuba Committee has been the only committee in the western capitalist world that has been able to establish real understanding of the Cuban revolution on a broad nonsectarian basis . . .

"It is a serious matter that the results of over four years' work in defense of the truth of the Cuban revolution has now been jeopardized, not by the external



Vernel Olson

enemies of the revolution, but by the arbitrary action of an institution of the Revolutionary Government. We believe that the best interests of the Cuban people have not been served by this action. The widening interest among Canadians in the struggles of the Cuban people for a better life will undoubtedly be greatly retarded. The increasing interest of Canadian youth in the committees on Cuba and Latin American affairs in the past year will inevitably suffer a serious setback . . .

"After serious consideration of all available information, we can only conclude that the student tour was the victim of sectarian forces within the revolution itself which have been measurably strengthened in recent months as a result of the critical international situation. This problem is not new for the Cuban revolution. Only a few years ago Fidel Castro found it necessary to speak out against this danger when he attacked the methods of Anibal Escalante (former General Secretary of the United Party).

"The cancellation of the tour can be a source of satisfaction only to the sworn enemies of the Cuban revolution, or to hopeless sectarians. The Fair Play for Cuba Committee has been struck a harsh blow but our confidence in the Cuban people and their cause, and the pressing need to continue our activities in defense of the revolution, is unshaken. The real friends of Cuba will not diminish their efforts to bring the truth about the Cuban revolution to the Canadian people."

REPORT FROM BOLIVIA

Uneasy Truce in Civil War

LA PAZ, May 30 (World Outlook) — The military government has gained a battle, but it is far from having won the war.

We are facing a most reactionary government which is going all out in its effort to destroy the trade-union organizations and revolutionary Marxist parties.

The strike action taken in protest over the exiling of Juan Lechin, which also had the aim of gaining a wage increase and defending trade-union rights, was met by the military junta with a declaration of war.

The workers districts in La Paz and other cities were occupied by the military in an unequal armed struggle. Then came the bombing of the Continental radio station owned by the Federation of Building Workers. They took the main buildings and factories of La Paz. Many workers were killed or wounded. The army employed modern equipment, including mortars, bazookas, pursuit planes and bombers.

Mines Attacked

They then invaded the mining centers. The Milluni district, 75 kilometers from La Paz, which has a population of some 5,000, was defended by 500 armed men supported by hundreds of peasants who were called in but who had no arms. The invaders numbered 3,000 fully equipped troops.

The air force machine-gunned the mine camp in advance and bombed the strongholds of the mine workers. The infantry and motorized units followed up in a ferocious butchery. With the defeat, sectors of the armed workers retreated to the nearest mountain, the 20,000-foot, snow-covered Huayna Potosi. A plane was brought down by rifle fire.

Milluni fell into the hands of the military and a brutal repression was begun. Among those killed were Trotskyists. Some Trotskyists escaped. Others were jailed.

At the same time, the army attacked the mining district of Kami. Again the air force began with its butchery and was followed up by the army. Kami fell.

The mining district of the South, with its center at Telamay and Atocha was likewise attacked. Atocha is a few kilometers from Tupiza on the Argentine frontier where the international railway goes through. The battle lasted all day but the army was defeated, 70 prisoners falling into the hands of the workers. The army called

for reinforcements.

The reply in La Paz to these criminal attacks launched by the military was the formation of armed squads. In the El Alto district where the international airport and the military air base are located, fighting occurred on May 23, the day after the battle at Milluni. Armed workers' and people's groups fought the army forces. Planes moved in again to machine-gun and bomb these districts.

From El Arto the struggle moved into the populous areas of La Paz, the fighting continuing through May 24 and May 25. Every night since then squads of workers have fought with the army.

Workers' District

In the districts of Munaypata, Villa Victoria, Alto Lima, Nueva Potosi, Achachicalla, which constitute the city's proletarian belt, the army has not been able to entrench itself and every house is a kind of barricade. Sharpshooters are to be found throughout these districts. The difference in armament and supplies of ammunition places the armed people's militia at a disadvantage.

In this situation of open civil war, of partial military victories by the government, the University students and teachers intervened in order to mediate and gain a truce. Differences appeared at this moment between the army under the command of Ovando Candia and the military junta headed by Barrientos. Ovando agreed to the truce on certain conditions, among them being that the army was not to enter the main mining centers like Colquiri, Huanuni, and the South sector where they were repulsed, and Catavi and Siglo XX. But these centers are encircled and there is resistance among the generals to withdrawing.

As a result of the truce, the COB (Bolivian Workers Federation) suspended the strike and on May 27 began normalizing activities in the plants and mines. Nevertheless, fighting is continuing in the cities with a tendency toward guerrilla war and acts of sabotage. The population, the factory workers and miners are moving spontaneously in this direction.

Arrests Inspired by U.S.

The government blames all this on what it calls an "international Communist rebellion" involving Juan Lechin's PRIN [Party of the Revolutionary Nationalist Left], the POR [Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist)] and the PCB [Bolivian Communist Party]. But in reality it is the result of the military provocation and attack. The seizure and exiling of Lechin, the bombing of the workers' radio stations, and the arrest of other trade-union leaders were inspired by the United States, as were the grave events in Santo Domingo. These provocations ended in the bloody events. The workers entered into conflict without adequate organization and preparation.

The country is now in a state of war, under military rule. The Supreme Court has been converted by decree into a tribunal of Military Justice. Trials are conducted in accordance with the military penal code.

The mines have been declared military zones under the command of military chiefs, although they have not yet succeeded in taking over. To accomplish this, the army will have to battle its way into the mines. In the name of rehabilitating the mines, wages have been slashed, mass firings have been initiated, and hiring of selected personnel under worse conditions has been ordered. The trade-union leaders have been ordered out of office by the government.

All these measures have been rejected by the mine workers.

Workers assemblies have backed their leaders in open defiance of the government.

In the factories the leaders have likewise been backed. At SAID, the biggest textile plant, the leaders were given a unanimous vote of confidence in a general assembly. This included three who were exiled to Paraguay by the government. Similar actions have been taken in the other plants.

On the surface, things again appear tranquil, but it amounts to only a temporary truce and both sides know it.

The government is trying to win public opinion. It is turning to the church, holding masses against "Communism" attended by the whole cabinet. To assure the support of the church, bombs have been placed in buildings used by Catholic Action. These were attributed to "Communists" but were really provocations.

The government put out an atrocity story, claiming that in the districts of Munaypata and Villa Victoria five soldiers and an army officer were taken prisoner and shot by the armed workers militia. They said that the execution was ordered by "Communist" leaders, naming Guillermo Lora [a well-known political figure of Trotskyist background], Hugo Gonzalez M. [of the POR] and Máximo Nogales [of the PCB]. A hunt was opened to bring them to a military tribunal. Lora's home was raided and his library seized.

The three were threatened, if captured, with being executed in the main plaza as a warning to all "Communists." More than 200 workers and labor figures have been imprisoned. Deaths are above 300 and the figure for the wounded is much higher. A virtual censorship has been established over the press and radio. A hunt has been opened for books and pamphlets deemed to be "Communist." People have been arrested for having pictures of Fidel Castro in their homes.

Next Week: Wrap Up On Our Campaign for 3,000 New Readers

By Carolyn Kerry

JUNE 14 — The final scoreboard of the current introductory *Militant* subscription campaign will appear in the issue of June 28 — which gives us one week to meet our goal of 3,500 new subs for the three-month period.

This means that all groups, including those which have already fulfilled their quotas, will have to make an extra effort if we are to attain our goal. We want to take this occasion to thank all those groups whose performance indicated they made a real effort to broaden the circulation of our paper through this campaign.

City	Quota	Subs
Detroit	500	528
Chicago	500	528
New York	500	510
Boston	275	275
Cleveland	200	157
Oakland	250	152
Philadelphia	125	111
Denver	100	103
Twin Cities	175	91
Newark	200	85
Los Angeles	200	82
Seattle	75	77
San Francisco	100	64
Milwaukee	100	33
San Diego	50	11
St. Louis	15	10
General	—	102
Total to June 14	3,365	2,919

"When you pick up your morning or evening newspaper and think you are reading the news of the world, what you are really reading is a propaganda which has been selected, revised, and doctored by some power which has a financial interest in you." — Upton Sinclair in *The Brass Check*.

World Events

Hitler-type Law Is Blocked

The West German government — notorious for being riddled with ex-Nazis — is trying to put a "state of emergency" law through parliament, a law similar to one Hitler used in 1933 to "legally" dissolve all organizations of the working class. It would give the government the right to declare an "emergency" if it learned through "secret sources" that an attack was threatening, "even if no generally recognizable tension exists." Under the "emergency" the government could set up censorship; outlaw meetings; draft workers (thus outlawing strikes); arbitrarily imprison people; militarize the economy; and use the armed forces in domestic conflicts.

To pass the legislation, however, a two-thirds majority was required. For this, support was needed from the German Socialist Party (SPD), whose leadership is reformist and anti-Marxist. At first, the SPD decided to vote for the law with some face-saving amendments.

But as the vote neared in parliament, protests grew; 250 emi-

nent university professors and intellectual figures petitioned the unions to oppose this authoritarian legislation. The chemical, metal, printing, and public servants' unions responded by calling for a special meeting of the leading body of the German Confederation of Unions. Several hundred trade-union secretaries signed petitions to the executive committee of the union federation. Protest resolutions poured in; protest meetings were held.

Advised by their brain trust that a conflict between militant unionists and the SPD could hurt them in the September elections, the Social Democratic "leaders" drew back. They announced that "in principle" they still favored the law, but felt it was not well enough known by the public. This kills the bill's chances until after September. The unions have won a victory. But they will have to guard against the Social Democrats' giving in after the elections.

Antiwar Strike Action

In defiance of court orders and patriotic editorials, Australia's Waterfront Workers Federation

has called a strike in 44 ports to protest the sending of Australian combat troops into the South Vietnamese civil war.

Angolans Continue Fight

The Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE) has reported, from Algiers, details of the continued guerrilla fighting against the Portuguese oppressors in Angola. The National Liberation Army of Angola (ALNA) — which, of the two Angolan movements, has been doing most of the fighting — was involved in nearly 20 engagements in May and early June, according to GRAE news releases.

One incident pointed up the guerrillas' ability to fight effectively even against the modern weapons of the Portuguese (mainly supplied by the U.S. government): At Serra de Golumbe, close to Quitexe, the ALNA ambushed a Portuguese army convoy. Eleven were killed in the battle, seven of them Angolans, including an officer; however, the freedom fighters destroyed a tank and two half-tracks.

—George Saunders

FREEDOM FIGHTERS

David Walker, Black Revolutionary

By Paul Boutelle

In 1829, when there were three million slaves in this country and before the abolitionist movement had formed, a small book entitled *An Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* was written by a black man, a fearless fighter for black freedom, named David Walker. The Southern slavemasters immediately began to suppress its distribution. Southern legislatures held secret sessions — lest the slaves get wind of Walker's work — to adopt heavy penalties, including death for Negroes, against anyone disseminating such anti-slavery material.

Walker's *Appeal* has been out of print for over 100 years, but recently two new paperback editions of it have appeared. One, entitled *One Continual Cry*, published by Marzani and Munsell, contains an introductory essay by Herbert Aptheker and sells for \$1.95. The other, entitled *David Walker's Appeal*, was published by Hill and Wang and sells for \$1.25.

Walker was born in Wilmington, N.C., on Sept. 28, 1785, and disappeared mysteriously in 1834. It has been assumed that he was assassinated for having authored the *Appeal*, which was the first major written assault upon slavery and racism to come from a black man in the United States.

Walker's mother was a free black woman and his father was a slave. Since the law was that children would follow the status of the mother, Walker was free from birth. As a young boy he developed a hatred of slavery and said: "If I remain in this bloody land I will not live long. As true as God reigns I will be avenged for the sorrow my people have suffered."

He traveled throughout the South and finally settled in Boston, where, in 1827, he went into the retail clothing business.

Advised to Flee

When his *Appeal* was published, the slaveholders offered \$1,000 for him dead, and \$10,000 alive. His wife and friends advised him to seek safety in Canada, but he refused, saying: "I will stand my ground. Somebody must die in this cause. I may be doomed to the stake and fire or the scaffold tree, but it is not in me to falter if I can promote the work of emancipation."

It is probable that a few thousand copies of the *Appeal* were distributed in the South. A white printer in Milledgeville, Ga., Elijah H. Burritt, was accused in 1830 of introducing the work into the



RAFFLE. Pre-Civil War poster announcing raffle in which grand prize is a horse and a young female slave.

state and was forced to flee for his life.

The *Appeal* does not pull punches. It devastatingly attacks Thomas Jefferson, slaveowner and third president of the United States, for his belief in the innate mental inferiority of black people as put forth in his *Notes on Virginia*.

David Walker was a deeply religious man, but his interpretation of Christianity was not the type that rendered him servile or resigned to his people's condition. The hypocrisy and cruelty of white Christian America was exposed in his *Appeal* in such stinging words as these:

Stinging Words

"See the hundreds of thousands of us that are thrown into the seas by the Christians, and murdered by them in other ways. They cram us into their vessel holds in chains and in handcuffs — men, women and children, all together! Oh! Save us we pray thee, thou God of heaven and of earth, from the devouring hands of the white Christians! . . . I saw a paragraph, a few years since, in a South Carolina paper, which, speaking of the barbarity of the Turks, said: 'The Turks are the most barbarous people in the world — they treat the Greeks more like brutes than human beings.' And in the same paper was an advertisement, which said: 'Eight well-built Virginia and Maryland Negro fellows and four wenches will positively be sold this day, to the highest bidder.'"

"And what astonished me still

more was, to see in this same humane paper, the cuts [pictures] of three men . . . and an advertisement offering a considerable sum of money for their apprehension and delivery."

Traitors among blacks did not escape his wrath. He says in the *Appeal*: "There have been and are at this day in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore colored men who are in league with tyrants, and who receive a great portion of their daily bread, of the moneys which they acquire, from the blood and tears of their more miserable brethren whom they scandalously delivered into the hands of our natural enemies."

On the subject of self-defense he was very plain. Referring to an escape attempt by slaves, he wrote: "If you commence make sure work, do not trifle . . . It is no more harm for you to kill a man who is trying to kill you, than it is for you to take a drink of water when thirsty; in fact the man who will stand still and let another murder him, is worse than an infidel and if he has common sense ought not to be pitied."

A Revolutionary

Walker's approach was both revolutionary and international. "If the abomination were rightly understood, one continual cry would be raised in all parts of the confederacy and would cease only with the complete overthrow of the system of slavery in every part of the country," he wrote. And in replying to a free Negro who expressed satisfaction with his condition, Walker said: "I advance it therefore to you not as problematical, but as an unshaken and forever immovable fact, that your full glory and happiness, as well as all other colored people under heaven, shall never be fully consummated but with the entire emancipation of your enslaved brethren all over the world."

There are many valuable lessons to be learned by today's freedom fighters from David Walker's *Appeal*. In its pages traitors and true black leaders are spoken of and their counterparts are easily recognizable today. The Tshombes, Schuylers and Judases like Patrolman Raymond Wood were in America before the civil war. Malcolm X's uncompromising stand, Robert Williams' advocacy of self-defense and his revolutionary publication, *The Crusader*, are examples of 20th century reincarnations of the spirit of Walker, Nat Turner and other black militants of pre-Civil War days.

Questions and Answers About Socialism

[In this column we will try to answer questions about socialism and Marxism. If you have a question you would like to see taken up in this column, please send it in. Comments and criticism are welcome.]

How would a workers government or a socialist government handle the problem of voting rights in the South?

The right to vote is so fundamental that any truly democratic government would take steps to guarantee it.

A workers or socialist government would not fool around with this question. It would use all of the power at its command to remove any obstacles to voting rights for all.

I don't think new laws are needed for this purpose. The old laws will do — if they are enforced. The big business government doesn't want to enforce its own Constitution. But a socialist government would enforce the present Constitution's provisions on voting — quickly, decisively and without reservation.

Those who obstruct anybody's exercise of the right to vote would be punished severely. They would be arrested and tried for violating the Constitution, whether they were registrars or sheriffs or governors. If martial law were needed, it would be declared. The victims of the violators would be deputized and organizations like the Deacons for Defense and Justice would be encouraged, to help create a new atmosphere — deadly hostile to all the racists.

It wouldn't take one year to establish the right to vote — by any government that really wanted to.

— Clifton DeBerry

In terms of social struggle, it seems to me that the American people are the most backward in the world. What have they ever done, contributed or invented anyway?

A full answer would take a book. Let us mention only two recent "inventions" of great promise and considerable ingenuity: the Deacons and the teach-ins.

The Deacons for Defense and Justice are an organization created by previously unknown, "ordinary" Negroes in the South to meet a very urgent need. Racists use violence and terror against the civil rights movement, and the government does nothing to protect the victims of this violence.

So, quietly, without fanfare, a grass-roots movement has organized itself to protect them.

The Deacons have arisen because the government refuses to do the job that is required, and because the traditional civil rights organizations lack the vision or the courage to do what needs to be done.

The teach-ins are another device created because the traditional groups (in the peace and anti-war movements) were lagging behind the possibilities.

The first teach-in at the University of Michigan was supposed to be a one-day withdrawal from class by teachers and students. When the press and state officials raised a howl about the proposed "strike," the initiators changed their plans and gave a new form to their movement of protest against the war in Vietnam. And because this new form was particularly suited to certain campus moods and methods, it proved more effective than the proposed "strike" would have been and spread to campuses all over the country.

The over-all social atmosphere in the U.S. is not as conducive to social struggle today as it was, say in the thirties and forties, or as it is in some other countries in the sixties. But historically, mass ingenuity here ranks favorably with that in other countries; and advanced technology here will ultimately be felt in the area of class struggle too.

— Alex Harte

How many socialist or communist internationals have there been, and what are their dates?

The International Workingmen's Association, or First International, was formed in 1864 and dissolved in 1877. Its principal political leader, and the author of many of its key documents, was Karl Marx.

The Second International was organized in 1889. Key figures in its early leadership were Friedrich Engels and Karl Kautsky. It virtually collapsed because of its opportunist support of the first World War. Its present day successor is called the Labor and Socialist International.

The Communist, or Third International, was organized under the leadership of V. I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky in 1919. After degenerating into an apologist for Stalin's foreign policy, it was formally dissolved in 1943.

The World Party of Socialist Revolution, or Fourth International, was formed under Trotsky's leadership, in 1938, and still functions.

—Alex Harte

IF SHARKS WERE PEOPLE

By Bertolt Brecht

[Bertolt Brecht (1898-1956), German poet, playwright and Marxist, is best known in America for the *Threepenny Opera* song, "Mack the Knife." The following parable is translated by Linda Becker from Brecht's 1948 book, *Calendar Tales*.]

"If sharks were people," Mr. K[euner] was asked by his landlady's little daughter, "would they then be nicer to the little fishes?"

"Of course," he replied. "If sharks were people, they would have great big boxes built in the sea for the little fishes, with all kinds of food inside, plants as well as bits of meat. They would take care that the boxes always had fresh water, and they would pay special attention to sanitary conditions. For example, if a little fish injured a fin, he would be bandaged up immediately, so the shark shouldn't lose him through his premature death."

"To keep the little fishes from moping, great water festivals would be held from time to time,

because cheerful little fishes taste better than moping ones.

"Naturally, there would also be schools in the big boxes. In these schools the little fishes would learn how to swim into the jaws of the sharks. They would, for example, need geography lessons, so they could find the places where the big sharks were lazily waiting.

Little Fishes Fight

"Most important, of course, would be the moral training of the little fishes. They would be taught that of all things great and fine, the greatest is a little fish's joyful self-sacrifice, and that they must all have faith in the sharks, especially when they promise a shining future. That future could only be guaranteed, they would be taught, by learning obedience. The little fishes would have to beware of all low, materialistic, egoistic, and Marxist leanings, and immediately inform the sharks of any little fishes who betrayed such leanings."

"If sharks were people, naturally they would wage war on each other, to conquer foreign fish-

boxes and foreign little fishes. They would let their own little fishes fight the wars.

"They would teach the little fishes that there is an enormous difference between them and the little fishes of other sharks. Everybody knows that little fishes can't talk, the sharks would declare, but they are mute in altogether different languages and are absolutely incapable of understanding each other."

"On every little fish in the war who killed a few other little fishes, little enemy fishes, mute in another language, they would stick a little seaweed medal and confer the title of Hero."

"If sharks were people, they naturally would also have Art. There would be beautiful paintings of the sharks' teeth, in gorgeous colors, portraying their jaws as real amusement parks in which to have fun."

"The theaters on the bottom of the sea would show heroic little fishes swimming enthusiastically into the sharks' jaws, and the music would be so beautiful that under the influence of its sound

the little fishes, led by the musicians and lulled into the most delightful musings, would stream dreamily into the sharks' jaws.

"There would also be religion, if sharks were people. They would preach that the little fish's true life begins only inside the shark's belly."

Little Fish Officials

"Moreover, the present equality of little fishes would come to an end, if sharks were people. Some of them would be made officials and placed over the others. Those who were a little bigger would even be allowed to gobble up the smaller ones. That would only please the sharks, for then they themselves would more often get larger morsels to gobble. And the bigger little fishes, those holding official positions, would be responsible for keeping order among the fish, becoming teachers, army officers, box-construction engineers, etc."

"In short, for the very first time there would begin to be civilization in the sea, if sharks were people."

Back in Print

Uneven and Combined Development In History

By William F. Warde

60c

Pioneer Publishers
5 East Third St.
New York, N.Y., 10003

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.]

Lesson of '64 Election

Detroit, Mich.
The vast bulk of disenchanted liberals and progressives have been given the Judas Kiss by the Johnson administration. Like many other temporarily blinded liberals,

10 Years Ago In The Militant

NAACP FACES CRUCIAL CHOICE AT CONVENTION — The 46th Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will meet in Atlantic City June 21-26 under very different circumstances than last year's convention. As an editorial in the June 10 *Kansas City Call* remarks:

"Last year this time, we thought the day for filing suits to end segregated schools was over. The Supreme Court had spoken. Our thoughts turned to other areas such as housing and public accommodations."

Unfortunately, this proved to be wishful thinking. The historic victory of the Negro people, recorded in the May 17, 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in schools unconstitutional, was followed by a year of bitter strife between white supremacists and opponents of segregation. The racists showed determination to retain in practice what they had lost in the legal battle.

And then, in its May 31, 1955, ruling, the Supreme Court threw its weight on the side of the Jim Crow forces. Under this ruling segregated schools can continue to exist for an indefinite number of years. How long it will be depends to a great extent on the kind of desegregation campaign the NAACP maps out at this convention. — June 20, 1955.

20 Years Ago

AUTO CONFERENCE URGES STRIKE VOTE. Detroit, June 14 — More than 400 top local officers, representing over 400,000 CIO auto workers of Regions 1 and 1A, Detroit, at a conference held this afternoon at the Local 157 UAW-CIO hall, voted overwhelmingly to take industry-wide strike action to break the wage-freezing Little Steel formula.

This conference is one of a series of regional meetings called by the UAW International at the insistence of the local union presidents who a month ago demanded this opportunity to discuss and change the present do-nothing policy of the leadership.

Roused by the drastic cutbacks, smaller pay checks as the result of the reduced work week, growing mass unemployment in the face of price increases readily granted by the OPA, the huge profits guaranteed to the big-business hogs, the workers in shops are clamoring for action.

The entire delegation, including those opposed to his policies, gave UAW vice-president Richard Frankensteen who is running for mayor of Detroit this fall, a rousing ovation. The auto workers are tired of having their union support a "friend of labor" and are looking forward to campaigning for a union brother. — June 23, 1945.

this writer voted last November for Lyndon Johnson in the fear that Senator Goldwater had the remotest chance of winning the election. During the campaign Mr. Johnson scored Goldwater's so-called platform on Vietnam and pledged that an escalation of the war and bombings in the North were out of the question. Present actions seem to indicate that while Goldwater may have lost the election, his foreign policy (if it can be called that) carried the day!

The heavy hand of repression and reaction has been leveled by this administration in both Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. To protect the business interests of entrenched economic dictators, this country has seen fit to sacrifice the lives of countless American youths. The return of the "Big Stick" and "gunboat diplomacy" portends a reckless and irresponsible foreign policy of this Gutless Society. Quite plainly, the majority of liberals in this country have been taken. This is not to say that the "game is over." Far from it! Lyndon Johnson may have been able to buy most things in his life, but he cannot afford the ire of a truly awakened American citizenry. This is the duty of the liberals: to awaken the people to the true intent of the administration in its dealings with smaller and weaker countries. For if liberals made Lyndon Johnson they can also break him.

We must increase the militancy of the numerous "teach-ins" and encourage the courageous politicians like Senators Morse and Gruening to continue the fight. We must rip the mask of hypocrisy off the smug face of the present administration and reveal the lies behind that false mask. In disgust I must state that last November I wasted my vote for the presidency of the United States. The vain notion of the "lesser of two evils theory" was an absurdity and a clever ruse to gather in the votes of the millions of voters who were hysterical at the thought of Barry Goldwater in the White House. Notice will be served on Lyndon Johnson that both his "wheeling and dealing" as well as his vaunted "consensus" are ready for the mothballs. The Great Society has now become the Great Hoax!

Richard M. Woodruff

A Financial and Moral Boost

New York, N.Y.
Enclosed is the \$5 for *The Militant* fund which we pledged from the Students Against Social Injustice.

The Militant is not only militant but truthful. It gives the public information and coverage on vital issues which we never read about in the "responsible" American press.

Yours for a socialist society,
Billy Kochiyama
Chairman, SASI

A Steel Union Meeting

Chicago, Ill.
Between 800 and 1,000 members attended a special meeting of my union, Local 65 of the United Steelworkers; the hall was packed — flowing to the corridor outside the hall where people were standing. The president gave an excellent chronology of the negotiations, from the time the members of the Wage-Policy Committee were called to Pittsburgh to vote to extend the present contract four

months. He gave a scorching condemnation of the executive board (International) and members of the Wage-Policy Committee. He said they had voted against the best interest of the steelworkers and that every steelworker in the hall would suffer because of that extension; and that they had said they were going to break the back of the steel corporation but in fact they hadn't even bent a vertebra. He said other industries had gotten 25 to 45 cents and all we asked was the 3.2 percent increase recommended as a wage guide by the government and couldn't even get that.

He discussed the super profits of Steel and said that the time to strike was May 1 — that the companies had not the inventories claimed, but in four months they would and the union would be at a very bad disadvantage.

Our president and the president of Local 1033, Republic Steel, had tried to caucus with others to vote against it. They thought they had enough votes but when it came time to vote they had no backbone and voted for it — and against what he believed to be in the best interest of the steelworker they were supposed to be representing.

The need for the right to strike was discussed by the chairman of the grievance committee of Republic Steel. He said we needed the right to strike, after reasonable effort had been made to settle grievances. This also got a cheer from the members.

I would say that the opinion of most steelworkers here was that we should have struck May 1.

There is some disillusionment with Abel — although some rationalized and said Abel couldn't do much till he took office. They talk about the promises Abel made during the election. They also express the need to get the 11½ cents now in cash.

A.R.

African Nationalist View

Philadelphia, Pa.

You have a fine and most informative organ which I find highly indispensable. I am myself an African nationalist, American-born but well informed about the culture and history of my people. I too, like most nationalists, hated whites, and many I still do. Some I've learned to respect because of their honesty, simplicity and fair play. But even they, I realize, are limited in their understanding of us historically as well as culturally and of the survival of the varying cultural patterns. It has been largely due to my reading, along with some of our more enlightened brothers, the theoretical and philosophical works of your "mentor," Karl Marx, that we have come to understand better the plague of our people. We truly appreciate such realistic scholars in world history as Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Also, I think Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung should be included.

The works of these men have been of immense value and important guides in our current approach to evaluating world problems and the Afro-American's role in the scheme of things.

Formerly, I will admit, I found it difficult to understand your publications and what socialism, its philosophy and theory, fundamentally aimed at. Thanks to Marx and you of the fine *Militant* editorial staff, we (nationalists) have been provided with a brilliant light into the essences of things. And, as they say in Harlem among my colleagues, "Roll on." Expose these evils, burn these swine out of the last strongholds where they're struggling desperately to remain entrenched.

Reader

P.S. In the above statement "hated whites and still do," this does not exclude some blacks as

well. For, having gained a Marxist understanding, I find them in their petty attitudes equally disgusting and repulsive.

Disliked Ramparts Reprint

Dorchester, Mass.

That *Ramparts* reprint ["An open letter to Johnson"] on the front page of the *Militant*! For anyone with a more radical attitude towards society, their liberal satire has all the bite of a meatball. Their basic tone and assumption is that all the masses of the world won't take to revolution to solve their problems. The assumption of *The Militant* is quite the opposite (I thought) and as revolutionary socialists, you defend that right.

The American environment is sickening enough in its attempts to disguise class antagonisms and now religious antagonisms. Please don't join the ecumenical movement! We workers don't even care if Cardinal Cushing does finally decide to approve birth control pills!

While it is indeed tempting to get excited over certain elements in the Catholic Church and laity who are making a determined effort today to bridge the gap from feudalism to bourgeois liberalism, a good part of humanity has already declared both systems passé. The fact that Catholic liberalism has a little more punch than the older brands can be credited to its newness on a large scale.

The law of uneven and combined development works here as everywhere else. In addition, liberal Catholicism is reviving the social ideas it received from the Jewish religion at a time when it cannot decide whether or not to forgive the Jews for killing Christ, although it is certain it cannot forgive them or anyone else for reading *The Deputy*.

Phyllis Sawyer

It Was Reported in the Press

They Work Good in Peasant Villages — A Pentagon spokesman assured a House subcommittee that despite the development of fantastic new weapons, "we have no plans to get rid of the bayonet."

Obscenity Defined — A group of students at the University of California in Berkeley have been given sentences of 10 to 60 days for holding aloft posters with obscene words on the campus. According to the May issue of *The Realist*, one student prepared a placard which declared: "In the name of morality and public decency, we demand immediate action against the use of the following obscene words: Overkill; Nappalm; Free world; Escalation; Clean bomb; Loyalty oath; The national interest; Pacification; Nigger; Moderation; Gradual; Defoliation; Megadeaths; Negotiations from strength."

Gourmet Fare — New York's Women's House of Detention, a target of mounting protest over its scandalous conditions and treatment of prisoners, was the subject of a recent symposium at Judson Memorial Church. The sole speaker to defend the prison was Rev. Laurence Gibney, Catholic chaplain of the city's prison system.

He offered the rather startling revelation that not only the inmates, but the inmates' parents, "by and large, love Anna Kross," the head of the city's jails. Rebutting a criticism of the prison food, he further revealed: "Pig jowls and cole slaw is the favorite dish of many of the girls..."

Men's Fashion Tip — Alexander Shields, who operates a group of swank men's apparel shops, has settled a question that has caused us many a sleepless night. He flatly declares: "Abercrombie and Fitch say socks should match the necktie, but that's old-fashioned. Ties should match the shoes."

That Homey American Touch — "You can't say that La Grenouille restaurant isn't a home away from home. When Mrs. Lytle Hull came in yesterday, she was wearing

sports clothes and followed sedately by a maid carrying a hat box. The party marched to the back of the restaurant and returned a few minutes later with Mrs. Hull in a pretty print dress and the maid carried away her sport clothes in the hat box." — Eugenia Sheppard in the *New York Herald Tribune*.

Progress Report — A June 8 London dispatch to the *New York Times* reported: "Queen Elizabeth II solved a big problem for a select few today by announcing that new knights could be called 'sir' as soon as the award of their title was announced. Previously they had to wait, sometimes for months, until the honor was conferred in an investiture ceremony at Buckingham Palace."

—Harry Ring

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Thought for the Week

"Anybody who wants any legislation buys it with cold, cold cash. I don't mean you go up to a Senator and ask him if he'd like to make \$5,000 by voting for your bill. That's out today. So are breads and booze. What you do is arrange to meet him somewhere... You don't tell him what you want. He knows. You tell him you understand he has a tough campaign coming up — or he has had a tough campaign — and you'd like to help cover the costs. Then you leave an envelope with the cash in it." — A veteran Washington lobbyist explaining to the *New York Herald Tribune* how to get things done on Capitol Hill.

DeBerry Gives Views At Harlem OAAU Rally

By Howard Sachs

NEW YORK — Shouts of "that's right!" and applause interrupted Clifton DeBerry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, as he addressed a public forum on June 13 sponsored by the Organization of Afro-American Unity. DeBerry spoke on a panel to an audience of 75 people, mostly Negroes, at the Hotel Theresa in Harlem.

DeBerry said that the American Way of Life was permeated by racism in every sphere. Racism would exist here as long as capitalism does, the candidate declared.

Lashing out at the government's hypocrisy in justifying its lack of support of the Negro struggle for equality on the grounds of insufficient legal jurisdiction, he reminded the audience that the government didn't wait for laws to be passed when it invaded Vietnam and the Dominican Republic.

DeBerry criticized the strategy of those who were active in civil rights and antiwar protests, but who at the same time voted for the Democratic Party, which is responsible for the perpetuation of war and racism.

The SWP spokesman explained that the Montgomery bus boycott in 1956 refuted the idea that black people cannot lead their own struggles. He pointed out that in Montgomery, black people organized a movement which involved the entire Negro community of 50,000 in a well-organized and successful protest.

An important lesson of the Montgomery boycott, DeBerry said, was that it represented a united movement of the Negro community. He called for a similar unity among civil rights fighters today. Independent political action by black people should be combined with the tactics of direct action, the candidate asserted.

Besides DeBerry, the panel included Selma Sparks, one of the editors of *Challenge*, and Bill Strickland, director of the Northern Student Movement. Conrad Lynn, civil rights attorney, moderated.

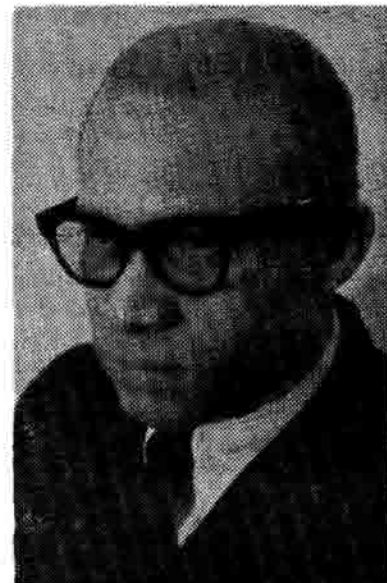
Selma Sparks noted that if cap-

italism has done an unsatisfactory job, socialism has thus far been the only system capable of replacing it. DeBerry said that socialism was the only system capable of resolving the problems of oppressed people in all parts of the world, and that the capitalist rulers of this country could not allow full employment, decent wages, or an end to police brutality.

NEW YORK — About 80 people attended the all-day conference on "New Views on Current Issues" held by the Harlem Freedom School at their headquarters in Harlem on June 12.

Clifton DeBerry, SWP candidate for mayor, participated in one of the panels, titled "Political Action, 1965." Also on the panel were Percy Sutton, Democratic state assemblyman, and Dorothy Jones, educational consultant.

DeBerry explained that Negroes do not have to accept the futility of trying to improve the lot of black people by supporting the Democratic Party. They can and should take the road of independent political action to win some political power, and thereby changes, for themselves.



Clifton DeBerry

Himmel at Wayne University Urges Vote Against U.S. Wars

DETROIT — Three candidates for city office addressed Wayne State University students on June 8 at a meeting sponsored by the Wayne State Young Socialist Alliance. They were Robert Himmel, candidate for mayor, and Rev. Albert B. Cleage and Jackie Vaughn III, both candidates for city council.

Himmel has been endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance and is running openly as a socialist candidate despite the "non-partisan" character of the city election.

Rev. Cleage was 1964 Freedom Now Party candidate for Michigan governor, although he later dropped out of activity and is no longer prominently associated with that party. Vaughn is a former state chairman of the Michigan Young Democrats.

Both Vaughn and Rev. Cleage stressed the need for Negro representation on the city council, which has no Negro members. They put themselves forward as representatives only of the Negro community, not of "all the people."

All three speakers demanded a civilian police review board to help combat police brutality against Negroes. Himmel added to the demand for a review board,

the need for the community to organize in its own defense. "No institution will solve the problem by itself," he stated, "but block patrols can keep cops and other parasites under constant surveillance and force them to act right."

Himmel emphasized the need for independent political action. Fully supporting the student-teacher anti-Vietnam War movement, he pointed out that "The important thing is to recognize that the ruling class exercises its power politically, through control of the Democratic and Republican parties."

Height of Foolishness

"It is the height of folly," he said, "to run yourselves ragged campaigning for Lyndon Johnson and then equally ragged protesting his policies in Vietnam. It is equally foolish to beat the bushes for Mayor Cavanagh and then spend the next four years marching around in front of police stations protesting the actions of his cops."

Himmel pointed out that a "protest campaign" at this time can point the way toward overcoming mere protest, through building an independent political movement which can "attack the base of the power structure and transform the whole fabric of our society."

Chicagoans Wage Campaign Against Biased School Head

By Jim Marshall

[The following is an account of the first two days of the recent demonstrations in Chicago against school segregation.]

CHICAGO — At the call of the NAACP and other groups, Chicago civil rights fighters have marched through the streets for two days protesting the rehiring of school superintendent Benjamin C. Willis. As the most stubborn defender of the segregationist neighborhood school system, Willis has come to represent Northern-style Jim Crow in this city.

The protestors were also demonstrating against a circuit court injunction obtained by the Board of Education banning a boycott of schools set previously by the NAACP for June 10 and 11.

The first march was on Thursday, June 10. Organized into a column and marching four abreast, the 300 demonstrators headed downtown from Soldiers Field onto the Outer Drive, one of the city's main highways. On the Drive they joined hands and walked twenty abreast, blocking the entire north-bound highway. Chanting "Willis Must Go!" and "Daley [the mayor] Must Go!" they walked slowly for a mile in the hot summer sun as traffic piled up and the cops circled around them.

Just short of the downtown area they wheeled off onto a side street to stop the south-bound cars. The traffic cops tried to force motorists to plow through the massed demonstrators. One cop became so enraged that he gave a hapless driver a ticket for not riding into the crowd.

At City Hall, a delegation of civil rights leaders, including comedian Dick Gregory and Syd C. Finley, acting executive secretary of the NAACP, went inside



Dick Gregory

to meet with Mayor Daley and present their grievances, while the demonstrators sat down outside, completely blocking traffic.

The delegation reported that Daley could not meet them because of an "important groundbreaking ceremony." The demonstrators decided to march every day until another meeting with "Massa" Daley, as Dick Gregory called him, could be arranged.

The next day over 200 demonstrators assembled at Soldiers Field to hold an hour's rally. Then the marchers were issued instructions to form ranks of fours and everyone proceeded to the Outer Drive.

This time however, the cops refused to permit blocking of the entire highway, but by prior agreement, allowed the marchers two lanes. Once they came to the

turn-off, even two lanes were too much as far as the cops were concerned and they halted the march at the second intersection.

The cops insisted that the group move over into one lane. They refused because they had been promised two lanes. The march picket captains then ran down the lines instructing everyone to sit down. The sit-down hadn't lasted more than five minutes before police moved into the front ranks to begin arresting people.

Dick Gregory, James Farmer, Syd Finley, and John McDermott were some of the first arrested. Mrs. Bette Johnson, wife of Professor Walter Johnson who teaches history at the University of Chicago, was hit in the mouth so hard that she at first thought she'd lost some teeth. Rev. J. A. Frazer Croker, who attempted to get the badge number of his arresting officer, was shoved into the top of a police van, splitting his head open.

The demonstrators refused to give names and addresses at the central police station, many claiming that they were "Ben Willis" and "Dick Daley."

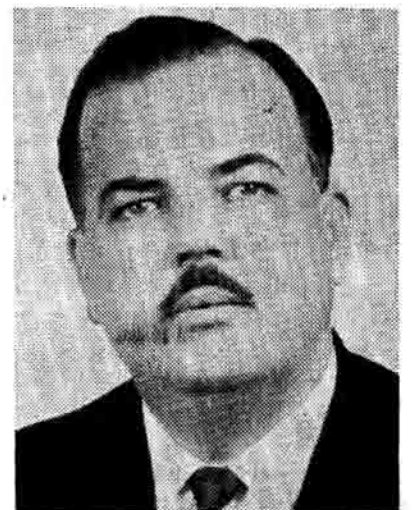
The protestors were detained ten to twelve hours without being fed or allowed to make phone calls. One group of seventy-five demonstrators who were being held outside the judges' chambers, sang so loud and pounded on the tin-lined walls so hard that the judge left and they were allowed into the court room.

N.Y. Puerto Rican Rally Hits Political Jailings

NEW YORK, June 12 — The *Comite Pro-Libertad Presas Politicas* (Committee for Freedom of Political Prisoners) held a march through "Spanish Harlem" today demanding the release of three Puerto Rican women who have been imprisoned for the "crime" of wishing to see their country free.

The march was led by Juan Mari Bras, President of the Puerto Rican Pro-Independence Movement (MPI). Over 100 persons participated. At a meeting culminating the march, the first speaker was José Santos of the New York chapter of MPI.

Santos demanded an end to the exploitation of Puerto Rico and the farcical attempt to assimilate Puerto Ricans into the "Great Society." Hedda Garza of the Socialist Workers Party called for a united struggle against the U.S. wars in Vietnam, the Congo and the Dominican Republic. (The Committee can be contacted at 252 E. 4th Street, Apt. 21, New York, N.Y. 10009).



Juan Mari Bras

Rev. Galamison Jailed in New York For Fighting School Segregation

NEW YORK, June 14 — Rev. Milton Galamison, leader of the Citywide Committee for Integrated Schools, was given a 10-day jail sentence today for leading the boycotts of the "600" schools here last winter.

Brooklyn Family Court Judge Ramsgate initially gave Galamison a suspended sentence but changed his mind, he said, because Galamison had made a "nasty remark." To soothe his liberal conscience, the judge apparently had told Rev. Galamison after the initial sentencing that he, the judge, had "tried to do a good job."

According to *New York Times*

reporter Martin Tolchin, Galamison replied, "I don't think you could have done a worse job if you tried." For this affront, Judge Ramsgate dropped the suspension of sentence and ordered Galamison to jail. Five hours later, however, he was released pending appeal of the decision.

Galamison, who was the chief leader of New York's two massive school boycotts in 1964, began a drive on the "600" schools in January. These schools are designed, according to the authorities, to segregate children who have "interfered with the learning of others."

About 90 percent of the 20,000 students in the 15 so-called schools are Negro or Puerto Rican. They provide a totally inferior education with poor textbooks, inadequate facilities, no curriculum, and untrained teachers.

The boycott campaign was initially highly successful, keeping about 6,000 students out of the schools for several weeks, and causing the "liberal" Democratic city administration no little embarrassment. Parallel Freedom Schools for students who stayed out on the boycott were operated by the Citywide Committee.

Attempting to break the boycott, Wagner subjected Galamison and many of the participants to continual legal harassment including numerous arrests on various trumped-up charges. Subsequent shake-ups in the city school board, however, show that Galamison's drive has already had some effect.



Rev. Milton A. Galamison