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In this issue

Page

The Heroic Defiance of the Dominicans	
-- by Joseph Hansen	2
"Johnson Assassin!" Shout 20,000 in Mexico City	6
Sihlali and Mtshizana Found "Guilty"	8
Repression in Ecuador	8
Bolivia -- A Second Dominican Republic?	9
May Day Message of Bolivian POR	10
Bolivian Trotskyists Call	
for Aid to Dominican People	14
Even Venezuelan Ruling Party	
Tense over Dominican Affair	15
Young German Workers Score U.S. Warmongering	16
Johnson's Society of the Great Lie	17
Official Lies of U.S. Embarrass Reporter	18
Johnson Resumes Bombing	19
Communist Troublemakers Leave for New Assignment	20
Is It Good Taste to Carry a Severed Head?	21
Japanese Unions to Campaign Against Vietnam War	22
China's Second Nuclear Test	22
Cologne Workers Revive May Day Tradition	23
West German Intellectuals Oppose Antidemocratic Law	24
Poison Gas Unloaded in Santo Domingo	24
New Repression in Iran	25
Brezhnev Praises Wrong Man	26
Why Negro Masses Remain Suspicious of American CP	
-- by Evelyn Sell	27

THE HEROIC DEFIANCE OF THE DOMINICANS

By Joseph Hansen

MAY 19 -- The revolutionary fighters of Santo Domingo are writing one of the most heroic chapters in the long blood-stained history of Latin-American resistance to U.S. imperialism.

For five days the humble people in the poorest sectors of Santo Domingo have fought with matchless courage as the professional killers under General Antonio Imbert Barreras and General Elias Wessin y Wessin have carried out a "mopping up" operation under the protection of American tanks and with the active assistance of American General Palmer.

The revolutionists, who call themselves "Constitutionalists," are suffering from hunger, from lack of medical care for their wounded, from shortage of weapons and ammunition. They lack an adequate leadership and are saddled with one that is only too willing to compromise, to procrastinate, to dampen the struggle and to close its eyes to the sinister moves of the Washington butchers. They face merciless counterrevolutionaries who do not hesitate to strafe their own people indiscriminately from the air. They face 30,000 foreign troops occupying their country and the colossal military power of the United States itself, armed to the teeth with the most fiendish instruments of mass murder. And yet they have fought on without respite for the past five days against an attempt to drown their resistance in blood.

Through their heroism, their stubborn refusal to be intimidated by the arrogant foreign aggressor, these humble people, who only want food and a little democracy, have nailed Johnson to the pillory before the eyes of the entire world.

Even if they are crushed by the overwhelming odds assembled against them by the imperialist invader, they have set an example that will inspire all of Latin America and perhaps spark a renewal on a continental scale of the revolutionary upsurge that led to the first great socialist victory in Cuba.

By holding out as long as they have, the revolutionary fighters of Santo Domingo have thrown the Johnson administration into an acute crisis over Latin-American policy. The master plotter in the White House thought he could settle the business in Santo Domingo merely by ordering out the Marines. He knew he could not simply repeat what Theodore Roosevelt did with his "Big Stick." In the world of 1965 it would require a "Great Stick" in fitting proportion to the "Great Society." Johnson ordered out 30,000 troops for the invasion and occupation -- surely more than ten times enough to "pacify" the turbulence in a day or two. The success of the opera-

tion would be justification enough, no matter what its criminality. The cries of outrage would die down quickly, the world would soon forget as attention was diverted elsewhere, and if consciences remained uneasy in sensitive areas the soothing salve of the American dollar would fix this.

It didn't work out as plotted in the White House. The reason is clear. What had occurred in the Dominican Republic was not a coup d'état involving a few military adventurers. A genuine revolution had begun and masses of people, inspired by great aims, were in motion, prepared to die to end the intolerable dictatorship of the Trujillo clique. An aroused people in arms is a potent force, as the example of this tiny speck in the Caribbean is proving once again. Let American imperialism look at Santo Domingo and tremble!

At the moment the American game seems shot through with contradictions. Some of the shrewdest observers are wondering. With the demand for the resignation first of General Wessin y Wessin and then the resignation of General Imbert, has Johnson suddenly switched his line? Has he decided to support a government headed by Antonio Guzman, a close friend of Juan Bosch? Is that why he sent a top team of advisers -- McGeorge Bundy, Cyrus R. Vance, Thomas C. Mann, and Jack Hood Vaughn -- to Santo Domingo May 15 for secret conferences with the State Department and Pentagon representatives on the scene? But if Johnson is suddenly "reversing the gears" as the New York Times puts it, why is General Palmer still placing the troops under his command at the service of the counterrevolutionaries?

The Paris daily Le Monde speculated editorially today, "Are the White House and the State Department really in command over the military?" Le Monde's correspondent Marcel Niedergang, whose eyewitness accounts of the events are of top quality, notes "unmistakable differences between the civilians of the embassy and the military men in command of the American troops in the intervention." The analogy here is with the "ultras" in the French army command who refused to heed the civilian authorities when a retreat was sounded in Algeria and who even organized open defiance in their frenetic desire to continue the war against the Algerians.

This sounds premature for the American officer caste. The more likely explanation is simpler.

Because of the incapacity of the counterrevolutionaries to put down the beginning revolution swiftly, the White House scheme could not be put through on schedule. The puppet forces were altogether too weak and too demoralized by their defeat.

By their resistance, the Dominican people gained invaluable time. They also demonstrated that an operation utilizing American troops with massive equipment would have signified a blood bath of fearful proportions.

Still worse, hundreds of millions of people throughout the world, including the American voters, now had their eyes on the island. It was no longer possible to carry out a swift crime in relative obscurity. The mass murder would have to be carried out in broad daylight, with the biggest audience of all time watching every move.

As protest demonstrations began breaking out over all of Latin America and elsewhere in the world, Johnson had little choice but to assume the posture of "neutrality." Thus the "cease-fire," the "attempted negotiations," the theatrical moves to find a "new government acceptable to both sides," the going and coming of diplomats connected with the Organization of American States, the United Nations, the Catholic hierarchy, and the final agreement by the State Department, the White House, the Dominican businessmen and bourgeoisie -- and Caamaño -- on a government headed by Guzman, an agreement, however, which the counterrevolutionaries rejected.

While these diversionary political and diplomatic moves were being carried out, another sequence on a different level was occurring.

The "government" of General Imbert was proclaimed May 7. "The belief in Santo Domingo," says The Economist [May 15], "is that, before he took over, General Imbert had gone through several days of political briefing on the American aircraft carrier Boxer."

The belief seems to be well founded. Like General Wessin y Wessin, he pays little attention to the lying press releases issued by the State Department, including those about his "resignation." His troops pay just as little attention. One reason is that the State Department gave them \$750,000 to play around with, and that's the language that has real meaning in these circles.

The American troops under General Palmer set up an "international" line that in fact split the areas held by the Constitution-
alists into two zones. When people cross this line, they are forced through check points. They are questioned in the presence of military representatives of the counterrevolutionary Imbert. Thus they cannot cross carrying their arms. If they are "suspected" they are arrested. If they have bruises on their shoulders that might come from the recoil of a gun they are arrested.

The counterrevolutionary troops were rearmed and reorganized by the Americans after they were defeated by the armed civilians. Then they were "unleashed" for the present "mopping up" operation.

In their current attempt to take the sectors held by the armed people, American helicopters have brought supplies and arms for the counterrevolutionaries as they advanced. The helicopters likewise radio the positions of targets to the counterrevolutionaries.

All this has been reported by correspondents on the scene. Photographs have been published showing the counterrevolutionaries fighting shoulder to shoulder with American troops. The universal testimony is that the State Department is lying when it says that the Americans are "neutral."

The plan is evidently to crush the so-called "rebels" by armed force, to accomplish this through the services of the counter-revolutionary generals and their troops under the shield of the American occupation forces while claiming "neutrality."

In the process some diplomatic formula will be reached to cover up the operation and perhaps even the most compromised counter-revolutionary generals will be sacrificed. Perhaps some concessions in the shape of figureheads in a "coalition" government will be granted to the Bosch forces. But the real aim -- to suppress the Dominican people by military force -- this Johnson intends to carry through.

Describing the "magnificent resistance of the popular militia of Colonel Caamaño," Marcel Niedergang has reported some dramatic scenes. The troops following "prudently behind the tanks" as they advance into the very poor and very heavily populated areas of the city "are constantly caught in the violent fire of the civilian comandos. Boys fifteen years old are firing away at the side of the workers." The casualties are very heavy on both sides, mounting into the hundreds.

A truce requested by the Red Cross May 17 in order to take away the dead and wounded was refused by General Imbert because of the "satisfactory progress of his troops."

In the "smoking ruins" of the areas under attack, "the energy of despair" has been displayed by the people and they have managed to drive back the counterrevolutionaries several times. It is a "pitiless and bloody struggle, proceeding street by street, house by house." As the tanks proceed, they push over the houses in their path, thus driving out the defendants. "The counterrevolutionary forces, with considerable material superiority, are able to get reinforcements and in addition have logistic support from the Americans. The popular militia display great courage and complete disdain of death."

"And everywhere, likewise louder and louder, a single cry stands out over all the others. It is the cry, shouted by men, women and children. 'Hambre, Hambre! No somos comunistas! Tenemos hambre! [Hunger, hunger! We are not Communists. We are hungry!]"

In his latest dispatch, Niedergang quotes the appeal made by Caamaño over the radio May 18: an "appeal for help" to "all the nations in the world."

"JOHNSON ASSASSIN!" SHOUT 20,000 IN MEXICO CITY

Mexico City saw its biggest demonstration in years when 20,000 demonstrators, mostly students accompanied by faculties and secondary-school teachers, poured through the center of the city in a bitter protest against the U.S. occupation of Santo Domingo and U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

They ended their march with a rally in front of the Juarez monument in Alameda Park where they burned a ten-foot effigy of Uncle Sam and a large American flag.

The American embassy was protected by hundreds of police throughout the demonstration and during the night. As an extra precaution, in view of the recent bombing of the American consulate in Montreal, the building was emptied at 5:30 p.m., an early hour in Mexico City.

The government granted a permit for the march on condition that the demonstrators stay away from the area of the American embassy. The condition was observed by the leaders and they headed off several surges among parts of the huge throng toward the forbidden area where steel-helmeted police stood four deep on the embassy lawn, backed by two fire trucks and busloads of reinforcements armed with rifles and tear-gas guns.

"If we were to take our people to the embassy, we would be taking them to suicide," one student leader said.

The march was very well organized. Along a 35-block route into the heart of the downtown area, contingents poured in at pre-selected points, massing in Avenida Juarez at the climax.

At the head of the parade a single man marched carrying a Dominican flag. Sample slogans among the sea of placards and banners following him read: "Johnson: History Will Call You Assassin!" "Today, Vietnam and Santo Domingo, Tomorrow Mexico!" "Yankees, Remember the Alamo!" "Let Us Be Active Today, Not Radioactive Tomorrow!" The slogan, "Yankee, Go Home!" could be seen everywhere. A huge banner carried but two eloquent words, "Yankee Murderers!"

The chief theme of the march was: "Mexico, Get Out of the O.A.S.!" But stress was also put on Vietnam.

It was a boisterous, shouting march that began at six p.m. and lasted all evening to the light of burning torches. One of the chants called the Organization of American States, "The Ministry of Colonies."

A verse, well known in Latin America, brought in the Cuban note: "Fidel, Fidel, Qué Tiene Fidel, Que Los Americanos No Pueden

Con El?" ["Fidel, Fidel, What Has He Got, that the Americans Can't Cope with Him?"] The students varied this by changing the subject's name from Fidel to "Caamaño," the leader of the Dominican Constitutionalists who are seeking to end the Trujillo dynasty once and for all.

Occasionally there was a massed shout of "Paredón!" This was the cry of the Cuban people when they caught the butchers of the Batista regime and demanded that they be stood up to the wall before a firing squad.

A contingent of Mexico's Communist Youth organization carried a tall banner with the face of Lincoln painted on it and draped in black crepe. The legend read: "Lincoln Is Dead, Johnson Killed Him in the Dominican Republic."

The crowd was so huge and noisy that the voices of the speakers could scarcely be heard beyond the front ranks even with the help of bullhorns. Every phrase of their savage denunciations of American imperialism nevertheless drew immense applause. The students improvised by hooking up the battery of an automobile. The speakers were still drowned out. The crowd was more interested in voicing its own disapproval of the U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic and bombing of Vietnam than in listening to speakers who they knew would only echo their own sentiments. Finally a battery of loud-speakers was wheeled in and the main speakers roasted U.S. imperialist policy.

The last speaker was José Natividad Rosales, one of the leading writers of the left-wing magazine Siempre. He called the U.S. "a second Rome" and the Mexican people "its vassals."

It was his job to bring the demonstration to a close. He had some trouble in this, for although the crowd declined in size as night drew on, the enthusiasm rose if anything. Twice the speaker called for the singing of the Mexican National Anthem and twice the crowd drowned him out with bellowing "Noes." Rosales went on speaking rather frantically for a time and then tried again.

At last the crowd acquiesced and the chorus of the song swelled up over the flickering torches carried by the demonstrators.

American tourists who witnessed the demonstration were deeply impressed.

A Mr. R.H. Sawyer from San Francisco told an American reporter, "But this whole Dominican affair looks more serious than we thought it was."

A Miss Caroline Stacy from New York said, "We've never seen anything like this before."

The march was also something for the White House to consider. In recent years, Mexico has been regarded by U.S. imperialism as one of the safer bastions of capitalism in Latin America.

SIHLALI AND MTSHIZANA FOUND "GUILTY"

As was to be expected under the apartheid system of justice in South Africa, Port Elizabeth Regional Magistrate's Court, which heard the cases of Leo L. Sihlali and Louis L. Mtshizana April 26 and 28, automatically declared the two political oppositionists "guilty."

Sihlali, former president of the Unity Movement of South Africa, was given a sentence of two and a half years. Mtshizana, former chairman of the East London Branch of the Society of Young Africa (which is affiliated to the Unity Movement), was sentenced to four and a half years.

They were charged under the notorious "Suppression of Communism Act" and also with trying to leave the prison house of South Africa without official permission.

Their "crime" was to leave their respective home towns to which they had been banned. On February 20 they were arrested near Koster in the Transvaal. Various specific charges were listed against them, including absenting themselves from their magisterial districts without authority, communicating with another banned person, failing to report to the police in compliance with their banning orders, and attempting to leave South Africa without a valid passport.

Both men had been placed under a five-year ban because of their political views and Sihlali was placed under house arrest in addition. Under South Africa's banning system, victims are required to stay within a specified circumscribed area, quarantine themselves from the rest of society and report regularly to the police.

Sihlali is the father of four children, Mtshizana of three.

REPRESSION IN ECUADOR

In reply to a general strike in Guayaquil, the military dictatorship sent in troops May 14. Strike leaders were ordered arrested and a house to house search for them was begun. So popular was the strike that 30 radio stations backed it, as did the Chamber of Commerce.

BOLIVIA -- A SECOND DOMINICAN REPUBLIC?

"The Yankee government wants to make Bolivia a second Dominican Republic!" This was the theme of broadcasts from the radio stations of the Bolivian miners beginning May 16.

The charge followed the exiling of former Vice-President Juan Lechín Oquendo, an influential political figure among the miners. The ruling Military Junta forced Lechín aboard a plane May 15 and sent him to Asunción where he was met by representatives of the Paraguayan dictatorship.

Interior Minister Oscar Quiroga said that Lechín had been exiled because of "present social tension." He alleged that Lechín was connected with "a vast subversive plot of international character planned and financed for several months by internationally known Communist leaders."

As "evidence," Quiroga said Lechín was maintaining "a permanent link with Italian Communist leader Signor Luigi Longo" in a scheme to turn Bolivia into "a new focal point for violence and extermination in the Southern Hemisphere."

Bolivian trade-union leaders ridiculed these charges. They accused the American ambassador and the secret services of the United States with having persuaded the Military Junta to exile Lechín.

In protest, the unions ordered a general strike to begin the following day, Monday May 17, and scheduled demonstrations in La Paz.

Despite the short notice, some 7,000 demonstrators, including workers and students, turned out in response to the call.

The Military Junta, which has been ruling Bolivia since a popular uprising ousted Paz Estenssoro last November, apparently decided to drop its mask of pseudo-leftism and ordered the demonstration to be put down by force. Police went into action. Nineteen were wounded and one killed.

In the mine centers, where the strike paralyzed everything, indignation was reported to be rising swiftly. In certain places the miners were taking hostages, including engineers and administrators. The miners' radio called on the armed union militia to remain vigilant.

The Military Junta then decided to crack down on the unions. Following the demonstration, it decreed a "state of siege," meaning the suspension of all constitutional guarantees and the institution of a naked military dictatorship.

In a still more direct attack, the Junta decreed the "suspension" of all leaders of Bolivia's trade unions and called for new trade-union elections in forty days.

A tense situation thus reigned in the Andean republic as the military heirs of Paz Estenssoro sought to consolidate their grip by giving the Bolivian workers a "whiff of grapeshot."

MAY DAY MESSAGE OF BOLIVIAN POR

[The following is a translation of the May Day message issued by the POR (Partido Obrero Revolucionario -- Revolutionary Workers party, Bolivian section of the Fourth International). It is of exceptional interest because of its anticipation of the political crisis that was to flare up in Bolivia only fifteen days after the document was issued.]

* * *

Comrade Proletarians and Peasants:

Workers of Bolivia:

The International Day of the Workers is being celebrated in 1965 under circumstances that are fateful for the destiny of the working class and the whole nation.

We are commemorating the epic of the martyrs of the proletariat who died in Chicago, at a time when our country, economically and politically, is in a state of total collapse as a result of the infamous ten-years of MNR [Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario] government and its continuators in military uniform, while the bourgeoisie, the reformists and the Christian Democrats argue among themselves, unable to provide any solution whatsoever to the national problems of the masses.

This crisis of the decomposing capitalist regime is being thrust onto the workers. The ruling classes and international finance capital are unloading the burden of their misdeeds onto the shoulders of the workers and peasants, that is, the people.

The government of the military heel has had the audacity to deny any increase in wages. The income of the workers is not rising, but prices are -- and in runaway fashion. The people are condemned to eat only two or three times a week and malnutrition, with its wake of illnesses, is a scourge in the humble homes of the proletariat.

The handing over of Bolivia to Yankee imperialism, carried out by the Paz Estenssoro regime, has been brought to completion by the Military Junta. All the assets of the Bolivian economy, the sources of wealth like gold, oil and minerals have been plundered. Ore bodies like Mutún and Matilde have been handed over to the imperialist companies as well as rich pickings from the nationalized mines. The chairman of Comibol [Corporación Minera de Bolivia, which is in charge of the nationalized mining industry], Colonel Lechín, holds that Comibol should be discontinued, thus preparing for denationalization of the mines.

But North American imperialism demands even more drastic measures to refasten its chains of oppression. It has refused to finance the third phase of the so-called Triangular Plan until the mines are "put in order" in accordance with its conditions. This "order" signifies the use of force and violence against the workers and military occupation of industrial centers and workers areas, as occurred in the oil strike, the suppression of trade-union liberties and the open repression of revolutionary Marxist political tendencies. In short, imperialism demands the application of an ultra-rightist policy, of fascist pattern, as is being applied in Brazil. The Military Junta has been given the mission of consolidating its government either through fraudulent elections or by establishing an actual dictatorship.

In this way, imperialism and its military agents are trying to convert our country into another Puerto Rico, or to repeat the bloody experience of the Congo or of Vietnam. In their anxiety to save themselves and to cover up the rottenness of capitalist society, they cannot respond in any other way to the problems of the country and the needs of the masses.

There Is No Salvation for Capitalism

When imperialism and the Military Junta reject the workers petitions, when they respond to social conflicts by mobilizing the army, when in place of jobs and bread they offer brutal repression, they demonstrate the historic bankruptcy of their regime and their absolute political impotence. They are manifestly undergoing their death agony. There is no possible salvation for capitalism! General Barrientos' verbal gymnastics cannot save the regime of exploitation and misery.

The workers and all the people are living today through the richest experience in the irretrievable and spectacular breakdown of reformist bourgeois politics. The whole structure of capitalist society is cracking and threatens to collapse. Five months ago the Military Junta took over power in order to save the imperialist positions and to contain the insurrection of the masses. In such a short time, this instrument is already worn out and is crumbling without having defeated the masses; and imperialism is desperately

seeking an alternative. But the efforts of the gang of reactionaries and their bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political parties will prove to be in vain. The breakdown of the present social and economic order cannot be counteracted despite the activity of the opportunists, "Christian Democrats," and "nationalist revolutionaries" who have served as a brake on the masses for the past twelve years, and despite the political corpses, resurrected with injections of dollars, who no longer have any influence in the scene today.

Imperialism, along with its economists and advisers, knows that it is condemned to die. But as it nears the grave, it will try through its military rulers to drench the soil of Bolivia with blood, as it is doing today in the fields of Vietnam.

Socialism or Death Is the Battle Cry!

There is no way out in Bolivia under a bourgeois regime. The capitalist policy, dictated by Yankee imperialism, only means misery and death. The military government, like the government of Paz Estenssoro, or any other bourgeois party, will only bring suffering to the Bolivian people. The twelve years of MNR rule and the hundreds of millions of dollars in aid to the country, over which the various bourgeois groups are battling each other for the profits, have demonstrated that all roads to progress in Bolivia are closed off so long as the capitalist regime remains. The bourgeois utopias, advanced too late by the generals, are being dissipated by reality. Because of all this, the only feasible road in Bolivia, a real, concrete, certain road, free of all utopian fantasy, is socialism, with the establishment of a workers and peasants government. Let the slogan of the day, the battle cry for the masses and the people be "Socialism or Death." Socialism to prevent the slaughter being prepared by the Military Junta, socialism against capitalist chaos and anarchy, socialism against unemployment, misery and hunger.

Prepare for the Struggle

In view of this situation and these dangers, it is the duty of revolutionists and leaders of the masses to prepare and to organize the struggle, seizing the initiative away from the Military Junta and the reactionary parties. The Partido Obrero Revolucionario, with the authority and the right derived from its long and vigorous tradition of struggle, as it stands in salute to the martyrs of Chicago and the heroes of the proletarian struggles of Bolivia this May 1, vigorously appeals for a redoubling of energy, the strengthening of the militant unity of the unions preliminary to launching the counteroffensive of the workers against imperialism, its military agents and its rightist and reactionary parties.

In face of the imminent repression and the military mobilization against the industrial centers, the POR raises the slogan of taking up arms, of reorganizing the proletarian militia and armed

peasants. We cannot wait passively until the generals begin shooting. With audacity and courage it is necessary to organize the armed action of the masses to liquidate the forces of the enemy before or during their criminal mobilization. We must not look at armed struggle and civil war as a tragic mishap but as the continuation of the social struggle by other means. We cannot stop to lament the dangers brought to us by imperialism and the Military Junta; it is necessary to overcome these dangers arms in hand, opening the socialist solution to the present crisis.

Forward with the Workers Struggles and Demands!

Neither dangers nor threats must stop us. In face of each obstacle it is necessary to raise the level of struggle. No organization must stop fighting for economic demands. In face of the constant increase in prices, the struggle for a general rise in wages will be the banner of battle. The teachers, factory workers and miners, together with the other sectors of labor, must unify their economic demands for a joint struggle. The firm attitude of the union ranks will activate and carry forward the 38-Point Program of the COB [see World Outlook November 27, 1964, for the program advanced by the Central Obrera Boliviana], sweeping over the leaders who are not organizing the struggle or preparing action, tied as they are to the vices of the bureaucratic school of MNRism.

Intransigent opposition to turning our national wealth over to the foreign monopolies must be the point of departure for the defense of the nationalized mines, expelling from the country the advisory group of the BID, a gang of cynical trustees, and struggling for workers management of these mines.

None of these demands must be given up or modified in face of the danger of military intervention. In each workers conflict the armed workers militia must remain on guard, ready to reply to any provocation whatsoever from the military. This defense work will fuse with the fundamental preparations for attacking the very bases of the fascist military heel. The workers must ready their arms more and more and be prepared to use them despite their vacillating and conciliatory leaders.

The POR calls on the peasants to unmask their bureaucratic leaders who try to tie them to the generals, and to establish a worker-peasant alliance in order to take the direct road to liberation of the peasantry.

Proletarians of Bolivia, Long live the First of May!

Down with the military heel! Death to Yankee imperialism!

Long live the POR and the Fourth International.

Long live the Workers Government.

Hugo González M., Secretary General of the POR.

For the Executive Committee: A. Carvajal
Gabriel Guzmán
E. Sánchez
W. Aldana
Felipe Vázquez
V. Silva

BOLIVIAN TROTSKYISTS CALL FOR AID TO DOMINICAN PEOPLE

[The Bolivian Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Revolutionary Workers party) issued the following statement May 7. The translation is by World Outlook.]

* * *

The Partido Obrero Revolucionario [POR] strongly condemns and denounces the criminal invasion of the territory of the Dominican Republic and the intervention of Yankee imperialism in the internal affairs of that country.

The conduct of President Johnson and his plutocratic camarilla reveals the desperation felt in the imperialist citadel in face of the uncontainable advance of the world revolution. The victorious struggle of the masses on all continents has cornered imperialism, forcing it to take off the democratic mask and to show its true criminal, fascist face. Through force and the use of its Marines, the U.S. is trying to contain the world and Latin-American revolutionary process; but all it is succeeding in doing with its terrorist methods, is to dig the grave in which the Latin-American and world masses will bury it.

The invasion of Santo Domingo to prevent the masses from setting up their own government is a violation of the principles of independence and self-determination of peoples and a grave warning to all of Latin America and especially the socialist Cuba of Fidel Castro. Facing the loss of its domains in Africa and Asia, imperialism is desperately seeking to hang on to Latin America, resorting to violence and mass murder. But the fate of imperialist rule is already settled and no power can prevent its liquidation as a system of exploitation. The advancing revolution will sweep through all the obstacles raised in its path. The desperate attitude displayed today by imperialism results from its fear of the masses, its weakness, its historic incapacity; it represents nothing but its death throes.

The Partido Obrero Revolucionario, in condemning the imperialist invasion, denounces and disavows the lackey Bolivian ambassador in the UN, Ortiz Sanz, because of his declarations in favor of the U.S. as well as the treasonous, capitulatory policy of the foreign office of the Military Junta. The POR denies that the foreign office or its servant Ortiz Sanz has the right to speak in the name of the Bolivians. The majority in our country are with the people under attack in Santo Domingo and condemn the imperialist aggressor.

The Partido Obrero Revolucionario declares that the struggle of the people of Santo Domingo is the common cause of all the Latin-American masses against the common imperialist enemy. But it states that solidarity with the Dominican people must be more than verbal. To help the people of Santo Domingo as well as the people of Cuba and Vietnam, the workers and revolutionary militants must confront ignominious imperialism in our own country and throw it out. It is necessary to demonstrate in deeds our solidarity with the Dominican people, attacking and throwing out the imperialists, occupying and expropriating their holdings. The struggle against the common enemy requires opening new fronts of armed struggle.

Hemmed in by the revolution in all parts of the world, imperialism will go down without hope of recovery.

Down with the imperialist aggressor!

Long live the Dominican people!

Long live the developing world and Latin-American revolution!

For a workers and peasants government!

Long live the Partido Obrero Revolucionario!

EVEN VENEZUELAN RULING PARTY TENSE OVER DOMINICAN AFFAIR

Caracas, Venezuela

A tense situation is developing within Acción Democrática, the government party, due to the North American invasion of Santo Domingo.

Although President Leoni has vacillated, his general line is in open opposition to the Yankee action in the Dominican Republic and he has lodged a protest with the United States. The official newspaper República has strongly attacked Johnson, and the majority of Acción Democrática, including its leading bodies, have backed Leoni in his policy which, at the beginning, was direct support of

former President Bosch but which has now shifted to Colonel Caamaño.

The opposition is supporting Leoni in this matter, but indicating its reservations because of his vacillation.

Leoni's vacillation is due, in part, to fear of pressure from the Venezuelan army, but more particularly to the position adopted by former President Betancourt, who is now living in the United States. According to indications here he favors Venezuela sending troops to help cover up the North American occupation of the island.

Betancourt wields heavy influence in Acción Democrática. Nevertheless, the party leadership has sent emissaries to the United States to let Betancourt know that if he comes out publicly in favor of the Yankees in this conflict, in defiance of the policy adopted by Leoni, Acción Democrática will publicly disavow him.

The reason for this is the indignant popular reaction to the Yankee invasion, part of the general reaction throughout Latin America. Every party without exception has condemned the U.S.

YOUNG GERMAN WORKERS SCORE U.S. WARMONGERING

Hamburg, Germany

The seventh youth conference of the German Metal Workers Union [IG Metall], which was held here May 6-7 and which was attended by 146 delegates representing 300,000 young members of the union, adopted the following motion denouncing U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic:

* * *

"The delegates of the seventh youth conference of IG Metall, German Federal Republic, believe that the citizens of South and Central America also have the right to struggle for a society and an economic order in accordance with their own desires. Conflicts of the various socio-political interest groups must not be quashed by the weapons of a foreign power. The delegates hold that the right of a people to self-determination is indivisible. What we ask for ourselves and for our own country must be granted to other countries, particularly those on the road to development striving to win freedom from the rule of their colonial masters."

Georg Benz, Executive Committee member in charge of the youth department, declared:

"Some people say that small wars are permissible in the interests of a wider peace. The horror and suffering experienced by the

unfortunate population, of women and children, submitted to such wars can be vividly seen in the terrible reality of Vietnam. The brutality and hardships inflicted by the war there drive people into despair and destroy their last hope in humanism....Any local war can slip out of control of the mighty and end in a world-wide conflagration and the annihilation of humanity."

Benz maintained that the establishment of freedom and social justice in one's own country is the best contribution a people can make to the cause of peace.

JOHNSON'S SOCIETY OF THE GREAT LIE

On April 26 at a nationally televised press conference, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara said that while the U.S. is holding open the "option" of using "small" nuclear weapons, "no useful purpose can be served by speculation on remote contingencies."

The next day, President Johnson talked even more reassuringly in another nationally televised press conference. He affirmed -- and he should know! -- that in the seventeen months he had been president of the United States not a "single official" of his administration had ever suggested using nuclear weapons in Vietnam.

On May 14 secret testimony given by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara at a closed meeting of the House appropriations subcommittee on March 2 was made public. Here is part of what the record shows him to have admitted to the congressmen:

"There has been no senior official, military or civilian, of this Government that I am aware of that has indicated that we have any policy restricting our use of nuclear weapons in any situation in the world when we believe it is desirable to use them in our own interest....

"I think the risk of escalation is one of the risks you must look at when you are deciding to use nuclear weapons. It is not a sufficient risk to warrant refraining from the use of weapons under certain circumstances, but it is a clear risk that must be evaluated."

Thus we learn the truth. Not only have the group of advisers closest to Johnson discussed and speculated on the use of nuclear weapons. They are following a policy of not restricting their use "in any situation in the world" and even at the "risk of escalation."

Johnson's "Great Society" is at least great in one respect -- it's use of the Great Lie.

OFFICIAL LIES OF U.S. EMBARRASS REPORTER

As Trotsky once observed, the muse of journalism has sturdy thighs. Nowhere could this be said with greater appropriateness than in the United States where most journalists consider prostitution of the pen to be the way of life in their profession. Consider, then, how gross the lies of the Johnson administration about U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic must be when even the calloused, case-hardened practitioners of bourgeois journalism find themselves gagging!

A good example is David Kraslow of the Los Angeles Times. Writing from Santo Domingo in the May 14 issue of his paper, he feels forced to make some damaging admissions:

"The harsh fact is that government officials have been less than candid with the American people about the U.S. intervention in the Dominican revolution. Why this should be is not precisely clear just yet [!], but that is the truth."

He compares the official lies pouring out of Washington with those issued in 1960 "when Americans were fed a fairy tale about a U-2 plane shot down deep inside Russia" and again in 1961 "when the government put out cover stories in connection with the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba."

In Santo Domingo, he says: "Relentless probing by reporters has surfaced a good bit of truth about our extraordinary involvement in Santo Domingo. More of the truth will be exposed in time." What he does not mention is that most of this probing has been done by reporters of other countries, not the U.S., and it is their work that has no doubt embarrassed the "relentless" American probers.

Kraslow then indicates some of the lies:

"Contrary to what officials said, U.S. troops and anti-rebel Dominican soldiers and police were jointly manning checkpoints and, in some cases, fought together in returning rebel sniper fire.

"Contrary to what officials said, some Dominicans were arrested by the U.S. military and turned over to anti-rebel Dominican authorities. Officials who first denied that such a policy existed, now say that the policy has been changed -- prisoners are not released to the Dominicans."

Kraslow is compelled to include Johnson in his embarrassed admissions. On April 28 Johnson said that he was sending no more than 400 Marines to Santo Domingo and the purpose was to protect American lives.

"It now seems obvious that on April 28 Mr. Johnson already had much more in mind.

"For one thing, it is now known that the 82nd Airborne Division, which is in Santo Domingo, was alerted for a possible move to the Dominican capital on April 27.

"The alert came more than 24 hours before the President's announcement on the 400 Marines and less than four days after the revolution was launched there."

Johnson's claim about the U.S. being neutral gets similar treatment from Kraslow:

"Then there is the preposterous pretense of American neutrality in the revolution.

"The United States is not neutral. The administration is opposed to the rebels because it believes they have fallen under Communist control. It is secretly encouraging the five-man civilian-military junta which was formed last Friday."

Kraslow attempts to cover up for the American forces. "Perhaps there was no intent to lie when newsmen asked the sensitive questions," he says. "But clearly there was no intent to inform, and in numerous cases where answers were given they were completely contrary to what newsmen had seen and heard."

He ends up considering the moral question:

"Some government officials have maintained that it is sometimes necessary to lie and otherwise mislead for national security reasons.

"Consider then the American youth reading a history book a few years from now who well might ask: 'If it is necessary for government to lie sometimes, how does one know when it is telling the truth?'"

JOHNSON RESUMES BOMBING

After a respite of six days, Johnson resumed bombing North Vietnam May 18. It was said that the moratorium was a suggestion from Canadian diplomats who told Ho Chi Minh that it was a "goodwill" gesture from Johnson in a bid for negotiations.

The North Vietnamese government refused to take the proffered hand dripping with the blood of their people.

COMMUNIST TROUBLEMAKERS LEAVE FOR NEW ASSIGNMENTS

When Johnson sent the first few hundred Marines to intervene in the Dominican Republic, he said that it was to "protect American lives and property."

When it became clear that American lives were not in danger and that no threats had been levelled against the holdings of the two American sugar companies in the Dominican Republic, Johnson found a new excuse. On May 2 he said that "a democratic revolution ...committed to democracy and social justice" had "moved into the hands of a band of Communist conspirators."

This was his official justification for tearing up the international covenants solemnly signed by the United States and sending 30,000 troops to invade and occupy the island.

The chapter about a "Communist take-over" has now been closed by a quite eminent authority, President Johnson's own Ambassador-at-Large, W. Averell Harriman, a member of America's sixty ruling families.

In a television program May 16, Harriman said that the U.S. has "solid information" that the Communists who were "once prominent" in the revolution have now left the island "to create trouble elsewhere." In addition, those who have remained on the island have "withdrawn from prominence and are less in evidence now."

Harriman may well be right, a cynic might say, since according to the statements originally made by the U.S. State Department there were only 58 Communists among the tens of thousands of people in the revolutionary forces. Reporters soon discovered that some of the 58 were either dead or had left the island before the revolution broke out, but granting that there were 58, it seems plausible that they could have now flown to other lands to carry out new assignments.

Will the 30,000 U.S. troops that were sent to the Dominican Republic to do battle with the 58 Communists now be withdrawn in view of the enemy's hasty retreat?

No, they will stay there without any excuse whatsoever. It is well known that once Johnson has committed the United States, it is impossible to change, no matter how much in the wrong he might be. The U.S. is too powerful for that.

On the other hand, the State Department might well consider what those 58 Communists might be up to in other Latin-American countries where they went "to create trouble."

Since it takes 517 Marines to cope with one Communist, will there be enough Marines to handle all the trouble spots that can now be expected to flare up?

IS IT GOOD TASTE TO CARRY A SEVERED HEAD?

The Saigon government, which, it is well known, is battling shoulder to shoulder with the Johnson administration for democracy and the free world, is having trouble getting truthful pictures about its successes in the civil war shown to the Japanese people.

On May 9 the first of a series of films was shown on Nippon Television Network. Entitled "The Battle of the Vietnamese Marines," it showed a government attack on a guerrilla stronghold and no doubt was prepared at considerable risk to the cameramen and considerable cost to the American taxpayers.

As described by the May 13 Japan Times, "There were scenes of beheading, cutting off fingers, the execution of an old farmer begging for his life, etc., as well as scenes of South Vietnamese soldiers walking around with severed heads in their hands."

Among others who protested, the Tokyo Customs Office said that the showing of the film ran counter to a pledge made by newspapers and broadcasting firms in 1961 concerning the import of news films of questionable character.

The Nippon Television Network argued that the film did not go counter to public order or good taste but that it would "adhere to the spirit of the pledge on news film imports."

Last year photographs depicting similar scenes in Saigon's conduct of the civil war were embargoed at Tokyo International Airport by customs agents. They were sent by the Associated Press correspondent in Saigon to the Tokyo bureau of the AP.

The photographs showed South Vietnamese troops carrying severed heads of alleged guerrilla fighters as trophies.

When AP protested this interference with truthful reporting of the war, customs asked the advice of the committee on imported films. The advice was to send the photographs back to Saigon.

JAPANESE UNIONS TO CAMPAIGN AGAINST VIETNAM WAR

A nation-wide movement in opposition to the war in Vietnam is to be launched shortly by the General Council of Japan Trade Unions [Sohyo]. The giant federation made the decision at a council meeting in Tokyo May 12.

The Japanese trade-union Leaders hold that the U.S. is violating the Geneva Agreement and posing a serious threat to world peace by armed intervention in Vietnam.

Sohyo also again stated that the evidence shows that the Japanese government is actively supporting the U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The federation announced the week before that it would send an "encouragement mission" to the workers of north Vietnam and begin collecting material aid, including medical supplies, as an expression of solidarity.

CHINA'S SECOND NUCLEAR TEST

The People's Republic of China reported the second successful test of a nuclear weapon on May 14. The event was regretted by all who are opposed to radioactive contamination of the atmosphere but the repercussions were not so great as at the time of the first test. China's proposal for a joint agreement among all nations to ban nuclear arms altogether and to dismantle the existing stockpiles has had time to have effect. More important, the U.S. aggression in north Vietnam and the rising talk among White House circles about making a "first strike" against China have underlined the imperative need for China to strengthen all her military defenses as rapidly as possible and on a level to better deter the American warmongers.

The swiftness with which China has succeeded in carrying forward her nuclear program has staggered the Western powers. It is a most striking demonstration of the enormous productive capacity of planned economy.

Capitalist France, which is developing its own "striking force," paid particular attention to the success of the test. French nuclear experts, carefully analyzing all the available information, confessed amazement at the ability of China, without an advanced technological base, to solve the enormous problems associated with the production of the necessary nuclear materials.

COLOGNE WORKERS REVIVE MAY DAY TRADITION

Cologne, Germany

In the liquidation of socialist concepts and traditions, a process which the West German Social Democracy has taken to ever new depths since adopting the infamous Godesberg program, an outstanding casualty has been the traditional May Day demonstration. All that generally remains now is a public meeting, held, if possible, without red banners or songs of the labor movement.

In Hamburg this year even the public meeting gave way to a kind of frolic with brass bands, a musical show and cabaret songs, all of it without the slightest political content and aimed only at diversion.

In other West German cities, however, socialists have been struggling to reverse the trend. Four years ago the unions in Cologne, for example, gave up mass May Day demonstrations. The Socialist Youth nevertheless turned out. Last year they managed to bring out some hundreds of workers from the big Ford plant, organizing an impressive demonstration of international solidarity between Greek and Turkish workers in the plant at a time when chauvinists of Greek and Turkish origin in Cyprus were cutting each other's throats.

Militant elements in the Cologne trade-union movement thought so well of this demonstration that they decided to press the German Metal Workers Union (with nearly 2,000,000 members, it is the biggest union in the world) to officially sponsor a May Day demonstration in Cologne this May Day.

After long discussion at a meeting of factory delegates from all the Cologne metal plants, a proposal by the Ford shop stewards to put it up to the Cologne Trades Council was adopted by 110 votes to 30. At the meeting of the Cologne Trades Council the Metal Workers' proposal was lost by a small majority. The Cologne district of the Metal Workers Union then decided to sponsor the demonstration alone. The Chemical Workers Union and numerous left-wing youth organizations backed the decision.

The slogans, placards, conditions of the demonstration, etc., were decided upon in lengthy discussions and finally more than 4,000 workers and youth marched behind the red banners of May Day.

Most of the slogans were of a political nature: Protests against the U.S. aggression in Vietnam; protests against the preparations for nuclear war; appeals for a firm struggle against the proposed state-of-emergency law which threatens civil liberties.

A Spanish group heading the march carried many slogans against the Franco regime. Its militant bearing and discipline were impressive.

The Greek workers again carried a banner like the one of last year: "We Greek socialists greet our Turkish brother workers."

The march ended with a public meeting attended by some 10,000 people.

WEST GERMAN INTELLECTUALS OPPOSE ANTIDEMOCRATIC LAW

Berlin

A total of 260 leading intellectuals of West Germany, including many professors, have appealed to the West German DGB [Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund -- German Trade Union Federation] to take the lead in a firm struggle against the proposed state-of-emergency law which was discussed in a secret session of a Bundestag committee May 3 as part of the process of railroading it through parliament before the new elections next September.

The proposed law would empower the West German government to proclaim a state of emergency "when there is a foreign or an internal danger," and to suspend all civil liberties.

Hitler used a similar provision in the Weimar constitution to "legally" dissolve the organizations of the working class in 1933.

The Social Democrats at first made a pretense at opposing the projected law on grounds of its unconstitutionality. Lately they have given up even the pretense for fear their "statesmanship" might be questioned.

At its last congress, the 6,000,000-member DGB took a stand against the vicious legislative proposal. In answering the plea of the intellectuals, DGB Chairman Ludwig Rosenberg stated that the federation still maintains its opposition.

He was silent, however, about the demand of the intellectuals for action against the impending bill.

Shop stewards in several big West German plants as well as regional district committees of the big Metal Workers Union have supported the call for industrial action against the threatened law.

POISON GAS UNLOADED IN SANTO DOMINGO

Agence France Presse reported that the American forces unloaded a truckload of poison gas in Santo Domingo May 14. Asked whether the American occupation forces intended to use poison gas, General John J. Bouker replied that he was not in position to say.

NEW REPRESSION IN IRAN

[The following is a translation of a statement issued by the "League of Iranian Socialists in Europe." The original title is "A New Provocation."]

* * *

On Wednesday April 28 the Iranian government announced officially that six young engineers, who had recently finished their studies in Britain, had been arrested under accusation of having participated in an attempt to murder the Shah at his Teheran palace.

The communiqué added that "the above-named persons have confessed to preparation of subversive activities and of being in contact with a foreign center for this purpose." The same statement also alleges that "books from the Chinese Communist propaganda apparatus, as well as works by Mao Tse-tung [have been found] in the homes of the above-named persons."

Only naive persons, who are not informed about the true situation in Iran, can believe this antinational and criminal government release. All those aware of the reactionary and authoritarian character of the present Iranian government, and who see through its propaganda tricks, understand that what the regime is aiming at is to divert public attention from what is really going on in Iran and to suppress the progressive Iranian national forces.

All oppositionists among the Iranian people against the corrupt vassal regime are automatically branded by the Shah's propaganda service as "red subversives," or "black reactionaries," and "foreign inspired." (Those designated "black reactionaries" are the religious opponents.)

In the past, before the Shah began honeymooning with the Soviet Union under the slogan of "peaceful coexistence," Moscow was regularly listed as the source of the "foreign conspiracy." Later Cairo took the place of Moscow, and today Peking has been selected as the point of origin of the "foreign inspiration." The propaganda devices of the Shah's regime are so old and hackneyed that they can mislead neither real public opinion in Iran nor progressive and democratic organizations elsewhere.

What are the objectives of these new measures of this reactionary government?

The first goal is to neutralize the moral-psychological effect and awakening of hopes which the attempt against the Shah's life aroused among the broad popular masses of the Iranian people. Another goal is to intimidate the political opponents of the regime

by arrests, torture and executions, to demoralize them and reduce them to passivity. A further objective is to convert the attempt against the Shah's life into a pretext for settling accounts with all political opponents of the regime, especially the anticolonialist and anti-autocratic organizations and forces, under the claim that they were all party to the "psychological" preparation of the attempt.

In the Shah's foreign policy, these measures are designed to help U.S. imperialism and other political enemies of the People's Republic of China by presenting Peking as responsible for "red subversion." Moreover, world public opinion must be deluded into believing that the main center of hostility and of actions against the Shah's regime is only a small group of "ultra Communists" and insignificant sects of "black reactionaries," while the great mass of the people are not hostile but feel intimately linked to the Shah and his "royal revolution"!

We Iranian socialists expose this action of the Iranian government and condemn it energetically before world public opinion. We express our solidarity with the innocent, national-revolutionary, conscientious and patriotic elements, who are falsely accused of having "psychologically prepared the attempt against the Shah's life" and who have been seized and taken to the torture camps of the security services of the reactionary regime where they are in danger of being killed.

We demand their immediate release!

We appeal to all the democratic and freedom-loving Iranian forces to join together in denouncing with the utmost energy this latest treachery of the regime and to display their solidarity with the fresh victims of the military dictatorship by all the means at their disposal.

We appeal to all democratic and responsible forces in the world, to all progressive parties and organizations, to all democratic and anti-imperialist countries, to raise their voices in protest against the inhuman and fascist measures of the totalitarian regime in Iran, and to support the progressive and democratic forces and organizations in Iran in their difficult and great struggle against colonialism and totalitarianism.

BREZHNEV PRAISES WRONG MAN

When Brezhnev praised Stalin in a speech May 8, some 6,000 bureaucrats dutifully broke into cheers. But Johnson didn't seem frightened at the kind words for the author of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Brezhnev might try praising Trotsky -- just to bounce the warmonger in the White House out of his rocking chair...

WHY NEGRO MASSES REMAIN SUSPICIOUS OF AMERICAN CP

By Evelyn Sell

The capitalist rulers of America must be held mainly responsible for the current gulf between radical groupings and the mass of American Negroes. The long centuries of Negro slavery and semislavery have created deep chasms between black and white in this country -- and it must be remembered that, due to historical reasons, radical groupings in the United States are largely white. The long years of witch-hunt activities and antisocialist propaganda have created additional barriers to unity between participants in the civil-rights movement and members of the left-wing movement.

The Communist party, however, must bear its share of responsibility for black distrust of the left wing in this country. The history of the American Communist party [CP] has some proud chapters involving fights against Jim Crow -- but it also has a full quota of betrayals of the civil-rights movement.

The formation of the CP in the United States heralded a new, healthier attitude toward the problems of America's black masses. The older pre-World War I socialist movement had never recognized the need for a special program on the Negro question. There was no special effort to attract Negroes as members and it was assumed that the solution of the Negroes' problems would be the same as the solution of the problems of the working class as a whole: the socialist transformation of society. The radical movement had very little to offer Negroes as a uniquely oppressed segment of the working class. In fact, many socialists shared the generally anti-Negro prejudices common to most workers. Victor Berger, a prominent socialist leader, wrote in the Milwaukee Social Democratic Herald, "There can be no doubt that the Negroes and mulattoes constitute a lower race."

There were a few socialists, like William Walling, who helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People [NAACP] but they were rare.

Everything new and progressive on the Negro question came from Moscow after the 1917 Revolution. The Bolsheviks had a deep concern and a program for oppressed nations and national minorities. They recognized the great revolutionary potential in the situations of oppressed minorities and saw them as important allies of the working class in the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. With the formation of the CP in the United States, the Russian Bolsheviks began to demand that their American comrades throw off the inherited prejudices and evasions on the Negro question, that attention should be paid to the special needs of the Negro minority and that the American Communists go to work among Negroes and champion their cause within the white community.

This kind of reorientation of the CP during the 1920's prepared the party leadership and ranks for their spectacular involvement in the struggles of the Negro community during the 1930's. The party gave Negroes complete equality within its own organization and aggressively championed the cause of equality in the rest of American society. The CP ranks led demonstrations to gain fair consideration for Negroes at relief offices during the Great Depression of the early 1930's. The party was active within the Negro ghetto, often pitching in, for example, to return furniture to apartments from which Negroes had been evicted.

In 1931 the CP organized a highly successful campaign to raise money and publicize the cause of nine young Negroes convicted of raping a white woman in Scottsboro, Alabama. The Scottsboro case focused national and international attention on America's racist "justice." In 1932 the CP nominated a Negro to run as U.S. Vice-President -- the first time a radical party had done such a thing.

Coupled with their agitation on civil rights was the union activity of the CP. The party called for an alliance between the Negro people and the labor movement which was then erupting into a new form of unionism, the industrial unionism of the CIO [Congress of Industrial Organizations]. It was due to the efforts of the CP during the rise of the CIO that Negroes gained a new status in the union movement.

These activities created a profound impression on white radical circles and within the Negro community. Working-class Negroes joined the party by the thousands and the CP was, for a certain time, a real force in the Negro community. BUT -- the Stalin-Hitler pact of 1939 and the Nazi invasion of Russia in 1941 set off abrupt and far-reaching reversals in CP activities within the civil-rights movement.

A good example of such a reversal is the history of the CP relations with the March on Washington Movement of the early 1940's. In January of 1941 A. Philip Randolph (America's leading Negro trade unionist, ardent supporter of the government's war plans and a man who had fought against Communists in labor organizations) issued a call for "ten thousand black Americans" to march on the nation's capital in order "to shake up white America." The march was to demand equal job opportunities in the country's newly booming war industries and an end to segregation in the armed forces. The March on Washington Movement [MOWM] found supporters in Negro communities across the nation. Local committees were set up, outdoor rallies were held, MOW buttons were sold by the thousands. Instead of the original ten thousand, it was expected that one hundred thousand Negroes would protest in Washington on July 1.

Barely one week before the march was to take place, Roosevelt gave in to the immense pressure and issued Executive Order 8802 set-

ting up a federal Fair Employment Practices Commission. Randolph called the march off. Shortly afterwards Pearl Harbor was bombed and America officially entered the war. However, the Negro struggle for equality in jobs and the armed forces continued. It was known as the Double V for Victory Campaign -- victory against the Axis abroad and against Jim Crow at home. Successful mass meetings organized by the MOWM were held in major cities during the summer of 1942. The MOWM declined from that point but local struggles continued to win additional job openings for Negroes in defense plants.

How did the CP respond to this movement? When the call first went out the CP was silent about the March itself but Randolph was attacked in editorials entitled, "A. Philip Randolph Can't Sell This War to Oppressed Jim-Crowed Negro People." Four months later the CP newspaper, the Daily Worker, explained that "these Negro leaders support the war, and in doing so are attempting to carry out the policies of the Wall Street labor-haters and Negro-baiters...We are confident that the Negro people will see in the job march a great opportunity to display their united opposition to the war program and to all of its discriminatory aspects."

May 16, 1941, Daily Worker: "You can't defend Negro rights without fighting against this war."

June 11, 1941, Daily Worker: "Negro March on Capitol Can Be a Blow Against War, Jim Crow."

June 22, 1941 -- Nazis invaded the Soviet Union.

October, 1941, The Communist magazine explained that the Nazi menace "left no choice to any people including the Negro people but to resist Hitler and destroy Nazism. The fight against Hitler and Hitlerism is the affair of every loyal and patriotic American."

August, 1942, The Communist, "The Negro people cannot be true to their own best interests without supporting the war."

The CP had now come full circle from their position on May 16, 1941! The reputation they had gained during the 1930's as the best fighters for the cause of Negro equality began to disintegrate. The Negroes pressed their Double V campaign. During 1942 mass picket lines and demonstrations were used in the struggle for equal job opportunities. At one arms plant in St. Louis, such tactics won 3,500 jobs for Negroes. The CP attacked these Negroes for "disrupting the war effort."

These and many more CP betrayals planted many bitter memories in the minds of Negroes. Conservative Negro leaders today use these bitter memories very effectively in trying to curb rank-and-file militancy and in trying to isolate the new generation of black fighters from their natural allies in the left-wing movement. For example,

Roy Wilkins, executive director of the NAACP, warned in his May 2, 1965, column entitled "How Communists Use the Negro Cause:"

"In the Thirties the Communists were obsessed with the idea that the 'black proletariat' would arise and revolt if only it had their leadership. Accordingly, they slashed at the existing Negro leadership everywhere, and at 'reformism' including laws, courts and executive action.

"All corrective efforts were sneered at as devices to perpetuate 'tyranny'...I remember that when Hitler attacked Russia the Communist line changed overnight. One day they were telling Negroes not to fight in the 'imperialist war,' that is, against Hitler. The next day they were screaming for Negroes to get into the 'war against fascism,' that is, on Russia's side.

"The U.S.A. Communist Party in 1941 officially urged Negroes to cease their agitation against all Jim Crow, especially that in the armed forces, until the Soviet Union was saved. The Negro cause was dumped between suns."

Wilkins' whole article is an argument directed toward today's Negro militants, cautioning them not to get mixed up with "the distortions, the abuse, the attacks, the deception and the lies of the Communist drive for Negroes..." After pointing out the CP crimes during World War II, Wilkins concludes, "If we are as smart as we were 30 years ago, we can move toward our goals, leaving the comrades to their name calling and their dialectical debates."

Similar incidents were reported in a December 19, 1964, article by Horace Sheffield, an opportunist Negro trade-union leader in Detroit and a faithful supporter of Walter Reuther. Sheffield is one of the leaders of the Trade Union Leadership Council, affiliated with the Negro American Labor Council headed by A. Philip Randolph. Here is how Sheffield recalls the CP activities of the past:

"Once before, in the early days of the last war, we had a tremendous group organized. It was made up of Negro and white trade unionists from most unions in the Detroit area. It was a natural that such a group would not only concern itself with the gross discrimination confronting Negroes in the unions and industry, but it would also react sharply to the evils of the outrageous jim-crow system that was being imposed on Negroes in America's Armed Services.

"It was the pressing of this latter concern by militant Negro members of the group that incurred the bitter opposition of the 'left-ists' and finally resulted in the destruction of the organization. There was a period, however, when this political element supported what we then called the 'Double-V program...victory at home and victory abroad.'

"This was before Hitler's armies attacked and invaded the Soviet Union. I have pictures of our group parading down John R. at that time with placards urging 'End Jim-Crow In The Army Now'... 'Let God Save The King, We're Not Coming Over There'... 'You Can't Save Democracy With a Jim-Crow Army'... 'Give Americans Bread, Not Bullets,' etc.

"However, as soon as the Soviet Union was attacked by Germany, the unity of our group evaporated overnight. It suddenly became a 'peoples' war' and those of us who insisted on fighting for democracy at home as well as abroad were characterized as 'black fascists.'

"Regardless of whether it was a matter of marshaling a protest against the discrimination Negroes faced in defense plants or the brutalizing of Negro soldiers in Mississippi and Alabama, we were hooted down because the 'leftists' had taken over and the ideological order of the day then had become 'the opening of the Second Front.'"

The Communist party abandonment of the Negro struggle during this period is a well-known fact to large sections of the Negro community today. It is easy for government witch-hunters and apologists to claim that other radical groupings will similarly betray Negroes when it serves their interests. The radical movement in this country, therefore starts off with two strikes against it: first, the antiradical drive of the government and its conservative supporters, and, second, the well-remembered crimes of the Communist party.

There are, however, powerful forces at work impelling the civil-rights militants toward the left-wing movement. Every struggle against second-class citizenship brings the Negro masses face to face with the basically rotten institutions of capitalist society: the police force, the courts, the body of law, the political leadership, the reactionary business interests, etc. The truth is forced out into the open through these clashes: the whole system is corrupt and must be replaced... Replaced with what? The socialist answers are seriously considered by many Negroes today.

Socialists from many different groupings are active within the Freedom Now struggle, proving their sincerity and dedication in the daily battles. Many of these socialist fighters are new young recruits to radicalism and do not feel tarnished by the past mistakes of the old socialist movement or the Communist party. Among the most active ranks of the Freedom Now struggle is the Socialist Workers party which maintained a principled opposition to the imperialist war and fought for Negro equality all through World War II. This party has carried on, during war hysteria and cold-war witch-hunt, the proudest traditions of the Russian revolutionists of 1917.

An additional powerful force creating a healthier climate for the growth of socialist consciousness among America's black masses

is the international colonial revolution. In answer to a question put to him at a May 29, 1964, symposium sponsored by the New York Militant Labor Forum, Malcolm X said, "...all of the countries that are emerging today from under the shackles of colonialism are turning toward socialism. I don't think it's an accident. Most of the countries that were colonial powers were capitalist countries and the last bulwark of capitalism today is America and it's impossible for a white person today to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism. And if you find a person without racism...usually they're socialists or their political philosophy is socialism..."

The gulf between the civil-rights movement and the left-wing movement in America is being bridged. Because of their past policies and their current weaknesses, the Communist party will undoubtedly fail to reach the influence they enjoyed during the 1930's. The most advanced sections of the Negro people will join hands with those socialists who consistently fight for civil and human rights, who are sensitive to the demands of the black ghetto and who vigorously contest the rule of the capitalists in all fields: political, economic, ideological.